THE FEATURES OF MOVEMENT IN ROMANIAN

BY

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fullfillment of the Requirements
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates acceptable word order strategies employed in Romanian and the dynamics of movement. It focuses on the forces behind movement and in resulting structural effects, as well as the locus of movement, semantic restrictions, and pragmatic interpretations.

Licensing of movement is discussed in terms of feature-checking mechanisms and properties of features. Specifically, it is argued that feature checking is exclusively overt, but does not always entail movement. We assume two types of formal features which show symmetric behaviour irrespective of whether they are hosted by a lexical item or a functional head: (i) non-selectional features, which check in a less local relationship and do not trigger movement; (ii) selectional features, which check in a strict locality relationship. The strict locality relationship involves a specifier-head configuration or head-adjunction, both of which always trigger movement.

It is claimed that structural Case is checked in Merge positions in Romanian and proposed that Romanian has a V-type EPP which it checks by verb raising to the Inflectional domain. We show that Spec,IP is therefore not an EPP/Case related position in Romanian. As a result, we propose that the [+ wh] and the [+ focus] feature parasitically incorporate onto I°, engendering a syncretic Inflection, with Spec,IP serving as a host to operators which undergo feature-driven movement into the left-periphery of the clause. The nature and composition of functional categories is also discussed and we show that Romanian has minimum structural proliferation.

Finally, this dissertation discusses instances of overt movement that are not feature-driven. It is argued that Romanian allows for two types of scrambling: vP-scrambling, which is shown to have A-movement properties and IP-scrambling, which is shown to have A-bar movement properties.

The apparition of these faces in the crowd:
Petals on a wet, black bough.
Ezra Pound, *In a Station of a Metro*

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this dissertation:

ACC	accusative
α *	recursive α
AUX	auxiliary
Adv	adverb
BQ	bare quantifier
CED	condition on extraction domains
CL	pronominal clitic
CLLD	clitic left dislocation
COND	conditional
CV2	V2 with verb movement into C°
[D]	categorial D-feature (nominal)
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DO	direct object
EPP	extended projection priniciple
F	feminine
FF	formal feature
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
IO	indirect object
IV2	V2 with verb movement into I°
LCA	linear correspondence axiom
LF	Logical Form
LHM	long head movement
LI	lexical item
M	masculine
MLC	minimal link condition
MP98	*Minimalist Inquiries: the Framework* (Chomsky 1998)
Neg	negation
NOM	nominative
O	object
OP	operator
OSV	object-subject-verb word order
OVS	object-verb-subject word order
PF	Phonological Form
P-Feature	phonological feature
phi-	person, number, and gender features
PL	plural
PP	prepositional phrase
PR	present
Pron	pronominal

PT	past participle
QR	quantifier raising
REFL	reflexive
S	sentence
SAI	subject auxiliary inversion
SG	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb word order
Spec	specifier
Su	subject
SUBJ	subjunctive
SVO	subject-verb-object word order
t	trace
UG	universal grammar
[V]	categorial V-feature (verbal)
V2	verb second
VOS	verb-object-subject word order
VSO	verb-subject-object word order
WCO	weak crossover
X°	unspecified head
XP	unspecified phrase

The following conventions have been used for consistency:

Headings:

- Numbering starts new in each chapter
- First digit stands for chapter number

Examples:

- Numbering starts new in each chapter
- Symbols used to mark examples:

a. * ungrammatical (speakers agree)
b. ?? ungrammatical (speakers agree, minor exceptions)
c. # grammatical, but pragmatically ill-formed
d. ( ) optional

We didn't see the mountains ahead and so we didn't sense the upheavals to come, upheavals that were in fact already in our mist, waiting to burst into flames. We didn't see the chaos growing.

Ben Okri, *Songs of Enchantment*

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aim

This dissertation investigates acceptable word order strategies employed in Romanian and the dynamics of movement. It focuses on noun phrase movement, with special emphasis on wh-movement, quantifer raising, topicalization, contrastive focus and de-focusing structures.

Romanian is a Romance language spoken in Romania by approximately 22 million people. It is surrounded by other language families, specifically Slavic (Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian) and FinnoUgric (Hungarian), and geographically, is considered part of the Balkan sprachbund. From a syntactic point of view, it shares important properties with both Romance languages and languages of the Balkans.

Our analysis is grounded in the later stages of the generative framework, most notably the Minimalist program as developed by Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998). Prior to summarizing some essential Minimalist concepts in section 1.2., we offer a brief discussion into the scope of our inquiry.

The Chomskyan tradition has it that the identity of arguments is strictly dependent on the verb's capacity (and requirement) to assign them specific semantic roles. Whenever a verb is pulled from the lexicon and inserted into the syntax, it creates its individual argument-structure.

This argument-structure needs to be saturated, so relevant elements (e.g., nouns) are pulled from within the lexicon and inserted into the appropriate argument slots. This is referred to as theta-marking. Theta-licensing of a noun is then based on its individual relationship to a certain lexical predicate in the syntax. However, the nouns thus attracted into the derivation need further licensing; in order for them to be able to play out the semantic roles required by the verb (i.e., the theta-roles), they need Case. In some languages Case-marking is inherent, being granted as a bonus from within the lexicon, but in others, it is assigned structurally, once the NPs have been inserted into the derivation. The assignment of structural Cases, such as Nominative and Accusative, depend on the properties of functional elements present in the derivation. These functional elements lack content but have the important role of ensuring that the verb and nouns inserted in the derivation form a meaningful sentence. The most important functional element in a sentence is 'Inflection' since it tells us whether a sentence is finite or non-finite, it anchors the sentence in time and space, and it gives it meaning. It is also responsible for structural Nominative Case, which licenses the sentence subject. For example, the sentence 'Ion has eaten the apple pie.' would be ungrammatical without the function word 'has', which instantiates the presence of Inflection. Sentences are therefore labelled IP, from 'Inflectional Phrase'. Notice, however, that the above English example would also be ungrammatical if the word order were, '* Has eaten Ion the apple.' What this means is that word order has a significant role in interpretability and that noun phrases are not licensed randomly. For any given derivation, there is a core basic word order which ensures proper licensing of its elements. For NPs, this refers to the position in which theta roles and Case relations are satisfied.

Unlike English, Romanian is not a rigid word order language, several combinations being possible. For example, the English sentence, 'Ion has eaten the apple pie.' can be rendered in a variey of ways, three of which are illustrated in (1).

(1) a. VSO:

A	mîncat	Ion	plăcinta	cu	mere.[1]
AUX.3SG	eaten	Ion	pie-the	with	apple

b. SVO:

Ion	a	mîncat	plăcinta	cu	mere.
Ion	AUX.3SG	eaten	pie-the	with	apple

c. VOS:

A	mîncat	plăcinta	cu	mere	Ion.
AUX.3SG	eaten	pie-the	with	apple	Ion

'Ion has eaten the apple pie.'

Pragmatic factors aside, the sentences in (1) all render the same proposition. Given that the generative framework assumes a core basic word order, we need to find a principled way of accounting for any derived combinations. The first task is to define the basic sentence word order for Romanian; namely, the positions in which the elements comprising the sentence build-up are morpho-syntactically licensed. Once this is clarified, we proceed to investigate alternative word order strategies. We are interested primarily in the forces that drive movement and in resulting structural effects, as well as the locus of movement, semantic restrictions and the novel pragmatic interpretations. The analysis challenges important theoretical concepts and highlights the relationship between syntax and other levels of representation, such as semantics and phonology, as well as the less explored sentence-pragmatics.

[1] Romanian uses the following phonetic symbols not found in IPA: [ă] – a stressed scwha; [î] – a back unrounded closed vowel; [ş] – a voiceless postalveolar fricative; [ţ] – a voiceless alveolar affricate.

1.2 Theoretical assumptions

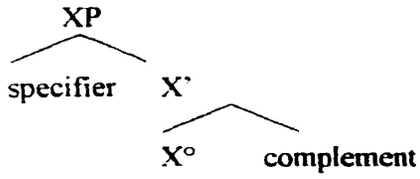
For any given language, speakers can build an infinite set of sentences out of a finite set of words, while children rapidly acquire the ability to use language and do so without formal instruction. These observations led Chomsky to postulate the innateness hypothesis, whereby human beings are born equipped with a Universal Grammar (UG). The task of the theoretical linguist is to build a theory of UG capable of capturing the universal properties of language (principles) but flexible enough to accomodate language particular idiosyncrasies, captured through parameters. The theory should yield grammars that are at once learnable, explanatory and descriptively adequate. It should make use of a minimal set of theoretical devices, primarily to avoid burden on acquisition. This approach, which is at the basis of Chomsky's generative grammar, with the *Minimalist Program* (1993, 1995, 1998) as its latest development, is consistent with general scientific norms that theories should be as simple as possible while capturing the empirical data.

Grammars deal with categories rather than words. Categories are essentially projections of heads and are of two types: lexical (or substantive, e.g. noun, verb, etc.) and functional (or non-substantive, e.g. inflection, determiner, etc.). All categories are combined according to a bottom-up binary branching device, which constitute the invisible 'trees' of generative grammar. A head X° combines with a complement to its right and expands the structure to X'. X' combines with a specifier to its left, thus forming XP, a maximal category. This common phrase structure is illustrated in (2). [2]

---

[2] The assumption that UG imposes a Specifier-Head-Complement word order has been adopted in Chomsky (1995, 1998), following work by Kayne (1994). Other authors (e.g., Koster 1975) assume languages may differ as to whether they are head-initial, as in (2), or head-final, in which case the complement is selected to the left.

(2)



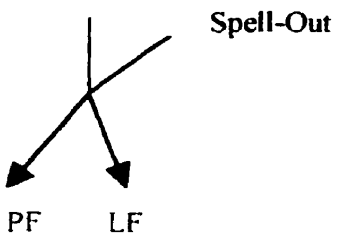
The specifier of XP (Spec,XP) and X' are sisters and so are X° and its complement. XP is the 'mother' of Spec,XP and X', and X' is the mother of X° and its complement. X' is an intermediary level with no effect on computation, therefore often omitted. Under Minimalism (Chomsky 1995, 1998), specifier and complement positions are not automatically present with the insertion of X° into the derivation. In fact, these are absent unless created by additional requirements. For example, a transitive verb will require a complement, but an intransitive verb will not, and I° (Inflection) in English requires a specifier of IP to host the subject of the sentence, but I° in Romanian does not. Maximal categories, on the other hand, are obligatory. In other words, whenever X° is present and does not project, it will simultaneously be an X° and an XP. This means that specifiers and complements are also of the XP type. Consequently, syntactic trees consist of various combinations of NP, VP, IP and so on, arranged according to a set of rules.

The set of rules that (re)arranges syntactic objects is determined by the properties of grammatical categories which enter their build-up. Specifically, these categories constitute sets of grammatical features (i.e., syntactic and morphological features), some of which are intrinsic (e.g., categorial features, such as nominal or verbal), some of which are optional (e.g., number features). These formal features (FFs) are either interpretable or uninterpretable. The distinction is related to semantic content. For example, categorial features have semantic content and are, therefore, interpretable. Case, which is semantically null, is uninterpretable. Before we discuss the role which features play, let us first review the overall organization of a grammar in this framework.

The computational system of a language forms sentence structure. It selects fullly inflected lexical items (LIs) from the mental lexicon and combines them (i.e., merges) according

to the principles of X-bar structure. Sentence structure must ultimately be interpreted at two interface (output) levels: the articulatory-perceptual level (i.e. Phonological Form or PF) and the conceptual-intentional level (i.e., Logical Form or LF). PF and LF are interface levels, since this is where grammar connects with systems outside the theory of grammar. The point at which syntactic structures are converted into PF representations is referred to as Spell-Out. Operations which take place prior to Spell-Out are overt, while operations which takes place after Spell-Out (i.e., at LF) are covert. This organization of grammar is represented in (3).

(3) selection and merger



For grammaticality to be obtained, the set of derivations determined by language must converge at both interface levels. Convergence depends on appropriate feature checking. The logic is as follows. Formal features play a role in the computational system of a language, but play no role at interface levels. If features are still 'visible' at the interface, the derivation crashes. Therefore, features need to be checked off (or deleted). Furthermore, given that only uninterpretable features are visible, we need not concern ourselves with interpretable features.

Chomsky (1995) proposes that all uninterpretable features must be checked in an appropriate checking configuration within an appropriate checking domain, and that checked uninterpretable features are erased. The appropriate checking configuration is assumed to involve a specifier-head relationship between a functional head X° and an XP with matching features which has moved into its specifier position. [3]

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[3] See also Rizzi (1991), Kayne (1998), among others.

Feature-checking takes place at Spell-Out or can be postponed until LF, depending on whether the FF is strong or weak. It is assumed that strong uninterpretable features are visible as illegitimate objects at PF, while weak uninterpretable features are not visible at PF. Therefore only strong FFs are required to check at Spell-Out. It is further assumed that LF checking does not involve movement of the entire lexical item into the appropriate checking configuration. Consequently, LF movement is more economical. Given that Minimalism is concerned with economy conditions, if feature-checking can wait (i.e., Procrastinate) until LF, it should.

While we assume a Spec-Head relationship to be indicative of feature checking, we believe there are other appropriate checking configurations. Notably, we do not assume that all feature-checking involves movement. In this, we follow Chomsky (1998) who allows for two types of checking configurations. Consider the example in (4) discussed in Chomsky (1998:36).

(4) an unpopular candidate T-was elected t

Chomsky assumes three kinds of uninterpretable features in (4): the agreement feature of T° (i.e., the phi-set), (ii) the EPP feature of T°, [4] and (iii) the structural Case feature of *an unpopular candidate*. Of the above features, only (ii) is assumed to require dislocation/"second Merge" (i.e., that something be moved and merged as Spec,TP). (i) identifies T° as the target of dislocation. (ii) requires dislocation, and (iii) identifies *an unpopular candidate* as a candidate for such merger and dislocation applies (i.e., the subject NP surfaces as Spec,TP). EPP is a selectional feature that seeks an XP to merge with the category it heads. Phi-features and structural Case are uninterpretable features but not selectional features. Which means that, unlike the EPP feature, they never induce movement. In other words, only selectional features induce movement. Chomsky further suggests we consider the phi-features as a 'probe' that seeks a 'goal', namely,

[4] The EPP feature refers to the Extended Projection Principle which determines positions not forced by the Projection Principle (theta-related); essentially, it refers to features that are uninterpretable and nonsemantic, and that ensure Spec,TP as a surface subject position.

"matching features that establish agreement" (1998:37). For the phi-set of T° in (4), there is only one choice matching its features: the phi-set of *candidate*. Once it has located its goal, the probe is assumed to erase under matching. Correlatively, the structural Case of *an unpopular candidate* also erases (under matching with the probe). This is the essence of the operation Chomsky terms "Agree", namely, the erasure of uninterpretable features of probe and goal under the structural requirements in (5).

(5) (i) Matching is feature identity
(ii) D(P) is a sister of P
(iii) Locality reduces to "closest c-command" [5]

Notice that the operation 'Agree' is satisfied without movement. However, since the EPP of T° has to be satisfied, the phrase *an unpopular candidate* pied-pipes and merges as the specifier of T°. The operation 'Move' (composed of 'Agree' and 'Merge') eliminates all uninterpretable features and the utterance in (4) is grammatical.

Following Chomsky (1998) who, as we have seen, proposes that only selectional features require dislocation, we assume that uninterpretable formal features (FFs) are essentially of two kinds: (i) selectional (or strong) and (ii) non-selectional (or weak), an option parametrized across languages and FF type. Non-selectional features will be defined as features which check/erase in-situ, without dislocation, as a result of the operation Agree, which only requires feature matching (i.e., identity) and closest c-command. Selectional features will be defined as features which can only be checked in a strict locality relationship, which we assume to involve either a Spec-Head

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[5] Where the D(P) is the c-command domain of P (defined as in (i)), and a matching feature G is closest to P if "there is no G' in D(P) matching P so that G is in D(G')" (Chomsky 1998:38):

(i) *c-command* (Radford 1997:112)
A node X c-commands another node Y if the mother of X dominates Y, and X and Y are disconnected (X and Y are disconnected if X is not identical to Y and neither dominates the other.)

or a head-adjunction configuration. By definition, selectional features require agreement (i.e., feature matching) and movement (i.e., 'second Merge'). Parametric variation across languages will be dependent on the nature of uninterpretable features. These assumptions are consistent with economy conditions since they eliminate movement unless absolutely necessary: movement is not an intrinsic requirement of feature-checking, but a result of parametrized formal feature properties. Moreover, under these assumptions, formal feature-checking will always be overt. [6, 7]

The feature checking theory proposed in Chomsky (1995) is asymmetric. Formal features (FFs) are present on both functional heads and lexical items, but only FFs on functional heads can be strong. Moreover, FFs of lexical items are not required to be checked, so feature checking takes place only when FFs of lexical items are attracted into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head. This is the operation 'Attract' (redefined as 'Agree' in Chomsky 1998). However, we follow Bošković (1998), Lasnik (1995, 1999), and Ochi (1998) who assume that feature-checking movement can also be triggered by the requirements of the lexical item bearing uninterpretable FFs. Specifically, we assume FFs of the lexical item can themselves trigger movement into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head, if the nature of these FFs is selectional. Feature-driven movement is an instance of both 'Agree' and 'Move', which is operative until all selectional FFs have been checked, irrespective of whether the FF belongs to the functional head or to the lexical item.

As previously stated, Minimalism is concerned with keeping the theoretical apparatus at a minimum, a general condition on the derivation of sentences being economy. There are several consequences that fall out from economy. One is that grammatical structure should be kept to a

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6 Simpson (1999) also argues for the availability of 'local' and 'non-local' feature checking in languages.

7 Given that feature-checking is always overt, issues such as LF movement and Procrastinate need to be completely reformulated. Possibly, the LF component is reserved exclusively to Quantifier Raising operations and scope interactions, having no role in feature checking.

minimum. We assume functional categories are not automatically present, and we do not postulate them unless there is ample empirical evidence in their favour.

A second consequence bears on movement. Although movement should be in principle avoided, when it occurs for feature-checking, it should take the shortest route and it should be local. These insights have been around in generative grammar for a long time, but we shall limit ourselves to defining the newer concepts. The shortest route requirement is formalized in Chomsky (1995) as the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) stated in (6).

(6) *The Minimal Link Condition* (Chomsky 1995)
α can raise to target K only if there is no legitimate operation Move-β targeting K, where β is closer to K;
(where 'closer' is defined in terms of c-command and equidistance).

Various constraints have been proposed concerning the locality of movement. One such constraint is the Subjacency Condition which requires that movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP (Chomsky 1977). Chomsky also proposes that movement is "successive cyclic". This constraint has been formalized in a number of ways along the years, and more recently (Chomsky 1998), it is formulated as 'the phase-impenetrability condition' (essentially a new version of cyclicity) outlined in (7).

(7) In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, but only H and its edge (Chomsky 1998:22)

When movement does occur, it forms a chain. Specifically, in the process of moving a constituent (usually referred to as Move α) from its initial merge position into its second merge position, there will be two occurrences of 'α', the original occurrence being called a 'trace' or 'copy' of the new occurrence, and being usually represented as 't'. We follow Chomsky (1998) in assuming that the two occurrences of 'α' constitute copies of each other and that a chain is

defined as a "sequence of identical α's" (Chomsky 1998:29), but nevertheless maintain the 'trace' terminology and representation. The relevance of the copy theory of movement becomes apparent in chapter 5.

Another important theoretical assumption is Binding Theory. Among others, speakers use language to refer to things. NPs, however, differ in the ways in which they establish referential relations. For example, certain pronouns must have an antecedent, while other pronouns can only have an antecedent in certain contexts. In (8), the reflexive 'themselves' is only licensed if it is preceded by the coindexed NP 'the boys'; this is illustrated by the contrast in grammaticality between (8a) and (8b).

(8) a. The boys admired themselves.
b. * Themselves admired the boys.

In (9), on the other hand, the personal pronoun 'them' is seen to differ in (9a) and (9b) in terms of coreference permissiveness. In (9a) coreference with the preceding NP 'the boys' is excluded (this is shown with the aid of indices), while in (9b), it is accepted.

(9) a. The boys$_i$ called them $*_{i,j}$.
b. The boys$_i$ said I called them $_{i,j}$.

Such relations of coreference are captured by Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), which defines these relations in terms of c-command, as in (10).

(10) *Binding* (Culicover 1997:64)
α binds β if and only if:
(i) α c-commands β and
(ii) α and β are coindexed

Binding Theory is summed up in (11).

(11) Condition A: an anaphor (e.g., reflexives) is bound in its local domain
(i.e., it should have an antecedent in its local domain)
Condition B: a pronoun is free in its local domain
Condition C: an R-expression (e.g., names) is free everywhere
(i.e., it should lack a c-commanding antecedent in any category)

Along with overt movement (i.e., at Spell-Out), we assume covert movement (i.e., LF movement) is also possible. At LF certain phrases that have been moved overtly 'reconstruct', that is they are interpreted in their base position rather than in the higher, derived position. Given that LF is viewed as the highest level of syntactic representation, we expect Binding Theory to apply here. However, for NPs that do not 'reconstruct' at LF, Spell-Out offers an equally correct binding representation. [8]

We believe these introductory remarks suffice to provide the background for the discussion in this dissertation. However, as we go along, we will return to some of these assumptions in more detail, as well as introduce some other concepts.

1.3 Romanian sentence structure

Landing sites are central to issues that refer to movement and licensing. The analysis in this dissertation suggests that the Romanian clause structure has at its disposal a number of substantive (i.e., lexical) and non-substantive (i.e., functional) projections which may or may not be present in the derivation, depending on the properties of the lexical items inserted from the lexicon, alongside more abstract dimensions, such as tense, aspect, voice, and mood, or point of view. In (12), we illustrate all the projections that we assume could in principle enter into the build-up of a Romanian clause.

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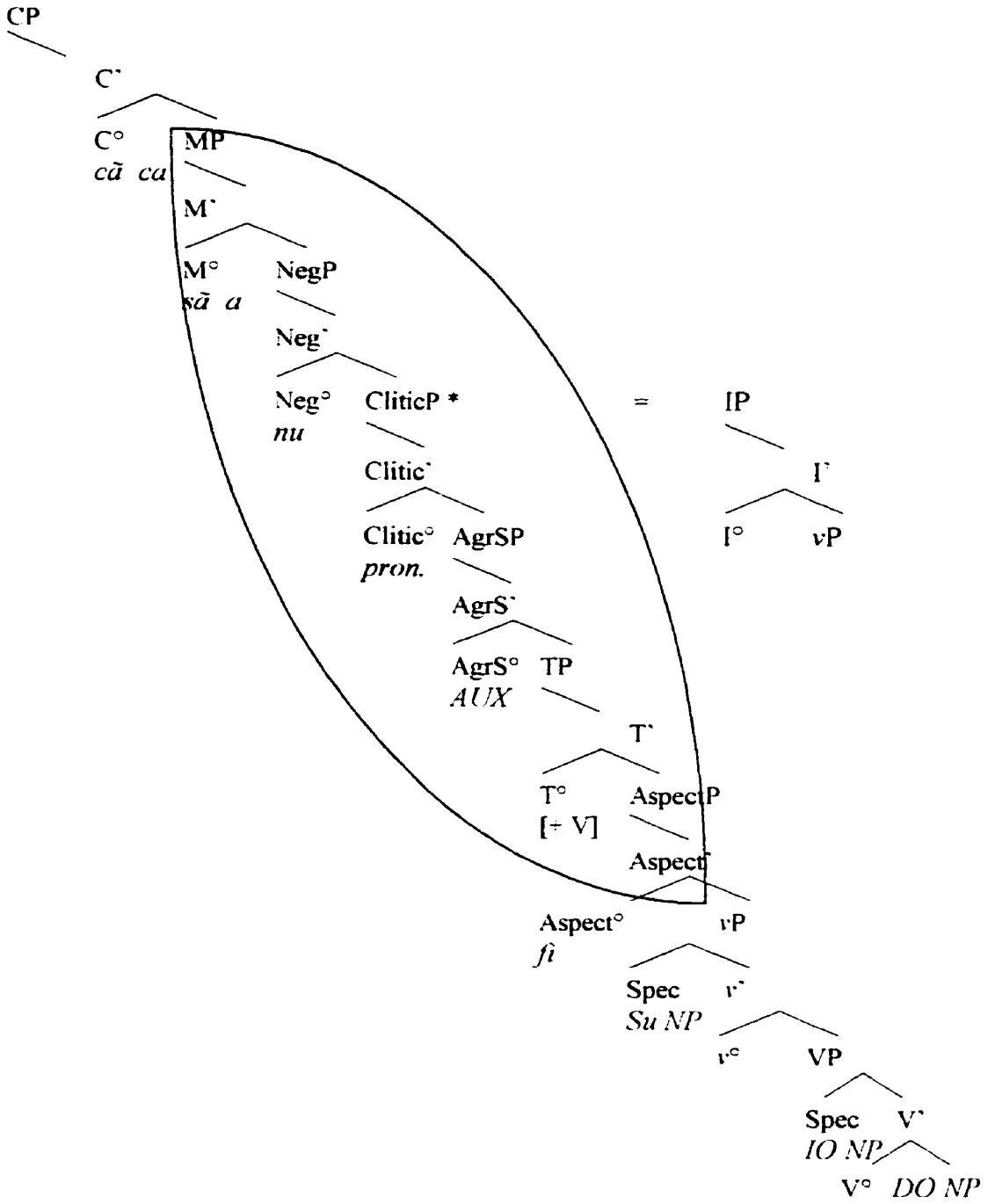
[8] This dichotomy will become relevant in capturing distinct Binding effects for definite versus indefinite NPs, as well as different movement types.

(12)



Let us clarify the terminology used in (12). CP refers to the projection headed by complementizers roughly equivalent to English 'that', which is realized in Romanian as *că* and *ca* in the indicative and subjunctive, respectively. We assume CP is absent in main clauses and analyse all main clauses as IPs. The IP projection can be expanded to include several projections,

as follows. The Mood Phrase (MP), whose head hosts the subjunctive particle *să*, as well as the infinitive particle *a*; M° also hosts the imperative operator which is present in imperative clauses and has to be lexically realized (see chapter 2). In negative clauses, the inflectional domain constains a Negative Phrase (NegP), headed by the negative element *nu* 'not'. The Clitic Phrase (CliticP), which hosts pronominal clitics and is recursive, depending on the number of pronominal clitics present in the derivation, is situated immediately below NegP; in affirmative sentences which lack an MP, CliticP will be the highest projection of the IP. The AgrP, headed by auxiliaries marks person and number agreement with the subject. The Tense Phrase (TP), whose head T° hosts a strong verbal feature (i.e., [+ V] or the EPP feature) responsible for attracting lexical verb raising into the inflectional domain in Romanian, is essential to the IP. The Aspect Phrase, which hosts the perfective marker *fi*, may appear below the TP. Moved phrases cannot target positions that are internal to this domain. This restriction on movement is a direct consequence of the fact that the Romanian IP consists exclusively of clitic material. The syntactic clitics comprising the Romanian IP are analysed in chapter 2 as heads projecting maximal phrases without specifiers. Given that for the purposes of NP movement, the inflectional domain constitutes a single phrase, we only use an expanded IP where relevant (e.g., when analysing its build-up, discussing verb movement, or fine-graining an analysis).

We assume that the Romanian IP is minimally a TP. In fact, the Minimalist Program has renounced IP as the sentence label in favour of TP. However, throughout this dissertation, we maintain I° as the umbrella term for the inflectional head and, consequently, IP for the sentence. Our use of T° is limited to refer specifically to the Tense head. This choice is based on the fact that, in Romanian, Tense is not the only relevant inflectional head. As shown in (12), there are other inflectional projections that contribute significantly to the build-up of the Romanian sentence. However, when citing or referring to other authors, we adopt their notations unless otherwise specified.

Consider next material below the IP. The light verb projection (vP) is present in active voice derivations, but absent in passives and unaccusatives; when present, its specifer position hosts the subject of the clause. The VP (or verb phrase) is headed by the lexical verb which may require complement NPs, as illustrated. In all probability, the Romanian noun phrase has an internal structure that is as complex as that illustrated for the IP (see Cornilescu 1995b). For our present purposes, however, the label NP will suffice.

In (12), we also show the formal feature we assume to be present in all Romanian clauses. This is the [+ V] (i.e., EPP) FF on T°, a selectional feature which we assume is checked by head-adjunction and, therefore, triggers overt verb raising into the inflectional domain. Given that, in Romanian clauses, the lexical verb always inhabits I°, material to the left of I° will be referred to as preverbal or as inhabiting the sentence left-periphery, while material below I° will be referred to as postverbal.

Other formal features may also inhabit the Romanian IP. Some of these are non-selectional features and are checked without movement (e.g. [+ neg], Case, phi-features), others are selectional features which require a strict locality relationship in order to be checked off and, therefore, trigger movement of the agreeing element. These are the [+wh] feature and the [+ focus] feature (with [+ emphasis] as a sub-type) discussed in chapters 4 and 5, respectively. We show these to be parasitic non-verbal features which inhabit the highest IP head present in the respective derivation. As a consequence, they engender syncretic heads and a specifier to host their matching lexical item.

The presence of selectional FFs on functional heads or lexical items will require movement in order for feature-checking to apply, a necessary condition for convergent derivations. However, we will show that the dynamics of movement are not conditioned exclusively by the presence of features. Pragmatic forces (see chapters 3-5) may also result in dislocations. In this case, constituents scramble out of their base-generated positions and adjoin to vP or IP, depending on interpretation: de-focused constituents adjoin to vP, while topicalized

constituents adjoin to IP. There are several difference between XP adjunction and specifer-insertion. While, adjunction is in principle unlimited and proceeds against a maximal phrase (i.e., an XP), specifer-insertion is more restricted and proceeds against a head (i.e., an X°; recall that X' is only relevant for architectural purposes). This distinction in positioning (i.e., against an XP, or against an X°), which is a direct consequence of the forces behind movement, is in fact crucial: adjunction is optional, while specifier-insertion is obligatory in the presence of the relevant formal features.

1.4 Dissertation outline

In **chapter 2**, we introduce important aspects of Romanian syntax and discuss basic word order licensing in the Romanian simple clause.

In the first part of the chapter, the investigation centres on the build-up of the Romanian IP, with special reference to the position of the lexical verb and clitic material. We maintain earlier analyses which show that the lexical verb always raises to I° in Romanian (e.g., Cornilescu 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Motapanyane 1995, Ştefănescu 1997) and argue that this is due to a strong [+V] feature, later reanalysed as the EPP feature of Romanian. Specifically, given that the EPP feature is universally a selectional feature (cf. Chomsky 1998), it will require checking in a strict locality relationship (i.e., Spec-Head or head-adjunction). We propose that the realization of the EPP feature is open to parametric variation, being realized minimally as a nominal feature (i.e., D-type EPP feature), in languages such as English, or as a verbal feature (i.e., V-type EPP feature), in languages such as Romanian. The V-type EPP feature of Romanian is satisfied by verb raising and head-adjunction onto the inflectional domain. The verb aside, we show that all elements comprising the Romanian IP are syntactic clitics (see also Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a) which we analyse as specifier-less heads. We suggest that some of these specifier-less heads project independently as XP, while others project together with verbal heads.

The second part of chapter two focuses on NP licensing (i.e., theta role and Case). The central assumption is that Romanian NPs check Case in their initial merge positions. Evidence for such an assumption and its corollaries is provided by discussing structural and semantic restrictions for various NPs in different types of predicate structures. We conclude that Romanian lacks a preverbal canonical subject position (i.e., EPP/Nominative Case related), and that NPs do not move for Case-related purposes. Structural Case is not checked as a result of specific configurations, but as a consequence of the presence of specific functional categories in the clausal architecture.

Chapter 3 commences the investigation of various NP movement configurations present in the language. Its scope is to account for syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of VOS constructions in Romanian. The chapter argues against the classical subject right-adjunction analysis suggested for Romance languages and proposes instead that Romanian VOS constructions are derived as an instance of object raising. Evidence for an object raising analysis is brought from the availability of raising quantified NPs, lack of weak crossover effects, condition C effects, and the reversal of binding phenomena.

We further discuss the implications of an object movement approach for Romanian VOS constructions from a comparative perspective and conclude that this specific type of object movement is an instance of 'evacuation' for subject focusing. We analyse object raising as object scrambling (i.e., dislocation and adjunction) to *v*P and show that it does not represent feature-driven movement. The effects and availability of VOS constructions in Romanian is taken to be the result of sentence-pragmatics exploiting syntax. While such movement is pragmatically accountable and not feature-driven, object de-focusing takes place in the syntactic component and does not constitute a 'rearrangement' at the level of PF. This assumption, which is counter to the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, et seq), is sustained by the presence of various syntactic effects triggered by the VOS structure.

Chapter 4 investigates wh-movement constructions in Romanian and argues that IP hosts all wh-phrases in this language, thus challenging accepted wisdom. Specifically, it is shown that in Romanian, the [+wh]-feature is a property of I° and Spec,IP is the scopal position available to Romanian wh-phrases. Given that Romanian lacks a D-type EPP feature, Spec,IP is in principle available to operator material, an option the language chooses to exploit fully. Language internal empirical evidence, such as lack of verb raising to C° and authentic subject-auxiliary inversion structures, support the theoretical proposals.

The [+wh] formal feature is further argued to be selectional in nature, irrespective of whether it is hosted by the functional head or the lexical items. The consequence of this parametric option is that, Romanian, although a Romance language, shows compulsory multiple wh-movement, a property shared with other languages of the Balkans. We analyse movement in multiple checking instances and conclude that movement involves crossing paths and that it proceeds according to economy conditions. Specifically, the first wh-phrase to raise and merge as Spec,IP is the one closest to I° (i.e., the functional head hosting the [+wh] formal feature), with the remaining wh-phrases tucking in under Spec,IP in an unordered manner. Ordering of moved wh-phrases (or lack thereof) and cross-linguistic implications are also discussed.

The second part of the chapter focuses on comparative diagnostics for the landing site of Romanian wh-phrases. Following work by Rudin (1988) and Richards (1997) who compile a cluster of distinct properties for languages in which wh-phrases target the CP domain (i.e., 'CP-absorption' languages) from those in which wh-phrases target the IP domain (i.e., 'IP-absorption' languages), we show that Romanian shares significant properties with IP-absorption languages. We therefore conclude there is also cross-linguistic evidence to support the claim that IP serves as the host for wh-movement in Romanian.

We suggest that the selectional interrogative FF merges onto the highest functional verbal head within the Romanian IP, engendering a syncretic Inflection. In chapter 5 we show that this property is shared by other selectional features in the language.

Chapter 5 addresses preverbal noun phrase movement, with special emphasis on movement for contrastive focus. Following work by Kiss (1995b, 1998), Rizzi (1995/97), and Zubizaretta (1998), we examine preverbal operator licensing and the forces behind movement into the left-periphery of the Romanian clause. We distinguish between presentational (rhematic) focus and contrastive focus in Romanian and explore the relationship between contrastive focus and other sentence-initial operators, such as quantifiers, wh-phrases, and topics. We investigate various syntactic properties typical of preverbal NPs and conclude that contrastively focused elements obey the same syntactic constraints as wh-phrases, polarity items and non-D-linked quantifiers. Our analysis is fine-grained to accomodate the semantics of preverbal operators in the language, and we claim that preverbal NP-movement whose semantics require resumptive clitics forms anaphoric chains, while preverbal movement without resumptive clitics forms quantificational chains.

We distinguish between preverbal feature-driven movement, which we suggests always targets Spec,IP, and preverbal non-feature driven movement, which never targets Spec,IP and which we take to represent an instance of adjunction to IP. We further propose that, in Romanian, the formal feature [+ focus] incorporates onto I° (more prescisely, on the highest verbal functional head present in I° in the respective derivation), similar to the [+ wh] FF. Specifically, the [+ focus] FF is analysed as a parasitic feature, which does not project its own Focus Phrase in Romanian, but engenders a syncretic I°. Furthermore, we claim that the [+ focus] FF is non-selectional on I°, but selectional on the lexical item. A selectional focus feature on the contrastive element will require checking in a strict locality relationship (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration) and trigger movement of the focused constituent into Spec,IP.

Among other things, the analysis adopted in chapter 5 differs from previous proposals in that it argues for uniform IP-related operator checking and a syncretic inflection which hosts non-verbal selectional FFs. Equally important is the novel analysis for contrastive focus as a representational property of phonosyntax. Specifically, we propose that the [+ focus] feature on

the contrastive element is a phonological feature (P-feature). The proposed analysis accounts for the optional presence of contrastively focused elements in the preverbal field without assuming optional movement, while at the same time highlighting the importance of obligatory prosodic marking on Romanian focused constituents.

Chapter 6 represents a critical summary of the dissertation with the scope of highlighting its major claims and consequences.

1.5 Major claims

In this section, we offer a summary of the major claims put forth in this dissertation; some comments and conclusions follow in chapter 6.

Let us first consider theoretical claims of a general nature. We suggest that formal features are of two kinds. (i) Non-selectional FFs, which are checked as an instance of the operation Agree (cf. Chomsky 1998), and for which identity (i.e., feature matching) and closest c-command are necessary and sufficient; in this case, feature-checking does not involve movement and is less local. (ii) Selectional FFs, which are checked as an instance of the operation Move (cf. Chomsky 1988), which presupposes Agree and second Merge; in this case, feature-checking obligatorily involves movement and is strictly local, in that it requires a Spec-Head *or* head-adjunction relationship. Whether FFs are selectional or non-selectional is an option parametrized across languages, with one exception. Following Chomsky (1998), we assume the EPP feature to be universally selectional. However, we recognize some cross-linguistic flexibility and propose that the strict locality configuration in which this selectional feature is checked is parametrized, depending on whether the respective language has a D-type or a V-type EPP FF. Specifically, the EPP FF on I° requires checking in a Spec-Head relationship in D-type EPP languages, and a head-adjunction relationship in V-type EPP languages.

Contrary to Minimalist assumptions, we show that not all instances of Spell-Out movement are feature driven. However, we assume all feature-driven movement to be overt and obligatory.

Consider next the claims made for Romanian. The empirical data shows Romanian to be a V-type EPP language; consequently, in this language, Spec,IP is not the canonical subject position, and, in fact, the language lacks a unique subject position. Structural Case is assigned in Merge positions and Romanian NPs need not move from their base-generated position for licensing purposes.

Formal features such as [+ wh] and [+ focus] are realized syncretically (i.e., parasitically) on I°, rather than on C° or on independent heads projecting their own structure, and XPs attracted for feature-checking will merge as Spec,IP. The operators in Spec,IP either create anaphoric or quantificational chains, depending on the presence or absence of resumptive clitics, respectively. Multiple wh-movement proceeds in a crossing-paths manner with unordered tucking-in under Spec,IP. While contrastive focus is realized as a formal feature on I°, it is realized as a phonological feature (P-feature) on the lexical item. More specifically, contrastively focused phrases in Romanian are not marked with a [+ focus] feature from within the lexicon, but marked later with a [+ focus] P-feature (hence the prosodic stress requirement which identifies a constituent as contrastively focused). Given that contrastive focus is a representational property of phonosyntax in Romanian, the focused phrase is optionally pronounced in Spec,IP or in its base-generated position.

Romanian allows for two types of scrambling, both of which are semantically restricted and both of which represent non-feature driven movement: vP-scrambling (i.e., de-focusing), which has A-movement properties, and IP-scrambling (i.e., topicalization), which has A-bar movement properties. While scrambling is not obligatory, it is nevertheless indicative of the presence of pragmatic domains in the Romanian clause structure.

Go, and catch a falling star,
    Get with child a mandrake root,
Tell me, where all past years are,
    Or who cleft the devil's foot,
Teach me to hear mermaids singing,
    Or to keep off envy's stinging,
        And find
        What wind
Serves to advance an honest mind.
        John Donne, *Song*

Chapter 2: V-Raising and NP-Licensing

2.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the reader to some basic aspects of Romanian syntax, discusses word order licensing, and sets out important theoretical assumptions which serve as working tools throughout this dissertation.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2.1 illustrates word order in the Romanian simple clause. In section 2.2, we investigate the build-up of the Romanian IP, with special reference to the position of the lexical verb and clitic material. We maintain earlier analyses which show that the lexical verb always raises to I° in Romanian (e.g., Cornilescu 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Motapanyane 1995, Ştefănescu 1997) and argue that this is due to a strong [+V] feature, which we reanalyse in section 2.3 as the EPP feature of Romanian. We further show that all elements comprising the Romanian IP are syntactic clitics (see also Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a), which we analyse as specifier-less heads. We suggest that some of these specifier-less heads project independently as XP, while others project together with verbal heads.

Starting with section 2.3, the rest of the chapter focuses on noun phrase licensing in Romanian. The central assumption is that Romanian NPs check Case in their initial merge positions, with no movement involved at any level of representation. We further investigate the nature of the EPP feature in Romanian. Given that the EPP feature is universally a selectional feature (cf. Chomsky 1998), it will require checking in a strict locality relationship, which we assume to be a Spec-Head or head-adjunction configuration, an option we suggest is parametrized across languages according to EPP type. We propose that the realization of the EPP feature is possible as a nominal feature (i.e., D-type EPP feature), as a verbal feature (i.e., V-type EPP feature), or as a combination thereof. We claim that Romanian has a V-type EPP feature, satisfied by verb raising and head-adjunction onto the inflectional domain. Sections 2.4 – 2.5 discuss structural and semantic restrictions in unaccusative and passive constructions in Romanian and reinforce the working assumptions set out in section 2.3.

We conclude that structural Case is not checked as a result of specific configurations, but as a consequence of the presence of specific functional categories in the clausal architecture. Furthermore, Romanian lacks a preverbal IP-related canonical subject position.

2.1 Remarks on word order in the Romanian clause

The Romanian declarative clause has relatively 'free word order', in the sense that it allows for all of the word order combinations exemplified in (1).

(1) a. VSO:

A	mîncat	Ion	plăcinta	cu	mere.
AUX.3SG	eaten	Ion	pie-the	with	apple

'Ion has eaten the apple pie.'

b. VOS:

A	mîncat	plăcinta	cu	mere	Ion.
AUX.3SG	eaten	pie-the	with	apple	Ion

'Ion has eaten the apple pie.'

c. SVO:

Ion	a	mîncat	plăcinta	cu	mere.
Ion	AUX.3SG	eaten	pie-the	with	apple

'Ion has eaten the apple pie.'

d. OVS:

[Plăcinta	cu	mere]$_i$	a	mîncat-o$_i$	Ion.
[pie-the	with	apple]	AUX.3SG	eaten-CL.3SG.ACC.F	Ion

'Ion has eaten the apple pie.'

e. SOV:

Ion	[PLĂCINTA CU MERE]$_i$	a	mîncat-o$_i$.
Ion	[pie-the with apple]	AUX.3SG	eaten-CL.3SG.ACC.F

'It is the apple pie that Ion has eaten (not something else).'

f. OSV:

[Plăcinta cu mere]$_i$	ION	a	mîncat-o$_i$.
[pie-the with apple]	Ion	AUX.3SG	eaten-CL.3SG.ACC.F

'It is Ion that has eaten the apple pie (not somebody else).'

Noun phrases which appear to the left of the verb (referred to as preverbal) are, however, constrained by interpretation. In (2), for example, the indefinite object is ungrammatical in the preverbal position, unless it is contrastively focused (which we mark by upper case letters). [1]

(2) a.

UN FILM	a	văzut	Victor.
a movie	AUX.3SG	seen	Victor

'It is a movie that Victor has seen (not something else or not more than one).'

---

[1] For an analysis of the Romanian preverbal field, see chapter 5.

b.	* Un film	a	văzut	Victor.
	a movie	AUX.3SG	seen	Victor
	'Victor saw a movie.			

Furthermore, irrespective of their syntactic function, preverbal NPs are constrained by a *specificity* requirement unless contrastively focused. Specific NPs include definite NPs or indefinite NPs with either a referential, a partitive, or a generic collective reading. We term these indefinites 'strong', following de Hoop (1995). Consider (3) for illustrations. [2]

(3) a. definite NP:

Prietena	mea	a	obținut	o bursă	în Franța. [3]
friend.F.-the	my	AUX.3SG	obtained	a fellowship	in France

'My friend got a fellowship in France.'

---

[2] The specificity requirement holds for both unergative and unaccusative preverbal subjects in Romanian, as illustrated in (ia) and (ib), respectively.

(i) a.	(*Cinci pisici)	au	mîncat	(cinci	pisici).
	(five cats)	AUX.3PL	eaten	(five	cats)
	'Five cats ate.'				
b.	(*Cinci pisici)	au	plecat	(cinci	pisici).
	(five cats)	AUX.3PL	left	(five	cats)
	'Five cats left.'				

SV would be licit in the above examples only if the subject NP could be understood partitively (i.e., as specific); in this case, there would be a set of known cats, out of which five are involved in the above predications. In other words, until and unless the NP is somehow topical/'anchored' in the discourse, it cannot appear preverbally (see also Casielles 1996 and Zubizarreta 1998, for Spanish). Another way of anchoring preverbal NPs is by using locative phrases (usually in descriptions). Notice in (ii) that in the absence of these locatives the NPs would be ungrammatical in preverbal position.

(ii) a.	Țigănci vînd	flori	*(pe	la	colțuri	de	stradă).
	gypsies sell.3PL.PR	flowers	on	at	corner	of	street
	'Gypsies sell flowers at street corners.'						
b.	Copii	bat	mingea	*(pe	stradă).		
	children	beat.3PL.PR	ball-the	on	street		
	'Children play ball on the street.'						

[3] In Romanian, definite marking on feminine nouns in the singular is achieved by vowel alternation from *-ă*, a stressed schwa, which marks the bare form, to *-a*, an open rounded back vowel, which marks the definite enclitic.

b. referential indefinite NP:

O	prietenă	de-a	mea	e	lingvistă.
a	friend.F	of-GEN.F	my	is	linguist.F.

'A friend of mine is a linguist.'

c. partitive indefinite NP:

Doi	peşti	sunt	negri	(, al	treilea	e	roşu).
two	fish	are	black	(, the	third	is	red)

'Two fish are black (the third is red).'

d. generic collective NP: [4]

Trei	peşti	sunt	mai	scumpi	decît	doi.
three	fish	are	more	expensive	than	two.

'Three fish are more expensive than two.'

We take the semantic restrictions operative in the Romanian preverbal field to be indicative of a topical domain.

Post-verbal noun phrases, on the other hand, are not semantically constrained, a point we return to in section 2.4.1. VS(O) sequences are unmarked and highly productive in Romanian and, in contrast to Italian and Spanish, in Romanian they are not restricted to tensed clauses. In Romanian, certain infinitival clauses permit a Nominative subject (i.e., clauses selected by an

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[4] De Hoop (1995) includes bare generics among strong NPs. However, preverbal generics in Romanian have to be marked for definiteness, since bare NPs cannot be interpreted as strong, a property shared with other Romance languages:

a. Cerbii au coarne.
stags-the have antlers

b. * Cerbi au coarne.
stags have antlers
'Stags have antlers.'

c. Balenele sunt mamifere.
whales-the are mammals.

d. * Balene sunt mamifere.
whales are mammals
'Whales are mammals.'

aspectual matrix verb, as well as subject and adjunct infinitival clauses). Whenever a Nominative subject is present in infinitival clauses, it can only surface post-verbally, as shown below:

(4)	a.	[(*Ea)	a-i		spune	(ea)	asta]	
		[(*she.NOM)	INF-CL.3SG.DAT		tell	(she.NOM)	this]	
		va	cere	mult	curaj.			
		FUT.3SG	ask	much	courage'			
		'It will take a lot of courage for her to tell him this.'						
	b.	Mihai	a	plecat	[înainte de	(*scrisoarea)	a	
		Mihai	AUX.3SG	left	[before of	(*letter-the.NOM)	INF	
		sosi	(scrisoarea)].					
		come	(letter-the.NOM)					
		'Mihai left before the letter came.'						

In our discussion of noun phrase movement we refer to positions that are pre- or post-verbal. The term 'verbal' needs clarification since, in Romanian, it is not confined solely to the verb. Rather, it covers the whole verbal complex, namely, the verb together with any type of clitic that incorporates into it. Romanian has a series of morphemes that syntactically cliticize onto the inflectional domain to which the lexical verb raises: subordinate particles (infinitive and subjunctive), negation, auxiliaries, unstressed pronouns, and adverbial intensifiers (or phrases thereof). [5] These elements share several important properties related to their special privileges of occurrence. For example, they cannot be separated from their syntactic host by a full phrase (see the examples in 5, in which the verbal complex is underlined), and they display a rigid ordering (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990a, 1994a).

[5] See section 2.2.2 for some clarifications.

(5) a. A (* Mihai) venit (Mihai) ieri.
AUX.3SG (* Mihai) come (Mihai) yesterday
'Mihai came yesterday.'

b Profesoara n-ar mai (* mereu) fi (mereu)
Teacher-the not-AUX.COND.3SG more always be always
aici dacă...
here if...
'The teacher wouldn't always be here any more if ...'

c. Să (* Mioara) nu citească Mioara scrisoarea!
SUBJ (* Mioara) not read.3SG Mioara letter-the
'Don't let Mioara read the letter!'

In main clauses, the fixed linear order varies with the presence of an auxiliary in the manner outlined in (6) and exemplified in (7): in the presence of an auxiliary, the feminine pronominal clitic appears immediately to the right of the lexical verb, being divorced from the pronominal cluster. [6]

(6) a. Neg - Pron. cluster - Adv (intensifier-type) - *fi*- V [7]
b. Neg - Pron. cluster - AUX - Adv (intensifier-type) - *fi* - V - Pron.3.SG.ACC.F

(7) a. Azi Victor nu i-ar mai fi
today Victor not CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.COND.3SG. more FI
dat-o.
given-CL.3SG.ACC.F
'Today, Victor wouldn't have given it to her.'

---

[6] The 'particle' status of the Romanian auxiliary has long been recognized by traditional grammars.

[7] *fi* 'be' is an uninflected perfective marker.

b. Nu le-o mai prea citesc
not CL.3PL.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC.F more very read.1SG.PR
zilele astea.
days-the these
'I don't usually read it to them these days.'

In subjunctives and infinitives, the respective modal particles precede the sequence in (6) as shown below.

(8) a. *să* (SUBJ.) - Neg - Pron. cluster - Adv (intensifier-type) *-fi-* V
b. *a* (INF.) - Neg - Pron. cluster - Adv (intensifier-type) - V

In section 2.2.2, we return to the elements that make up the Romanian verbal complex. For now, however, it suffices to say that the position of noun phrases with respect to the verb, refers to the entire verbal complex as described above.

To sum up, noun phrases in Romanian surface post-verbally in the default cases. The VS(O) derivation is the unmarked one in Romanian, and any derivation that departs from the basic VS(O) has to be accounted for. Preverbal noun phrases are widely used, but carry significant semantic contribution, to which we return in chapters 4 and 5.

2.2 Verb raising and the split IP hypothesis

The empirical data presented above have been analysed in a number of ways, the general consensus being that the lexical verb always raises out of the VP to a functional head in Romanian (Cornilescu 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Motapanyane 1995, Ştefănescu 1997, among others). Support for such an analysis is taken from the position of VP adverbs and floated quantifiers with respect to the lexical verb. The examples in (9a-c) are based on similar ones in Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a).

(9) a. [$_{IP}$ Elevii mei văd [$_{VP}$ des [$_{VP}$ t_s t_v filme bune]]].
students my see.3PL.PR often films good
'My students often see good movies.'

b. * [$_{IP}$ Elevii mei [$_{VP}$ des [$_{VP}$ t_s văd filme bune]]].
students my often see.3PL.PR films good
'My students often see good movies.'

c. [$_{IP}$ Elevii mei au scris [$_{VP}$ toți t_s t_v versuri]]].
students my AUX.3PL written all poetry
'My students have all written poetry.'

d. * [$_{IP}$ Elevii mei au [$_{VP}$ toți t_s scris versuri]]].
students my AUX.3PL all written poetry
'My students have all written poetry.'

On the assumption (cf. Emonds 1975, Pollock 1989) that certain adverbs (9a-b) and floated quantifiers (9c-d) are generated immediately in front of the VP, the Romanian data in (9) show obligatory raising of the lexical verb, irrespective of whether an auxiliary is present, as in (9c-d), or not, as in (9a-b). In the absence of verb raising (9b, 9d), the sentences are ungrammatical. Crosslinguistically, there seems to be considerable independent motivation for V° to I° raising (cf. Belletti 1990, Emonds 1978, Pollock 1989, Shlonski 1996, Suñer 1994 among many others), and we adopt previous analyses that assume the lexical verb raises to the Inflectional domain in Romanian without further comment.

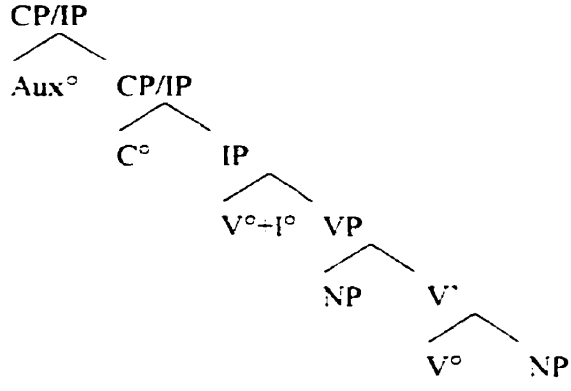
2.2.1 Brief overview of previous analyses

Several proposals have been made with respect to the landing site of the raised verb and the functional projections relevant to the build-up of the Romanian IP. Dobrovie-Sorin (1990a, 1994a), Rivero (1994), and Cornilescu (1997) argue for verb raising to the highest functional

node within the IP, irrespective of whether an auxiliary is present or not; for Dobrovie-Sorin and Rivero, this is the T/Agr head, for Cornilescu, it is the Mood head, argued to be available in both root and embedded sentences.

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a) suggests that Romanian does not present clear evidence in favour of the idea that AgrP and TenseP are two distinct maximal projections and argues that AGR may be viewed as an affix that is nominal in nature on a par with pronominal clitics. Therefore, AGR is taken to adjoin to Tense and verb raising takes place to the T/Agr head (i.e., Infl). Since the author argues that the Romanian auxiliary is base-generated fully inflected cliticized to CP/IP, auxiliaries do not interfere with verb raising. The Romanian IP for Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a:17) is as in (10), with lexical verb movement to the lower IP in the auxiliary biclausal structure.

(10)



Cornilescu (1997) argues that there is both morphological and syntactic evidence for a split IP in Romanian that accomodates at least the verbal categories of Mood, Tense, and Aspect, hierarchically ordered as in (11). The author suggests an analysis in which the finite verb raises and adjoins overtly to M° in all types of Romanian clauses.

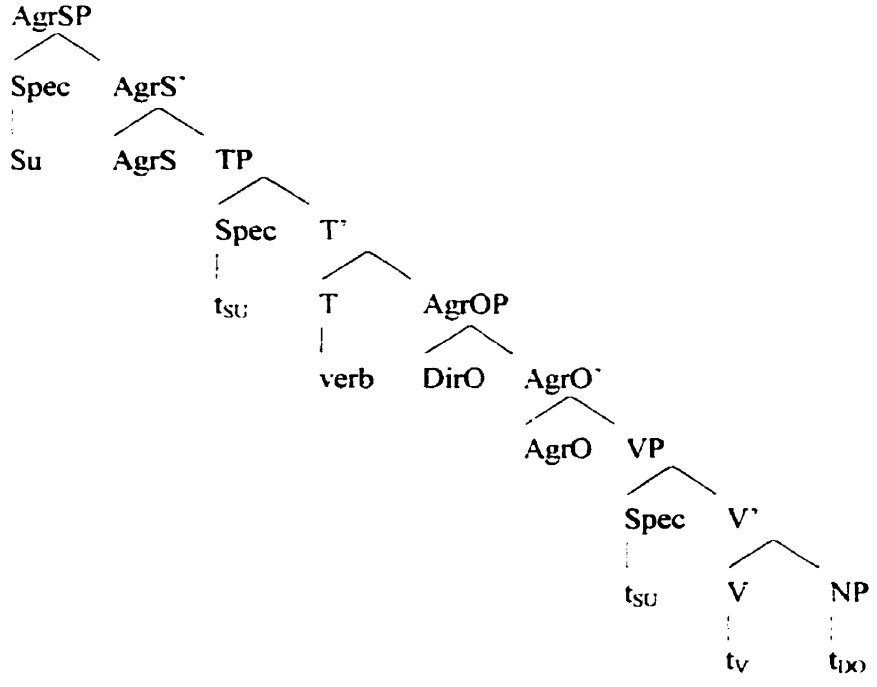
(11) MoodP > AgrSP > TenseP > AspP

Motapanyane (1995) and Ştefănescu (1997), on the other hand, argue that a distinction should be kept between structures involving an auxiliary and simple structures. In simple

structures, the finite verb is assumed by both authors to raise to the highest functional head. This is the AgrS head in Motapanyane's analysis and the Person head in Ştefănescu's. We consider each analysis in turn.

In complex structures, Motapanyane analyses the auxiliary to be base-generated under Tense and to move to AgrS to check its agreement features; the lexical verb then raises only as high as the Tense head and left-adjoins to the auxiliary trace. The adjacency requirement between the auxiliary and the lexical verb is captured in Motapanyane by positing that subjects can never surface in Spec,TP, a constraint attributed to the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). [8] Motapanyane's exploded IP is reminiscent of Pollock (1989) with AgrS being the highest functional head in the Romanian declarative clausal architecture, as shown in (12). [9]

(12)

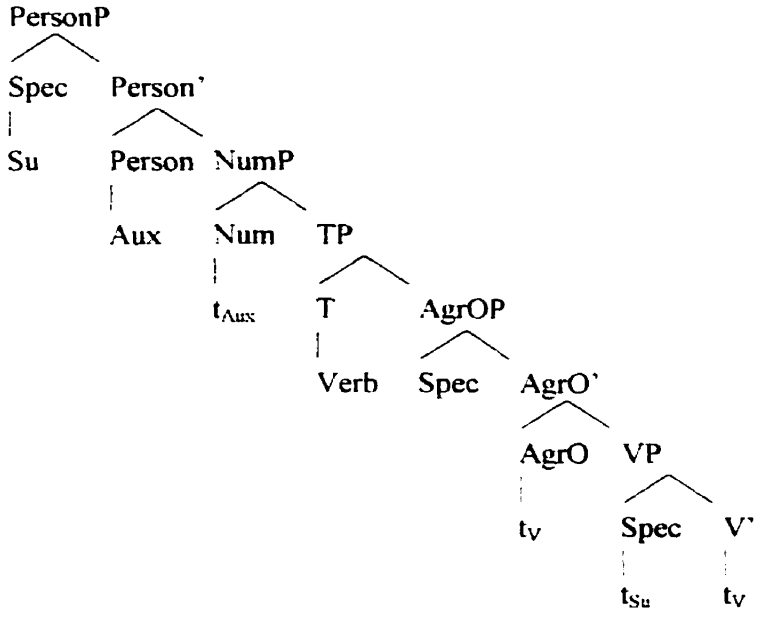


[8] Motapanyane's (1995) analysis for Romanian mirrors Belletti's (1990) analysis for Italian, in assuming that the EPP feature is present on AgrS and that subject NPs will be attracted into Spec,AgrS.

[9] Motapanyane (1995) argues that the existence of Mood as a syntactic head is limited to subjunctive and non-finite clauses.

Ştefănescu (1997) further splits the AgrSP into a Number Phrase and a Person Phrase, for which the author argues there is both dialectal and diachronic evidence. In this analysis, the auxiliary is base-generated in the Number head and overtly moved to the Person head by head-to-head-movement. The lexical verb will only raise as far as the Number head where it left-adjoins to the trace of the auxiliary. To capture the obligatory auxiliary - verb adjacency, the author retains Dobrovie-Sorin's (1994a) suggestion that not all functional heads have Specifiers and adopts the necessary assumption that the NumberP does not project a Specifier position. The declarative IP is then split as in (13). [10]

(13)



[10] Ştefănescu (1997) argues there is good reason to believe that AgrOP is also split into a Person phrase and a Number phrase in Romanian but does not use a 'split' notation; for details and a more extensive discussion we refer the reader to Ştefănescu (1997).

2.2.2 The verbal complex revisited

We concluded section 2.2 by adopting V° to I° raising in Romanian, which we exemplified with main clause contexts. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that the lexical verb raises into the functional domain even in non-finite contexts; consider the infinitival examples in (14).

(14)	a.	[$_{IP}$ A	rosti	[$_{VP}$ adesea	t_V	asemenea	cuvinte]],	e	dureros.
		INF	utter	often		such	words,	is	painful
		'It is painful to often utter such words.'							
	b.	*[$_{IP}$ A	[$_{VP}$ adesea	rosti		asemenea	cuvinte]],	e	dureros.
		INF	often	utter		such	words,	is	painful
		'It is painful to often utter such words.'							

In the topicalized infinitival subject clause in (14), the VP-adjoined adverb *adesea* 'often' cannot surface preverbally, which we take to indicate verb raising to the inflectional domain. The challenge then is to decide what the lexical verb targets within the Romanian IP. In order to do so, we first need to address the status of the elements that are part of the Romanian verbal complex.

In section 2.1, we showed that the elements under consideration require a syntactic host (i.e., a domain of cliticization), so they lack the freedom of and cannot be viewed as 'words'. The question is whether these morphemes should then be treated as affixes or clitics. In this section, we investigate some of the properties of the morphemes contained within the Romanian IP and conclude that they are all clitics. A distinction needs to be made between 'syntactic' and 'phonological' clitics. Besides certain positional restrictions, phonolological clitics usually manifest a restricted form from their uncliticized counterparts and can trigger/undergo phonological irregular allomorphy (cf. Spencer 1991). Syntactic clitics are primarily characterized by the requirement that they attach to a specific syntactic host (i.e., by a 'domain of

cliticization'). The Romanian clitics under discussion are all *syntactic* clitics. [11] We distinguish three types of 'affixal'-like elements in Romanian: (i) affixes, which we assume are not syntactically represented, (ii) clitic heads (labelled 'clitic_1') which do not project functional phrases, but adjoin to other heads, and (iii) clitic heads (labelled 'clitic_2') which project their own functional phrases. Affixes are 'lexical morphemes' and are base-generated within a substantive category (i.e. have a lexical host). Syntactic clitics (of both type (ii) and (iii)) are 'functional morphemes' and are base-generated within a functional (non-substantive) domain.

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a) was the first to argue that subordinate particles, negation, auxiliaries, unstressed pronouns, and adverbial intensifiers are all morphemes which should be viewed as clitics, rather than affixes. Affixes usually display fixed positions and cannot be moved around; on the other hand, most of the free morphemes that enter into the build-up of the Romanian verbal complex in IP display a certain degree of flexibility which points toward the preference for a clitic treatment. The pronominals, while usually preceding the lexical verb (see (15a)), are postverbal in imperatives (on a par with other Romance languages), see (15b). [12]

(15)	a.	Victor	mi-o	aduce	mîine.
		Victor	CL.1SG.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC.F	bring.3SG.PR	tomorrow
		'Victor is bringing it to me tomorrow.'			

---

[11] In certain contexts, some Romanian syntactic clitics may also undergo phonological cliticization. For example, in (i), the pronominal is a syntactic clitic, while in (ii) it is both a syntactic and a phonological clitic.

(i)	Nu	îl	cunosc.
	not	CL.3SG.ACC.M	know.1SG.PR
(ii)	Nu-l	cunosc.	
	not- CL.3SG.ACC.M	know.1SG.PR	
	'I don't know him.'		

For a detailed discussion of the Romanian clitic system, we refer the reader to Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a).

[12] An additional argument in favour of their clitic, as opposed to affixal nature is the fact that they play a role in operator variable chains discussed in chapters 4-5. This would be difficult to reconcile under an 'agreement marker' treatment.

b. Adu-mi-o mîine!
bring.IMP-CL.1SG.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC.F tomorrow
'Bring it to me tomorrow.'

Auxiliary morphemes are also best analysed as clitics. Originally productive in post-lexical verb positions (where they incorporated on the verb), they precede the lexical verb in standard contemporary Romanian, possibly due to loss of verb movement to a higher position (as suggested by Jila Ghomeshi), or due to loss of first position prohibitions for clitics (restriction known in Romance philology as the 'Tobler-Mussafia law'); consider the examples below:

(16) a. Plecat-am nouă la Vaslui... (19th century poem)
left-AUX.1PL nine at Vaslui...
'Nine of us left for Vaslui...'

b. Abia venit-ai şi vrei de mîncare! (dialectal)
hardly come- AUX.2SGand want.2SG of food
'You hardly came in and you want to eat!'

c. A reuşit Victor la examen. (standard)
AUX.3SG succeeded Victor at exam
'Victor passed the exam.'

d. *Reuşit-a Victor la examen. (standard)
succeeded-AUX.3SG Victor at exam
'Victor passed the exam.'

The above examples suggest that, at least insofar as standard contemporary Romanian is concerned, auxiliaries have a 'looser' status than that manifested by affixes. However, they cannot be viewed as full-fledged words, in view of their verb-dependency and failure to block verb raising above them. In certain contexts (mostly idiomatic), Romanian allows for a specific construction in which the lexical verb 'skips' the auxiliary, as exemplified in (17).

(17) a. Mînca-l-ar mama!
eat-CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.COND.3SG mother-the
(affectionate idiom translated along the lines of, '(He's so sweet) his mum could almost eat him.')

b. Lua-te-ar dracul!
take-CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.COND.3SG devil-the
'Go to Hell!'

Examples like the ones in (17) have specific interpretations and have been analysed as involving verb raising above the Inflectional domain (cf. Rivero 1994, 1997). Rivero argues that in languages with weak/'functional' (as opposed to 'lexical') auxiliaries, the lexical verb can raise directly to C° (Comp, above IP), resulting in a structure known as Long Head Movement (LHM). It is unclear whether in examples such as (17) the verb raises to C° or lower, to a Mood head (M°). The availability of LHM structures in Romanian (obligatory in true imperatives), however, is uncontroversial and further supports the weak/clitic nature of the auxiliary.

The negative morpheme *nu* 'not', while requiring a syntactic host (i.e., it has a 'domain of cliticization', cf. Spencer 1991), does not attract verb incorporation (i.e., it never relies phonologically or morphologically on the verb), and consequently cannot be treated as an affix. This morpheme, however, does have an affixal counterpart, namely 'ne-', which occurs in Romanian non-finite and deverbal adjective structures. This distinction between negation as a head and negation as an affix is illustrated in (18).

(18) a. Nu le-o mai citesc.
NEG.head CL.3PL.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC.F ADV read.3SG.PR
'I don't read it to them anymore.'

b. Nemaicitindu-le-o,...
NEG.affix.ADV.read.GER.-CL.3PL.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC.F
'Not reading it anymore to them,...'

Depending on the theoretical approach adopted, the negative affix *ne-* in (18b), can be taken to display a morphologically subcategorized position to which a given root element must raise (in this case, the V + adverb complex), in order to saturate the affix. This negated verb complex would then raise to the position hosting the gerundive affix *-ind*, itself unsaturated. Alternatively, in minimalist terms, the entire gerundive form, *nemaicitind* 'not reading anymore' is analysed as inserted fully inflected from within the lexicon. Since at Spell-Out, it precedes pronominal clitics, the inflected verb will have raised to check its morpho-syntactic gerundive feature in C° (or M°). Though we adopt this latter perspective, the essence of our story is not theory dependent. As a sentence negator, we assume the free negative morpheme *nu* 'not' to be a syntactic clitic whose domain of cliticization is IP.

Insofar as subordinate particles are concerned, namely subjunctive *să* and infinitive *a*, we assume they cannot be viewed as affixes since they appear to the left of clitic material. However, we have seen that pronominal and auxiliary clitics do not block verb raising to their left, while the subjunctive particle *să* has been argued (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a) to block head-movement in examples such as (19) below (i.e., the verb cannot raise to Comp because of the intervening head, *să*).

(19)	a.	Să	se	întîmple	ce	s-o	întîmpla!
		SUBJ	SE	happen	what	SE-CL.3SG.ACC.F	happen [13]
		'May whatever happen, happen!'					
	b.	* Să		întîmplă-se	ce	s-o	întîmpla!
		* SUBJ		happen-SE	what	SE-CL.3SG.ACC.F	happen
		'May whatever happen, happen!'					

[13] *se* 'SE' is a pronominal clitic used in middles, passives, and some impersonal structures. It is a homonym of the reflexive in Romance but should be kept distinct from the latter (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994b).

c.	*Întîmplă-se	să	ce	s-o	întîmpla!
	happen-SE	SUBJ	what	SE-CL.3SG.ACC.F	happen
	'May whatever happen, happen!'				

d.	Întîmplă-se	ce	s-o	întîmpla!
	happen-SE	what	SE-CL.3SG.ACC.F	happen
	'May whatever happen, happen!'			

(19a) is a grammatical 'surrogate' imperative sentence (i.e., an imperative realized with the subjunctive, rather than with imperative morphology), in which the pronominal clitic *se* is situated above the lexical verb. In (19b-d), the lexical verb has raised above this pronominal clitic. In this case, the only grammatical imperative sentence is (19d), in which there is no subjunctive *să* morpheme.

Notice that examples such as (19) only show that *să* is in complementary distribution with lexical verb raising in imperative sentences. This need not imply that *să* blocks head movement, as suggested by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a). Under whatever theory of cliticization we adopt, it would be undesirable to have certain clitics block head movement while others fail to do so. We suggest that *să* does not, in fact, block head movement. Rather, the presence or absence of *să* in sentences like (19) is directly dependent on their imperative status. We assume that in imperatives, a null imperative operator will have to check its feature against a head marked for [+ imperative]. We further assume that the inflectional head hosting the [+ imperative] feature is the M(ood) head, which also serves as a host for the subjunctive particle *să*. Since the operator is null, the [+ imperative] feature will require a lexical host for retrieval at PF (phonological interface). This lexical host is either *să* or the raised verb, as illustrated in (20). [14]

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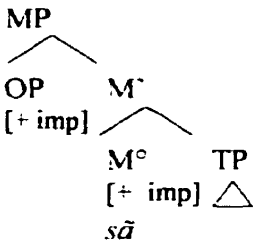
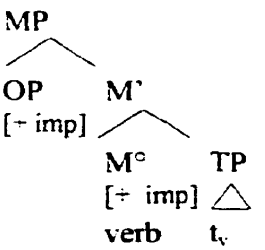
[14] Notice that this complementarity of distribution is unavailable in interrogatives:

(i)	a.	Cine	să	vină?
		Who	SUBJ	come.3SG.
	b.	*Vină		cine?
		come.3SG.PR		who
		'Who should come?'		

(20) a.



b.



Adverbial intensifiers pose independent problems. Morphemes of the *mai* 'more' type are carried along by the verb across pronominal clitics, as in (18b) or (21) below.

(21) Mai lasă-mă în pace!
More let.2SG-CL.1SG.ACC in peace
'Let me be for once!'

It would be tempting to analyse them as affixes, or base-generated directly onto the verb (cf. Rivero 1994), but complications arise. Example (22), with the adverbial preceding the clitic pronoun, while colloquial cannot be viewed as ungrammatical, which suggests a certain clitic-like flexibility.

(22) # Mai mă lasă în pace!
More CL.1SG.ACC let. 2SG in peace
'Let me be for once!'

This suggests that the lexical verb does not raise to M° in Romanian interrogatives. We return to this discussion in chapter 4.

Moreover, while *mai* 'more' is usually well-behaved and respects the word order arrangement in (6), following pronominal clitics and preceding the uninflected perfective marker *fi* 'be', see (23a), other adverbial intensifiers sometimes show unexpected word order idiosyncrasies. For example, in (23b), *tot* 'still' follows the perfective marker, while in (23c) it precedes the clitic auxiliary. In (23d), certain adverbial intensifiers precede pronominal clitics, while *mai* 'more' occupies its usual position.

(23) a.

Ar	mai	fi	(*mai)	citit.
AUX.COND.3	more	FI	(*more)	read

'He would have read some more.'

b.

Ar	(*tot)	fi	tot	citit.
AUX.COND.3	(*still)	FI	still	read

'He would have still read (continuation refers to reading).'

c.

Tot	ar	fi	citit.
still	AUX.COND.3	FI	read

'He would still have read (continuation refers to modality).'

d.

Prea	tot	l-ar	mai	fi	pupat.
much	still	CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.COND.3	more	FI	kissed

'The fact that she kept on wanting to kiss him was a bit exaggerated.'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a) analyses short adverbs as clitics base-generated adjoined to Infl, between the auxiliary and the verb, while Motapanyane (1995) assumes adverbial intensifiers to be clitics occupying specifier positions of functional heads hosting the verb. However, if Spec.T(ense)P can be occupied by adverbial intensifiers, it is unclear why this position would not be available to Romanian subjects. As we have seen in section 2.1, this option is unacceptable since noun phrases cannot interfere with the morphemes that make up the verbal complex. In addition, it would be hard to formalize further movement of the adverb + verb complex (a problem also apparent in Dobrovie-Sorin), required in examples such as (21). XPs (i.e., the TP

formed by the verb in T° and the short adverb in Spec, TP) cannot move into head positions (i.e., C° or M°). Neither of these analyses can fully account for the word order idiosyncrasies of adverbial intensifiers in Romanian. What we suggest, in view of the examples in (23), is that adverbial intensifiers are clitics that adjoin directly to the verbal head they modify. While certain adverbials can only modify aspectual heads (i.e., *mai* 'more'), in view of their semantics, others can modify higher functional heads (23d). [15] It will become apparent when we define clitics below why adverbial intensifiers participate in verb movement and cannot be skipped, on a par with pronominal or auxiliary clitics.

The examples in (23) indirectly introduce the issue of *fi* 'be' (perfective). This aspectual marker appears in complementary distribution with the present perfect auxiliary and is invariable. [16] It has been analysed as being part of a discontinuous morpheme together with the past participle inflection (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a), and as base-generated as a complement to T° (Motapanyane 1995). Although an affixal analysis is extremely tempting, examples such as (23b) in which a short adverb can intervene between *fi* and the past participle suggest a clitic status.

We conclude that there is sufficient reason to adopt a clitic analysis of the morphemes that enter into the build-up of the Romanian verbal complex. For all of these clitics, the domain of cliticization is the IP to which the lexical verb always raises. [17]

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[15] The difference in short adverb positioning in (23) resembles scope issues. When short adverbials scope over the whole verbal complex they may appear higher up in the clitic complex, when they scope exclusively over V, they are positioned lower.

[16] For a detailed description see Dobrovie-Sorin (1990a, 1994a).

[17] It is generally assumed (Belletti 1982, 1990, Koopman 1984, Kayne 1991, and so on) that verbs that fail move to Infl cannot serve as hosts for clitics, a constraint which is also operative in Romanian. The examples in (i) show that the lexical verb in-situ is an insufficient host for the Romanian clitics:

(i)	a.	*Pot	[$_{VP}$ îl	mai	vedea].
		can.1SG.PR	[$_{VP}$ CL.3SG.ACC.M	more	see]
	b.	Îl	mai	pot	[$_{VP}$ vedea].
		CL.3SG.ACC.M	more	can.1SG.PR	[$_{VP}$ see]
		'I can still see him.'			

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a: 47) defines syntactic clitics as "X° elements that do not project a maximal category" and are "generated in adjunction positions to Infl or any Infl" projection that presents no (Spec, I")". This additional stipulation is necessary because some clitics are taken to adjoin directly to Infl (for example, short adverbs), while other are taken to adjoin to IP (for example, pronominal clitics). While considered X° (zero-level) elements, according to Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a), clitics cannot be viewed as occupying head positions since, by definition, they do not project maximal categories. What the author is trying to capture, is the fact that, clitics do not have specifiers and that some of them are carried along in verb raising, while others can be skipped.

Minimalist theory permits us to refine these concepts in a manner which brings them into line with more general rules of phrase structure and rids them of the unnecessary complications posed by phrasal adjunction. Under minimalism (Chomsky 1995, 1998), specifier positions are not automatically present with the merging of a new head and are, in fact, absent, unless created by additional requirements (see section 2.3.2). [18] Maximal categories, on the other hand, are obligatory. Consequently, X° categories which do not project specifiers will nevertheless be maximal, meaning that they will be an XP and an X° simultaneously. Let us define X° categories. According to Chomsky (1995:9), they are zero-level categories which can either be a head, or a category formed by adjunction to a head X, which projects. For example, the zero-level projection of the T head (i.e., T°), has V and perhaps more adjoined to it. Syntactic clitics can then be viewed as heads (understood as terminal elements) without a specifier. We suggest a

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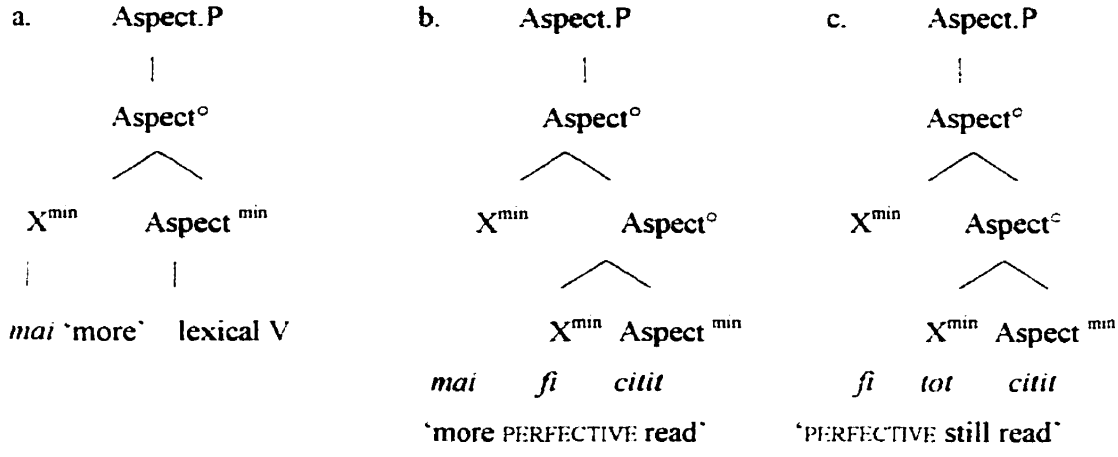
In (i), the modal verb *a putea* 'can' selects a bare infinitive (i.e., a bare VP) and none of the clitics can surface on the lower verb since syntactic clitics in Romanian need to be associated with the IP.

[18] In the Minimalist theory, specifiers are projected/created whenever zero-level categories have uninterpretable features that:
(i) need to be checked prior to Spell-Out;
(ii) can only be checked as a result of Move XP (i.e., Agree + Merge XP).
The above conditions entail raising of XPs into a specifier relationship to the head whose features match that of the raised XP.

distinction between adverbial intensifiers and the perfective marker *fi* 'be', as opposed to the rest of the Romanian syntactic clitics (i.e., subordinate particles, the free negative morpheme, pronominal clitics and auxiliaries).

We take adverbial intensifiers and the perfective marker *fi* 'be' to be terminal elements of the category X^{min} which adjoin to functional verbal heads and form X° which projects, as in (24). We label these types of clitics as 'clitic$_1$'. Clitic$_1$ never projects its own XP. [19]

(24)



Essentially, adverbial intensifiers may adjoin to a verbal head within IP (usually Aspect, in view of their semantics) but do not, themselves, project. The perfective marker *fi* 'be' also adjoins to the Aspect head without independently projecting. In order for Aspect° to be projected, the lexical verb needs to raise out of the VP and head-adjoin onto the Aspect terminal element. The structure in (24) can account for why adverbial intensifiers have an affixal flavour, in that they are carried along in verb raising structures (and not skipped on a par with pronominal clitics and auxiliaries). Since the resulting structure is an X° element, it will move as such.

---

[19] Remember that we have established these morphemes are clitics (in view of their flexibility), so they cannot be inserted on the verb, but have to be base-generated in positions that are within the Inflectional domain. Essentially, we assume that clitic adverbs adjoin to heads, in a manner that mirrors XP-adjunction of adverbs that are XPs. See also Travis (1988) for a proposal in which adverbs may be adjoined to functional heads.

Apart from adverbial intensifiers and perferctive *fi* 'be', Romanian syntactic clitics are heads of the X° category. We label these clitics as 'clitic$_2$'. We assume clitic$_2$ always forms maximal categories (XPs). These maximal categories lack specifiers, as exemplified in (25). [20]

(25) a. Mood.P
|
Mood °
|
a (INF), *să* (SUBJ)

b. Neg.P
|
Neg°
|
nu 'not'

c. Agr.P
|
Agr°
|
am 'AUX.1SG'

This analysis correctly captures Chomsky's (1995) definition of clitics as both X° and XP elements. Moreover, it explains why pronominal and auxiliary clitics are not carried along by the verb: they are not part of the same zero-level category. However, there remains the more general problem of head movement. The Head Movement Constraint (cf. Chomsky 1986, Travis 1984) should guarantee the locality of head movement and disallow 'skipping' of heads (empty or filled) as in LHM constructions. More on this in the next section.

In this section, we have clarified the status of the free morphemes entering the build up of the Romanian IP. In the next section, we show the whole structure of IP and discuss lexical verb movement.

2.2.3 Verb raising: a minimalist account

At the beginning of the previous section, we assumed lexical verb raising to the inflectional domain in Romanian and embarked upon a discussion referring to the status of the morphemes that pertain to the verbal complex. We concluded they are best analysed as clitics (as

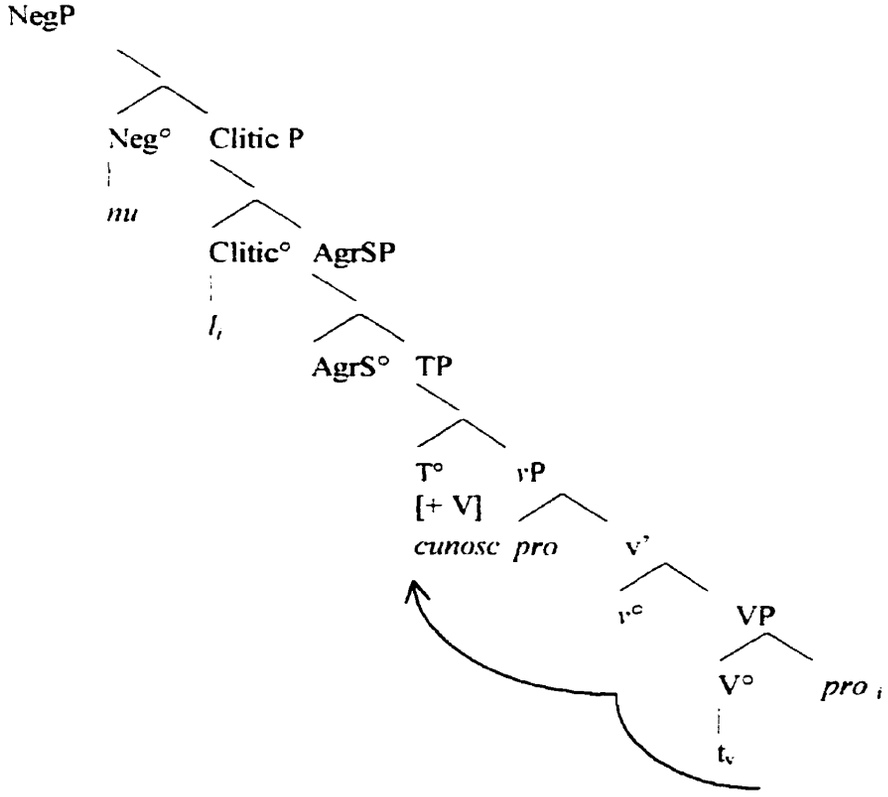
[20] The issue of specifiers is rediscussed in subsequent chapters. While these XPs never project specifiers as a result of their intrinsic requirements, the highest functional head within IP can license specifiers in specific circumstances. These circumstances involve the presence of additional formal features, such as [+ wh] and [+ focus], incorporated onto the highest functional head and necessitating checking in a specifier-head relationship.

opposed to affixes) and defined them as heads which project maximal categories without specifiers (with the exception of adverbial intensifiers and perfective *fi* 'be' which do not project, but adjoin to other verbal heads). In this section, we discuss verb raising in connection to the clitic structure assumed above, as well as the need for a split IP (or lack thereof).

We retain previous observations (see section 2.2.1.) that there is evidence for a split IP in Romanian. As a result of our discussion on clitics, we take IP to consist of various combinations of the following maximal phrases: MoodP > NegP > CliticP* > AgrSP > TP > AspectP (see also chapter 1, section 1.3). For example, for the negated simple structure (without an auxiliary) in (26), we assume the syntactic tree in (27).

(26) Nu-l cunosc.
not-CL.3SG.ACC.M know.1SG
'I don't know him.'

(27)

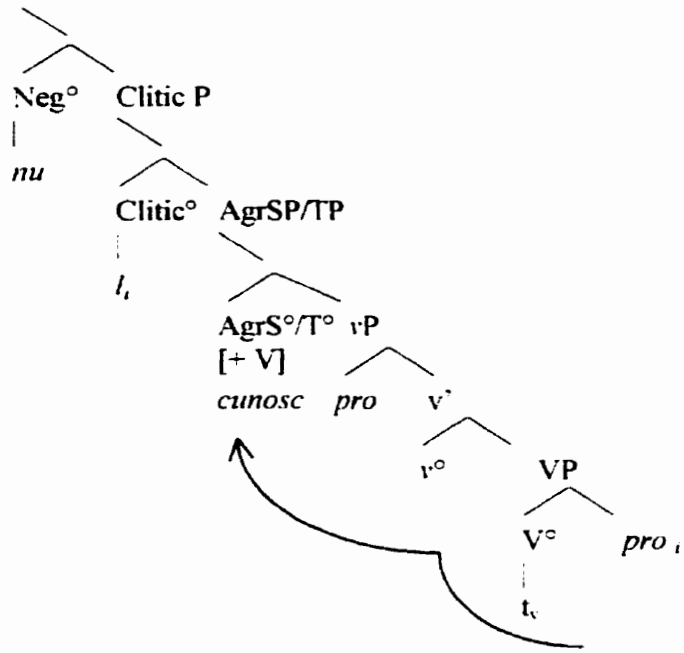


Romanian is a null-subject language (i.e., a language in which the subject need not appear) and a *pro* (small 'pro') is assumed in the canonical subject position (for details see section 2.3.2). Pronominal clitics are coindexed with *pro*s in object position (a relationship we return to in subsequent chapters). Let us now concentrate on the verb. In minimalism, transitive verbs involve a 'light verb' (*v*P) shell. Cross-linguistically, the null light verb is assumed to be affixal in nature, so the lexical verb raises and adjoins to it. In Romanian, T° has strong verbal features ([+ V]) and attracts the X° head which contains the lexical verb (in this case, the [V° + *v*°] complex). Lexical verbs in simple structures are inflected for subject agreement. Consequently, an AgrS° head is projected in the derivation as the head in which subject agreement (phi-) features are checked. The question, however, is whether in (27) we need to postulate further verb movement to AgrS°, or whether the phi-features can be checked via some sort of feature percolation mechanism once the verb has raised to T°. We suggest that no further verb movement is involved. AgrS° and T° are adjacent heads, both verbal, both nonsubstantive (i.e., functional), with matching features and no intervening specifier. Both Agr° and T° are L-related to the verb (cf. Chomsky and Lasnik 1993), and the phi-features of Agr° are shared by the lexical verb in T°. In effect, the two heads become undistinguishable and vacuous movement is as unnecessary as it is undesirable (since under Minimalism movement should be in principle avoided). [21] The lexical verb (now the [V° + *v*°] complex) will only raise as far as the first I° head, in this case, the Tense head. This idea of

[21] Our intuitions have been previously captured by Dobrovie-Sorin's (1994a) hypothesis that Agr and T form a merged projection of the T/Agr type in Romanian. In a more general context, 'matching' or 'merging' of functional categories has been proposed by Culicover (1999), Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), and Haider (1988). Crucial to all of these analyses is the absence of specifier requirement between two merged/matched functional projections and feature sharing. Alternatively, we can argue along the lines of Chomsky (1995) who suggests that strong features can be also checked by *attraction*, rather than movement. Attraction is a strictly local operation whereby a head can only check the feature of the head or specifier of its complement. Chomsky (1995) introduces attraction to account for English interrogative sentences with an interrogative subject, in which there is no evidence for subject wh-movement from Spec,IP to Spec,CP. Chomsky's checking via attraction has been further expanded by Bobaljik (1995), who assumes that all local relations, including the head complement relation, are potential checking relations.

collapsing heads is illustrated in (28) below, which we assume to be the correct representation for (26).

(28)



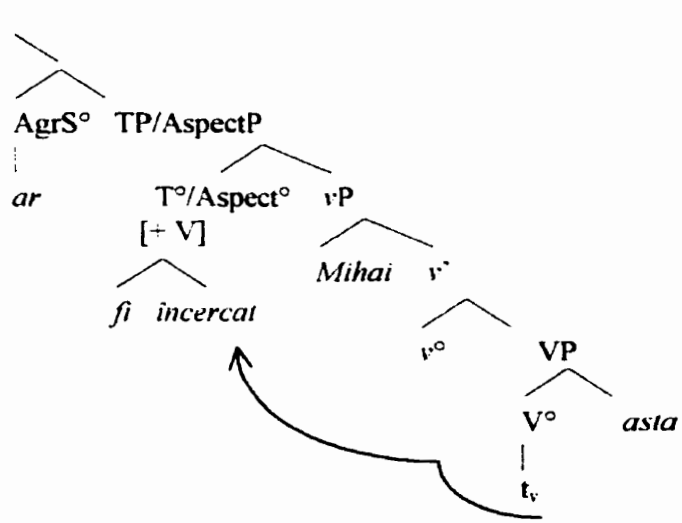
Consider next the complex structure in (29a) and its representation in (29b).

(29) a.

Ar	fi	încercat	Mihai	asta,	dar…..
AUX.COND.3SG	FI	tried.PT	Mihai	this,	but…

'Mihai would have tried this, but…'

b.



The lexical verb (i.e., the past participle) raises and adjoins to the light verb and further to the perfective morpheme *fi* 'be', base-generated under Aspect. T° in Romanian has strong verbal features which need to be checked for the derivation to converge. However, the verb has already raised within IP, namely as far as Aspect (merged in the derivation as a result of *fi*) and we assume there is no need for further verb raising to T° for checking of the strong verbal feature to occur. Lack of a specifier position between TP and AspectP in effect collapses the two verbal heads, as previously discused for AgrS° and T°. [22]

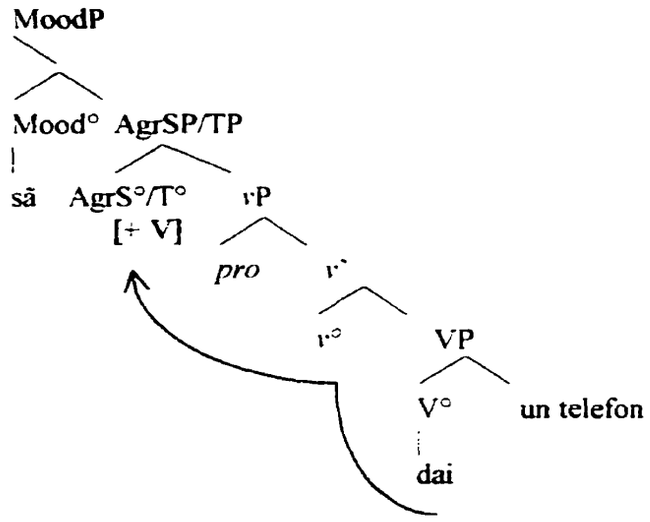
Notice that we do not assume a uniform clause structure (cf. also Grimshaw 1991, Wurmbrand 1998). Rather, we suggest that the build-up of the Romanian IP can vary depending on clause type, so that only the functional categories for which there is empirical evidence are present. This is consistent with the fact that grammatical structure should be kept to a minimum, which follows from the more general condition of economy. [23] A further example is the subjunctive sentence in (30a), represented in (30b), in which the IP splits into Mood, Agreement, and Tense.

(30)	a.	Să	dai	un telefon.
		SUBJ	give2SG	a phone
		'Make a phone call.'		

[22] In structures without an Aspect phrase, the [V° + *v*°] complex will raise as far as T°, since the strong [+ V] feature cannot remain unchecked.

[23] See also Rizzi's (1995/97) 'Avoid structure' principle.

b.



In (28)-(30), the raised lexical verb does not move above the Tense head. In simple structures, AgrS° is not distinguished from T°, while in complex structures, AgrS° is occupied by the auxiliary inflected for agreement. In structures where there is evidence for an Aspectual head, as in (29), the lexical verb will be able to check the strong verbal features on T° directly from the Aspect head. Our analysis, in effect, has a 'shortest move' flavour, which is in keeping with minimalist assumptions introduced in Chomsky (1993) and subsequent work.

Our next observation refers to the nature of the Romanian split IP. [24] The Romanian IP does not allow for intermediary specifier positions, since it is made up entirely of the clitic system discussed in the previous section. Absence of specifier positions entails absence of noun phrases within IP. Consequently, noun phrase movement will never target positions within the IP. For the purposes of noun phrase movement then, we can reduce the verbal heads within the Inflectional domain to a single one, namely I°. [25, 26]

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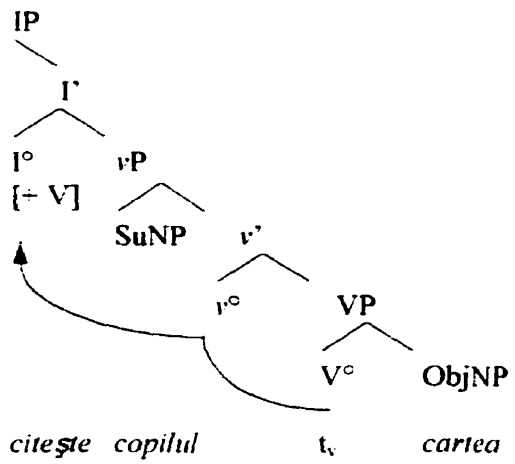
[24] See Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a) for a discussion on the difference between IP in Romanian as opposed to the other Romance languages.

[25] Such an account is also supported by the fact that the entire verbal complex (i.e., verb + clitics) behaves like a single morphological unit. To exemplify, we use an ellipsis test, following Rivero (1997), to determine what counts as a morphological complex. In Romanian, deletion in coordinate structures can only apply to the verbal complex as a whole, and never to parts of it.

Given that I° always consists of T° which hosts a strong [+ V] feature, we can say that I° has a strong [+ V] feature which will always attract lexical verb raising. A sentence such as (31a) will be syntactically represented as in (31b).

(31) a. Citeşte copilul cartea.
read.3SG.PR child-the book-the
'The child is reading the book.'

b.



Let us now return to Long Head Movement (LHM) structures. Romanian shares with the Balkan languages and earlier stages of some Romance languages the property of non-finite verb raising (i.e., participial and infinitival forms) to a position across the inflected auxiliary. This type of movement, defined as Long Head Movement (LHM) by Rivero (1989, et seq.), has been the focus of discussion of several authors (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Lema and Rivero 1991,

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(i)a. M-a văzut citind şi m-a auzit cîntînd.
CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG seen reading and CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG heard singing
b. M-a văzut citind şi *(m-a) auzit cîntînd.
CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG seen reading and *(CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG) heard singing
'He saw me reading and he heard me singing.'

[26] Recall that we do not follow Chomsky (1995, 1998) in using T° as the umbrella term for Inflection, but prefer I° (see chapter 1, section 1.3). There will be several instances when reference will be made to the split IP. In particular, when we discuss LHM structures, feature syncretism, object *pro* licensing, among others.

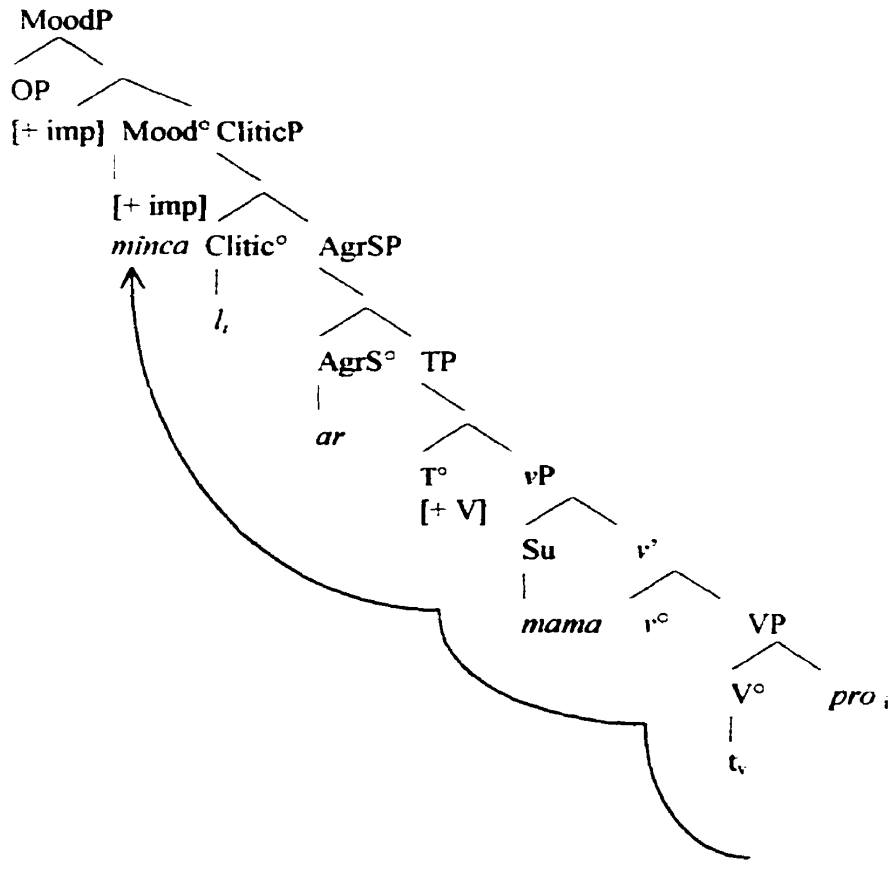
Motapanyane 1995, Ştefănescu 1997, among others) and, especially, Rivero (1989, 1994, 1997). The empirical facts introduced in (17) are repeated here as (32).

(32) a. Mînca-l-ar mama!
eat-CL.3SG.ACC.M.-AUX.COND.3SG mother-the
(affectionate idiom translated along the lines of, '(He's so sweet) his mum could almost eat him.')

b. Lua-te-ar dracul!
take-CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.COND.3SG devil-the
'Go to Hell!'

Since LHM is restricted to main clauses, Rivero (1994) analyses LHM as involving head movement of the non-finite verb to Comp; however, in contrast to other verb raising to Comp (i.e., verb-second in Germanic), LHM strands pronominal clitics (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a), as well as the inflected auxiliaries. We suggest that the lexical verb only raises to M° in LHM constructions and give the representation of the example in (32a) in (33).

(33)



In LHM structures, we posit an empty operator OP in the specifier of the Mood phrase. This operator (responsible for the specific illocutionary force) needs to be licensed by an overt element in M°, so verb raising applies. [27] The question is, how is it that verb movement is possible in the manner suggested in (33), where two heads have been skipped. Given the Head Movement Constraint (cf. Chomsky 1986, Travis 1984), which argues for locality of head movement, we would expect such a derivation to result in ungrammaticality. However, it does not. We propose that all the verbal heads that enter into the Romanian IP configuration are in a local relationship with each other and implicitly equally accessible. We suggest this 'symmetric equidistance' to be due to: (i) the fact that the Romanian IP consists exclusively of clitic as opposed to lexical material, and (ii) the absence of IP-internal specifiers ensured by (i). We assume such an IP to

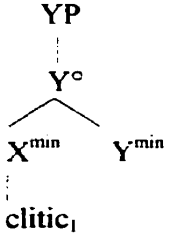
[27] Notice that category matching/merging cannot apply in this case, since the feature [+ imperative] is not shared by any of the other functional heads.

have equally accesssible heads. In conclusion, skipping heads within the Romanian IP does not count as a Head Movement Constraint violation. In (33), the empty [+ imperative] feature in M° requires a lexical host, so verb raising to M° applies. As a result of their clitic status, neither the pronominal, nor the auxiliary in (33) can move to M°, the only candidate being the lexical verb in T°. [28]

2.2.4 Summing up

To conclude this section, we point out the following. The morphemes that enter into the build-up of the Romanian verbal complex are syntactic clitics, rather than affixes. We defined clitics as terminal elements and distinguished between two types in Romanian:

(i) $clitic_1$:



- includes short adverbs and the perfective marker *fi* 'be'.
- represents a terminal elements of the X^{min} type which adjoins to functional verbal heads, forming a zero-level category (i.e., Y°) that projects as a specifier-less category.

[28] Our analysis is in the spirit of Rivero (1997), who argues that only languages with functional auxiliaries (i.e., auxiliaries which lack lexical status) display LHM. However, our assumptions can also account for why pronominal clitics are skipped.

(ii) $clitic_2$:

XP
|
X°
|
$clitic_2$

- includes pronominal clitics, auxiliaries, the negative morpheme *nu* 'not', and the infinitival and subjunctive mood markers (*a* and *să* , respectively);
- represent terminal elements of the X° type and project maximal categories without specifiers.

The essence of clitic-hood is its licensing domain and its head status. Unlike affixes, which are base-generated onto the lexical verb, clitics are functional morphemes (i.e., IP-related). Moreover, while affixes are inserted as part of and together with their lexical host, clitics are heads inserted into the derivation independently of their lexical host. However, in contrast to words, clitics need a well-defined syntactic host and cannot move; their flexibility of position (see, for example, pronominal clitics in Romance) is always the result of other elements moving around them.

Insofar as the Romanian IP is concerned, we suggested it consists of a series of heads, all of which lack specifiers. Furthermore, the Romanian IP was argued to enable head-merge/collapse (with relevant consequences for feature checking and movement) and Long Head Movement, due to the absence of IP internal specifiers and clitic status of IP-related morphemes. We assumed a strong [+ V] feature on the Romanian T° head which always triggers lexical verb raising to the Inflectional domain, but only to the closest Infl head. Such an approach unifies, in a sense, the spirit of several previous proposals made for IP in this language: the split-IP hypothesis (Cornilescu 1997, Motapanyane 1995, Ştefănescu 1997), the non-distinct nature of AgrP and TenseP in Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a), the non-unitary target of lexical verb raising (Motapanyane 1995, Ştefănescu 1997). However, it maintains a distinct flavour by favouring

head-merge over vacuous movement, by assuming symmetric equidistance of heads, and by viewing clitics as heads projecting XPs.

2.3 Subject positions and NP licensing

In the Generative framework, an NP is licensed (i.e., 'visible'), if it is theta-marked and Case marked (with either structural or lexical Case). Subjects are generally assumed to be base-generated in Spec.VP (Koopman and Sportiche 1991), which is a theta-marked, Case-less position. In a language such as English, the subject NP moves to the Specifier of IP where it is assigned Nominative Case in a Spec-Head agreement configuration, which is a form of "feature sharing" (Chomsky 1986: 24).

In section 2.1, we showed that word order sequences in the Romanian preverbal field are not in fact 'free' from an interpretive point of view, which suggested that the unmarked word order (in the sense of neutral) in Romanian is VSO [29]. Therefore, post-verbal subjects have been generally assumed to reside in their base-generated position (i.e., Spec,VP) (see Cornilescu 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin 1990a, 1994a, Motapanyane 1989, Ştefănescu 1995, 1997), at least prior to LF.

2.3.1 Brief overview of previous analyses

Initially, in-situ subjects were analysed as acquiring Nominative Case under government by the verb that had raised to Inflection (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Motapanyane 1989). Later studies, adopted a checking analysis in which Spec.VP cannot be viewed as a Case position. Motapanyane (1995) argues that Nominative Case checking for post-verbal subjects takes place at LF. She proposes that subjects raise to Spec,IP (Spec,TP in her analysis) covertly - this position

[29] This is not to say that VSO is the underlying word order in the Romanian clause structure. As we have seen in the previous section, there is evidence to suggest that Romanian is underlyingly SVO, but that the verb always raises and incorporates into I° (or a head thereof, depending on the analysis adopted).

being unavailable to subjects in the overt syntax as a result of the EPP constraint. Cornilescu (1997) offers two alternative analyses for in-situ lexical subjects: they may either raise at LF to a subject-Case position (which for the author is Spec,AgrSP in the default case), or they can acquire Case in Spec,VP by coindexation with *pro*, an expletive licensed by the Romanian Agr head. On the other hand, Ştefănescu (1995) argues (on the basis of control and binding facts) that Nominative Case checking can only be overt in Romanian and that consequently, the subject does not raise out of Spec,VP at LF. The author suggests a solution along the lines of Chomsky (1986) and Rizzi (1986a), who discuss A-chains created by head movement of the finite verb to Inflection. V°-to-T° raising creates a chain in which the head and the tail of the chain are coindexed, thereby enabling the NP in Spec,VP to check the strong case feature of T°, by transitivity.

Also debated is the status of the landing site of raised subjects. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a) assumes that the preverbal subject has been assigned Nominative Case in Spec,VP and has further moved to Spec,IP which is a Topic position (a non-argumental/non L-related position). In Dobrovie-Sorin's account, this is the position which also hosts topicalized elements such as object NPs and adverbials, as in (34).

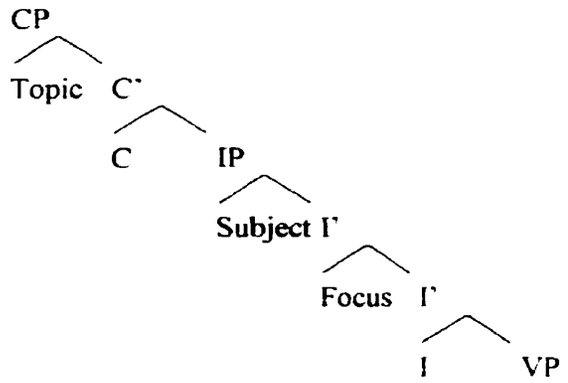
(34) a. Mîine vor veni cei mai de seamă musafiri.
tomorrow FUT.3PL come those more of important guests
'The most important guests will come tomorrow.'

b. Nimic nu ştiţi.
Nothing not know.2PL.PR
'You know nothing'

c. Ion nu vine.
Ion not come.3SG.PR
'Ion isn't coming'

Motapanyane (1994a-b, 1995) argues against a non-argumental preverbal subject position and keeps distinct the position occupied by the fronted subject NP from that of topicalized and contrastively focused elements. The author assumes that movement of the subject NP to the preverbal position creates A-chains since it does not interfere with movement to Focus. The preverbal subject is taken to land in the highest Specifier of the functional projection hosting the raised finite verb, an argumental position located between Topic and Focus. The distinction between the functions of preverbal positions is then established as follows: topicalized elements appear in Spec,CP, a position which also hosts wh-elements; the subject position is the argumental Spec,IP (in a non-split IP) and the focus position is adjoined to I', immediately below, as in (35).

(35)



Cornilescu (1997) analyses the preverbal subject position as non-L-related (in the spirit of Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a). Moreover, this author argues that there are two post-verbal subject positions available in Romanian, both of which are available at Spell-Out and both of which are argumental (i.e., Spec,AgrSP and Spec,VP). Cornilescu draws on morphological and syntactic evidence, largely basing her analysis on a comparison of clitic doubled subjects in Romanian with their counterparts in different Italian dialects. Following the theoretical assumption that weak pronouns and clitics have to occupy their Case-checking position before Spell-Out (cf. Cardinaletti 1996), subject clitics are taken to indicate the AgrS and the Nominative Case position

in the Romanian clause. While full NP subjects can appear both pre- and post-verbally, clitic subjects are constrained to occupy the post-verbal position as in (36), in which the lexical verb is assumed to have raised to M°, above AgrS°.

(36) a. Vine el tata.
come.3SG.PR he-SuCL father-the
'Dad'll come.'

b. * El vine tata.
he-SuCL come.3SG.PR father-the
'Dad'll come.'

c. Tata vine el.
dad-the come.3SG.PR he-SuCL
'Dad'll come.'

Since the subject clitic in (36) is taken to occupy Spec,AgrSP, (36) is analysed as evidence for the existence of two post-verbal argumental subject positions in Romanian (i.e., Spec,AgrSP and Spec,VP). [30]

In conclusion, there seems to be ongoing debate as to the syntactic positions occupied by both preverbal and postverbal subjects in Romanian, as well as the mechanisms of structural Case assignment.

2.3.2 EPP, Case-licensing and Minimalism

In order to account for the empirical data briefly introduced in section 2.1, in which we showed the preverbal field to be semantically constrained by a specificity requirement, we

[30] Rizzi (p.c.) remarks that, in other Romance languages, the postverbal subject in (36c) would be stressed. Given that in the Romanian example in (36c) the postverbal pronoun is also stressed and given that stressed pronouns are not clitics, *el* 'he' should probably not be analysed as a subject clitic in this instance.

propose an analysis which essentially favours the (initial) view of generative theory that thematic and Case positions may coincide. We make the following crucial theoretical assumption related to the Case licensing of Romanian NPs:

(37) Romanian NPs check Case in initial Merge positions
(i.e., in their base-generated, thematic position).

There are several corollaries derived from the assumption in (37):

(i) Romanian NPs never move/raise for Case-checking purposes, not even in unaccusative or passive structures.

(ii) Case checking is always a pre-Spell-Out mechanism (cf. also Ştefănescu 1995, but contra Cornilescu, 1997, Motapanyane 1995). [31]

(iii) Romanian lacks a preverbal Nominative Case position (i.e., a Spec,IP Case-related position).

The theoretical assumption in (37), alongside its three corollaries can be formalized in a number of ways. In what follows, we offer an implementation that relies on the nature of the EPP feature in Romanian.

Contrary to previous assumptions, current research (Adger 1996, Bittner and Hale 1996, Chomsky 1998) inclines to view structural Case as a syntactic feature that is incapable of inducing movement. Case gets assigned/checked/erased (depending on the theoretical framework) as a result of structural factors that exist independently of Case itself. In his 1998 paper (henceforth, MP98), Chomsky claims that Case checking is "ancillary" to other feature-checking mechanisms. This much we fully adopt, especially since it seems to have support from previous

[31] Aside from the empirical data to be discussed in section 2.5, this corollary is supported by the theory-internal assumption that Case, as a semantically vacuous uninterpretable feature is unavailable to LF operations.

work (e.g. 'Dependent Case Theories', [32] cf. Harley 1995, Massam 1985, among others). Notice, however, that once we adopt this view and assume that Case (in and of itself) is insufficient to determine the noun phrase's structural position, we also commit ourselves to the possibility that Case is assigned in-situ. In other words, we cannot a priori exclude a language in which structural Case is assigned/checked/erased in Merge positions (i.e., the position in which the noun phrase is introduced from the lexicon into the derivation). While in the MP98 this option is not considered, since Chomsky discusses English, in which subject NPs move for independent reasons, we argue that it holds for Romanian. Specifically, as claimed in (37), Romanian NPs check Case in Merge positions.

Let us first familiarize ourselves with the claims made in MP98 regarding structural Case. Consider the example in (38) from Chomsky (1998:36), also discussed in chapter 1, section 1.2.

(38) an unpopular candidate T-was elected t

Chomsky assumes three kinds of uninterpretable features, i.e., features that need to be checked in order for the derivation to converge, in the structure in (38): (i) the agreement features of T° (i.e., the phi-set), (ii) the EPP feature of T°, and (iii) the structural Case feature of *an unpopular candidate*. Of the above features, only (ii) is assumed to require dislocation/ "second Merge" (i.e., that something be moved and merged as Spec,TP). (i) identifies T° as the target of dislocation, (ii) requires dislocation, and (iii) identifies *an unpopular candidate* as a candidate for such merger and dislocation applies (i.e., the subject NP surfaces as Spec,TP). EPP is a selectional feature, namely a feature that requires checking in a Spec-Head configuration, so it seeks an XP to merge with the category it heads. Phi-features and structural Case are uninterpretable features but not

[32] The term 'Dependent Case Theories' was first introduced by Richards (1997) who uses it as an umbrella-term to refer to different theories that "deny the premise that particular morphological cases are linked to particular AgrPs. Rather, the case that appears on a given NP is determined by which other structural cases have been checked in that clause" (Richards 1997:97).

selectional features. Unlike the EPP feature, these never induce movement. Chomsky suggests we consider the phi-features as a 'probe' that seeks a 'goal', namely, "matching features that establish agreement" (1998:37). For the phi-set of T° in (38), there is only one choice matching its features: the phi-set of *candidate*. Once it has located its goal, the probe is assumed to erase under matching. Correlatively, the structural Case of *an unpopular candidate* also erases (under matching with the probe). This is the essence of the operation Chomsky terms "Agree": the erasure of uninterpretable features of probe and goal. However, since the EPP of T° has to be satisfied, the phrase *an unpopular candidate* pied-pipes and merges as the specifier of T°. The operation 'Move' (composed of 'Agree' and 'Merge') eliminates all uninterpretable features and the utterance in (38) is grammatical.

Let us next review the essence of the EPP feature. The EPP started out as expressing a theory-internal general principle which required that all functions must be saturated (Chomsky 1986). More specifically, given that all X° were seen to require Spec,XPs, the EPP engendered a specifier position on IP, which was otherwise not forced by the theta-related Projection Principle. Under Minimalism such a requirement is no longer tenable, since specifiers are not obligatory. The EPP was therefore reformulated as a [D] feature on I° which was checked as a result of Merge ('there'-insertion) or subject Move into Spec,IP (Chomsky 1995). Chomsky (1998) argues that the EPP cannot, in fact, be stated as a [D] feature, since true [D] relates to referentiality/specificity in some sense. It is now maintained as a selectional feature, uninterpretable and nonsemantic, satisfied only as a result of dislocation; specifically, movement and second Merge of the subject NP as Spec,IP (Spec,TP in Chomsky's notation). The EPP is still seen as a feature that refers to the Extended Projection Principle, in the sense that it determines positions not forced by the Projection Principle. Chomsky (1998) suggests the EPP may be universal, though he fails to discuss the implications for VSO languages.

What is the status of the EPP feature in languages such as Romanian, in which the subject noun phrase does not surface in the preverbal field (unless interpreted as contrastive focus, topic

or otherwise constrained by factors other than subjecthood), in which the default order is VSO, and the verb is in I°? There are two logical possibilities to this question. One is to argue that the EPP feature is altogether absent in these languages (cf. McCloskey 1997, for Irish), the other to maintain the EPP feature, but to argue it is checked in a manner other than by subject insertion into Spec,IP (cf. Massam and Smallwood 1996, for Niuean, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1999, for Greek). Massam and Smallwood (1996:2) suggest that "a predicate is a projection with an open place which must be satisfied in the syntactic component". In other words, predication cross-linguistically involves obligatory checking of a privileged feature. The authors argue that in English, the equivalent of the notion of 'open place' (i.e., the privileged feature) is the strong [D] feature, absent from Niuean. In Niuean, on the other hand, the open place is satisfied by a strong [T] feature checked off by predicate movement, realized as head adjunction to T or as movement to the specifier of T, depending on whether the predicate is X° or XP. In Niuean then, it is V-fronting that satisfies EPP. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1999) also argue that, in Greek (and possibly null-subject languages in general), the EPP feature is satisfied by verb-movement and never by Move or expletive insertion. These authors, however, assume that EPP is synonymous with a [D] feature for all languages. This [D] feature is satisfied either by a subject in Spec,IP or by the presence of subject agreement on the verb in I° (i.e., null-subject languages).

We assume that uninterpretable formal features (FFs) are essentially of two kinds: (i) selectional (or strong) and (ii) non-selectional (or weak), an option parametrized across languages and FF type. Non-selectional features will be defined as features which check/erase in-situ, without dislocation, as a result of the operation Agree, which only requires feature matching (i.e., identity) and closest c-command. Selectional features will be defined as features which can only be checked in a strict locality relationship, which we assume to involve either a Spec-Head *or* a head-adjunction configuration, depending on whether the respective formal feature triggers movement of an X° or an XP. Notice that we depart from Chomsky (1998) in that we assume both the Spec-Head configuration *and* the head-adjunction configuration to be indicative of a

feature checking relationship. By definition, selectional features will require agreement (i.e., feature matching) and movement (i.e., 'second Merge'). We propose that parametric variation across languages is dependent on the nature of uninterpretable features. These assumptions are consistent with economy conditions since they eliminate movement unless absolutely necessary: movement is not an intrinsic requirement of feature-checking, but a result of parametrized formal feature properties. Crucially, under these assumptions, formal feature-checking will always be overt.

Insofar as the EPP feature is concerned, we follow Chomsky (1998) who claims it to be a selectional feature cross-linguistically. Specifically, we view the EPP feature as a non-thematic position licenser, which is universally present on I°, being, in effect, the 'privileged feature' of Massam and Smallwood (1996). It therefore requires obligatory checking in a manner that will ensure the realization or validation of positions not forced by the Projection Principle, but by dislocation/movement and second Merge. Under our proposed feature dichotomy, selectional features may be checked either as an instance of the Spec-Head configuration or as an instance of head-adjunction. Consequently, the EPP feature on I° may be in principle checked by verb raising to I° or by subject NP dislocation to Spec,IP, depending on the nature of this feature. Specifically, we suggest that the EPP feature is not universally synonymous to [D] (cf. Massam and Smallwood 1996, but contra Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1999). [33] In Romanian, for example, we assume the EPP feature to be equivalent to a strong [V] feature on I°. This strong [V] feature attracts verb movement to I°, thus 'activating' the IP domain.

To conclude, we assume a universal EPP feature whose realization is parametrized across languages. Languages seem to vary as to whether they require [D], [V], or [T] as their EPP

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[33] One argument comes from the fact that V-movement seems to be able to satisfy the EPP feature in languages that lack strong subject-verb agreement (i.e., Celtic and Arabic), or in contexts that lack agreement in languages that otherwise manifest agreement (for example, there is evidence for V°-to-I° raising in Romanian infinitives, which otherwise lack agreement; for an illustration see example (14), section 2.2.2).

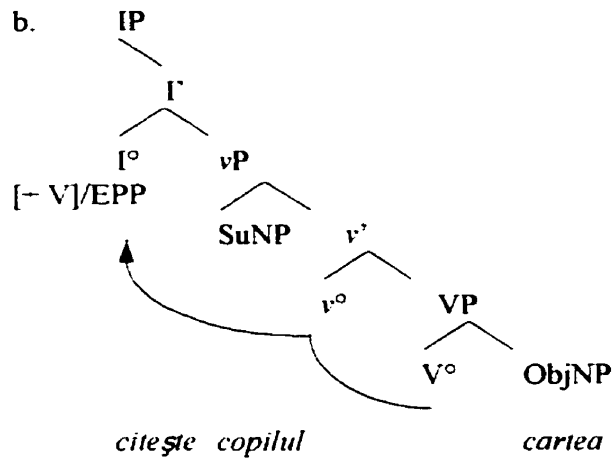
(selectional/privileged) feature. Let us call these T-type, D-type, and V-type EPP languages. In T-type EPP languages, such as Niuean (cf. Massam and Smallwood 1996), the EPP is erased by selecting the predicate and merging it as Spec,IP (when the predicate is realized as XP), or as I° (when the predicate is realized as X°). We suggest that T-type EPP languages do not in fact represent a third category, but rather, an underspecification for a [D] or a [V] feature. Furthermore, languages such as French, which require verb raising to I° (Pollock 1989), alongside subjects in Spec,IP and expletives, presumably have a 'mixed' type EPP (i.e., both a D-type and a V-type EPP feature). Nevertheless, in D-type EPP languages, such as English, the EPP feature is erased by selecting an agreeing XP (i.e., the subject) and merging it as Spec,IP. In V-type EPP languages, such as Romanian, the EPP selects the lexical verb which always undergoes raising to I°. [34]

Let us now consider in more detail the claim made in (37) that structural Case is checked in Merge positions. Under the assumption that Romanian is a V-type EPP language, the EPP feature is checked by verb raising and never by NP raising. Since uninterpretable Case features are not selectional (following Chomsky 1998) and a D-type EPP feature is absent in Romanian, structural Case is checked solely as a result of the Agree operation (i.e., without movement/'second Merge'). In a sentence such as (31), repeated here as (39), we assume I° to have a strong [+ V] feature (i.e., in effect, the EPP feature) which triggers lexical verb raising, as well as uninterpretable phi-features (which need to be erased), but no [D] features.

(39) a. Citește copilul cartea.
read.3SG.PR child-the book-the
'The child is reading the book.'

[34] It is possible that the D-type versus V-type EPP language-distinction is dependent on whether the EPP feature is affixal in nature or not. V-type EPP languages would then have an affixal EPP feature.

b.



Following MP98, the subject NP *copilul* 'the child' in (39) has uninterpretable Nominative Case features which need to be erased. We assume that uninterpretable Nominative Case in (39) is erased as a result of the operation Agree and that structural Case is a non-selectional feature. Recall from chapter 1 (section 1.2) that in order for erasure to obtain under Agree, the uninterpretable features of a probe (P) and a goal (G) must match under the structural requirements in (40), following Chomsky (1998:38).

(40) (i) Matching is feature identity
(ii) D(P) is a sister of P
(iii) locality reduces to "closest c-command."

Specifically, for Matching to induce Agree, G must (at least) be in the 'domain' D(P) of P and satisfy locality conditions. In our case, the P are the uninterpretable phi-features in I° and the G is structural Nominative Case on *copilul* 'the child'. According to the assumptions in (40), the domain of I° in (39) is the *v*P. All of the conditions in (40) obtain between the P and G in (39), so the operation Agree will apply and both the uninterpretable phi-features of the Probe (I°), as well as the uninterpretable Case feature of the Goal (subject NP) will be eliminated. Since only the EPP feature is selectional and the nature of this feature in Romanian is a strong [V] and not a

strong [D], the subject will not further merge as Spec,IP. The effect of a convergent derivation thus being obtained, the sentence in (39) is grammatical with no specifier of IP projected. [35]

This analysis can felicitously account for Nominative Case in-situ, while at the same time capturing the intrinsic link between lack of subject externalization in the usual EPP sense and lexical verb-raising to I°.

So far, we have only discussed structural Nominative Case. For structural Accusative Case, we assume a similar mechanism of Case licensing as the one proposed for Nominative Case. Traditionally, Accusative Case was assigned to the direct object noun phrase by the transitive verb selecting it. Following the split-IP hypothesis initiated by Pollock (1989) and its powerful proliferation in the late-1980s and early-1990s, the category of AgrOP was introduced (Chomsky 1993, among many others) as the locus of Accusative Case-checking. By analogy with subject raising to Spec,AgrSP, the object noun phrase would raise to Spec,AgrOP at some point in the derivation (at s-structure or LF) and check its Accusative Case. The AgrOP projection has since been renamed in Minimalism (cf. Chomsky 1995) and with the introduction of the *v*P-shell, the strong D-feature (once a property of the AgrO head) has been bestowed upon the light verb itself. Moreover, if in the earlier versions of Minimalism (Chomsky 1993, 1995), Case-checking was possible exclusively in a specifier-head relationship, MP98 seems to tacitly renounce this idea insofar as Nominative Case is concerned. With the demotion of Case and the assertion that there is "nothing special" about the specifier-head relationship, Chomsky (1998) paves the way for Accusative-Case assignment (erasure) in-situ. If subjects raise to Merge as Spec,TP in order to satisfy the EPP feature of T°, what do objects do? Little is said about them apart from the Germanic object shift structures (to which we return in chapter 3), in which interpretational requirements seem to force object dislocation and "second Merge" as Spec,*v*P. The question then

[35] The example in (39), involves a transitive predicate. A question arises as to whether Agree can obtain (i.e., whether the prerequisites in (40) are met) for other types of predicates and structures. We defer this debate until after we discuss unaccusatives and passives in the following sections.

is whether *all* objects are involved in "second Merge" to Spec,*v*P, or, whether this has any direct import on structural Accusative Case. We suggest a negative answer and assume that all Case features are non-selectional.

Recall the theoretical assumption introduced in (37) that, 'Romanian NPs check Case in Merge positions'. This assumption adopts the view that structural Case does not in-and-of-itself induce dislocation. [36] Consequently, we do not take Romanian objects to move for structural Accusative Case checking, but propose erasure of the uninterpretable Accusative Case features via the mechanism of Agree outlined above for Nominative Case. Reconsider now the example in (39). The light verb *v* has uninterpretable Accusative features that match the uninterpretable Accusative features of *cartea* 'the book'. VP is a sister of *v*P, and thus in its domain. Since the conditions in (40) are satisfied, Agree obtains between P ('reads') and G ('the book') and all uninterpretable Case features are erased, so the derivation can converge without the additional requirement of noun phrase movement. [37]

To sum up, this section discusses EPP realization and Case-licensing in Romanian and introduces the selectional versus non-selectional formal feature dichotomy, which is crucial to further investigations in this dissertation. Generally speaking, we propose that feature checking is exclusively overt, but does not always entail movement. We assume two types of formal features: (i) non-selectional features, which check in a less local relationship and do not trigger movement; (ii) selectional features, which check in a strict locality relationship. The strict locality relationship involves a specifier-head configuration or head-adjunction, both of which always trigger movement.

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[36] See also Adger (1996) who suggests that case has no interpretive force. The author argues that case is required to license an NP, but is insufficient to determine the NPs structural position.

[37] Note that indirect objects will not interfere with structural Case, given that they are morphologically Case-marked in Romanian.

We further propose that Romanian noun phrases are licensed (i.e., theta-marked and Case-marked) in their base-generated (Merged) positions. We formalize this assumption using a somewhat modified version of MP98. We retain two crucial assumptions from MP98: (i) that EPP is a selectional feature, triggering dislocation, and (ii) that structural Case checking is ancillary to other feature checking mechanisms. We depart from Minimalist assumptions by assuming that EPP is parametrized cross-linguistically, at least as a [D] or as a [V] feature. We suggest the EPP is absent as a [D] feature, but present as a [V] feature on the Romanian Inflection. Consequently, lexical verb raising to I° always applies in Romanian. Since I° lacks a strong [D] feature in Romanian and Case is felicitously checked as an instance of the operation Agree, which does not require dislocation, Nominative subjects stay in situ. To conclude, NPs in Romanian do not move for Case checking or for EPP. In the following two sections, we discuss unaccusative and passive structures in Romanian for further insight into the assumption made in (37) and the more general issue of noun phrase movement.

2.4 Unaccusatives

In this section, we introduce unaccusative structures and discuss the NP-licensing conditions which obtain in these structures. Specifically, we argue that structural Nominative Case is licensed exclusively via Agree in all types of predicates, unaccusatives included. More generally, we claim that noun phrases in Romanian do not move for the purposes of Case checking or EPP erasure, irrespective of predicate type. This follows since we do not assume interpretational constraints (required for NP movement into the preverbal field in Romanian) to be Case or EPP related. In a theoretical system, such as the Minimalist program, in which morpho-syntactic feature-checking is a prerequisite to convergent, and therefore interpretable

derivations, movement for EPP checking should not be semantically constrained (i.e., should not depend on scope properties, on definiteness or other semantic restrictions). [38]

2.4.1 The Romance data

Interpretation aside, the subject is free to precede or follow the verb in all Romance *pro*-drop languages. [39] Pre-minimalist studies on post-verbal subjects in Italian and Spanish (Belletti 1988, 1990, Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1982, 1986a,b, 1990, Zubizarreta 1992, among others) have generally assumed distinct thematic and case positions for 'inverted'-subjects (i.e., subjects in VS structures). As their name suggests, these subjects, while generated in Spec,VP, further move and adjoin to VP (or IP in Spanish, according to Zubizarreta 1992), the essential claim being that they cease to occupy an argumental position (by PF). Case-licensing is satisfied under government by Inflection (Belletti 1988, Zubizarreta 1992), or, as an instance of Case transmission resulting from coindexation with *pro* in Spec,IP (Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1982, 1986a). This is illustrated with the Italian example in (41):

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[38] In English, for example, Spec TP, created as a result of EPP feature-checking hosts subjects of any semantic property. Such 'canonical' subject positions are devoid of interpretational constraints.

[39] Some restrictions do apply. For example, V(O)S structures in Italian are sensitive to the nature of the material intervening between the subject and the verb. Zubizarreta (1992) shows that post-verbal subjects are disallowed with an intervening temporal adverbial or definite direct object, as in (i) and (ii).

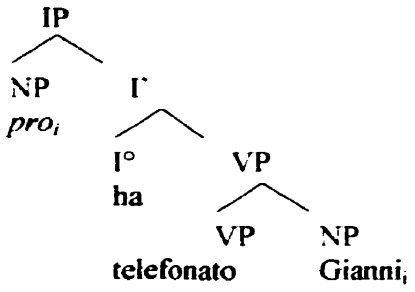
(i) a. Ha scritto una lettera Gianni.
has written a letter John
'John has written a letter.'

b. ?? Ha scritto la lettera Gianni.
has written the letter John
'John has written the letter.'

(ii) a. Vince sempre Gianni.
wins always John
'John always wins.'

b. ??Ha telefonato ieri Gianni.
has telephoned yesterday John
'John called yesterday.'

(41)



'John has called'

The story above, however, only holds of transitives and the class of intransitive verbs labelled unergatives. [40] With unaccusative verbs, the postverbal subject has been shown to occupy a position that is not VP/IP adjoined, but VP-internal. Since Perlmutter (1978), a series of tests have been used to establish the class of unaccusative verbs. For Italian, one such test involves the pronominal clitic *ne* 'of them'. *Ne* 'of them' appears in preverbal position but it binds a quantifier like *molti* 'many', *tre* 'three', and so on, in direct object position. This is exemplified in (42).

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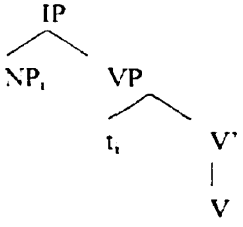
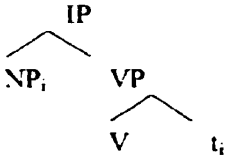
[40] Cross-linguistically, the singleton argument of verbs traditionally labelled 'intransitive' has been shown to lack a uniform behaviour (see Burzio 1986, Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1995, Moro 1997, Perlmutter 1978, etc.). Rather, the NP argument sometimes behaves like a subject, sometimes like an object, depending on the verb type. There is syntactic evidence that some intransitives internally theta-mark their unique argument, while others externally theta-mark it. The latter class of intransitive verbs has been labelled *unergative* and is assumed to have a D-structure configuration like the one in (ia), while the former class of intransitive verbs has been labelled *unaccusative*, and is assumed to have a D-structure configuration like the one in (ib); the D-structure configuartion of transitive verbs is illustrated in (ic). We maintain a tripartite division into unergative, unaccusative and transitive predicates (recast in a Minimalist structure as in (45) above), unless irrelevant.

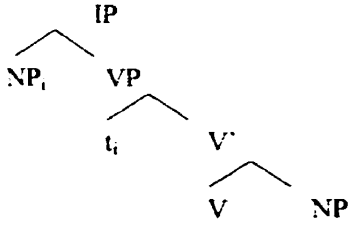
(i)a. unergatives



b. unaccusatives



c. transitives



(42) a. Maria ne invitera molti. (Italian)
Mary CL-of them invite.FUT many
'Mary will invite many of them.'

b. * Maria ne parlera a molti. (Italian)
Mary CL-of them talk.FUT to many
'Mary will talk to many of them.'

In (42a), the post-verbal quantifier is in direct object position and *ne*-cliticization is grammatical: in (42b), however, the post-verbal quantifier is an indirect object and *ne* cannot occur. On the basis of examples such as (42), it has been concluded that *ne*-cliticization is a property of the post-verbal NP in direct object position. Consider next the examples in (43) involving subject noun phrases of intransitive verbs.

(43) a. Ne sono arrivati tre / molti. (Italian)
CL-of them are arrived three / many
'Three/many of them have arrived.'

b. * Ne hanno parlato tre / molti. (Italian)
CL-of them have spoken three /many
'Three / many of them have spoken.'

The examples in (43) point to the fact that *ne* 'of them' can bind the post-verbal subject of unaccusative intransitives but cannot bind the post-verbal subject of unergative intransitives. Furthermore, the verbs which allow *ne*-cliticization from the post-verbal subject coincide with those selecting the auxiliary *essere* 'be' and display past participle agreement. These facts suggest that two post-verbal subject positions need to be kept distinct for Italian: the argumental direct object position, in the case of unaccusative verbs, and the VP-adjoined position, in the case of unergative and transitive verbs (Burzio 1986, Moro 1997, Rizzi 1982, 1990, among others).

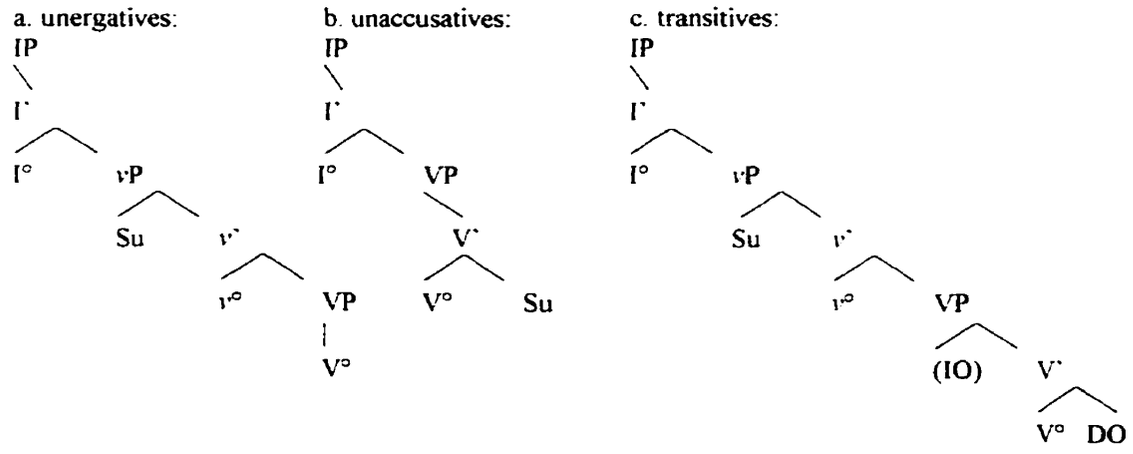
2.4.2 Unaccusatives and Minimalism

There is significant empirical evidence that the distinction into unergative and unaccusative intransitives holds across languages (see Moro 1997, Rappaport-Hovav 1995, among others). In both cases, however, the singleton argument of the verb is marked for Nominative Case, irrespective of whether it is base-generated as an external or as an internal argument. The absence of Accusative Case-marking on the internal argument of unaccusatives is necessarily linked to the failure of the respective verb to assign an external theta-role. This correlation has been formalized in the principles and parameters framework by Burzio (1986). His much-debated and well-known Generalization is presented in (44).

(44) A verb assigns Accusative Case to its object if and only if it theta-marks its subject.

Burzio's Generalization in (44) has been captured in the Minimalist framework by postulating the absence of a *v*P shell (cf. Chomsky 1995). In other words, while for transitive and unergative verbs the VP merges as a complement of an abstract light verb *v*, which requires a subject noun phrase to merge as Spec,*v*P, with unaccusative verbs, the VP will merge directly as a complement of the I° (T° in Chomsky's analysis) head. This is represented in (45), along the lines of Chomsky (1995).

(45)



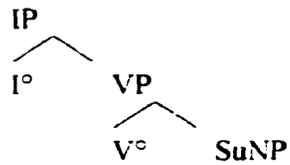
In all of the three types of structures in (45), the subject noun phrase is marked for Nominative Case. Under Minimalism, which assumes a selectional EPP feature associated with I°, the subject noun phrase will have to raise and merge as Spec,IP. In the previous section, we argued for a parametrized EPP feature and concluded that only D-type EPP languages, in which the EPP feature must be checked by a noun phrase, involve raising of the subject noun phrase and 'second Merge' as Spec,IP. For Romanian, however, we postulated a V-type EPP feature, checked by verb raising to the I° head. This correctly captures the empirical facts and the neutral VSO word order. Consequently, in section 2.3.2., we concluded that the uninterpretable Nominative Case features of the subject noun phrase of transitive predicates can be erased, via Agree, and no further dislocation is required. We suggest the same analysis can be adopted for bona fide intransitives (i.e., unergatives), since the subjects of these predicates Merge in the same position as that of transitive verbs. The question would then be, whether Agree can also be operative with unaccusatives and, consequently, ensure Nominative Case licensing of unaccusative subjects without any dislocation. We suggest an affirmative answer and claim that the conditions for Agree (cf. MP98) postulated in (40) and repeated here as (46) obtain for unaccusative predicates too. [41]

(46) (i) Matching is feature identity
(ii) D(P) is a sister of P
(iii) locality reduces to "closest c-command."

In (45b), the uninterpretable phi-features (Probe) on I° match the uninterpretable Case-features (Goal) of internal the subject, so that (46i) is satisfied. Since intermediary X' projections are in effect invisible, (45b) is synonymous to (47).

[41] This assumption is also supported by the empirical data discussed in section 2.4.3, where it will be argued that lack of any definiteness effect on in-situ subjects of unaccusative structures follows once we assume Nominative to be checked in that position.

(47)



In (47), the domain of the Probe I°, namely the VP, felicitously includes the Goal, namely the NP. All the prerequisites outlined in (45) obtain between the Probe (I°) and the Goal (the subject NP). Consequently, the operation Agree will apply and erase all uninterpretable features between Probe and Goal, without any noun phrase movement. We conclude then that Nominative Case is always erased in Merge positions in Romanian.

The empirical facts also support the above analysis. On a par with other predicates, subjects of unaccusative verbs do not show any definiteness effect and cannot move into the preverbal field unless they can be interpreted as specific. Consider, for example, (48), in which there is no definiteness effect present on the unaccusative subject left in-situ.

(48) a. Vine un tren.
come.3SG.PR a train
'A train is coming.'

b. Vine trenul.
come.3SG.PR train-the
'The train is coming.'

Correlatively, consider the examples in (49). The indefinite subject *un tren* 'a train' (49a-c) and the bare subject *zăpadă* 'snow' (49d-f) cannot move into the preverbal field, unless contrastively focused (49c, 49f).

(49) a. Vine un tren.
come.3SG.PR a train
'A train is coming.'

b. * Un tren vine.
a train come.3SG.PR
'A train is coming.'

c. UN TREN vine (,nu un camion).
a train come.3SG.PR (, not a truck)
'It's a train that's coming, not a truck.'

d. Cade zăpadă pe străzi de trei zile încoace.
fall.3SG.PR snow on streets of three days since
'It has been snowing for the past three days.'

e. * Zăpadă cade pe străzi de trei zile încoace.
snow fall.3SG.PR on streets of three days since
'It has been snowing for the past three days.'

f. ZĂPADĂ cade mereu (,nu ploaie).
snow fall.3SG.PR always (,not rain)
'It's snow that's always pouring, not rain.'

However, the SV word order sequence becomes grammatical once the subject NPs are marked for definiteness. Consider (50).

(50) a. Trenul vine în cinci minute.
train-the come.3SG.PR in five minutes
'The train comes in five minutes.'

b. Zăpada cade pe străzi de trei zile încoace.
snow-the fall.3SG.PR on streets of three days since
'It has been snowing for the past three days.'

The next section offers some more insight into these problems.

2.4.3 Unaccusatives and the definiteness effect

Recall our discussion of Italian VS structures in section 2.4.1. We saw that postverbal subjects were accounted for in two different ways, depending on the nature of the verb. With unergative and transitive verbs, it is assumed that the subject NP right-adjoins to the VP, while with unaccusatives, the subject NP is in an argumental, VP-internal position, since extraction from within the NP is fully grammatcial (see (43)).

Rizzi (1986b) notices, however, that the nature of the subject NP in unaccusative structures (as well as in passives) is sensitive to whether or not the post-verbal subject is followed by a subcategorized complement of the verb. Consider the Italian examples in (51) and (52) taken from Rizzi (1986b: 418): in (51), in which a complement of the verb is present, the unaccusative subject cannot be definite; this semantic restriction is absent when there is no complement (52).

(51) a. E'entrato <u>un ladro</u> dalla finestra.
'Came in a thief from the window.'

b. ?? E'entrato <u>il ladro</u> dalla finestra.
'Came in the thief from the window.'

c. E'caduto <u>un missile</u> in giardino
'Fell down a missile into the garden.'

d. ?? E'caduto <u>il missile</u> in giardino
'Fell down the missile into the garden.'

(52) a. E'entrato <u>il ladro</u>.
'Came in the thief.'

b. E'caduto <u>il missile</u>.
'Fell down the missile.'

c. Gli parla <u>la maestra</u>.
'The teacher speaks to him.'

The examples in (51) point to the fact that, with unaccusatives, there is a definiteness effect on the subject NP in VSXP structures in Italian (captured through Case theory in Belletti 1988), similar to the French subject inversion construction with expletive 'il' in (53).

(53) a. Il est arriveé une fille.
'There has arrived a girl.'

b. * Il est arrivée la fille.
'There has arrived the girl.'

However, (52a-b) show that there is no definiteness constraint when the unaccusative subject NP is not followed by any VP-internal material, just as there is no definiteness constraint on inverted subjects in non-unaccusative predications in Italian (52c).

Rizzi (1986b) suggests that even with unaccusatives, the post-verbal subject can be actually found in two different structural positions in Italian, one that is VP-internal (as in (51)) and triggers the definiteness effect, the other VP external (as in (52a-b)), namely VP-adjoined and with no definiteness effect. In other words, the definite subject can be 'rescued' by raising out of the VP in (52) but not in (51). Rizzi (1986b) does not investigate the consequences or whether VXPS would be licit in (51), thus saving the definite subject. The point remains, however, that definite subject cannot stay VP-internally in Italian.

We can sum up then by saying that two post-verbal subject positions are available in Italian: one that is VP-internal (i.e., the direct object position) and argumental, and another that is VP-external and adjoined (i.e., non-argumental). The former is available exclusively to the argument of unaccusative verbs and is constrained by the definiteness effect, while the latter can accomodate inverted subjects of all types of predicates.

Insofar as Romanian is concerned, we have shown in (48) that there is no definiteness effect on postverbal subjects of unaccusative predicates. In contrast to the Italian data in (51), the

same absence of any definiteness effect holds even in the presence of other verbal arguments (i.e., VP-related complements). Consider (54).

(54) a. A intrat un hoț / hoțul pe fereastră.
AUX.3SG entered a thief / thief-the on window
'A / The thief entered through the window.'

b. A căzut o bombă / bomba în grădină.
AUX.3SG fell a bomb / bomb-the in garden
'A / The bomb fell in the garden.'

c. A vorbit profesoara cu Victor.
AUX.3SG talked teacher-the with Victor.
'The teacher talked with Victor.'

We assume that in the above examples, the subject noun phrases of (54a-b) are in direct object position, being subjects of unaccusative predicates, while the subject of (54c) is in the specifier of the light verb *v*, being the subject of a transitive verb. The lack of any definiteness effect on the subjects in (54) might come as a surprise, since V/*v*P-internal subjects are generally assumed to be under the requirement of a 'weak'/indefinite interpretation (Belletti 1988, Diesing 1992, Milsark 1977, Rizzi 1986b, among many others). Consider the English examples in (55), in which the VP-internal subject in (55a) cannot take the definite marker.

(55) a. There is (* the) milk in the fridge.
b. The milk is in the fridge.

We suggest that the lack of definiteness effects on VP-internal subjects in Romanian is intrinsically linked to the absence of a D-type EPP feature and the fact that Nominative Case is checked/erased in-situ. There is no preverbal 'canonical' subject position in Romanian. In effect, there is no 'canonical' subject position at all in Romanian since subjects in this language are

licensed in their base-generated (initial Merge) position, which vary depending on predicate type. Consequently, we expect these positions to be devoid of any semantic restrictions.

2.4.4 Summing up a V-type EPP language

To conclude, we summarize three essential properties that distinguish Romanian (and, presumably other V-type EPP languages) from D-type EPP languages:

(i) Postverbal subjects occur with all types of predicates, whereas in English, for example, they can only occur with intransitives (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995). This is illustrated in (56) with three different types of predicates: an unergative (56a), an unaccusative (56b), and a transitive (56c).

(56)	a.	A	sunat	fiecare	copil	să	spună	că	întîrzie.
		AUX.3SG	called	each	child	SUBJ	tell	that	is-late
		'Each child called to say s/he was late.'							
	b.	A	venit	Mihai.					
		Aux.3SG	come	Mihai					
		'Mihai has come.'							
	c.	Pe mama	a	îmbrațișat-o				Victor.	
		PE mother-the	AUX.3SG	hugged-CL.3SG.ACC.F				Victor	
		'Victor hugged mother.'							

(ii) The VS word order does not display any definiteness effect, unlike their counterparts in D-type EPP languages (among others English, French, and Icelandic in expletive constructions). Reconsider the examples in (56).

(iii) Unlike bare plurals in English, bare plurals in Romanian can only occur postverbally. Given that bare plurals are not strong NPs, their absence in SV structures indicates that the

initial/preverbal field is interpretationally constrained by a specificity requirement (see 57).[42]

(57) a. Latrã cîini.
bark.3PL.PR dogs

b. * Cîini latrã.
dogs bark.3PL.PR
'Dogs are barking.'

The fact that noun phrases are fully licensed (theta- and Case-marked) in initial Merge positions, grants these positions a default status in the syntactic tree. Consequently, these positions should, by definition, be devoid of any interpretational effects. Since for languages with a D-type EPP feature on I° (such as English, and presumably French and possibly Italian, among many others), the default subject position is in Spec,IP, we expect interpretational effects to be absent on Spec,IP subjects but present elsewhere, for example, VP-internally, as in (55).

Furthermore, there is evidence from Condition C effects that postverbal subjects are not preposed even at LF in Romanian (see also Zubizarreta 1998:109 for a similar test on Spanish).[43] Consider the examples in (58).

(58) a. Azi [profesorul lui Victor$_i$] l$_i$-a lăudat.
today [teacher-the his Victor] CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG praised
'Victor$_i$'s teacher praised him$_i$ today.'
[coreference okay]

---

[42] The same observation has been put forth for Spanish by Casielles (1996) and Zubizarreta (1998). Consider the examples in (i) borrowed from Zubizarreta (1998:109).

(i) a. A menudo juegan niños en este parque.
often play children in this park
'Children often play in this park.'
b. * Niños a menudo juegan en este parque.
c. * A menudo niños juegan en este parque.

[43] Recall that Condition C of Binding theory postulates that R-expressions (e.g. names) are referentially free (i.e., should lack a c-commanding antecedent in any category), Chomsky (1981). For more on Binding Theory, see chapter 1, section 1.2.

b. * Azi l_i-a lăudat [profesorul lui $Victor_i$].
today CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG praised [teacher-the his Victor]
[coreference not okay]

In (58a), with SOV word order, a coreferential reading between *Victor* (which is contained within the subject phrase) and the clitic is grammatical. This is possible since the clitic does not serve as an antecedent to *Victor*, an R-expression. In (58b), on the other hand, a coreferential reading is ruled out since *Victor*, contained within the subject in the OVS word order, now has the clitic as its antecedent, thus yielding a Condition C violation. Now, if the postverbal subject were to move into Spec,IP covertly (i.e., at LF), we would not expect to find such contrasts between constructions with a postverbal subject and structures with a preverbal subject, since at LF the two structures would be indistinguishable (i.e., both structures would be of the SOV type at LF).

The above empirical facts, which contrast with D-type EPP languages, can be taken as further support for the fact that Case-licensing is confined to initial Merge positions in Romanian and that noun phrases in this language do not move for Case-related reasons, either prior Spell-Out or at LF. These findings are consistent with our assumptions that structural Case is a non-selectional feature, checked overtly (as all feature checking) and without movement.

2.5 Passive structures

In this section we focus on noun phrase licensing in passive structures. Specifically, we investigate the manner in which the derived subject acquires/checks Nominative Case. We show that Nominative is checked in Merge position and argue for lack of Case-related movement at all levels of derivation.

Let us assume, for the purposes of the present discussion, that what characterizes the 'passive' (in contrast to the 'active') is a shift in the status of the logical subject (i.e., the element

bearing the external thematic role), often referred to as 'demotion', as follows: from the bearer of the default Nominative Case in the 'active', in the 'passive', the logical subject shifts to being the bearer of a marked type of case (oblique), or even to being suppressed. [44] This is usually coupled with a shift in the status of the grammatical subject (i.e., the element which agrees with the finite verb/auxiliary) from 'active' (i.e., 'the doer') to 'passive' (i.e., the 'undergoer'), as a consequence of what is often referred to as logical object 'promotion'. The logical object in passives acquires the morphosyntactic properties associated with the NP bearing the external thematic role in the active voice (i.e., that of grammatical subject). The ontologic content remains identical in both active and passive, but the morphosyntactic treatment of the logical arguments changes. This shift of perspective imposed by the speaker on the discourse is intrinsically related to the type of verbal morphology (Active, usually unmarked, versus Passive, usually marked).

2.5.1 Passive constructions in Romanian

In Romanian, two types of 'passive-like' constructions fit the requirements outlined above for what counts as passive and, logically speaking, they are both equivalent to the –EN passive in English. One is realized with affixal morphology, the other with the clitic *se*. The two

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[44] It is essential that the logical subject starts out with Nominative Case. Logical subjects bearing lexical (inherent) case cannot be demoted; consider the examples below, in which the logical subject is the preverbal clitic, inherently marked as Accusative in (i), and as Dative in (ii):

(i)	a.	Mă	doare	în gît.			(Active)
		CL.1SG.ACC	hurt.3SG.PR	in throat			
		'I have a sore throat.'					
	b.	* Sunt durută în gât.					(Passive)
(ii)	a.	Îmi	şade	bine	cu	blugi.	(Active)
		CL.1SG.DAT	stay.3SG.PR	well	with	jeans	
		'Jeans suit me.'					
	b.	* Sunt şezută bine cu blugi.					(Passive)

The examples in (i)-(ii) show that unless the external theta-role is associated with the default Case (i.e., structural Nominative), passivization cannot occur in Romanian.

types are exemplified in (59) and (62) below. We will consider each type in turn; consider first (59):

(59) a. Mihai a citit cărțile.
Mihai.NOM AUX.3SG read books-the
'Mihai has read the books.'

b. Au fost citite <u>cărțile</u> (de Mihai).
AUX.3PL been read.F.PL books-the.NOM (by Mihai) [45]
'The books have been read (by Mihai).'

c. <u>Cărțile</u> au fost citite (de Mihai).
books-the.NOM AUX.3PL been read.F.PL (by Mihai)
'The books have been read (by Mihai).'

(59b-c) are the passive versions of the active sentence in (59a); in this case, the passive is affixally realized (i.e., as an instance of past participle morphology on Romanian 'be'). In (59b-c), the logical subject *Mihai* has been demoted, while the logical object *cartea* 'the book' has been assigned Nominative Case (as shown by plural agreement on the finite auxiliary in the passive voice). Notice that the underlined promoted logical object can (59c) but need not (59b) be preverbal. In fact, parallel to the rest of the subjects in Romanian, the promoted logical object can only appear preverbally with neutral intonation (i.e., without pitch accent), if specific. Consider the passive sentences in (60); (60a) with the bare plural Nominative NP in post-verbal position is well-formed, while (60b), with the bare plural Nominative in preverbal position, is ungrammatical.

[45] Structural Nominative Case is not visible on full NPs (i.e., it is not distinct from Accusative). However, the agreement on Inflection indicates that the logical object has been promoted to grammatical subject in the passive voice. For illustrative purposes, Nominative Case will be indicated throughout this section.

(60) a. Au fost citite cărți (de Mihai).
AUX.3PL been read.FEM.PL books.NOM (by Mihai)
'Books have been read (by Mihai).'

b. * Cărți au fost citite (de Mihai).
books.NOM AUX.3PL been read.FEM.PL (by Mihai)
'Books have been read (by Mihai).'

In addition to the affixal passive, labelled 'canonical' in Spencer (1991), Romance languages have a passive construction realized with pronominal *se*. This type of passive, misleadingly labelled 'reflexive' passive (Spencer 1991) is extremely common in Romance languages and has all the relevant properties of the 'canonical' passive. [46] We illustrate with French and Romanian examples, in (61) and (62), respectively.

(61) a. On mange cette racine. (French)
one eats this root
'People / One eats this root.'

b. Cette racine se mange (par tout le monde). (French)
this root.NOM SE eats (by all the world)
'This root is edible.' / 'This root is being eaten by everybody.'

(62) a. Toată lumea mănîncă mere.
all people-the eat.3SG.PR apples
'Everybody eats apples.'

b. Se mănîncă mere (de toată lumea).
SE eat.3SG.PR apples.NOM (by all people-the)
'Apples are being eaten by everybody.'

[46] This passive is probably labelled 'reflexive' due to the fact that the pronominal clitic/affix *se* (a homonym of the reflexive in Romance) is used instead of the 'canonical' passive morphology. In fact, there is syntactic (and semantic) evidence that passive *se* should be kept distinct from reflexive *se* (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994b, 1999), but this point is of little import here.

c.	* Mere	se	mănîncă	(de toată	lumea).
	apples.NOM.	SE	eat.3SG.PR	(by all	people-the)

'Apples are being eaten by everybody.'

In (61)-(62), the logical subject is again demoted, to the discourse-prominence benefit of the direct object. In Romanian the affixal passive construction is in free variation with the *se* passive, both being in effect instances of canonical passive, as shown in (63) [47].

(63) a. affixal passive:

Au	fost	închise	porțile	(de către soldați).
AUX.3PL	been	locked	gates-the.NOM	(by the soldiers)

'The gates have been locked (by the soldiers).'

b. *se* passive:

S-au	închis	porțile	(de către soldați).
SE –AUX.3PL	locked	gates-the	(by the soldiers)

'The gates have been locked (by the soldiers).'

Examples such as (63), showing the Romanian affixal passive in free variation with the *se* passive suggest that, syntactically speaking, a unitary analysis should be available for both of these

---

[47] The *se* passive is not generally used when the promoted logical object is an animate NP, since it would give rise to ambiguity between a passive and a reflexive reading. In these cases, only the -EN canonical passive is used.

(i)

Hoții	au	închis	copiii	în casă.
thieves-the	AUX.3PL	locked	children-the	in house

'The thieves have locked the children inside the house.'

(ii)

Copiii	au	fost	închisi	în casă
children-the.NOM	AUX.3PL	been	locked	in house
(de hoti)				
(by thieves)				

'The children were locked inside the house (by thieves).'

(iii)

Copiii	s-au	închis	în casă.
children-the.NOM	REFL- AUX.3PL	locked	in house-the'

'The children have locked themselves inside the house.'
'* The children were locked inside the house (by X).'

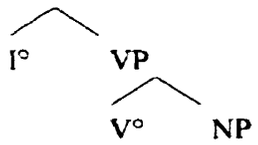
constructions. We assume that clitic *se* essentially plays the same role that passive morphology does in the 'canonical' passive; namely, it 'absorbs' the external theta-role and Accusative Case (see, for example, Baker, Johnson and Roberts 1989). Moreover, notice that the same interpretational requirements hold for both types of passive structures. In order to be able to raise to the preverbal (IP-related) position, the Nominative NPs have to be specific (see 60b and 62c). The default position of the logical object 'promoted' to grammatical subject, is the postverbal one. We now need to address the nature of this postverbal position in the syntactic tree, alongside the Nominative Case-licensing mechanism.

2.5.2 Passives and Minimalism

We have seen that in passives, the noun phrase marked for Nominative Case can surface pre- or post-verbally. The preverbal position is semantically restricted in the same manner as was discussed to be relevant for all active voice predicates. In section 2.4.4., we concluded that there is no preverbal canonical subject position in Romanian. Theoretically, this follows from the specifics of the EPP feature in this language. Therefore, for the purposes of Nominative Case-licensing, we are only interested in the postverbal position. The logical direct object (turned grammatical subject) of passives is merged as a complement of the verb. The issue we are concerned with is whether this object noun phrase can check/erase Nominative in-situ, or whether it needs to move to a derived position in order to do so.

Passives are derived unaccusatives. The morphosyntactic properties of the passive verb make it incompatible with an external argument, to the benefit of the internal argument, merged in direct object position. Consequently, on a par with unaccusatives, we assume a structural representation for passives as in (64), in which the light *v*P-shell is absent.

(64) IP



Under a representation as in (64) for the Romanian passive, we suggest that Nominative Case-licensing/checking for the noun phrase obtains in its direct object Merge position. The line of argumentation is identical to the one used for subjects of unaccusatives. In (64), I° has uninterpretable phi-features (P) which need to be erased. These features match the uninterpretable Case-features (G) of the direct object noun phrase. The operation Agree (cf. MP98) is a necessary and sufficient condition for erasure of uninterpretable elements to obtain between a probe and its goal. Since in (64), the conditions for Agree obtain (see discussion in section 2.4.2), all uninterpretable features are erased and convergence of the derivation is guaranteed without any noun phrase movement. This analysis is also supported by the fact that the preverbal passivized NP is semantically constrained.

We shall try to simplify the technicalities of our Case-licensing analysis in the concluding remarks of this section. In the meantime, let us see whether the claim we have made for passives, namely that the object noun phrase is case-licensed without raising, is supported by empirical data.

There is evidence from Binding phenomena that supports our analysis. Let us consider the active examples in (65) and their passive counterparts in (68), involving the ditransitive Romanian verb *a dărui* 'to give/bestow upon'.

(65) <u>Active Voice</u>:

	Pictorul$_i$	a	dăruit		
	painter-the	AUX.3SG	given		
[$_{vP}$ t$_i$ t $_{V^\circ}$ $_{v'}$	[fiecărui copil]$_j$	t$_V$	portretul	lui $_{i,j}$].	
[$_{vP}$ t$_i$ t $_{V^\circ}$ $_{v'}$	each.DAT child$_j$	t$_V$	[portrait-the	his$_{i,j}$]ACC]	

'The painter$_i$ gave each child$_j$ his$_{i,j}$ portrait.'

The possessive pronoun *lui* 'his' in (65) can refer either to *pictorul* 'the painter' or *fiecărui copil* 'each child'. While NPs can be coreferential with a (non-c-commanding) pronoun, see (66a), a quantified noun cannot simply be coreferential with a pronoun, but has to bind it, see (66b). [48]

(66) a. Mihai$_i$ was excited and he$_i$ was happy.

b. * [Every boy]$_i$ was excited and he$_i$ was happy.

c. [Every boy]$_i$ thought he$_i$ was happy.

Since binding involves a c-command relationship, (66b) is ungrammatical precisely because the pronoun fails to be c-commanded by the quantifier. It then follows that in (65), the possessive pronoun *lui* 'his' is c-commanded by the quantified indirect object. This is confirmed by the structural representation of (65), illustrated in (67).

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[48] The examples in (i)-(ii) also crucially point to the fact that quantifier binding is sensitive to c-command rather than just linearity (we thank Jila Ghomeshi for pointing (i) out to us).

(i) English:
* [Pictures of [every boy]$_i$] impressed his$_i$ mother.

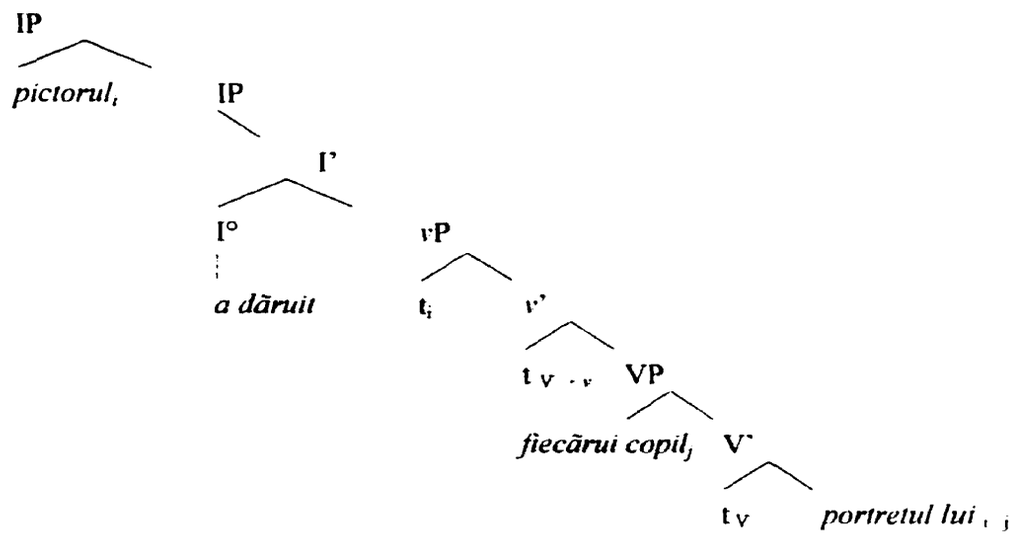
(ii) Romanian equivalent of (i):

*[Fotografiile	[fiecărui	băiat]$_i$]	au	impresionat-o
pictures-the	each.DAT	boy	AUX.3SG	impressed-CL.3SG.ACC.F.

pe mama	lui$_i$.
PE mother-the	his

See also Reinhart (1983:122) who argues that a pronoun must be c-commanded by a quantifier in order to be interpreted as a variable bound by that quantifier.

(67)



Let us next consider the passive counterpart of the example in (64).

(68) <u>Passive Voice</u>:

a.	A	fost	dăruit		
	AUX.3SG	been	given		
[$_{VP}$	fiecărui copil$_j$		t_V	portretul	lui$_j$].
[$_{VP}$	each.DAT child$_j$		t_V	[portrait-the	his$_j$]NOM]

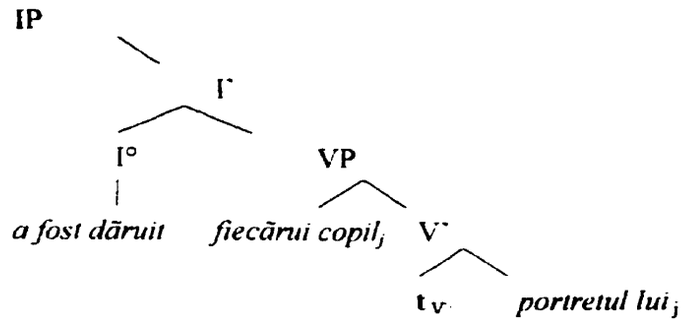
'His portrait has been given to each child.'

b.	Portretul	lui $_{*j}$		a	fost	dăruit
	[portrait-the	his $_{*j}$]NOM		AUX.3SG	been	given
[$_{VP}$	fiecărui copil$_j$		t_V	t].		
[$_{VP}$	each.DAT child$_j$		t_V	t]		

'His portrait has been given to each child.'

The Binding relations between the quantified indirect object NP and the possessive pronoun are identical in the active sentence and its passive counterpart in (68a). In this case then, the direct object (now a grammatical subject) is still c-commanded by the indirect object, as in (69), and coindexation is legitimate.

(69)



In (68b), on the other hand, the Nominative argument has raised above the indirect object (presumably to an IP-adjoined position; see chapter 5) and is no longer c-commanded by the quantified object and anaphoric binding is ruled out. Consequently, coindexation is ungrammatical. [49]

Notice that the same c-command constraints are observed with the *se* passive; consider the examples in (70).

(70) a. S-a dăruit
SE-AUX.3SG given
[$_{VP}$ fiecărui copil$_j$ t_V portretul lui$_j$].
[$_{VP}$ each.DAT child$_j$ t_V [portrait-the his$_j$]NOM]
'His portrait has been given to each child.'

b. Portretul lui $\bullet_j$ s-a dăruit
[portrait-the his $\bullet_j$]NOM SE-AUX.3SG given
[$_{VP}$ fiecărui copil$_j$ t_V t].
[$_{VP}$ each.DAT child$_j$ t_V t]
'His portrait has been given to each child.'

The fact that the c-commanding relationships need not change in the transition from active to passive, suggests that there is no reason to assume that the Nominative object raises out

[49] The ungrammaticality of examples such as (68b) also serves as an argument against LF raising for Nominative Case checking. If LF raising were involved, we would expect (68a) to be equally ungrammatical.

of its initial Merge position for the purposes of Case-licensing at any level in the derivation (i.e., not even at LF).

To conclude, in Romanian, 'promoted' object noun phrases do not raise in passive structures for Case-associated reasons.

2.6 Summing up NP-licensing in Romanian

The somewhat technical analysis adopted for explaining structural Case-licensing facts in Romanian is, in fact, extremely simple. Whenever a lexical verb selects a singleton argument, this noun phrase has to bear Nominative Case-features. As in all nominative-accusative language, Romanian has Nominative Case as its default structural Case.

The above remark can be elegantly accounted for in terms of 'Dependent Case Theories', proposed and developed by a number of authors to account for Case (Harley 1995, Massam 1985, inter alia). These theories argue that the Case that appears on a noun phrase is determined by which other structural Cases have been checked in the clause. In a nominative-accusative language, Nominative Case must always be assigned to some nominal, preferably (but not always) the subject. Only after Nominative has been assigned, can Accusative be assigned to the next structurally Case-marked nominal, and so on. We assume Nominative Case to be assigned to the NP closest to I° (in terms of c-command); counting therefore proceeds downwards. In (71), we exemplify this Case-assignment algorithm with Harley's (1995:161) 'Mechanincal Case Parameter'.

(71) 'The Mechanical Case Parameter'

a. If one case feature is checked structurally in a clause, it is realized as Nominative (mandatory case);

b. If two case features are checked structurally in a clause, the second is realized as Accusative;

c. If three case features are checked structurally in a clause, the second is realized as Dative and the third as Accusative;

d. The mandatory case in a multiple-case clause is assigned in the top/bottom AgrP.

The parameter in (71d) distinguishes between nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive languages. In nominative-accusative languages, Nominative Case is assigned to the first case-bearing nominal in the clause, while in ergative-absolutive languages absolutive case is assigned to the last case-bearing nominal.

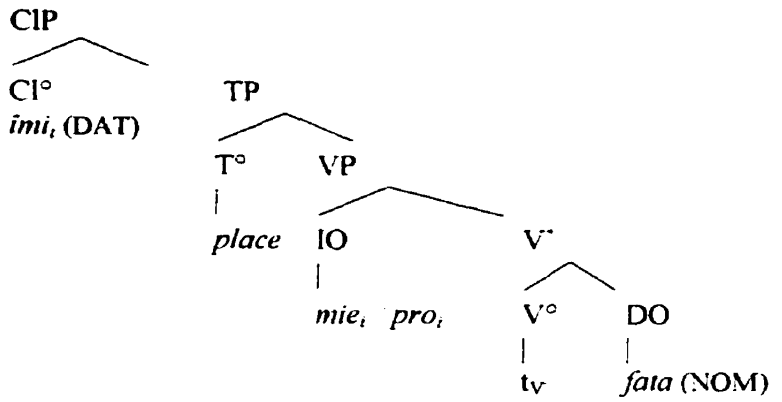
It seems that a Dependent Case theoretical approach would be able to account for the behaviour of unaccusative and passive structures cross-linguistically. Nominative would be assigned to the object, as the subject is absent. Moreover, this approach can succesfully account for structures involving logical subjects marked with lexical (non-structural) Case in which Nominative Case is assigned to another argument. Consider the Romanian example in (72).

(72)	Îmi	place	(mie)	(* pe)	fata.
	CL.DAT.1SG.	like.3SG	(me.DAT)	(* PE)	girl-the.NOM [50]
	'I like the girl.'				

In (70), the logical subject is the clitic, inherently marked for dative case. Consequently, the direct object *fata* 'the girl' can be marked with structural Nominative (rather than, Accusative) Case. (72) is structurally represented as (73).

[50] 'PE' is a dummy preposition associated with Romanian [+ human] direct objects. Authors disagree whether it marks Accusative Case, specificity, presuppositionality, or a combination thereof. The ungrammaticality of 'PE' in (70) indicates the absence of Accusative Case on the NP *fata* 'the girl'.

(73)



Case-licensing then is not dependent on a specific location either in Dependent Case Theories, or in the MP98. Considering that in earlier generative theory, structural Case was defined as being assigned in a specific syntactic configuration, what is the significance of structural Case once we have deprived it of its 'structural' aspect? We suggest structural Case is best viewed along the lines of Kratzer (1994:116), as "Case that is assigned by inflectional (functional) elements", rather than Case that is assigned in a specific syntactic configuration. The fact that, in Romanian, Case-licensing takes place in Merge positions, is then an immediate consequence of the fact that Case-features cannot induce movement in and of themselves, correlated with the absence of a D-type EPP feature on the Romanian Infl. [51]

One last issue remains to be addressed. What is the status of 'pro' in Romanian? In generative theory, small 'pro' is an empty (i.e., phonetically null) noun phrase, base-generated in the canonical position of the arguments it stands for. It is in complementary distribution with lexical noun phrases and has a local identifier, usually an inflectional element, which is overtly marked for phi-features. For example, subject 'pro' is taken to be identified and coindexed with

[51] Notice that, even though we posit Case checking in initial Merge positions, we do not assume structural Accusative or structural Nominative Case to be assigned by the selecting lexical (substantive) head X°. Structural Case can only be assigned/checked by inflectional (non-substantive) heads: I° for Nominative, and *v*° for Accusative. This is, in effect, the essence of structural Case.

the Agreement component of Inflection. Recast in Minimalist terms, for Romanian we would say that the phi-features on I° match and agree with the Case-features of 'pro' in Spec,vP. Direct and indirect object 'pro' are usually available in languages with pronominal clitics. In Romanian, the phi-features of the pronominal clitics within Inflection match and agree with the case-features of object 'pro' within VP. The question is whether we need to maintain 'pro' in the analysis developed here and the answer is affirmative. The best evidence for the presence of 'pro' in Romanian, is the fact that in a sentence with a non-overt subject, the remaining noun phrases in the derivation are assigned structural Case, as if a subject were present. In other words, in example (74), the direct object is assigned structural Accusative, even though there is no 'visible' subject.

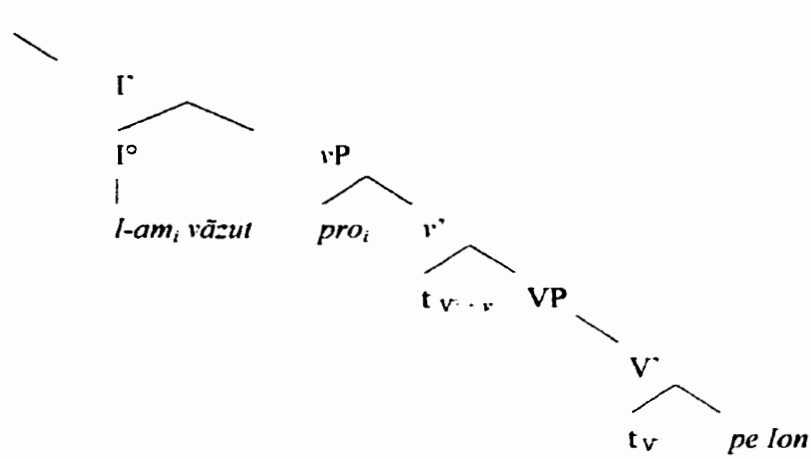
(74)	L-am	văzut	pe Ion.
	CL3SG.ACC.M-AUX.1SG.	seen	PE Ion.ACC.
	'I saw Ion.'		

We have seen that Nominative Case is the mandatory structural Case in Romanian. The fact that the direct object in (74) bears structural Accusative Case indicates that structural Nominative has already been assigned. We assume it has been assigned to a subject 'pro' merged in Spec,vP, as in (75). [52]

---

[52] Notice that both NPs can be realized as 'pro' in (74), provided there is some sort of 'agreement' in the Inflectional domain (i.e., the inflected auxiliary for subject-agreement, and the pronominal clitic for object agreement). This is represented in (i).

(75)



To sum up, we proposed that in Romanian noun phrases check structural Case in Merge positions (i.e., in their base-generated, thematic position), irrespective of the predicate type (i.e., transitive, unaccusative, unergative). Case-checking in Merge is a direct consequence of lexical verb raising to $v°$ and I° in Romanian. Verb movement, due to a selectional V-type EPP feature on I°, triggers the overt presence of phi-features in I° and Case-features in $v°$, which agree with the Nominative Case-feature of the subject and the Accusative Case-feature of the object,

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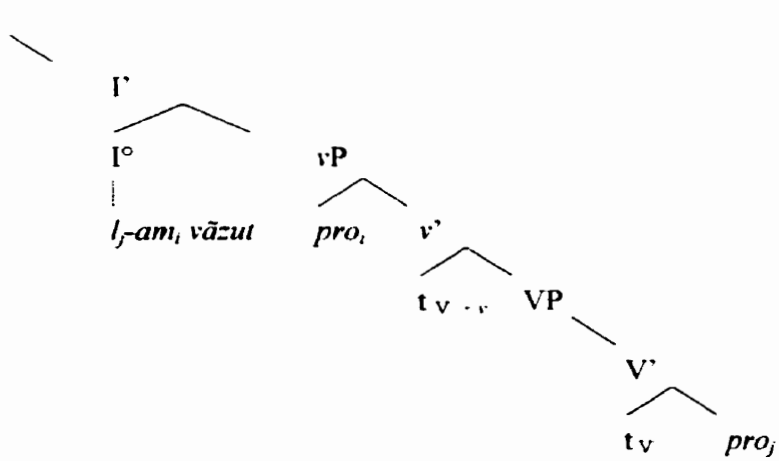
(i)



respectively. The mandatory/default structural Case in Romanian is Nominative Case (in the sense that it is the first structural Case to be assigned/checked in the derivation). [53]

Structural Case, as an uninterpretable formal feature is non-selectional and therefore does not trigger dislocation of the noun phrase when checked. We showed that Binding mechanisms point towards Case checking as a pre-Spell-Out mechanism, which is consistent with our claim that all feature-checking is overt. Lack of a D-type EPP feature on the Romanian Inflection, alongside structural Case-checking in Merge positions, guarantee the absence of a preverbal IP-related canonical subject Case position in this language, whose consequences for the Romanian clause structure will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5. Moreover, we claim that Romanian lacks a unique subject position.

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[53] This is not synonymous with saying that I° compulsorily discharges Nominative Case. For example, the sentence in (i) is felicitous without Nominative. Our point is that Nominative is the first structural Case to be assigned to a Case-less NP/ *pro*.

(i)	Îmi	place	în Winnipeg.
	CL.DAT.1SG	like.3SG	in Winnipeg
	'I like it in Winnipeg.'		

They were wrong about the sun.
It does not go down into
the underworld at night.
The sun leaves merely
and the underworld emerges.
It can happen at any moment.
Margaret Atwood, *Morning in the Burned House*

Chapter 3: NP-Raising and Presentational Focus [1]

3.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we showed that, in Romanian, NPs do not move for the purpose of Case checking or EPP feature-erasure. Structural Case is assigned overtly, in Merge positions, via the operation Agree, for which matching of features and observance of a domain constraint are sufficient. On the other hand, we illustrated various word order possibilities which point toward ample NP-movement in the language. The flexibility of NP incidence was seen to be correlated to semantic interpretation in the following manner: while the post-verbal field freely allowed both definite and indefinite subject and object NPs, the preverbal field was argued to be restricted to specific NPs. [2]

---

[1] This chapter is a revised and expanded version of Alboiu (1999c). Our thoughts on the ideas presented here have benefitted from comments provided by Alexandra Cornilescu, Elizabeth Cowper, Jila Ghomeshi, Virginia Motapanyane, Kevin Russell, and Charlotte Reinholtz, all of which we gratefully acknowledge.

[2] See chapter 2, as well as chapters 4 and 5, in which a more detailed analysis is provided for movement to the preverbal field in Romanian.

This semantic restriction is illustrated for object NPs which, in Romanian, can appear in any of the following three constructions: VSO, VOS, OVS. Consider the examples in (1), in which the object NP is underlined.

(1) a. A cumpărat Ion <u>inelul / un inel</u>.
AUX.3SG bought Ion ring-the / a ring
'Ion bought the ring/a ring.'

b. A cumpărat <u>inelul / un inel</u> Ion.
AUX.3SG bought ring-the/ a ring Ion
'Ion bought the ring/a ring.'

c. <u>Inelul</u> l-a cumpărat Ion.
ring-the CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG bought Ion
'Ion bought the ring.'

d. * <u>Un inel</u> a cumpărat Ion.
a ring AUX.3SG bought Ion
'Ion bought a ring.'

With neutral intonation, the object in the OVS word order sequence can only be understood as a topic and, consequently has to be definite or discourse-linked in some other manner (i.e., retrievable from the context); hence, the ungrammaticality of (1d). There is no such semantic constraint in the post-verbal field, see (1a-b). However, (1a) with VSO word order is not pragmatically synonymous to (1b), with VOS word order. In VSO constructions, both the subject and the object noun phrases are understood as new information focus. In the VOS word order sequence, on the other hand, the object, if not stressed, is de-focused and understood as part of the presupposition (i.e., the theme), together with the verb.

Clarification of terms is required before we proceed. In this chapter, the term 'focus' refers to 'presentational/rhematic focus' and covers material that represents information newly introduced in the discourse. This category of focus (i.e., new information) goes back to the

Prague School and stems from the pragmatic tradition. According to Vallduví and Vilkuna (1998), rhematicity has to do with the dynamics of text structure or information packaging. [3] Rochemont (1986), argues that (presentational) focus contains the elements in the sentence that are contextually unbound, and Lambrecht (1994) views this type of focus as representing what is asserted rather than what is presupposed.

The 'theme' represents old/presupposed information. It serves as an anchor to the rheme, as 'input information' (cf. Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998). According to these authors, theme and rheme are cross-linguistically realized in different ways. Syntactic, prosodic, or morphological strategies may be used. For example, English chooses to exploit intonation to differentiate different theme-rheme partitions, but preserves a constant syntactic structure. Catalan, on the other hand, exploits syntax (cf. Vallduví 1995). In Catalan, the intonational structure remains constant, while the position of the constituents in the structure varies according to its rhematic or thematic interpretation.

The examples in (1) suggest that Romanian also exploits syntax to encode sentence pragmatics. The preverbal field is thematic (topical), while the post-verbal field is rhematic, in VSO word order sequences, or is divided into two pragmatic domains, one presupposed/thematic, the other rhematic, in VOS word order sequences. Since the verb always raises to I° in Romanian, 'post-verbal' refers to material lower than the Inflectional head targetted by the verb. Following the assumption that in VSO constructions NPs are licensed without movement (see chapter 2), the rhematic domain in Romanian will be synonymous to vP-internal material. VOS constructions, which accommodate an additional post-verbal pragmatic domain, are derived structures.

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[3] Where 'information packaging' indicates "how linguistically conveyed information is to be added to a (hearer's mental model of the) context or discourse, given the speaker's assumptions about it." (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998:81).

In this chapter, we focus on the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of VOS constructions in Romanian. We argue that these structures are derived by object NP-movement from a basic VSO word order. More specifically, we propose that VOS constructions involve raising of the object noun phrase out of the VP, across the subject left in-situ. The availability of raising quantified NPs, lack of weak crossover effects, and the reversal of binding phenomena, provide solid syntactic support for an A-movement analysis of the raised object.

The implications of an object movement approach for VOS constructions in Romanian is further discussed in view of the particulars of object raising in a more general perspective. In contrast to other languages that allow (or require) movement of objects to argumental positions, we suggest that in Romanian VOS constructions, the object does not move for the purposes of Case checking, since in this language structural Case is checked without movement and PPs can also appear in these constructions. Moreover, the A-moved NP object does not entail (or require) a strong, definite interpretation, as is often the case (for example, in Germanic languages, Hindi, Turkish, or Persian). [4] Nor does it observe the restrictions imposed by noun-incorporating languages such as Niuean (cf, Massam 1998) and Greenlandic (cf. van Geenhoven 1998). Rather, the raised object is interpreted as de-focused (in the sense of 'de-rhematicized'), while the in-situ subject acquires maximal focus prominence. We analyse object movement in Romanian VOS constructions as an instance of 'evacuation' for subject focusing. [5]

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.1 introduces Romanian VOS constructions and discusses their interpretation and previous analyses. Section 3.2 argues for lack of inverted subjects in Romanian. Section 3.3 provides syntactic evidence for an object raising analysis.

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[4] Recall that semantically constrained object raising in Romanian is restricted to OV(S) word order sequences.

[5] A similar analysis has also been proposed for other Romance languages, such as Catalan (Vallduví 1995) and Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998).

Section 3.4 discusses Romanian object raising from a cross-linguistic perspective and section 3.5 provides an analysis for the Romanian data. Sections 3.6 - 3.7 offer some concluding remarks.

3.1 VOS constructions in Romanian

Let us first consider some examples involving VOS word order sequences in Romanian.

(2) **V** **O** **S**

a. A scris o carte prietena mea.
AUX.3SG written a book friend-the my
'The act of book-writing has been performed by my friend.'

b. Au luat notă mare toţi elevii.
AUX.3.PL taken mark high all students-the
'All the students have received a good grade.'

c. Şi-au luat maşină prietenii mei.
REFL-AUX.3PL taken car friends-the my
'My friends have bought themselves a car.'

d. Ieri i-a cusut o rochită mama.
Yesterday CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG sewn a dress mother-the
'My/her mother sewed her a dress yesterday.'

e. Mereu îi$_i$ ceartă pe copii$_i$ amîndoi părinţii.
always CL.3PL.ACC scold.3PL PE children both parents-the
'It's always both parents that scold the children.'

f. A spart uşa hoţul.
AUX.3SG broken door-the thief-the
'The thief has broken the door.'

g. Le-a dat copiilor bomboane mama.
CL.DAT.3PL-AUX.3SG given children.DAT sweets.ACC mother-the
'Mother gave the children sweets.'

h.	Joacă	<u>şah</u>	amîndoi	copiii.
	play.3PL	chess	both	children

'Both children play chess.'

The examples in (2) involve objects of different semantic types. The direct object NPs are marked as indefinite (2a,d), specific (2e), and definite (2f), or appear unmarked, as bare singulars (2b,c,h), and bare plurals (2g). [6] However, irrespective of semantic type, the objects in (2), are all de-focused (unless stressed). They are understood as part of the presupposition (i.e., the theme), together with the verb. [7] This contrasts with the basic VSO word order, in which the object is understood rhematically, together with the subject, as new information (i.e., presentational focus). The subject NP, on the other hand, retains its rhematic interpretation irrespective of whether the word order is VSO or VOS, with the difference that, in VOS constructions, the deeply embedded subject is under maximal rhematic prominence, being the exclusive new information focus. [8, 9]

---

[6] Most of the examples throughout (2) involve direct objects, but indirect objects can also appear to the left of the subject NP, as in (2g). We assume a uniform analysis throughout and use 'VOS' as an umbrella term to refer to any of the following constructions: V IO S, V DO S, V IO DO S.

[7] Throughout the examples in (2), while the event is presupposed as a whole, for example, the act of book-writing in (2a), the event of getting good grades in (2b), and so on, the object NP is not independently understood as topical. We return to this issue in section 3.4, where we discuss object raising from a more general perspective.

[8] In effect, whatever material is left in-situ within the VP is focused in the sense of new information focus. When prosodically marked as such, the subject in VOS constructions can be interpreted as a contrastive focus, as in (i), where contrastive focus is indicated via capital letters.

(i)	Le-a	dat	copiilor	bomboane	MAMA.
	CL.DAT.3PL-AUX.3SG	given	children.DAT	sweets.ACC	mother-the

'It was mother that gave the children sweets.'

[9] It is interesting to note that *VOS* constructions in Spanish have also been claimed to involve unambiguous subject focusing (Zubizarreta 1998), and, according to Webelhuth (1992), *OS*(V) word order in German is licit only when the subject is heavily focused.

In Romanian, new information (i.e., the rheme) is embedded within the *v*P. Elements that represent new information stay in-situ in their base-generated position (i.e., Merge position). For clarification, consider (3) in which *mama* 'mother' is a presentational focus element.

(3) presentational focus :

Q: Who has come home?

a.	A	venit	acasă	mama.
	AUX.3SG	come	home	mother-the
b.	Mama.			
	mother-the			
c.	# Mama	a	venit	acasă.
	mother-the	AUX.3SG	come	home
d.	# A	venit	mama	acasă.
	AUX.3SG	come	mother-the	home

'Mother came home. / Mother did.'

In (3), the information that is asserted is *mama* 'mother', while the 'home-coming' represents the input information. (3a,b) are both felicitous answers to the initial question Q. The element representing new information focus, *mama* 'mother' has not undergone any dislocation, but resides in its base-generated *v*P-internal position. Both (3c,d), on the other hand, are pragmatically odd. In (3c) *mama* 'mother' has moved out of the rhematic domain and into the left periphery of the clause. Since *mama* 'mother' cannot be understood as a topic, the word order sequence in (3c) is infelicitous. [10] In (3d), *mama* 'the mother' interferes between material which

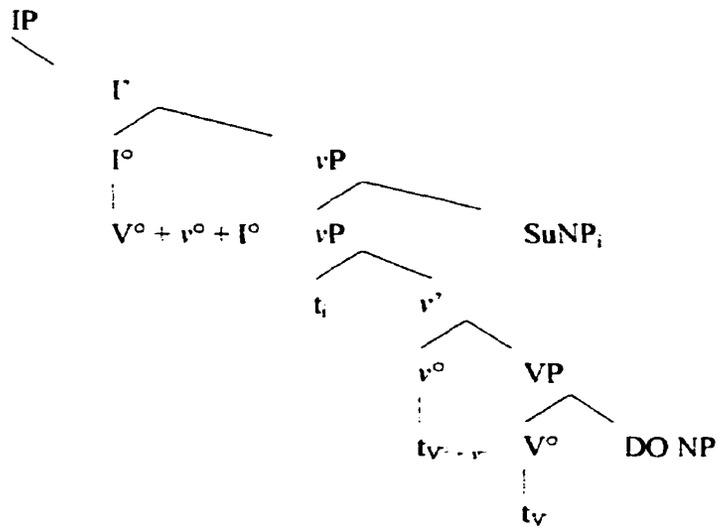
[10] Notice that this is a pragmatic constraint and has nothing to do with the definiteness effect. Old information is understood as D(iscourse)-linking (cf. Pesetsky 1987), not referentiality or definiteness, since definite NPs can reside within the *v*P. In (3), *mama* 'mother' is marked for definiteness (in view of its referential nature) but it can still represent rhematic focus.

is presupposed making up the input information; since *mama* 'the mother' is the new information focus, the sentence is again pragmatically odd.

The VOS constructions in (2), with maximal thematic focusing on the subject NP, are derived structures. There are two logical possibilities to derive them: (i) to assume subject movement, or (ii) to assume object movement.

Burzio (1986), Rizzi (1982, 1986a), and Suñer (1994) (among others), propose that postverbal subjects in Romance unergative and transitive predicates represent instances of subject right-adjunction to VP (*v*P in Minimalist terms). The 'inverted'-subject approach implies that in VOS constructions the object noun phrase remains in-situ, while the subject undergoes dislocation (or is base-generated VP-adjoined, cf. Burzio 1986) to a Case-licensed position. Example (4), illustrates the subject right-adjunction structure.

(4) Subject right-adjunction:



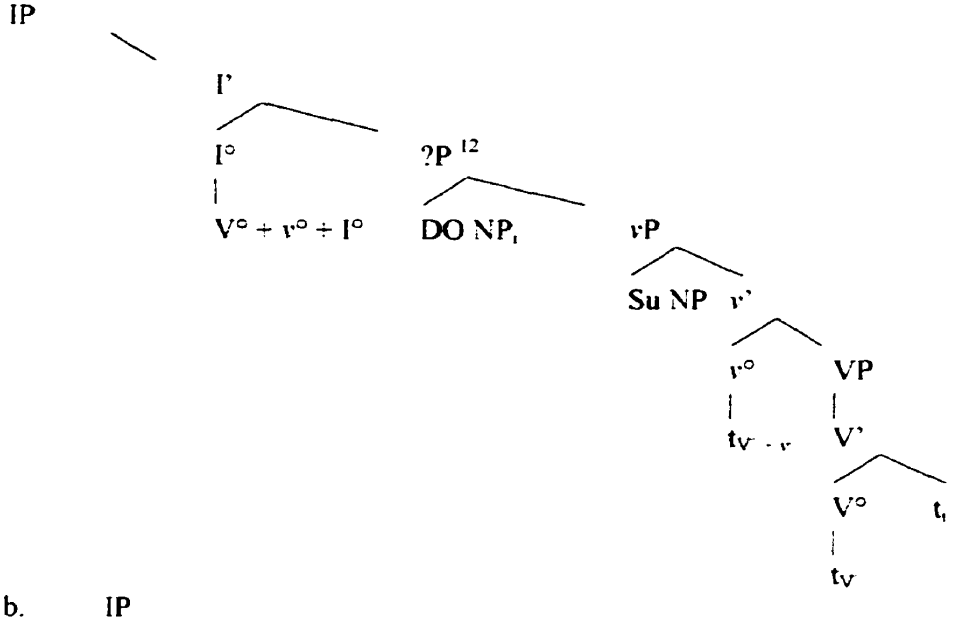
The second logical possibility is to assume that the subject stays in-situ, while the object noun phrase raises above it, to its left. [11] An analysis in which the object has been dislocated,

[11] Object raising in VOS constructions has been proposed for modern Greek (in Alexiadou 1994), for Catalan (in Vallduví 1995), for Czech (in Kotalik 1996), for Spanish (Ordóñez and Zubizarreta 1998), and is mentioned in Cornilescu (1997). Object movement in Romanian is also

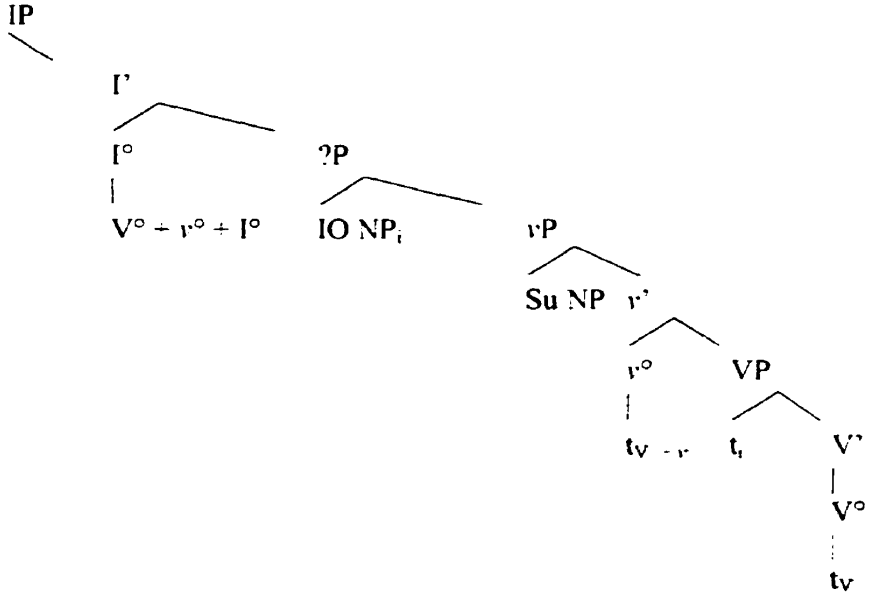
will result in a structure as in (5a) or (5b), depending on whether the raised noun phrase is a direct or an indirect object.

(5) Object raising:

a.



b.



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independently argued for on different grounds in Gierling (1997). This author correlates movement out of the VP with clitic doubling structures and Spec,AgrOP as the landing site.

[12] The landing site of the raised object is left unlabelled for the time being, but see section 3.5.

We propose that the only tenable analysis for Romanian VOS constructions is the object raising approach. First, we show that there is no independent evidence for subject right-adjunction in the language. Secondly, we show that prevalent syntactic properties of VOS constructions can only be captured under the object raising analysis.

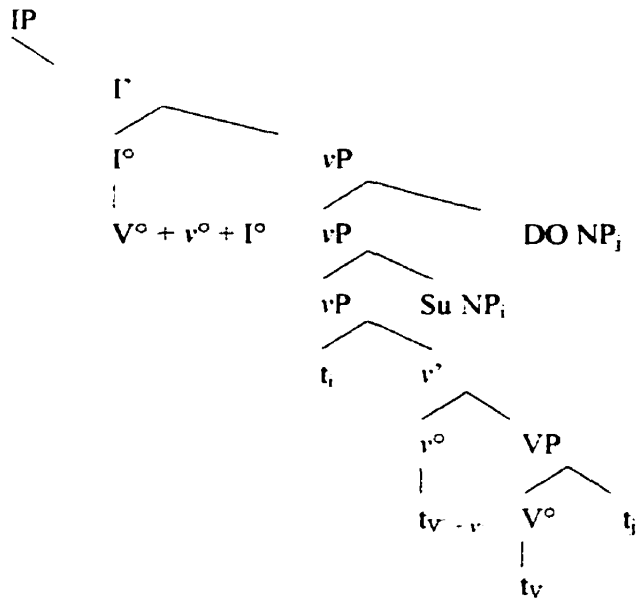
3.2 Against subject right-adjunction in Romanian

In this section, we focus on the lack of independent evidence for subject right-adjunction in Romanian. We offer three syntactic arguments that dispel subject right-adjunction as a viable possibility and adopt a Kayne-type analysis (1994) for Romanian.

3.2.1 VSO and extraction from clausal objects

The fact that, in Romanian, structural Case is erased in Merge positions, does not necessarily imply that subject noun phrases cannot be right-adjoined in this language. However uneconomical, there is in principle the theoretical possibility that VSO word orders involve subject adjunction, with subsequent object adjunction, as in (6).

(6)



Movement violations notwithstanding, let us assume, for the sake of argument, that vacuous rightward movement of the type in (6) is permitted.

Extraction phenomena, however, proves (6) to be untenable. Consider the example in (7), in which a wh-phrase has been felicitously extracted out of the embedded object CP in a VSO configuration.

(7)	Cu	cine$_i$	ți-a	spus	Victor	[că	vine	t_i	Mihai] ?
	With	who$_i$	CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG	said	Victor	[that	comes	t_i	Mihai]

'With whom did Victor tell you that Mihai was coming?'

Ross (1967) argues that rightward movements create islands (i.e., constituents out of which no extraction is possible) and later Cinque (1990) argues that XPs which are not in a position locally selected by a [+V] category are always barriers. This much is more or less standard and we adopt it as such. If in Romanian the clausal object in VSO structures undergoes movement to a right-adjoined position, as in (6), we would expect extraction out of the clausal direct object to be ruled out. The grammaticality of (7) indicates that the sentential direct object occupies its Merge position and has not undergone dislocation. Consequently, the postverbal subject, which precedes the clausal object, cannot have been right-adjoined, but resides in Spec,*v*P.

Let us consider some further examples. In (8b) and (9b-c), extraction out of the clausal direct objects is again fully grammatical, as a result of the fact that the respective CPs are locally selected by a lexical verb.

(8)	a.	Ion	a	spus	[că	s-a	purtat
		Ion	AUX.3SG	said	[that	REFL-AUX.3SG	behaved
		ca	un	domn	Victor].		
		like	a	gentleman	Victor]		

'Ion said [that Victor had behaved like a gentleman].'

b. Cum$_i$ a spus Ion [că s-a
how$_i$ AUX.3SG said John [that REFL-AUX.3SG
purtat t_i Victor] ?
behaved t_i Victor]
'How did Ion say Victor had behaved?'

(9) a. Erau capabili [să spună [că l-au văzut
were capable [SUBJ say [that CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3PL seen
pe Mihai în parc]
PE Mihai in park]]
'They were capable of saying they had seen Mihai in the park.'

b. Pe cine$_i$ erau capabili [să spună [că au văzut
PE who$_i$ were capable [SUBJ say [that AUX.3PL seen
t_i în parc]
t_i in park]]
'Whom were they capable of saying they had seen in the park?'

c. Unde$_i$ erau capabili [să spună [că l-au
Where$_i$ were capable [SUBJ say [that CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3PL
văzut pe Mihai t_i]
seen PE Mihai t_i]]
'Where were they capable of saying they had seen Mihai ?'

In (9b-c) extraction of either an argument (9b) or and adjunct (9c) proceeds across two embedded clauses. In view of their failure to represent islands for movement, the embedded clauses have to be locally selected by the verb and cannot have undergone right-adjunction.

There are, however, examples of right-adjoined clauses in Romanian and, in this case, extraction out of the respective clauses is ungrammatical, as expected. Consider the examples in (10) and (11).

(10) a. Păşea liniştit băiatul [de cîte ori venea acasă].
stepped.3SG calmly boy-the [whenever came.3SG home]
'The boy would walk calmly whenever he came home.'

b. *Unde$_i$ păşea liniştit băiatul [de cîte ori venea t_i].
where$_i$ stepped.3SG calmly boy-the [whenever came.3SG t_i]
'* Where$_i$ would the boy walk calmly whenever he came t_i ?'

(11) a. Erau capabili [să mintă [fără să le
were.3PL capable [SUBJ lie [without SUBJ CL.3PL.ACC
pese de asta]].
care of this]]
'They were capable of lying without caring about it.'

b. *De ce$_i$ erau capabili [să mintă [fără să
of what$_i$ were.3PL capable [SUBJ lie [without SUBJ
le pese t_i]?
CL.3PL.ACC care t_i]
'* About what$_i$ were they capable of lying without caring t_i ?'

In (10b) and (11b), the clausal objects are adjuncts (i.e., VP-adjoined) rather than arguments, and, consequently, create islands for movement since they are not in a local relationship with the verb.

The extraction facts presented above provide evidence that in VSO structures, the subject NP has not right-adjoined to the VP, since the clausal direct object is in its base-generated position.

3.2.2 VOS and sentential objects

Within a derivation, a transitive verb selects an object to Merge in its complement position. Since it is important for the encoding of thematic relations to base-generate/Merge arguments in identical syntactic structures, irrespective of categorial status, we assume Merge takes place in the same syntactic configuration with both NP and clausal objects. Therefore, if

VOS involved subject right-adjunction across the object left in-situ, we would expect to see the sequence, lexical verb - object - subject NP, irrespective of whether the object were an NP or a CP. [13] However, while an object NP is grammatical in VOS constructions, a CP object is excluded in this sequence. Consider the example in (12), involving a direct object NP, in contrast to the ungrammatical ones in (13) and (14), with a clausal object.

(12) VOS with object NP:

Au	mîncat	fursecuri	toți	copiii.
AUX.3PL	eat	cookies	all	children-the

'All the children ate cookies.'

(13) VOS with CP object in a simple transitive:

a.

* Zic	[$_{CP}$ cã	ai	dreptate]	eu.
say.1SG	[that	have.2SG	truth]	I

'I say that you are right.'

b.

* Întreabã	[$_{CP}$ dacã	merge	Mihai]	Victor.
asks.3SG.	[if	goes3SG.	Mihai]	Victor

'Victor is asking whether Mihai is coming.'

(14) CP object in ditransitives:

a. VO_2SO_1

* I-a	spus	[$_{CP}$ cã	Victor	întîrzie]	Mihai	Ioanei
CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG	said	[that	Victor	be late]	Mihai	Ioanei.DAT

'Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.'

b. VO_1O_2S

* I-a	spus	Ioanei	[$_{CP}$ cã	Victor	întîrzie]	Mihai.
CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG	said	Ioanei.DAT	[that	Victor	be-late.3SG]	Mihai

'Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.'

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13 See also Zwart (1997) for a similar remark for Dutch.

c. VO_2O_1S

* l-a	spus	[$_{CP}$ că	Victor	întîrzie]	Ioanei	Mihai.
CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG	said	[that	Victor	be-late.3SG]	Ioanei.DAT	Mihai

'Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.'

d. $(S)V(S)O_2O_1$

(Mihai) i-a		spus	(Mihai)	Ioanei
(Mihai) CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG		said	(Mihai)	Ioanei.DAT
[$_{CP}$ că	Victor	întîrzie].		
[that	Victor	be-late.3SG]		

'Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.'

Both with simple transitives, in (13), and with a ditransitive, in (14), VOS proves ungrammatical with clausal objects. In this case, only the SVO or VSO sequences are permitted, as in (14d). Since we assume arguments base-generate/Merge in identical syntactic structures, irrespective of their categorial status, the examples in (12)-(14) show that VOS in Romanian cannot involve subject right-adjunction across the object left in-situ. Specifically, if we assume subjects can right-adjoin, there is no non-stipulative explanation for the empirical fact that VOS is not possible with clausal objects but possible with NP objects. On the other hand, given that clausal objects never shift/raise leftwards, the object raising view can explain the empirical facts in (13)-(14) without further stipulations. Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, leftward raising of clausal objects is not attested in any of the languages that allow for clause-medial object raising (see also discussion in Zwart 1997).

3.2.3 VP-ellipsis

McCloskey (1997) presents detailed arguments (on the basis of ellipsis, coordination and right-node raising phenomena) that subjects in Irish remain within the VP (or a constituent separated by a major break from the fronted finite verb in I°). Irish, a VSO language with finite

verb raising to Inflection, contrasts with English in that, under the equivalent of VP-ellipsis, the subject must obligatorily elide. Consider (15), from McCloskey (1997:211).

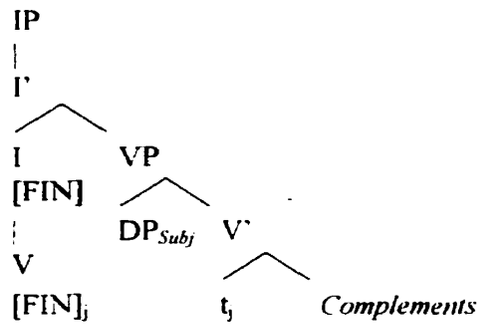
(15)

Ní	tháinig	muid	'na bhaile	anuraidh
NEG	came	we	home	last-year
ach	tiocfaidh	--	i mbliana.	
but	come.FUT		this-year	

'We didn't come home last year but we will this year.'

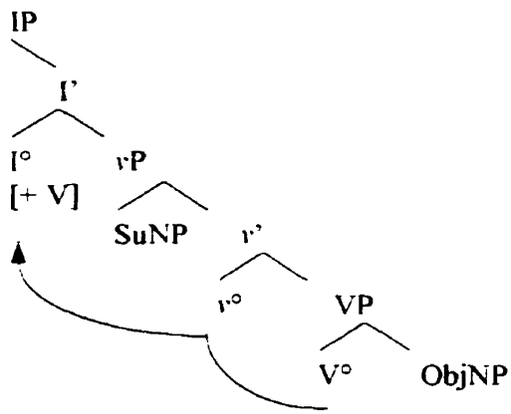
The author argues that (15) follows immediately if we assume a structure as in (16) for Irish in which the subject remains within the VP.

(16)



The structure in (16) is similar in spirit to the one proposed for Romanian in chapter 2 and repeated here as (17).

(17)



Since, in Romanian, the subject noun phrase also stays within the VP (the *v*P under our assumptions, following Minimalism), it too should elide together with other VP-internal material. Consider the examples in (18) in which this assumption is borne out, as expected.

(18) a.

N-am	sunat	noi	acasă	anul	trecut,	
not-AUX.1PL	called	we	home	year-the	last,	
dar	vom	suna	(*noi)	--	anul	acesta.
but	FUT.1PL.	call	(*we)	--	year-the	this

'We didn't call home last year but we will this year.'

b.

N-au	dat	profesorii	note	ieri,	dar
not-AUX.3PL	given	teachers-the	marks	yesterday,	but
vor	da	(*profesorii)	--	azi.	
FUT.3PL.	give.	(*teachers-the)	--	today	

'The teachers didn't give out marks today, but they will tomorrow.'

Both examples in (18) are ungrammatical if the subject noun phrase is not elided. Following McCloskey (1997), we therefore conclude that subjects in both (18a) and (18b) are VP-internal. Specifically, if the subject in Romanian must obligatorily elide under the equivalent of VP-ellipsis, it means that it cannot be VP-adjoined but has to be VP-internal.

3.2.4 Summing up

We have shown that, in Romanian, there is at least the following evidence against inverted subjects (in the sense of VP-right-adjoined):

(i) When followed by a clausal direct object, extraction is possible out of argumental clauses. This indicates that both the subject and the embedded clause occupy their initial Merge positions and implicitly, are not right-adjoined;

(ii) Subjects cannot follow clausal direct objects which occupy the canonical complement position. This empirical fact cannot be felicitously captured under a subject right-adjunction analysis;

(iii) Subjects obligatorily elide with VP-ellipsis. Given that VP-ellipsis elides material contained within VP and not VP-adjuncts, Romanian subjects are contained within VP and not adjoined to VP.

Pending evidence to the contrary, we suggest that subject noun phrases cannot be VP right-adjoined in Romanian. The empirical facts are strengthened by the theory put forth in Kayne (1994). Kayne's (1994) line of research embraces an asymmetric theory of Universal Grammar (UG), which argues that linear order is derived from hierarchical structure. The author introduces the 'Linear Correspondence Axiom' (LCA) which maps asymmetric c-command into linear precedence. This assumption, together with the assumption that UG imposes a Specifier-Head-Complement word order, leads to a ban against rightward movement, all word order variations being the result of different combinations of leftward movements. Assuming this is the correct view, we conclude that Romanian VOS constructions involve object raising.

3.3 Evidence for Object Raising

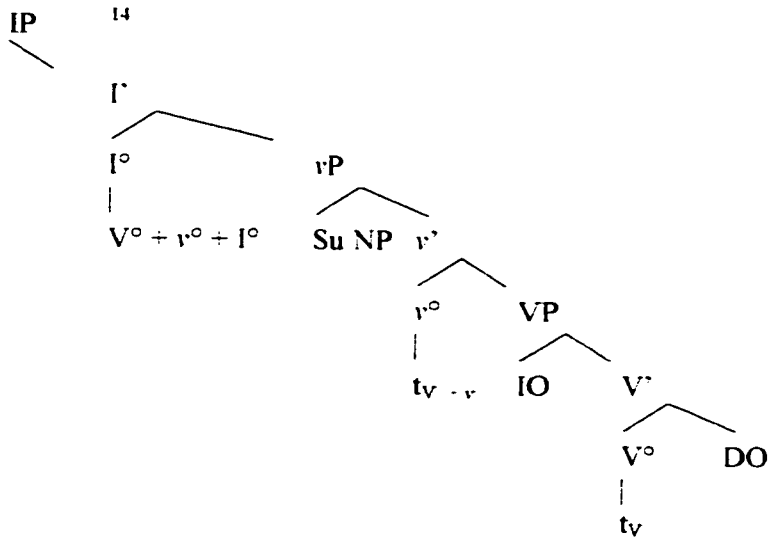
The claim that VOS constructions in Romanian involve object raising across the subject left in-situ is supported by a number of syntactic properties. In this section we discuss effects such as the reversal of binding interactions, the availability of quantifier raising, Condition C violations, and quantifier float phenomena, all of which provide solid syntactic support for a leftward movement analysis of the object NP in VOS word order sequences.

3.3.1 The view from Binding

Binding phenomena provide crucial syntactic evidence for the assumption that Romanian VOS constructions are derived by object raising past the subject NP. In the basic VSO word order

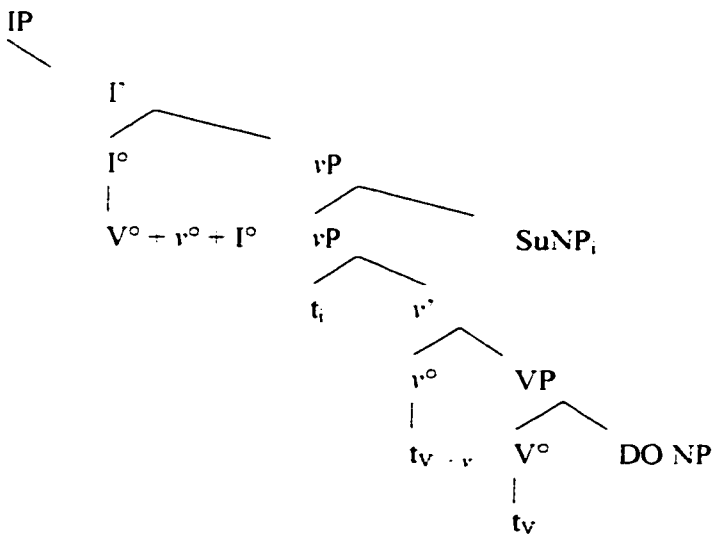
sequence, the subject asymmetrically c-commands both the indirect and the direct object, as in (19).

(19)



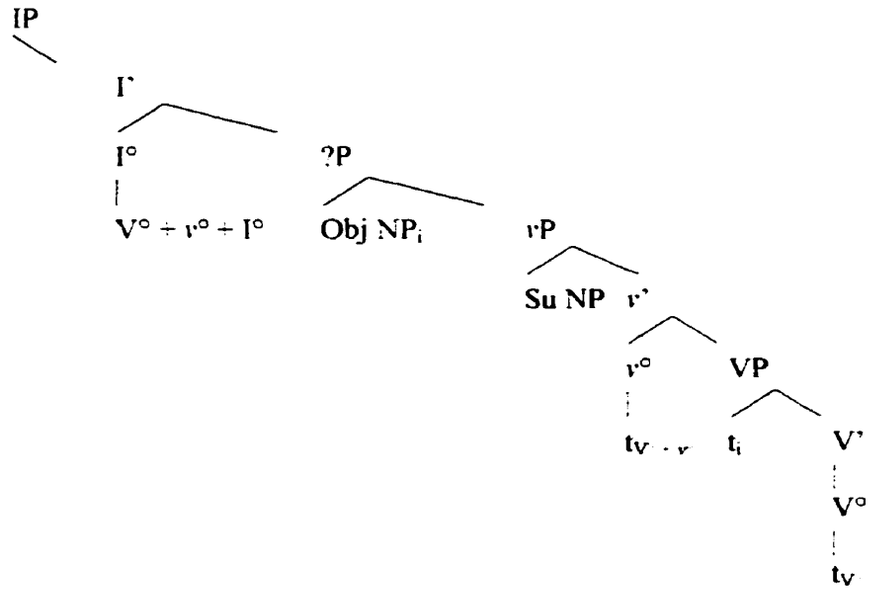
The paramount difference between the subject right-adjunction analysis and the object raising analysis is the shift in c-command relations obtained from VSO to VOS. Consider the structural representations in (20) and (21).

(20) Subject right-adjunction:



[14] Recall that the lexical verb undergoes raising to the Inflectional domain (V°-to-v°-to-I°), while the noun phrase arguments are licensed (theta-marked and Case marked) in their base-generated initial Merge position.

(21) **Object raising:**



In (20), which assumes subject right-adjunction, the c-command relations between the subject and the object NP remain identical to the ones in (19). Specifically, under the subject right-adjunction, the object is c-commanded by the subject in both VSO and VOS structures. In (21), which assumes object raising, the c-command relations are reversed in comparison to the initial situation in (19). In other words, under the object raising analysis, we witness a reversal of the c-command relationship, since the object is no longer c-commanded by the subject in VOS structures, but c-commands it as shown in (21). The essence of the problem is simple: if there is syntactic evidence proving that c-command relations stay the same, VOS can only be derived by subject right-adjunction; if, on the other hand, there is syntactic evidence showing that c-command relations between subject and object change, VOS can only be viewed as derived by object raising.

Let us first consider evidence from the binding of reciprocals. Cross-linguistically, reciprocals are anaphoric elements and, therefore, must be bound (i.e., coindexed with a c-commanding antecedent). Consider the Romanian data in (22).

(22) a. V S IO DO:

Aseară	au	promis	[îndrăgostiții]$_i$
last night	AUX.3PL	promised	[lovers-the]$_i$
[unul altuia]$_i$	luna	de	pe cer.
[each other.DAT]$_i$	moon-the	from	in sky

'Last night the sweethearts promised each other the moon in the sky.'

b. V IO S DO:

* Aseară	au	promis	[unul altuia]$_i$
last night	AUX.3PL	promised	[each other.DAT]$_i$
[îndrăgostiții]$_i$	luna	de	pe cer.
[lovers-the]$_i$	moon-the	from	in sky

'Last night the sweethearts promised each other the moon in the sky.'

c. V IO DO S:

* Aseară	au	promis	[unul altuia]$_i$
last night	AUX.3PL	promised	[each other.DAT]$_i$
luna	de	pe cer	[îndrăgostiții]$_i$.
moon-the	from	in sky	[lovers-the]$_i$

'Last night the sweethearts promised each other the moon in the sky.'

In (22a), the indirect object reciprocal *unul altuia* 'each other' is licensed in the V S IO DO sequence. It is, however, excluded in both the V IO S DO construction in (22b) and the V IO DO S construction in (22c). The ungrammaticality of (22b,c) suggests that the indirect object anaphor *unul altuia* 'to each other' is not c-commanded by the subject NP with which it is coindexed. This, in turn, suggests, that in both (22b) and (22c) the indirect object occupies a position above the subject NP, as shown in (21). Note that we assume binding relations to be determined by LF (cf. chapters 1-2). However, we also assume that Spell-Out representations offer an equally correct binding representation for NPs that do not reconstruct at LF (e.g., those that undergo A-movement).

Other significant examples involve sentences with quantifier binding. While NPs can simply be coreferential with a pronoun, without binding (23a), a quantified NP needs to c-command the pronoun with which it is coindexed in the sentence. This explains the ungrammaticality of (23b) in contrast to the grammatciality of (23c).

(23) a. Mihai$_i$ was excited and he$_i$ was happy.
b. * [Every boy]$_i$ was excited and he$_i$ was happy.
c. [Every boy]$_i$ thought he$_i$ was happy.

We will, therefore, next consider the binding relations between a quantified subject and an object noun phrase in both VSO and VOS constructions in Romanian. We exemplify with direct objects in (24) and indirect objects in (25).

(24) a.

V		S (quantified NP)	DO		
I-a	chemat	[fiecare mamã]$_i$	[pe	copiii	ei$_i$]
CL.3PL.ACC-AUX.3SG	called	[each mother]$_i$	[PE	children-the	her$_i$]

la masã.
at table
'Each mother$_i$ called her$_i$ children to dinner.'

b.

V		DO		S (quantified NP)
* I-a	chemat	[pe copiii	ei$_i$]	[fiecare mamã]$_i$
CL.3PL.ACC-AUX.3SG	called	[PE children-the	her$_i$]	[each mother]$_i$

la masã.
at table
'Each mother$_i$ called her$_i$ children to dinner.'

(25) a.

V		S (quantified NP)	IO		
(Le)-a	dat	[fiecare mamã]$_i$	[copiilor	ei$_i$]	ceva.
CL.3PL.DAT-AUX.3SG	given	[each mother]$_i$	[children.DAT	her$_i$]	something

'Each mother$_i$ gave her$_i$ children something.'

b.	V		IO		S (quantified NP)
* (Le)-a		dat	[copiilor	ei_i]	[fiecare mamă]$_i$ ceva.
CL.3PL.DAT-AUX.3SG		given	[children.DAT	her_i]	[each mother]$_i$ something

'Each mother$_i$ gave her$_i$ children something.'

In (24a) and (25a), the word order is VSO and the sentences are grammatical. [15] In this case, both the direct object (24a) and the indirect object (25a) are felicitously bound by the quantified subject NP of the respective sentence. Following the representation assumed in (19), this is expected, since in VSO structures the subject NP c-commands all VP-internal arguments. The VOS structures in (24b) and (25b), on the other hand, are ungrammatcial. This follows immediately if we assume that the subject NP no longer c-commands the respective objects. Therefore, we adopt the analysis represented in (21), in which the objects have raised above and to the left of the quantified subject. Note again, that subject right-adjunction would leave unaffected the c-command relations between the subject and the object and we would expect to see unaltered binding relations.

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[15] SVO word order is also possible, and in this case, the sentences are grammatical. Consider the SVO versions of (24) and (25) rendered below as (ia) and (ib), respectively.

(i.a)	S (quantified NP)	V			DO	
	[Fiecare mamă]$_i$	i_i-a	chemat	t_i	[pe	copiii
	[each mother]$_i$	CL.3PL.ACC-AUX.3SG	called	t_i	[PE	children-the
	ei_i] la masă.					
	her_i] at table					

'Each mother$_i$ called her$_i$ children to dinner.'

(i.b)	S (quantified NP)	V		IO		
	[Fiecare mamă]$_i$	(le_i)-a	dat	t_i	[copiilor	ei_i]
	[each mother]$_i$	CL.3PL.DAT-AUX.3SG	given	t_i	[children.DAT	her_i]
	ceva.					
	something					

'Each mother$_i$ gave her$_i$ children something.'

The crucial fact here is that the quantified noun phrase is in a position of c-command with respect to the objects it binds.

An object raising analysis further makes the correct prediction for the examples in (26) and (27), in which the quantified NP is the direct object and indirect object, respectively, rather than the subject.

(26) a.

V		DO (quantified NP)	S
L_i-a	chemat	[pe fiecare copil]$_i$	[mama lui$_i$]
CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG	called	[PE each child]$_i$	[mother-the his$_i$]

la masă.
at table
'* His$_i$ mother called each child$_i$ to the table.'
(notice that in English the sentence is ungrammatical)

b.

V		S	DO (quantified NP)
* L_i-a	chemat	[mama lui$_i$]	[pe fiecare copil]$_i$
CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG	called	[mother-the his$_i$]	[PE each child]$_i$

la masă.
at table
'* His$_i$ mother called each child$_i$ to the table.'

(27) a.

V		IO (quantified NP)	S	
I_i-a	dat	[fiecărui copil]$_i$	[mama lui$_i$]	ceva.
CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG	given	[each.DAT child]$_i$	[mother his$_i$]	something

'*His$_i$ mother gave each child something.'
(notice that in English the sentence is ungrammatical)

b.

V		S	IO (quantified NP)	
* I_i-a	dat	[mama lui$_i$]	[fiecărui copil]$_i$	ceva.
CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG	given	[mother his$_i$]	[each.DAT child]$_i$	something

'*His$_i$ mother gave each child something.'

The VOS constructions in (26a) and (27a) are well-formed, which implies that the quantified noun phrase objects are in a c-commanding position with respect to the subject NP with which they are coindexed. As argued, it is only under an object raising analysis that the

object is in a position to c-command the subject noun phrase, as desired. In the basic VSO sequence, the quantified objects do not c-command the subject and the possessive is left unbound. The expected ungrammatical results are illustrated in (26b) and (27b).

Further examples yield the same results. In (28), the anaphor *propriu* 'self/own' is used instead of the possessives illustrated in (26) and (27).

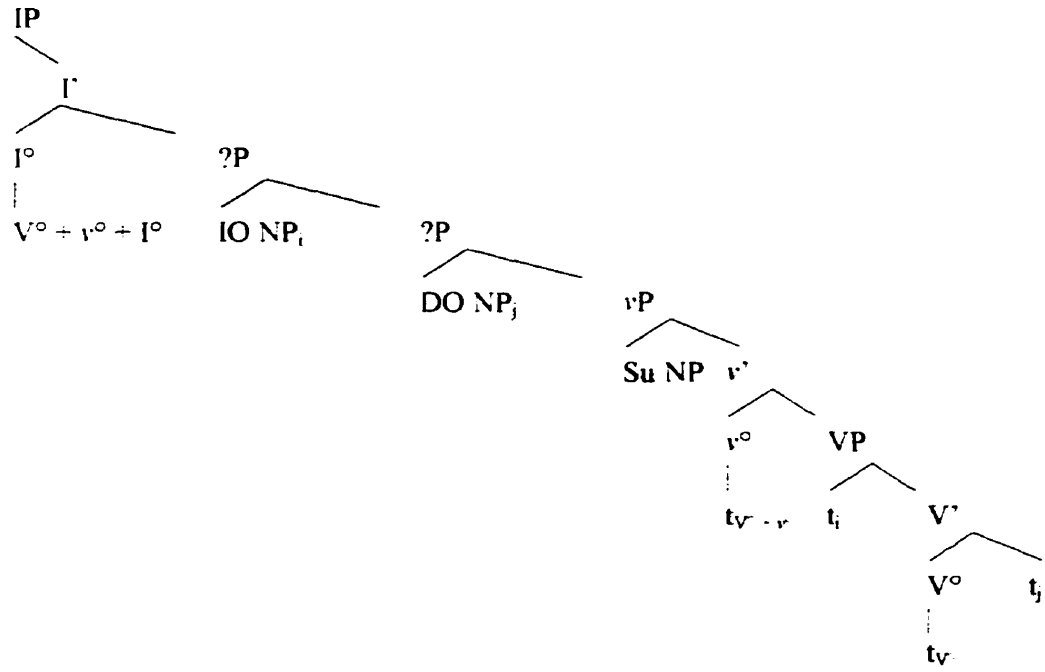
(28) a. (Le$_i$)-au oferit [mamelor]$_i$ flori [proprii$_i$ copii].
(CL.3PL.DAT)-AUX.3PL offered [mothers.DAT]$_i$ flowers [own$_i$ children]'
'* Their own children offered flowers to the mothers.'
(notice that in English the sentence is ungrammatical)

b. * (Le$_i$)-au oferit flori [proprii$_i$ copii] [mamelor]$_i$.
(CL.3PL.DAT)-AUX.3PL offered flowers [own$_i$ children] [mothers.DAT]$_i$'
'* Their own children offered flowers to the mothers.'

In the V IO DO S construction in (28a) both the indirect and the direct objects are situated to the left of the subject anaphor, although the position of the direct object is not relevant to the binding facts here. Since the utterance is grammatical, it follows that the indirect object felicitously c-commands the subject in Spec,*v*P. In (28b), the indirect object surfaces to the right of the subject noun phrase, and is no longer in a position to c-command the anaphor. Consequently, the utterance is ungrammatical in the V DO S IO construction.

The structural representation for (28a), in which both direct and indirect objects appear before the subject will have to combine the ones proposed in (5a) and (5b) into a single one, as in (29) below. Henceforth, we refer to these sequences as VO*S, since object raising is permitted to iterate.

(29)



Before concluding this section, we should like to point out a crucial fact which follows from the examples under consideration. It is imperative that we view object raising in VOS constructions as an instance of A(rgumental)-movement, in order to be able to account for lack of weak crossover effects in (26a) and (27a). Weak crossover effects (WCO) arise whenever a variable is the antecedent of a pronoun to its left (cf. Chomsky's 1976, 'Leftness Condition'). [16] Generally speaking, movement to A-bar (non-argumental) positions triggers such weak crossover

[16] Where a 'variable' is roughly defined as a trace assigned a range from an antecedent. For clarification, consider the definition provided in Culicover (1999) for variables in wh-questions. According to this author, wh-questions contain three parts represented in conceptual structure as:
(i) OPERATOR, which is the set of entities that the question is about and is expressed by a quantifier or a similar element;
(ii) SCOPE, which determines the restriction on this set;
(iii) VARIABLE, which determines the semantic role and corresponds to an argument.
For example, *Who$_i$ saw Mary t_i ?* corresponds to the question ' for which x, Mary saw x', or 'WH some x, Mary saw x'.

effects. In English, for example, the trace of a moved wh-element is a variable and cannot be coindexed with a pronoun. This is illustrated in (30). [17]

(30) * Who$_i$ does his$_i$ mother really love t_i ?

Since movement of the quantified objects across a coindexed pronominal subject in (26a) and (27a) render grammatical results, it follows that raising proceeds to argumental positions, and not to A'-bar, scopal positions (which should entail weak crossover effects similar to the one in (30)).

We conclude that the reversal of binding phenomena from VSO to VOS structures provides important (and sufficient) evidence for adopting an object raising analysis. The altered binding relations, as well as the the absence of weak crossover effects with quantified NPs, point to the fact that the objects raise to an L-related (argumental) position in Romanian VOS constructions. This position is higher than the Spec,*v*P position in which the subject NP merges in the Romanian structure.

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[17] Several treatments of this phenomena have appeared in the literature (Mahajan, 1990, Reinhart 1983, Safir 1985, among others), all of which suggest different mechanisms by which sentences like (30) are ruled out. Without going into details, we will suggest that the following filter, taken from Mahajan (1990) accounts for WCO effects in sentences like (30).

(i) Weak Crossover Filter (Mahajan 1990:23)
To be construed as a bound variable, a pronoun must be c-commanded by a binder and its variable (if there is one) at s-structure.

According to Mahajan (1990), LF movement never overrides WCO effects, suggesting that the WCO filter must apply at s-structure and not at LF.

3.3.2 Condition C effects

Further evidence for an object raising analysis is provided by the presence of Condition C effects in VOS word order sequences. Recall that Condition C of Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981) postulates that R-expressions (e.g., names) are referentially free (i.e., should lack a c-commanding antecedent in any category). Consider the examples in (31), in which the subject NP contains the R-expression *Victor*.

(31) a. VSO:

I_i-au	cumpărat	[părinții	lui	$Victor_i$] lui_i	o casă.
CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3PL	bought	[parents-the	his	$Victor_i$] him_i	a house

'$Victor_i$'s parents bought him_i a house.'

b. VOS:

* I_i-au	cumpărat	lui_i	[părinții	lui	$Victor_i$] o casă.
CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3PL	bought	him_i	[parents-the	his	$Victor_i$] a house

'$Victor_i$'s parents bought him_i a house.'

We notice that the derived VOS word order is ungrammatical (see 31b). Since VOS constructions are otherwise perfectly acceptable in Romanian, it follows that the illicit sentence in (31b) must be due to a Condition C violation. The Condition C effect can only be present if the R-expression *Victor* in (31b) is c-commanded by its antecedent (the indirect object NP). Since, this c-command relationship is only possible as a result of leftward object movement, we conclude that in (31b), the object has raised to a position above the subject left in-situ.

3.3.3 Quantifier Float phenomena

Binding phenomena and Condition C effects can only be tested with definite objects. On the other hand, we showed in (2) that VOS constructions are not sensitive to semantic object type. The question then is whether all VOS structures are consistent with an object raising analysis. This section shows that quantifier float phenomena provide support for a uniform object raising analysis of Romanian VOS constructions, irrespective of whether the object NP is marked or unmarked for definiteness. Consider the examples in (32), in which bare objects appear to the left of the floated quantifiers.

(32) a. Elevii au luat <u>notă mare</u>$_i$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{SPEC}$ toți t_s] t_v t_i].
students-the AUX.3PL taken high mark$_i$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{SPEC}$ all t_s] t_v t_i]
'The students have all received a good grade.'

b. Copiii joacă <u>șah</u>$_i$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{SPEC}$ amîndoi t_s] t_v t_i].
children-the play.3PL chess$_i$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{SPEC}$ both t_s] t_v t_i]
'The children both play chess.'

In both (32a) and (32b), the subject noun phrase has moved to a sentence-initial position, while the floated quantifier has remained stranded in its base-generated position. In both cases, the quantifier appears in a position that is lower than the one occupied by the object NP. On the assumption that a floated quantifier associated with a subject is in a local relation with the trace of that subject (see Shlonsky 1991, Sportiche 1988), the examples in (32) show that the object has undergone dislocation to a position above the subject's base-generated position (i.e., Spec,vP). [18] Since floated quantifiers are licensed in (32), we assume uniform object raising in Romanian VOS constructions.

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[18] Even under theories that assume floated quantifiers to be adverbials adjoined to the left edge of predicates (for example, Bobaljik 1995), rather than part of the subject trace, the examples in (32) would still prove our point: the NP objects have undergone raising to the left edge of the predicate (i.e., *v*/VP).

The difference between the examples in (32), with a stranded quantifier, and those in (2b) and (2h), in which the subject stays in-situ, resides in the fact that in (2), emphasis is placed on the subject and quantifier as a unit, whereas in (32), it is the stranded quantifier that is rhematically focused. In other words, whatever material remains within the vP will be emphasized as presentational, new information focus.

3.3.4 In sum

In this section we have provided syntactic evidence towards an object raising analysis in Romanian VOS constructions. The reversal of binding interactions between VSO and VOS word order sequences, together with the presence of Condition C effects and quantifier float phenomena point toward object raising. The object NP(s) in VO*S sentences occupy a position that c-commands the subject position, being therefore structurally higher. Moreover, we have argued that the availability to raise quantified objects in VOS sequences, with no resulting weak crossover effects, points toward an A-movement instance of raising.

3.4 Object raising: cross-linguistic evidence

In section 3.3, we argued for an analysis of Romanian VOS constructions which involves raising of the object NP(s) above the subject. It was also shown that the type of movement involved is A-movement. In this section, we compare the Romanian data to two well-known types of object raising. On the one hand, we discuss clause-medial object raising in Germanic, which is constrained by a specificity requirement, and on the other, object raising as N-incorporation. We conclude that Romanian VOS constructions cannot be analysed as an instance of either type.

3.4.1 Clause-medial object raising in Germanic: the specificity effect

Clause-medial object raising is not rare across languages. Hindi and all of the Germanic languages (except English) license it in some form or other. In Faroese and Mainland Scandinavian weak pronominal objects may move leftward out of the VP (e.g., Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Holmberg 1986, Vikner 1992). In the other Germanic languages, lexical NPs have the option of overtly raising out of the VP, provided they are definite or, if indefinite (weak), can acquire a strong interpretation. [19, 20] We illustrate Germanic clause-medial object raising with the example in (33a) for Icelandic, and the example in (33b), for Dutch. Notice that in (33a), only the definite object can undergo object raising out of the VP.

(33) a. Icelandic (Collins and Thráinsson, 1993:136)

I gær	máluðu strakárnir$_j$	* hús$_i$ / husið$_i$	[$_{VP}$ allir$_j$ t$_v$ t$_i$ rautt].	
yesterday	painted boys-the	house / house-the	all	red

'Yesterday all the boys painted the house red.'

b. Dutch (Zwart, 1997:30)

Jan	heeft	Marie$_i$	[$_{VP}$ gisteren	[$_{VP}$ t$_i$ gekust].
John	has	Mary	yesterday	kissed

'John kissed Mary yesterday.'

In (33a-b), the object arguments have crossed some element denoting the left edge of the VP (i.e., floated quantifier, adverbial), but within IP. Using a number of syntactic tests, Déprez (1991) argues that the type of movement that the objects have undergone in the examples in (33) is A-movement to Spec,AgrOP. This type of NP movement is generally referred to as 'object

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19 De Hoop (1996:51) illustrates the following strong readings of indefinite (weak) NPs:
(i) specific (or referential): 'A friend of mine is a paleontologist.';
(ii) partitive: 'Two fish are black.';
(iii) generic: 'Fishes are vertebrae.'
(iv) generic collective: 'Three fossils are more expensive than two.'.
The author further argues that in Dutch raising an object into the position before an adverb (i.e., clause-medially) triggers all possible strong readings.

shift'. In addition, for German, Dutch, and Frisian, IP-internal A-bar movement has also been argued for (Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Webelhuth 1992, among others). In this case, the NPs 'scramble' to an IP-internal A-bar position. To illustrate, we use the German example in (34), from Vikner (1992:291).

(34) German (Vikner, 1992:291)

Er	wird	[die Bucher$_i$	[ohne Zweifel		[alle$_i$	[nicht	t$_i$ [lesen]]]]].
he	will	the books	without doubt		all	not	read

'Without a doubt, he will not read all the books.'

Vikner (1992) argues that the object NP *alle die Bucher* 'all the books' undergoes A-movement (i.e. object shift) out of the VP delimited by the negative adverb *nicht* 'not'. From this derived A-position, the object scrambles to an A-bar IP-related position, stranding its quantifier in its first landing-site.

As a result of the specificity constraint associated with object raising to an argumental position in Germanic, object shift has often been analysed as an instance of semantically driven movement (e.g. Diesing 1992, de Hoop 1996, Runner 1994). These analyses view object shift as a result of interpretation conditions applying in the syntax-semantics mapping which induce movement of NPs with an intrinsic or acquired definite/specific/strong interpretation out of the nuclear scope (i.e., the v/VP).

Diesing (1992) follows Heim (1982) and assumes that quantificational structures at LF are tripartite. She proposes that the interface between the syntactic representation and the semantic representation takes the form of a mapping procedure that splits the syntactic tree into two parts; the two parts of the sentence are then mapped into the two major parts of the logical representation: the restrictive clause and the nuclear scope, as in (35).

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20 Recall that this requirement holds of preverbal NPs in Romanian.

(35) The Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing 1992)

(i) Material from the VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.

(ii) Material from the IP is mapped into the restrictive clause.

Runner (1994) offers a proposal which is closely related to Diesing's. The author argues that object Agreement phrases (AgrOPs, rephrased as *v*P in the Minimalist theory) correspond to presupposed or specific information, namely material that is linked to the discourse (à la Pesetsky 1987). Object NPs raise to Agreement whenever they are discourse linked.

De Hoop (1996:134) argues that NP interpretation is associated with Case type. According to her, structural Case is divided as in (36);

(36) (i) WEAK Case = the default structural Case, assigned at D-structure in a specific syntactic configuration and dependent upon verb-adjacency;

(ii) STRONG Case = the structural Case assigned at S-structure and acquired as a result of movement (i.e., DP raising).

Under this analysis, NPs assigned weak Case will have a WEAK semantic interpretation and will reside within the VP throughout the derivation. NPs with a strong Case will raise (out of the VP to AGRO) and will bear a STRONG reading (i.e. referential, partitive, generic, and generic collective). In this system, Case is viewed as a 'type-shifter', since, by definition, NPs that raise out of their base-generated position will be interpreted as semantically strong. Mahajan (1991) also suggests there is a link between object specificity and structural Case. Due to the fact that AGR is pronominal (and thus specific), the author argues that "only specific NPs can (and must) be structurally Case marked by AGR. Non-specific NPs must receive structural case in some other manner." (1991: 265).

In section 3.3, we argued that object raising in Romanian involves A-movement, due to lack of weak crossover effects, reversal of binding interactions and the possibility of dislocating quantified object NPs. However, clause-medial object raising in Romanian is not restricted in the manner illustrated for Germanic, since there is no specificity requirement involved (see discussion in section 3.1). [21] Since objects of all semantic types can yield the VOS word order in Romanian, we will refrain from labelling this type of object raising as 'object shift' (the term currently used for Germanic clause-medial object A-movement). While it is true that object raising in Romanian VOS constructions entails de-focusing of the object (in the sense discussed in section 3.1), a strong, topical interpretation is neither required nor acquired by these objects. What is crucial is that the raised object is outside the rhematic domain of the Romanian sentence (i.e., out of its VP-internal position). By escaping the rhematic domain, the raised objects in VOS constructions will be understood as part of the presupposition/the theme <u>together</u> with the verb, and never as topics of the sentence. We suggest the following pragmatic domains, centred around the verbal complex in I°, to be operative in the Romanian clause:

(37) (topic XP*) – IP (V°-to-*v*°-to-I°) – (?P*)– *v*P (Merge domain)

theme rheme

In (XP)VSO, for example, the subject and object NP, being situated within the Merge/base-generated domain, are both contained within the rheme. In VOS, the object raises outside of the initial Merge' domain, thus escaping the rheme and entering the theme into what we have (temporarily) marked as ?P. Hence, the presupposed object reading in VOS sequences, irrespective of semantic type. When interpretable as a topic, objects may undergo movement into the preverbal field, yielding OVS.

[21] Moreover, we do not assume that object raising (NP-movement in general) is in any way related to Case in Romanian (see chapter 2).

We defer a more in depth analysis of Romanian OV(S) structures and preverbal object raising until chapter 5. However, given that the distinction between object raising in VOS constructions as opposed to OVS constructions is non-trivial and bears interestingly on the Germanic data, we offer a data illustration of the schema in (37). Let us consider the examples in (38)-(39), in which the interpretation of the indefinite object in the embedded clause is intrinsically dependent on its position within that clause. Object licensing in specific pragmatic domains in the embedded clause is seen to be discourse-dependent, being strictly correlated to the information made available in the main clause. In (38), the main clause informs us of a lack of dresses, while in (39), the main clause introduces the presupposition of two dresses. Let us consider the examples in turn.

(38) a. VSO in the embedded clause:

Mioara nu avea deloc rochițe,
Mioara not had at all dresses.DIM,
[așa că i-a cusut mama o rochiță].
[so that CL.3SG.DAT -AUX.3SG sewn mother-the a dress.DIM]
'Mioara didn't have any dresses, so mum sewed her a dress.'

b. VOS in the embedded clause:

Mioara	nu	avea	deloc	rochițe,			
Mioara	not	had	at all	dresses.DIM,			
[așa	că	i-a		cusut	o rochiță$_i$	mama	t_i].
[so	that	CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG		sewn	a dress.DIM$_i$	mother-the	t_i]

'Mioara didn't have any dresses, so mum sewed her a dress.'

c. OVS in the embedded clause:

* Mioara	nu	avea	deloc	rochițe,			
Mioara	not	had	at all	dresses.DIM,			
[așa că	o rochiță$_i$	i-a		cusut-o$_i$		mama	t_i].
[so that	a dress.DIM$_i$	CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG		sewn-CL.3SG.ACC.F		mother-the	t_i]

'Mioara didn't have any dresses, so mum sewed her a dress.'

In (38), following the statement in the main clause, the indefinite object *o rochiță* 'a dress' can only be understood as 'a new dress'. Consequently, it is licit in the rhematic domain, together with the subject (see 38a) and illicit in preverbal position (see 38c), since it cannot be interpreted as a topic. Given that the main clause does not presuppose a previous existence of dresses, a strong, topical interpretation is unavailable for the embedded indefinite object in (38). This much is straightforward. Notice, however, that (38b) is also well-formed. In this case, the indefinite object is understood as part of the presupposed act of sewing dresses. This reading is acceptable since the event is potentially presupposed as a result of *Mioara*'s need for dresses, entailed by the statement in the main clause: 'Mioara didn't have any dresses.' (in Lambrecht's 1994 terms, the event is 'inferentially' accessible from previous discourse). Consequently, the indefinite object *o rochiță* 'a dress' can raise into the presupposition, deriving VOS word order, with the effect of focusing the subject. In other words, we are still talking about a new dress, but we are focusing on the agent of predication, rather than on the new dress.

Consider now the examples in (39).

(39) a. VSO in the embedded clause:

Mioara avea	două	rochițe,	[așa	că	
Mioara had	two	dresses.DIM,	[so that		
i-a		cusut	mama	o rochită	(nouă)].
CL.3SG.DAT -AUX.3SG		sewn	mother-the	a dress.DIM	(new)]

'Mioara had two dresses, so mum sewed her a (new) dress.'

b. VOS in the embedded clause:

Mioara avea	două	rochițe,	[așa	că		
Mioara had	two	dresses.DIM,	[so that			
i-a		cusut	o rochiță$_i$	(nouă)	mama	t_i].
CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG		sewn	a dress.DIM$_i$	(new)	mother-the	t_i]

'Mioara had two dresses, so mum sewed her a (new) dress.'

c. OVS in the embedded clause:

Mioara avea	două	rochițe,	[așa că	o rochiță$_i$	
Mioara had	two	dresses.DIM.,	[so that	a dress.DIM$_i$	
(* nouă)	i-a		cusut-o$_i$	mama	t$_i$].
(new)	CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG		sewn-CL.3SG.ACC.F	mother-the	t$_i$]

'Mioara had two dresses, so mum must have sewn one of them.' [22]

'# Mioara had two dresses, so mum sewed her a (new) dress.'

In (39), the main clause establishes the set of 'two dresses' as presupposed material for the embedded clause; this is independent of Romanian. Therefore, *o rochiță* 'a dress' in the embedded clause, can in principle be interpreted either as a new dress (weak indefinite reading), or as one of the two dresses presupposed by the main clause (partitive reading). Under a partitive reading, the indefinite picks up a salient referent, and all three illustrated word order sequences are well-formed. In the OVS sequence in (39c), the embedded object *o rochiță* 'a dress' is understood as specific information (i.e., it refers to a previously established referent, namely, the set of two dresses) and acquires an unambiguously partitive reading. The VSO and VOS constructions are ambiguous between a partitive and a weak indefinite reading, ambiguity which can be resolved by introducing the adjective *nouă* 'new': *o rochiță nouă* 'new dress' cannot pick up a salient referent and can only be interpreted as a weak indefinite. Notice that the adjective *nouă* 'new' is ruled out in the OVS word order sequence in (39c), but permitted in both SVO (39a) and VOS (39b). This is expected in view of the fact that object raising in OSV is semantically constrained by specificity (and, implicitly a topic interpretation), whereas object raising in VOS is not subject to any semantic restrictions in Romanian.

To conclude this section then, the examples in (38)-(39) illustrate two types of object raising in Romanian, sensitive to different interpretation requirements, following the pragmatic

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[22] We chose a modal translation in English to make it obvious that OVS is only possible here provided there is an inference on the part of the speaker (i.e., the partitive reading), rather than just a presentation of facts, as is the case for the other examples.

domains outlined in (37). On the one hand, there is object raising in the VOS construction under discussion. In this case, the raised object is not under any specificity constraints, but simply interpreted as de-focused and as part of the presupposition together with the verb. On the other hand, there is object raising that yields OVS structures in Romanian. In this case, the moved object needs to be interpretable as specific, in a manner similar to clause-medial object raising in Germanic. Therefore, clause-medial object raising in Romanian (i.e., VOS constructions) cannot be viewed as synonymous to apparently similar A-movement in Germanic. We next turn our attention to clause-medial object raising in languages that lack the specificity requirement.

3.4.2 Object raising as Noun Incorporation

Massam (1998) examines VOS constructions in Niuean as structures derived by noun incorporation. Niuean allows either VSO or VOS, but never SVO. The author argues that lack of SVO follows from the fact that the EPP in this language is realized either by verb raising to the inflectional domain (in VSO structures), or by predicate fronting, namely movement of [V NP] to IP-initial position (in VOS structures). In VOS word order sequences, the object NP is analysed as having incorporated into the verb with which it fronts. In Massam's analysis, noun incorporation is not understood as a phenomenon whereby the object noun forms a single morphological unit with its verb, but as "encompassing any instantiation of the tendency for an argument to develop a closeness with its verb under certain circumstances, such as when it lacks specificity, often resulting in reduced transitivity." (Massam 1998:2). The author further shows that such incorporation is only possible for Nieaun nouns that are NPs and not DPs. [23]

This broader sense of noun incorporation seems tempting for VOS constructions in Romanian. Two remarks are, however, necessary. As previously discussed, in VOS word order sequences in Romanian there is no semantic restriction on the object NPs. Since a noun

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[23] A somewhat similar analysis is put forth by van Geenhoven (1998) who discusses semantic aspects of noun incorporation in West Greenlandic.

incorporation analysis would only account for non-specific NPs, we would have to postulate two distinct analyses for VOS in Romanian: one to accommodate weak indefinites, the other to accommodate specific noun phrases. Clearly, this seems an undesirable result. Moreover, noun incorporation as postulated by Massam (1998) involves NPs, while excluding DPs (Determiner Phrases). Romanian weak indefinites consist both of bare plurals and NPs marked by an indefinite determiner, and while the former could be argued to be NPs, the latter are clearly DPs, which should, therefore, be unavailable to a noun-incorporation analysis (unless we talk about some sort of semantic incorporation).

Perhaps the best argument against a noun-incorporation analysis of Romanian VOS construction, even with bare nouns, comes from syntactic evidence. Adverbials and PPs can equally precede or follow a raised object in Romanian VOS constructions. Consider the examples in (40).

(40) a. Joacă mereu şah$_i$ copiii t_v t_i
play.3.PR always chess children-the t_v t_i
'The children always play chess.'

b. Joacă şah$_i$ mereu copiii t_v t_i
play.3.PR chess always children-the t_v t_i
'The children always play chess.'

c. Şi-au luat cu împrumut$_j$ maşină$_i$ prietenii mei t_v t_i t_j.
REFL-AUX.3PL taken on credit car friends-the my t_v t_i t_j
'My friends have bought themselves a car on credit.'

d. Şi-au luat maşină$_i$ cu împrumut$_j$ prietenii mei t_v t_i t_j.
REFL-AUX.3PL taken car on credit friends-the my t_v t_i t_j
'My friends have bought themselves a car on credit.'

In (40a) and (40c), the word order sequence is V Adv O S and V PP O S, respectively. In (40b) and (40d), on the other hand, the word order sequence is V O Adv S and V O PP S, respectively.

Since all sentences are grammatical, we conclude that weak object raising in VOS cannot be analysed as an instance of noun-incorporation in Romanian. [24]

3.4.3 Summing up

In this section, we introduced two instances of cross-linguistic clause-medial object raising: A-moved object raising of the Germanic type, accompanied by a specificity effect and generally analysed as Case-related, and noun-incorporation object raising of the Niuean type, accompanied by a non-specificity, non-DP requirement. [25] We argued that object raising in Romanian VOS constructions cannot be analysed as an instance of either, primarily in view of the lack of semantic restriction on the raised object. A third analysis is, therefore, expected. In the next section, we propose an account of the Romanian data capable of accommodating its language specific idiosyncrasies.

3.5 Object raising in Romanian: triggers and landing site

Let us summarize our findings so far. Object raising in Romanian VOS constructions occurs prior to Spell-Out to an L-related/argumental position (since binding is affected and there are no weak crossover effects). The object raises above the position in which the subject is merged. While this type of object movement is similar in spirit to object shift in Germanic, being clause-medial and to an argumental position, it is different from the former in that it does not impose any specificity constraints on the raised NP. VOS constructions seem to be triggered in

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[24] Notice that the availabiltiy of clause-medial PP raising casts doubt on a Case driven explanation for this movement.

[25] The two types of object raising in fact cover a wider range of languages. The specificity/Case-related type is also found at least in Hindi (cf. Mahajan 1990), Turkish (e.g., Enç 1991), and Persian (e.g., Ghomeshi 1997a). Notice that all of these languages (with the notable exception of Icelandic mentioned in section 3.4.1) are verb-final languages. It could, therefore, be possible that they realize their theme/rheme sentence-partitioning in a manner distinct from VSO languages. The noun-incorporation type is also attested in West Greenlandic (cf. van Geenhoven 1998) and languages cited in Massam (1998).

Romanian by a requirement to de-focus the object, in favour of the subject, stranded quantifier, or other *v*/VP-internal material left in-situ. Let us call this object raising 'evacuation for focus', along the lines of Vallduví (1995). [26] We now need to address the landing-site of the raised object(s) in Romanian VO*S constructions.

We suggest there is no evidence in Romanian which indicates that movement of the raised objects in VO*S constructions is to a functional projection outside the highest predicate (the *v*P domain) and argue that the raised objects scramble and adjoin to *v*P.

One of the tests standardly used in Germanic for determining the landing site of shifted or scrambled material is the relative position of the moved NPs to *v*/VP-adjacent adverbials. Since these adverbials denote the left edge of the *v*/VP, it is assumed that NPs appearing to the left of these adverbials are in a functional projection above the highest predicate, for example in AgrOP (cf. Collins and Thráinsson 1993, de Hoop 1996, Mahajan 1991, Runner 1994, among others), or AspP (cf. Kratzer 1994, among others). Let us, therefore, illustrate the interaction between negative and other adverbs assumed to denote the left edge of the *v*/VP with the position of the raised object NPs in Romanian VOS constructions. Consider the examples in (41)-(44) below.

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[26] Since similar XP raising has been observed in other Romance languages (e.g. Catalan, cf. Vallduví, and Spanish, cf. Zubizarreta 1998) and some other languages (e.g. Greek, cf. Tsimpli 1995, and Czech, cf. Kotalik 1996), its availability should come as no surprise in a language such as Romanian, which shares significant syntactic properties with both groups. Zubizarreta (1998), for example, argues for 'p-movement', which stands for 'prosodically motivated movement', to account for new information focus in Spanish. In contrast to Germanic languages, in Romance, all phonologically specified material is metrically visible, so a different mechanism will be needed to ensure that the focalized constituent is in a position to receive prominence. For example, in VOS structures the objects are 'p-moved' across the subject to ensure the required prominence on the subject. This type of movement is dealt with by the PF component of grammar. In our account, however, movement is assumed to occur prior to PF, since it affects binding relations.

(41) a. N-a semnat [$_{?P}$ contracte [$_{vP}$ niciodată [$_{vP}$ domnul
not-AUX.3SG signed [$_{?P}$ contracts [$_{vP}$ never [$_{vP}$ mister-the
director [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
director [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'The manager has never signed contracts.'

b. N-a semnat [$_{vP}$ niciodată [$_{?P}$ contracte [$_{vP}$ domnul
not-AUX.3SG signed [$_{vP}$ never [$_{?P}$ contracts [$_{vP}$ mister-the
director [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
director [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'The manager has never signed contracts.'

(42) a. Nu le dã [$_{?P}$ bomboane [$_{vP}$ deloc
not CL.3PL.DAT gives [$_{?P}$ sweets [$_{vP}$ at all
[$_{vP}$ vecina [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
[$_{vP}$ neighbour-the [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'The neighbour never gives them sweets.'

b. Nu le dã [$_{vP}$ deloc [$_{?P}$ bomboane
not CL.3PL.DAT gives [$_{vP}$ at all [$_{?P}$ sweets
[$_{vP}$ vecina [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
[$_{vP}$ neighbour-the [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'The neighbour never gives them sweets.'

(43) a. Şi-au luat [$_{?P}$ masina [$_{vP}$ precis
REFL.-AUX.3PL bought [$_{?P}$ car [$_{vP}$ for sure
[$_{vP}$ amicii mei [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
[$_{vP}$ friends-the my [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'My friends have certainly bought a car.'

b. Şi-au luat [$_{vP}$ precis [$_{?P}$ masina
REFL.-AUX.3PL bought [$_{vP}$ for sure [$_{?P}$ car
[$_{vP}$ amicii mei [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
[$_{vP}$ friends-the my [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'My friends have certainly bought a car.'

(44) a. Le-a citit [$_{?P}$ o poezie [$_{vP}$ adesea
CL.3PL.DAT read [$_{?P}$ a poem [$_{vP}$ often
[$_{vP}$ însuşi profesorul lor [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
[$_{vP}$ EMPHATIC teacher-the their [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'Their professor himself has often read them a poem.'

b. Le-a citit [$_{vP}$ adesea [$_{?P}$ o poezie
CL.3PL.DAT read [$_{vP}$ often [$_{?P}$ a poem
[$_{vP}$ însuşi profesorul lor [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
[$_{vP}$ EMPHATIC teacher-the their [$_{VP}$ t_V t_O]]].
'Their professor himself has often read them a poem.'

The examples in (41)-(44) show that negative and *v*/VP-adverbials can both precede and follow the raised object. [27] While both pairs of examples are grammatical, the (b) versions with direct object raising below the *v*/V*P*-adverbial are more natural. The (a) versions, with object raising across the adverbials, are perceived as awkward unless we interpret the adverbial as presentational focus, together with the subject. It follows that medial NP-raising in Romanian has a flexible landing-site, which is dependent upon the nature (and amount) of material to be rhematically focused. Consequently, evacuation proceeds above the focused subject NP, but only as high as is necessary. The empirical facts preclude an analysis in which object raising in Romanian VOS constructions is related to a specific functional projection distinct from the *v*P.

We, therefore, conclude that clause-medial object raising in Romanian is an instance of scrambling above the subject NP but to a *v*P-related position. Given that raising proceeds above

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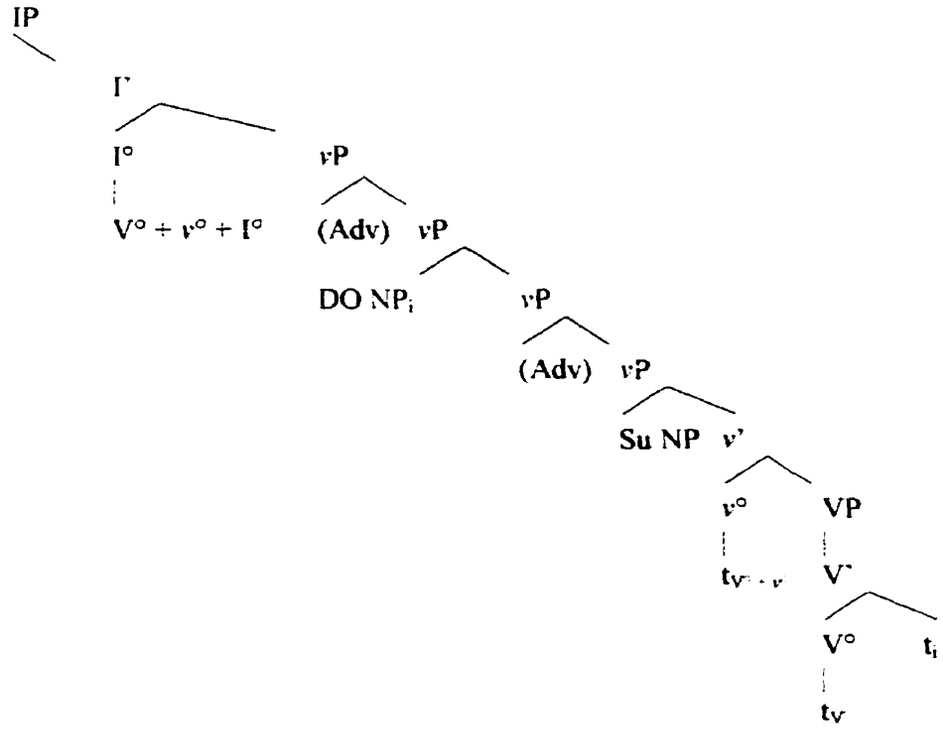
[27] The same empirical facts concerning the intervention of adverbial material hold when both the direct and the indirect objects raise. Consider the example in (i), in which the adverbial is seen to be capable of preceding or following both of the raised object NPs.

(i) Le-a dat [$_{vP}$ (mereu) [$_{vP}$ copiilor [$_{vP}$ (mereu)
CL.DAT.3PL-AUX.3SG given [$_{vP}$ (always) [$_{vP}$ children.DAT [$_{vP}$ (always)
[$_{vP}$ bomboane [$_{vP}$ (mereu) [$_{vP}$ mama [$_{VP}$ t_{IO} t_V t_{DO}]]]]]]].
[$_{vP}$ sweets.ACC [$_{vP}$ (always) [$_{vP}$ mother-the [$_{VP}$ t_{IO} t_V t_{DO}]]]]]]]
'Mother always gave the children sweets.'

the *v*P, we propose that object raising in Romanian VOS constructions is an instance of *v*P-adjunction. This is illustrated in (45), with the optionally present adverbials preceding or following the object.

(45)



We suggest that *v*P-scrambling in Romanian has A-movement properties in view of the fact that *v*P is L-related. [28] Furthermore, we conclude that NPs A-scrambled out of the rhematic domain do not represent an instance of feature-driven movement in Romanian. Recall that we assume feature-driven movement to involve special licensing conditions, such as feature-sharing and strict locality relationships (i.e., Spec-Head or head-adjunction configurations). Optional adverbial interference and, more specifically, subject interference, alongside the availability to

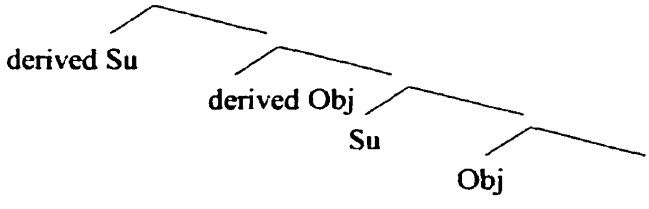
[28] Chomsky (1995) also argues that *v*P-related positions allow for scrambling with A-position properties, such as binding, and weak crossover obviation. These are precisely the effects found in Romanian VOS evacuation for focus constructions.

scramble multiple objects (and other XPs briefly mentioned here), rule out any type of formal feature checking. [29]

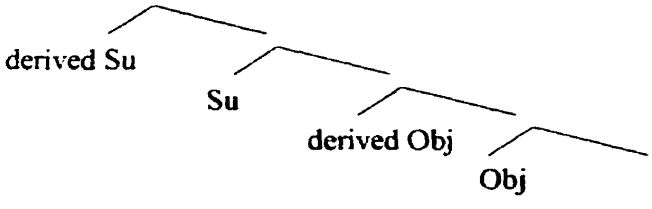
3.6 Colophon: 'leapfrogging' versus 'stacking'

There is one last issue we should like to address before concluding this chapter. In his dissertation, Bobaljik (1995) summarizes several proposals concerning the derived position of raised objects in Germanic and Celtic A-moved object structures. He groups these proposals into two categories, depending on whether the moved object is seen to occupy a position to the left or the right of the base position of the subject. The author further labels the first category as the 'leapfrogging' hypothesis (following assumptions by Chomsky 1991 et seq, Collins and Thráinsson 1993, among others), and the second category as the 'stacking' hypothesis (following work by Koizumi 1995, Travis 1992). The two hypotheses are represented here in (46a), and (46b), respectively.

(46) a. The Leapfrogging Hypothesis (Bobaljik 1995:18,112)



b. The Stacking Hypothesis (Bobaljik 1995:18,112)



[29] Kayne (1998) aslo suggests feature-driven movement should involve an adjacency requirement. For more on feature-driven movement in Romanian, see chapters 4 and 5.

Bobaljik (1995) argues against the leapfrogging hypothesis by dismantling all of the arguments in favour of this architecture. However, the stacking hypothesis which Bobaljik ultimately adopts is not itself devoid of problems. Without going into details, it suffices to say that neither of the two analyses can fully account for the range of cross-linguistic empirical data. Bobaljik adopts the stacking hypothesis somewhat on the grounds of Occam's razor.

The purpose of this section is not to contradict Bobaljik's analysis but to highlight the fact that A-moved objects in Romanian VOS constructions can only be analysed as an instance of the leapfrogging hypothesis, contrary to the author's conclusion that evidence for a leapfrogging architecture is cross-linguistically lacking. We have seen that in Romanian VOS word order sequences, the reversal of binding interactions and condition C effects point to a relationship in which the position of the derived object(s) c-commands the subject position. Consequently, we conclude that, while there may be some evidence for the structure in (46b) for Germanic, Romanian A-moved object structures can only be analysed under the configuration in (46a).

3.7 Conclusions

In this chapter we argued for an object raising analysis in Romanian VOS constructions. The object NP raises across the in-situ subject, irrespective of its semantic type. The reversal of binding interactions between the subject and the object NP, lack of weak crossover effects, condition C effects, as well as stranded quantifiers support such an analysis, while simultaneously showing that clause-medial object movement forms an A-chain. If left unaccented, the raised object NP is interpreted as part of the presupposition, being in effect, de-focused. At the same time, whatever material is left in-situ in the predicate acquires maximal focus/rhematic prominence as a result of object raising. Hence, we adopted the label 'evacuation for focus' to characterize Romaniam VO*S constructions.

We concluded by proposing that such pragmatic movement is not feature-driven, since it does not involve special licensing conditions. This conclusion is in line with recent research

(Chomsky 1995, Reinhart 1997) which argues that pragmatic movement is not feature-driven. Object raising in Romanian is an instance of A-scrambling and adjunction to vP (i.e., outside the initial Merge position within the rhematic domain). Given that evacuation for focus affects binding, we need to view it as taking place in the syntactic component and cannot assume it to be merely a stylistic re-arrangement occurring at PF (contra Chomsky 1995).

The implications of an object raising analysis in Romanian VOS constructions is of interesting theoretical import in view of cross-linguistic particulars of object movement. We argued that object raising in Romanian VOS constructions cannot be analysed as an instance of A-moved object shift of the Germanic type, or as an instance of noun-incorporation object raising of the Niuean type. There is both syntactic and semantic evidence to support such a claim. Clause-medial Romanian NPs are not semantically restricted and they can either precede or follow v/VP-adjoined adverbials. Moreover, the pragmatic (de)-focusing effect engendered by clause-medial object movement is absent from the above languages (though arguably present in some other languages).

Noteworthy also, is the fact that the particulars of Romanian VOS constructions provide significant support for a 'leapfrogging' analysis of object raising. This analysis posits object raising to a position above that of the subject NP and it has recently been argued to be inferior to the 'stacking' hypothesis, in which the object raises to a position below that of the subject. While a 'stacking' analysis might work for Germanic and Celtic, it is clearly unsustainable for the Romanian data.

Informally, VOS constructions in Romanian are the result of the fact that this language can tailor its sentences to encode information structure (i.e., pragmatic domains), thus allowing for interpretation with minimal processing effort. NP objects that are identifiable (in the sense of Lambrecht 1994), be they textually, situationally, or inferentially accessible, may raise out of the lower VP, thus escaping a rhematic interpretation. Since the objects can be accessible situationally or inferentially, they need not be marked as definite/specific. As a consequence of

object raising from VSO to VOS, the material left within the *v*/VP (usually, the subject NP) acquires maximal rhematic prominence.

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And I looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that, the passing there
Had worn them really about the same.
Robert Frost, *The Road Not Taken*

Chapter 4: WH-Movement

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses wh-movement in Romanian in view of the theoretical assumptions introduced in chapter 2. We argue that the [+wh] feature is a property of I° in Romanian, and that Spec,IP is the scopal position for Romanian wh-phrases. We first introduce the issue and offer a brief account of previous analyses for Romanian (sections 4.1 - 4.2). Next, we review some of the theoretical assumptions of chapter 2 and discuss their implications for wh-raising. In section 4.3 we discuss some defining properties of Romanian wh-phrases and in section 4.4, we provide a comparison between Romanian and languages in which the [+wh] feature is uncontroversially associated with C°. In sections 4.5 – 4.6, we focus on language particular wh-movement idiosyncrasies and conclude that Romanian wh-phrases are hosted by the IP. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of the IP/CP dichotomy (as defined in section 4.7). Several wh-structures and their properties are discussed, all of which further support our analysis. Section 4.8 debates the locus of the interrogative feature in the Romanian I°, and section 4.9 is a conclusion.

4.1 The Issue

Several languages, primarily Slavic languages, have the property of requiring all of their wh-phrases to raise overtly to a clause-initial position. Romanian, albeit a Romance language, is also multiple [+wh]-checking, presumably as a result of the geographical relationship it holds with the Slavic languages. Specifically, in order to check their [+wh] feature, Romanian wh-phrases have to raise from their base-generated position, wh-in-situ being unavailable. This is illustrated in (1).

(1)	a.	**Cine**$_i$	**cui**$_j$	**ce**$_k$	a	dat	t_i t_j t_k ? [1]	
		who	whom	what	AUX.3SG	given	t_i t_j t_k	
	b.	***Cine**$_i$	**cui**$_j$	a	dat	t_i t_j	**ce**?	(unless an echo-question)
		who	whom	AUX.3SG	given	t_i t_j	what	
		'Who has given what to whom?'						

Languages in which multiple wh-questions involve movement of all wh-phrases to their scopal position have been divided (by Rudin 1988, and later Richards 1997) into two classes. The first class includes languages in which only one wh-phrase targets Spec,CP, the rest being absorbed by Spec,IP (such as, for example, Serbo-Croatian, Czech, and Polish). These languages, together with all other languages in which wh-phrases are hosted by IP at Spell-Out or at LF, have been labelled 'IP-absorption languages' (Richards 1997). This class of languages is illustrated with the Serbo-Croatian examples in (2), taken from Rudin (1988:462) .

(2)	a.	**Ko**	mu	je	**šta**	dao?	(Serbo-Croatian, Rudin 1988:462)
		who	him	has	what	given	
	b.	***Ko**	**šta**	mu	je	dao?	
		who	what	him	has	given	
		'Who gave him what?'					

c. **Ko** je **što** **kome** dao?
who has what to whom given
'Who gave what to whon?'

The Serbo-Croatian examples in (2) show that only one wh-phrase can raise above the clitic cluster, the remaining wh-phrase(s) targetting a position below that of the clitics. The fact that the higher wh-phrase targets Spec,CP, while the lower wh-phrases are absorbed by Spec,IP is independently supported by evidence that in these languages the clitic cluster is formed in CP (Tomić 1996).

The second class of multiple [+wh]-checking languages include languages such as Bulgarian and Romanian, in which all wh-phrases target the same scopal position. This is assumed to be Spec,CP, in accordance with Chomsky's long-standing assumption, that all questions are CPs. Consequently, these languages have been labelled 'CP-absorption languages' (Richards 1997). In (3) and (4) we provide examples from Bulgarian (taken from Rudin 1988:461) and Romanian.

(3) a. **Koj** **kakvo** ti e kazal? (Bulgarian, Rudin 1988:461)
who what you has told

b. ***Koj** ti e **kakvo** kazal?
who you has what told
'Who told you what?'

(4) a. **Cine** **ce** ți-a spus?
who what CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said

b. ***Cine** ți-a **ce** spus?
who CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG what said
'Who told you what?'

---

[1] Raised wh-phrases are bolded throughout this chapter for ease of exposition.

Notice that in Bulgarian and Romanian, the clitic cluster cannot intervene among the raised wh-phrases, but always appears to the right of the moved interrogative elements. This indicates that the wh-phrases have moved to a single scopal position (i.e., check their feature against a single functional head). In these languages, however, the clitic cluster is formed in IP (as is argued in Tomić (1996), for Bulgarian, and Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a), for Romanian, among others [2]), and cannot be taken to indicate the landing site of wh-movement. Romanian wh-phrases raise to a clitic-left position which can equally be CP-related or IP-related.

The problem we are faced with is that a unique host for wh-phrases does not a priori exclude IP as the wh-target in a language such as Romanian. For example, Hungarian also has multiple wh-movement to a unique host, as can be seen in (5), but the wh-target in this language is always assumed to be Spec,IP (cf. Brody 1995, Kiss 1994, Richards 1997).

(5) a.

Nem	tudtuk	hogy	Mari	**mit**	tett	az asztalra.
not	knew-1PL	that	Mary	what-ACC	put	the table-onto

'We didn't know what Mary had put on the table.'
(Hungarian, Richards 1997:50)

b.

Mari	**kinek**	**mit**	adott	el?
Mary	who-DAT	what-ACC	sold	PREVERB

'What did Mary sell to whom?'
(Hungarian, Kiss 1994:38)

In Hungarian, wh-phrases raise to a position which is to the right of topicalized material (in our examples, the subject *Mari*) and of the complementizer *hogy* 'that' (see 5a). In multiple interrogation, all wh-phrases move to this IP-related position (see 5b).

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2 See also discussion on Romanian clitics in chapter 2.

4.2 Former accounts and a new proposal

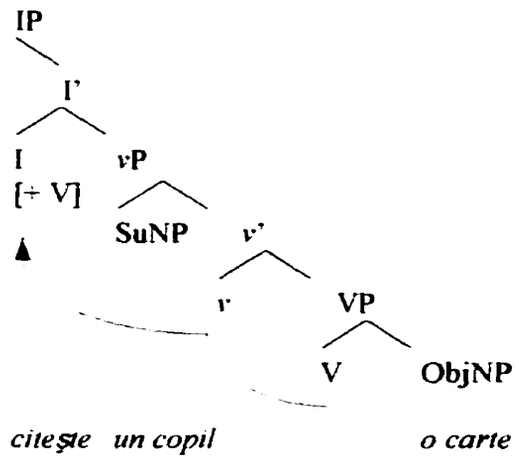
There have been several accounts of wh-raising in Romanian, among which we mention Comorovski (1996), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990b, 1994a), and Motapanyane (1995, 1998a, in press), all of which assume a [+wh] feature in C°, but differ in terms of how they account for the licensing of this feature, as well as for verb movement strategies. [3] Some of these authors adopt a more traditional view, and argue that the verb raises to I° and further to C° to license the [+wh] feature (for example, Comorovski, Motapanyane), others argue against verb raising to C° in Romanian, maintaining V° to I° (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Ştefănescu 1997). In terms of wh-raising, most authors assume movement directly to Spec,CP. Motapanyane (1998a, in press), however, argues that the wh-phrase first raises to Spec,IP to check its focus feature, then moves to Spec,CP to check its [+wh] feature. Nevertheless, a [+wh] feature in C° in Romanian seems difficult to maintain (without further stipulations) on the grounds of wh-phrase interaction with topics, focus and other language idiosyncrasies (to be discussed below).

Let us recall some of the theoretical assumptions introduced in chapter 2. We assumed that Romanian is a V-type EPP language, with a strong [V] feature on I° (in effect, the selectional EPP feature) which attracts [V° + v°] in all types of structures. Therefore, the lexical verb always raises to the Inflectional domain, as shown in (6).

(6)	a.	Citeşte	un copil	o carte.
		read.3SG.PR	a child	a book
		'A child is reading a book.'		

[3] See, however, Cornilescu (2000) who proposes that the [+wh] feature in Romanian is checked in the highest inflectional projection, which in her analysis is Spec,M(ood)P.

b.



We further argued that Romanian NPs check Case in Merge positions, where they are fully licensed (presumably under an Agree mechanism, as in Chomsky 1998). Case-checking in Merge is a direct consequence of lexical verb raising to $v°$ and I° in Romanian. Verb movement triggers the overt presence of phi-features in I° and case-features in $v°$, which agree with the Nominative Case-feature of the subject and the Accusative Case-feature of the object, respectively. Case checking is always a pre-Spell-Out mechanism and it never triggers dislocation of the noun phrase. This approach excludes a Case-related EPP feature (i.e., a 'surface subject') within the Romanian Inflectional domain, making Spec,IP in principle available to discourse-related material (see also discussion in Alboiu 2000).

We suggest that postulating a [+wh] feature in C° in Romanian is a stipulative and unnecessary theoretical assumption for a language in which Spec,IP is not merged as an EPP/Case-related position. Throughout this chapter, we argue that Romanian wh-phrases are hosted by IP, which we show to be a discourse-related projection in this language. [4] We propose

[4] This idea is expanded in chapter 5, where we argue that IP in Romanian is a general polarity oriented category, which hosts a variety of operator/quantificational elements. Similar proposals have been made for various sentence-initial projections (for example, FP in Uriagereka 1995a).

that I° in Romanian is a syncretic head capable of hosting the syntactic [+wh] feature. [5] Moreover, whenever the [+wh] feature is present in the derivation, it will attract raising and merging of wh-phrases into the specifier of IP.

The specifier-head agreement relationship required in interrogatives can be theoretically implemented in several ways. Prior to the Minimalist Program, Rizzi's (1991) WH-Criterion in (7) was one of the best known:

(7) WH-CRITERION (Rizzi 1991)

A. A WH Operator must be in a Spec-Head configuration with X° [+ WH] ;

B. An X° [+ WH] must be in a Spec-Head configuration with a WH Operator.

Rizzi's WH-Criterion in (7) does not essentially differ from later Minimalist assumptions. Chomsky (1995) suggests that movement/dislocation in language is a direct result of strict locality conditions imposed on feature-checking relations, responsible for licensing dependencies in language. In other words, feature checking can only occur locally in Spec-Head or head-adjoined configurations. When overt movement is not attested, covert movement will apply. Chomsky (1998) relaxes the above assumption, suggesting that some uninterpretable features (i.e., structural Case and agreement features) do not require a Spec-Head or head-adjunction relationship for checking to occur (see also our discussion in chapter 2). Uninterpretable features can erase via Agree, an operation which requires feature matching and a redefined notion of locality as 'closest c-command'. MP98 does, however, retain the strict Spec-Head locality requirement for feature checking whenever features are of a 'selectional' nature (see also Kayne 1998). For example, a feature such as the EPP is defined as a selectional feature which cannot

[5] A syncretic Inflectional head which hosts the syntactic [+wh] feature has also been proposed for Spanish (Fontana 1993, Goodall 1991, Zubizarreta 1998, among others), and is somewhat implicitly assumed in Richards (1997) for IP-absorption wh-languages, such as Hungarian. More recently, Boeckx and Stjepanovic (1999) argue for a discourse-related IP in Bulgarian which also hosts wh-phrases.

erase solely as a result of Agree, but in addition requires 'second Merge'. We assume this is realized as NP-movement into the specifier of Spec,IP, in D-type EPP languages (e.g., English), and as V°-to-I°, in V-type EPP languages (e.g., Romanian).

Recall that we assume that uninterpretable formal features (FFs) are essentially of two kinds: (i) selectional (or strong) and (ii) non-selectional (or weak), an option parametrized across languages and FF type. Following Chomsky (1998), non-selectional features will be defined as features which check/erase in-situ, without dislocation, as a result of the operation Agree, which only requires feature matching (i.e., identity) and closest c-command. Selectional features will then be defined as features which can only be checked in a strict locality relationship, such as Spec-Head or head-adjunction. By definition, selectional features require Agreement (i.e., feature matching) and movement (i.e., 'second Merge'). Note that the operation Agree is required in all instances of feature-checking, irrespective of whether features are selectional or non-selectional.

Let us inspect the nature of the [+wh] feature in Romanian under the disjunctive analysis of uninterpretable features adopted in this dissertation. As with questions cross-linguistically, we assume Romanian interrogatives to contain an uninterpretable [+wh] feature on a functional head X° which needs to be deleted (via checking) for the derivation to converge. [6] Since wh-in-situ is unavailable in Romanian, it follows that the [+wh] feature on both X° and the wh-phrases present in the derivation is 'selectional'. Therefore, the [+wh] feature on X° will require 'second Merge' as Spec,XP, and the [+wh] feature on Romanian wh-phrases will require multiple feature-checking against X° with the outcome of a multiple specifier structure. [7] Let us first review some relevant properties of Romanian questions before we proceed with our analysis and detail its implementation.

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[6] We refrain, for the time being, from commenting on the nature of X° (i.e., whether it is C° or I°).

[7] We depart from MP98 in assuming selectional/strong features to require checking in a strict local relationship (i.e., Spec-Head or head-adjunction), irrespective of whether the features are a property of lexical items (LIs) or of functional heads (see also chapter 1, section 1.2).

4.3 Wh-phrases in Romanian: summary of properties

In this section we discuss several salient properties of Romanian interrogatives. In section 4.3.1 we look at the verb-adjacency requirement and some obviations. In section 4.3.2 we reintroduce multiple [+wh]-checking and provide an account for lack of wh-in-situ and ordering constraints on wh-phrases in this language. In section 4.3.3 we discuss wh-phrase interaction with topicalized elements and in section 4.3.4 we offer some brief conclusions.

4.3.1 The Verb-adjacency requirement

Both adjunct and argument wh-phrases in Romanian show obligatory adjacency with the verbal complex (i.e., verbal head and clitic cluster). Consider the examples in (8);

(8) a. **Pe** **cine** (* la tine) ai chemat (la tine)?
PE who (at you) AUX.2SG called (at you)
'Whom did you invite to your place?'

b. (Mîine) **Cine** (*mîine) nu mai pleacă (mîine)?
(tomorrow) who (*tomorrow) not more leave.3SG.PR (tomorrow)
'Who isn't leaving tomorrow anymore?'

c. **Cui** (*deja) ai telefonat (deja)?
whom.DAT. (*already) AUX.2SG phoned (already)?
'Whom did you already call?'

d. (La Toronto) **Cînd** (*la Toronto) plecăm (la Toronto)?
(at Toronto) when (*at Toronto) leave.1PL.PR (at Toronto)
'When do we leave for Toronto?'

e. (Ion) **Cu ce** (* Ion) te-a supărat (Ion)?
(Ion) with what (* Ion)CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.3SG upset (Ion)
'What did Ion upset you with?'

f. (Pe Mihai) **Cum** (* pe Mihai) l-ai
(PE Mihai) how (*PE Mihai) CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.2SG
hotărît (pe Mihai) să vină?
convinced (PE Mihai) SUBJ. come
'How did you convince Mihai to come?'

The examples in (8) show that wh-movement proceeds to a position that is adjacent to the verbal complex, with no constituent allowed to intervene between the wh-phrase and the verbal complex.

4.3.1.1 Two notes on the adjacency requirement

There are at least two problems with the verb-adjacency requirement between wh-phrases and the verbal complex in Romanian. However, neither of them are a major concern to our present analysis. The first issue has to do with a subset of adverbials that are required to intervene between the raised wh-phrase and the verb. [8] While adverbs cannot generally intervene between the raised wh-phrase and the verbal complex (see examples in (8) and (14)), there are some exceptions. Consider the examples in (9) – (10).

(9) a. (De)-Abia-l aşteaptă bunicii pe Victor.
hardly-CL.3SG.ACC.M wait.3PL.PR grandparents-the PE Victor
'His grandparents can hardly wait for Victor.'

b. **Pe cine** <u>(de)-abia</u> aşteaptă bunicii?
PE whom hardly wait.3PL.PR grandparents-the
'Whom can the grandparents hardly wait for?'

(10) a. Tocmai a venit Victor.
just AUX.CL.3SG come Victor
'Victor just arrived.'

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[8] Some of these instances are also discussed in Cornilescu (1997), where they are taken as arguments against V° to C° in Romanian.

b. **Cine** <u>tocmai</u> a venit?
who just AUX.CL.3SG come
'Who just arrived?'

In (9) and (10), *(de)-abia* 'hardly' and *tocmai* 'just', respectively, appear between the raised wh-phrase and the verbal complex in a manner that, at least apparently, poses problems for the verb-adjacency rule. A similar situation is encountered in Spanish, in which the otherwise obligatory wh-phrase verb-adjacency rule is violated by some adverbs. Consider the examples in (11), taken from Zubizarreta (1998).

(11) [$_{TP}$ **A quién** [$_{TP}$ <u>jamás</u> [$_{T'}$ ofenderias tú con tus acciones]]]?
whom never would-offend you with your actions
'Whom would you never offend with your actions?'
(Spanish, Zubizarreta 1998:185)

In order to account for the Spanish example in (11), in which the wh-phrase in Spec,IP (Spec,TP in her analysis) needs to be adjacent to the verb for licensing conditions, Zubizarreta (1998) proposes a structure in which more than one specifier of I° is allowed, but at most one of them may enter into a feature-checking relation with I°. More specifically, the author argues that some temporal adverbs are IP modifiers which appear in Spec,IP for reasons that are independent of feature checking. [9]

Recall from our discussion in chapter 2 that Romanian has a number of adverbial clitics that can only appear adjacent to the verb. These are the adverbial intensifiers (or combinations thereof), such as *mai* 'more', *prea* 'too', 'very', *tot* 'still', *cam* 'little', 'a bit', *şi* 'also'; an example with *mai* 'more' is given in (12).

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[9] Zubizarreta's (1998) account is somewhat reminiscent of Chomsky's (1995) analysis of adverbs as elements that induce XP-recursion.

(12) a. (Mai) vine (* mai) şi Mihai (* mai).
more comes more and Mihai more
'Mihai is also coming.'

b. Cine (mai) vine (* mai)?
who more comes more
'Who is also coming?'

Syntactically speaking *(de)-abia* 'hardly' and *tocmai* 'just' behave in the same clitic-like manner as the adverbial intensifiers discussed in chapter 2. Both *(de)-abia* 'hardly' and *tocmai* 'just' are constrained to occur in the preverbal clitic field, being unable to occupy any other position in the clause when modifying the predicate. Consider (13).

(13) a. (*Abia) Pe Mihai (abia) îl aşteaptă (* abia)
hardly PE Mihai hardly CL.3SG.ACC.M wait hardly
bunicii (*de-abia).
grandparents-the hardly
'His grandparents can hardly wait for Mihai.'

b. (*Abia) **Pe cine** (abia) îl aşteaptă (*abia)
hardly PE whom hardly CL.3SG.ACC.M wait hardly
bunicii (* de-abia)?
grandparents-the hardly
'Who can his grandparents hardly wait for?'

c. Tocmai a venit (*tocmai) Victor (*tocmai).
just AUX.CL.3SG come just Victor just
'Victor just arrived.'

d. (*Tocmai) **Cine** <u>tocmai</u> a venit (*tocmai)?
just who just AUX.CL.3SG come just
'Who just arrived?'

In contrast to *(de)-abia* 'hardly' and *tocmai* 'just', as well as all the other adverbial intensifiers, manner and temporal adverbials cannot intervene between the wh-phrase and the verb (see 14). These adverbials are nevertheless licit in a number of slots within the Romanian clause.

(14) a. Pe Mihai (cu nerăbdare) îl aşteaptă
PE Mihai with impatience CL.3SG.ACC.M wait
(cu nerăbdare) bunicii (cu nerăbdare).
with impatience grandparents-the with impatience
'His grandparents can hardly wait for Mihai / are impatient for Mihai's arrival.'

b. **Pe cine** (*cu nerăbdare) aşteaptă bunicii (cu nerăbdare)?
PE whom with impatience wait grandparents-the with impatience
'Who are the grandparents impatiently waiting for?'

c. Pe Victor (mîine) îl aşteaptă (mîine)
PE Victor tomorrow CL.3SG.ACC.M wait tomorrow
bunicii (mîine).
grandparents-the tomorrow
'His grandparents are waiting for Mihai tomorrow.'

d. **Pe cine** (*mîine) aşteaptă (mîine) bunicii?
PE whom tomorrow wait tomorrow grandparents-the
'Who are his grandparents waiting for tomorrow?'

However, there are even some counter-examples from adverbs that cannot be argued to be in any way clitic-like, which suggests we are faced with a more general question relating to the nature of adverbs, rather than a genuine verb-adjacency violation. Adverbs such as *probabil* 'probably' and interrogative adverb *oare* can occupy several slots in the Romanian clause. Consider the word order possibilities in a wh-environment illustrated in (15). [10]

[10] For a more exhaustive analysis of interrogative *oare*, see Motapanyane (in press).

(15) a. **Cine** (probabil) va pleca (probabil)?
who probably AUX.FUT.3SG leave probably
'Who will probably leave?'

b. (oare) **cine** (oare) va pleca (oare)?
indeed who indeed AUX.FUT.3SG leave indeed
'Who will leave?'

Probabil 'probably' and interrogative *oare* are devoid of any clitic flavour, yet they can precede the verbal cluster in interrogative contexts. We assume this property can only be explained under an analysis that maintains certain adverbs are transparent; specifically, they can modify verbal heads without interfering with the head's checking requirements (cf. Zubizarreta 1998). The alternative account, in which adverb-like elements are assumed to introduce new projections in the derivation (cf. Cinque 1997), cannot be maintained for these adverbs without further stipulations. [11]

Zubizarreta's (1998) account felicitously captures the Romanian data and we adopt it for Romanian *(de)-abia* 'hardly' and *tocmai* 'just', as well as all other adverbials that can interfere with [+wh]-checking in the manner outlined above. We leave open the question as to why some adverbs are transparent, and thus do not interfere with feature-checking, while others are not.

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[11] In English, for example, 'probably' can interfere between the subject noun phrase and the auxiliary (see (i)).

(i) a. Victor probably has already read this book.
b. Victor has probably already read this book.

The fact that all uninterpretable features have to be checked before the creation of a higher category is permitted, together with the assumption that subjects in this language occupy Spec,IP and the auxiliary is in I° in (i), somewhat forces us to discard Cinque's analysis in these contexts. This does not necessarily exclude an analysis along the lines of Cinque for other types of adverbials.

4.3.1.2 *De ce* 'why': a cross-linguistic headache

A second problem for the verb-adjacency rule is the quirky behaviour of *de ce* 'why' and its semantically related wh-phrases. Consider the examples in (16).

(16) a. **De ce** pe Ina n-o place nimeni?
of what PE Ina not-CL.3SG.ACC.F likes noone
'Why does no one like Ina?'

b. **Ca ce chestie** Ina îşi permite să vina în vizită?
as what thing Ina REFL allows SUBJ come in visit
'How is it that Ina can visit us?'

c. **Cum de** Ina îşi permite asta?
how of Ina REFL allows this
'How is it that Ina can do this?'

De ce 'why' and some semantically related wh-phrases illustrated in (16), allow for an intervening topic NP between the moved wh-element and the verbal complex. We do not claim to resolve this issue now but limit ourselves to an observation. 'Why' seems to be unreliable as a diagnostic for the landing site of general wh-movement cross-linguistically. Kiss (1998) argues that *miert* 'why' in Hungarian does not occupy the canonical position of raised wh-phrases. The same seems to be true of Spanish (cf. Suñer 1994, Zubizarreta 1998), a language which generally observes the verb-adjacency requirement with wh-phrases. This is illustrated in (17).

(17) Me pregunto **porqué** a María le regalaron eso.
(I) wonder why to Maria DAT.CL(they) gave that
'I wonder why they gave that to Maria?'
(Spanish, Zubizarreta 1998: 105)

The example in (17) shows that 'why' allows for material to disrupt the usual verb-adjacency requirement.

Since there are other wh-adjuncts which may violate the verb-adjunction requirement in Spanish, Zubizarreta (1998) proposes that adjuncts do not check features, behaving differently from their L-related counterparts. One solution would be to argue that, in view of its decreased non-L-relatedness, 'why' does not leave behind a trace, possibly being base-generated in a position adjoined to CP. In fact, Rizzi (1990) suggests that 'why' is a clausal adjunct. Notice, however, that in Romanian, other wh-adjuncts must appear in a verb-adjacent position and cannot tolerate the presence of intervening topicalized material. Recall the examples in (8) and consider further examples in (18) which make the preceding argument difficult to maintain.

(18) a. **De cîte ori** (*pe Mioara) ai rugat-o
of how many times PE Mioara AUX.2SG. asked-CL.3SG.ACC.F
(pe Mioara) să sune?
PE Mioara SUBJ call
'How many times did you ask Mioara to call?

b. **Cînd** (*la Copenhaga) te-ai întîlnit
when at Copenhagen CL.2SG-AUX.2SG met
cu Anghel (la Copenhaga)?
with Anghel at Copenhagen
'When did you meet Anghel in Copenhagen?'

We do not attempt to resolve what seems to be a more general idiosyncrasy of 'why' and conclude that the quirky behaviour of *de ce* 'why' (and related wh-phrases) in Romanian, alongside the seemingly transparency of certain adverbs, do not pose major problems to the general wh-phrase verb-adjacency requirement in this language.

4.3.2 Multiple checking and (Anti)-Superiority

In section 4.1 we showed that Romanian is a multiple [+wh]-checking language, in which wh-phrases cluster together. Moreover, raised wh-phrases in multiple questions all target the same XP (since there is no clitic intervention), irrespective of where they are base-generated. Consider the examples in (1), repeated here as (19).

(19) a. **Cine**$_i$ **cui**$_j$ **ce**$_k$ a dat t_i t_j t_k ?
who whom what AUX.3SG given t_i t_j t_k

b. ***Cine**$_i$ **cui**$_j$ a dat t_i t_j **ce**? (unless an echo question)
who whom AUX.3SG given t_i t_j what
'Who has given what to whom?'

The fact that wh-phrases cluster together, points to a unique host and to feature-checking against a single head.

Since in Romanian wh-phrases are required to check their [+wh] feature in a strict locality relationship, all of the wh-phrases in a multiple question must move up to the closest interrogative host, whether they are base-generated in the matrix or in the embedded clauses. This can mean extracting more than one wh-phrase out of an embedded clause, as in (20a), or extracting wh-phrases from different clauses, as in (20b).

(20) a. **Cine**$_i$ **ce**$_j$ ziceai [$_{CP}$ că îşi închipuie t_i t_j]? [12]
who what say.2SG.PAST [$_{CP}$ that REFL imagines.3SG.PR t_i t_j]?
'Who did you say imagines what?'

b. **Cine**$_i$ **ce**$_j$ ziceai [$_{CP}$ că îşi închipuie
who what say.2SG.PAST [$_{CP}$ that REFL imagines.3SG.PR
t_i [$_{CP}$ că ai spus t_j]]?
t_i [$_{CP}$ that AUX.2SG said t_j]]
'Who did you say imagines that you've said what?'

Moreover, multiple fronted wh-phrases cannot raise randomly in Romanian. They must obey a rigid Subject – Object word order. Consider the examples in (21);

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[12] Romanian lacks 'that'-trace effects (see also Cornilescu 1995, Motapanyane 1995). In English, a well-known subject/object asymmetry is the fact that objects can, but subjects cannot extract out of embedded clauses in the presence of an overt complementizer (see ia-b). In Romanian, on the other hand, there is no such subject/object asymmetry, both subjects and objects being equally extractable (see 1c-d).

(1) a. [$_{CP}$ **What**$_i$ do you think [$_{CP}$ t_i' that [$_{IP}$ John said t_i at the press conference]]]?

b. * [$_{CP}$ **Who**$_i$ do you think [$_{CP}$ t_i' that [$_{IP}$ t_i said this at the press conference]]]?

c. [$_{CP}$ **Ce**$_i$ crezi [$_{CP}$ t_i' că [$_{IP}$ a spus [$_{vP}$ Ion
[$_{CP}$ what think.2SG [$_{CP}$ t_i' that [$_{IP}$ AUX.3SG said [$_{vP}$ John
t_i la conferinta de presă]]]]?
t_i at conference-the of press
'What do you think that John said at the press conference?'

d. [$_{CP}$ **Cine**$_i$ crezi [$_{CP}$ t_i' că [$_{IP}$ a spus
[$_{CP}$ who think.2SG [$_{CP}$ t_i' that [$_{IP}$ AUX.3SG said
[$_{vP}$ t_i asta la conferinta de presă]]]]?
[$_{vP}$ t_i this at conference-the of press
'Who do you think said this at the press conference?'

The ban against the sequence complementizer – trace in English follows under Rizzi's (1990) stipulation that traces need to be head-governed, as well as antecedent-governed. While, the object trace will always be head-governed by the lexical verb, the trace in subject position in English (i.e., Spec,IP) is not properly head-governed by the complementizer 'that'. Rizzi (1990) notices that null subject languages allow subject extraction across a complementizer equivalent to 'that'. According to Rizzi (1990), this follows since in these languages the subject trace is in Spec,VP and is properly head-governed by Inflection.

(21)	a.	**Cine$_i$**	**ce$_k$**	a	dat	t_i lui Mihai	t_k ?
		who	what	AUX.3SG	given	t_i to Mihai	t_k
	b.	***Ce$_k$**	**cine$_i$**	a	dat	t_i lui Mihai	t_k?
		what	who	AUX.3SG	given	t_i to Mihai	t_k

'Who has given what to Mihai?'

The object wh-phrase in (21) cannot precede the subject wh-phrase. This word order constraint can be accounted via Superiority (see also Comorovski 1996, Motapanyane 1998a, in press). 'Superiority' is a concept originally introduced to account for the sequencing of moved elements. Pesetsky (1987:104), following earlier work by Chomsky, defines the following Superiority Condition, 'In a multiple interrogative, where a wh-phrase is in Comp and another is in situ, the S-structure trace of the phrase in Comp must c-command the S-structure position of the wh in situ.' [13] Informally then, Superiority will be defined as a constraint that forbids movement of a phrase over another phrase that is superior to it (where X is superior to Y if every maximal projection dominating X dominates Y but not conversely). According to Superiority then, the subject wh-phrase in (21) should raise before the object wh-phrase. Under the assumption that the order at the landing-site reflects the order of movement, we would expect to see the object precede the subject. What we observe is a Superiority effect that apparently affects the landing site, since this is where the wh-subject must precede any other wh-constituent. [14] This can be formalized as the (Anti)-Superiority effect in (22).

(22) (Anti)-Superiority:
Overt movement into multiple specifiers is well-formed only if the c-command sequence of the moved wh-operators parallels the c-command sequence of their traces.

---

[13] Watanabe (1996) rephrases this as follows, 'a multiple question is well-formed in English only if at S-structure there is a wh-phrase that does not c-command the variable of the wh-phrase moved into the target Spec of CP.'

[14] Bošković (1998) argues that, in the Balkan languages, multiple-fronted wh-phrases must conform to an order that is the opposite to that predicted by Superiority.

Nevertheless, we suggest Superiority is still observed in Romanian. Specifically, we do not take linear order to reflect order of movement. Movement of the wh-object before the wh-subject would also violate economy conditions, formalized as the Minimal Link Condition of Chomsky (1995) (see chapter 1, section 1.2). Given that the subject is the closest candidate (Goal) of the Probe (i.e., the functional head X° endowed with the [+wh] feature which needs to delete), it should move first. [15]

Notice, however, that in ditransitive clauses, the (Anti)-Superiority effect is somewhat relaxed insofar as the ordering of objects with respect to each other is concerned. Compare for example, (23) and (24) with (25) and (26), respectively. [16]

---

[15] Recall that in multiple questions, there are several potential Goals, since all wh-phrases are lexical items with uninterpretable [+wh] features which require checking in a strict local relationship. The Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995) requires the highest Goal to move first; see (i).

(i) *The Minimal Link Condition* (Chomsky 1995)
α can raise to target K only if there is no legitimate operation Move-β targeting K, where β is closer to K;
(where 'closer' is defined in terms of c-command and equidistance).

[16] We are assuming *pe cine* 'PE who' is structurally higher than *ce* 'what'. Notice that Romanian has certain verbs which subcategorize for two Accusative objects. However, only one of the Accusative objects is passivizable (in the sense that it can become Nominative); consider (i).

(i) a. L-a întrebat Mihai pe Victor
CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG asked Mihai.NOM PE Victor.ACC
asta.
this.ACC
'Mihai asked Victor this.'

b. A fost întrebat Victor asta.
AUX.3SG been asked Victor.NOM this.ACC
'Victor was asked this.'

c. *A fost întrebată pe Victor asta.
AUX.3SG been asked PE Victor.ACC this.NOM
'This was asked of Victor.'

(23) a. **Pe cine ce** a întrebat Victor?
PE who what AUX.3SG asked Victor

b. * **Ce** **pe cine** a întrebat Victor?
what PE who AUX.3SG asked Victor
'Whom did Victor ask what?'

(24) a. **Cui** **ce** a dat Mihai?
wh-DAT. what AUX.3SG given Mihai

b. * **Ce** **cui** a dat Mihai?
what wh-DAT. AUX.3SG given Mihai
'Whom did Mihai give what to?'

(25) a. **Cine** **pe cine ce** a întrebat?
who PE who what AUX.3SG asked

b. **Cine** **ce** **pe cine** a întrebat?
who what PE who AUX.3SG asked

c. * **Ce** **cine** **pe cine** a întrebat?
what who PE who AUX.3SG asked
'Who asked whom what?'

(26) a. **Cine** **cui** **ce** a dat?
who wh-DAT. what AUX.3SG given

b. **Cine** **ce** **cui** a dat?
who what wh-DAT. AUX.3SG given

The dichotomy in (i) follows if we consider *pe Victor* to be structurally marked for Accusative, and *asta* 'this' to have inherent/lexical Accusative, therefore non-passivizable. We assume that the object inherently marked for Accusative case is closer to the verb than the object which is structurally marked; it then follows that 'PE who' objects are higher in the syntactic tree than 'what' objects.

c.	***Ce**	**cine**	**cui**	**a**	**dat?**
	what	who	wh-DAT.	AUX.3SG	given

'Who has given what to whom?'

The word order sequencing in the double object constructions in (23) and (24) is expected according to the (Anti)-Superiority effect outlined in (22). However, in (25) and (26), in which the subjects are also questioned, we notice that the two object wh-phrases can appear in any order, as long as they follow the subject wh-phrase. [17] In the next two sub-sections we first offer an account for the lack of ordering restrictions in (25) and (26) and then discuss the manner of movement.

4.3.2.1 'Attract' versus 'Move'

Chomsky (1995) proposes an asymmetric theory of feature checking. Formal features (FFs) are present on both functional heads and lexical items, but only FFs on functional heads can be strong. Moreover, FFs of lexical items are not required to be checked, so feature checking takes place only when FFs of lexical items (i.e., the candidate/Goal) are attracted into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head (i.e., the target/Probe). This is the operation 'Attract' (redefined as 'Agree' in Chomsky 1998). A number of authors, however, have argued against this asymmetry and have proposed that feature-checking movement can also be triggered by the requirements of the lexical item bearing uninterpretable FFs (e.g. Bošković 1998, Lasnik 1995, 1999, Ochi 1998). Specifically, FFs of the lexical item can themselves require checking and implicitly trigger movement into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head. This is the operation 'Move'. In fact, Chomsky (1998) acknowledges the potential need for 'Move'. We assume feature-driven movement is an instance of both 'Attract' and 'Move', being operative until all selectional/strong FFs have been checked, irrespective of whether the selectional FF belongs to the functional head (i.e., the Probe/target) or to the lexical item (i.e., the

Goal/candidate). We discuss below Bošković's (1998) proposal and adapt it for Romanian multiple wh-movement.

In the previous section (examples (25)-(26)), we saw that ordering is loosened once the subject wh-phrase has raised (more specifically, once the highest wh-phrase has raised). Bošković (1998) argues that, cross-linguistically, lack of ordering restrictions is due to the location of the strong formal feature. This author suggests that movement can be driven either by a strong feature of the target, or by a strong feature of the moved lexical item. Bošković further shows that ordering restrictions of the moved elements (his 'Superiority effects') arise in constructions when the strong feature driving the movement belong to the *target*, but not when they belong to the elements undergoing movement.

The essence of Bošković's proposal is that when the Probe has a strong feature to check, it will enter into a matching relationship with the closest Goal with which it can establish Agreement. Adapting Bošković's proposal to Romanian, the analysis for examples such as (25) and (26) will be as follows. The closest Goal is the subject wh-phrase, which moves to satisfy the requirements of the functional head X° hosting the selectional [+wh] feature in Romanian. Once the uninterpretable feature of the target has been checked, movement required by other items with strong/selectional formal features also has to proceed. Let us suppose that the difference between wh-movement in multiple checking languages, such as Romanian, and languages such as English is parametrized depending on feature type. In English, the uninterpretable [+wh] feature of each wh-phrase can be checked in-situ, via Agree, with no dislocation to Spec,CP. This implies that the universally uninterpretable [+wh] feature on English wh-phrases (cf. MP98) is, according to our analysis, non-selectional (or weak). In Romanian both the [+wh] feature on the functional head X°, and the uninterpretable feature on the wh-phrases present in the derivation is of a

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17 A similar remark has been made for Bulgarian in Bošković (1998).

selectional (or strong) nature. [18] It follows that feature checking/deletion can only occur in a strict local, specifier-head, relationship. [19] The operation Agree establishes a matching relation between the [+wh] feature on X° and a lexical item with a matching feature which it c-commands. The Minimal Link Condition will identify the closest wh-phrase as the candidate for dislocation into Spec,XP. A checking relation is now established between the wh-phrase, in specifier position, and the head of the functional projection which contains the uninterpretable [+wh] feature. As a result, both the uninterpretable [+wh] features of the wh-phrase and of X° are checked. The remaining wh-phrases must also have access to the functional head with [+wh] features. Multiple-wh-raising will then automatically occur in Romanian, but since this type of movement lacks a selector (once the first wh-phrase has raised and the uninterpretable features on X° have been deleted), shortest move will only affect the first raising wh-phrase. [20] Ordering becomes irrelevant, since the Minimal Link Condition is defined for an asymmetric theory of feature checking. Therefore, it is equally economical to move the direct object or the indirect object first.

There is need for one clarification. In MP98, it is argued that the wh-phrase is active until its [+wh] feature is checked and deleted (Chomsky 1998:45). This should be understood solely in terms of the respective wh-phrase's ability to further undergo movement (i.e., be Attracted by a higher target). However, the [+wh] feature of the functional head will not automatically delete following checking and Merge of Spec,XP. This is a necessary assumption in view of the fact that the head remains active for feature-checking of any remaining wh-phrases. Chomsky (1995) suggests this is possible as a parametrized property. The author discusses multiple Case checking

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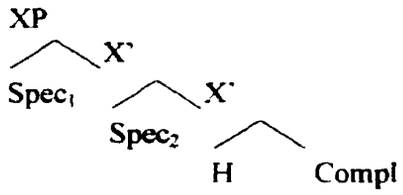
[18] This is not a mere stipulation but a formalizing of the empirical facts of multiple interrogative constructions.

[19] The fact that English always requires overt movement of one wh-phrase can be assumed to follow from the fact that the uninterpretable [+wh] feature on C° is a selectional feature in this language (on a par with the EPP). This is somewhat implicitly assumed in MP98.

[20] For example, by constraining these wh-phrases to move to the closest available host. Shortest move is then in part responsible for wh-island effects (see also section 4.8).

in Japanese for which he proposes (following a number of other authors) a structure as in (27), in which the feature F of a head H is not automatically deleted when checked until all its specifiers have been checked (at which point F has to delete to ensure convergence).

(27)



Furthermore, in MP98, Chomsky argues that deleted features are erased, but only after they are sent to the phonological component. Specifically, they remain active prior to PF, for potentially necessary checking requirements.

English and Romanian, however, represent only two of the four logical possibilities which could occur in multiple wh-constructions. In English, the [+wh] formal feature on the functional head is selectional, while the [+wh] formal feature on the lexical items (LIs) is non-selectional, and in Romanian, the [+wh] formal feature on both the functional head and the LIs are selectional. There could, in principle, be languages in which the [+wh] formal feature on the functional head is non-selectional, and the [+wh] formal feature on the LIs is selectional. In this case, we would expect to see multiple wh-raising (since the selectional feature on the LIs would require checking in a relevant specifier-head configuration), but no ordering constraint (the feature on the functional head being non-selectional, will be satisifed by Agree, will not itself Attract and, therefore, economy will not be involved). In fact, this theoretical possibility is manifested in Serbo-Croatian. In (28a), for example the wh-subject precedes the wh-object, while in (28b), the word order between the fronted wh-elements is reversed.

(28) a. **Ko** je **koga** vidjeo?
who AUX whom seen

b. **Koga** je **ko** vidjeo?
whom AUX who seen
'Who saw whom?'
Serbo-Croatian (Bošković 1995:5-6)

The last theoretical possibility involves the situation where the [+wh] formal feature is non-selectional on both the functional head and the LIs. In this case, checking of formal features is accomplished solely via Agree, with no movement involved. Chinese is presumably one such language, since it lacks visible movement in wh-constructions. Interestingly, all four logical possibilities (represented in the table in 29) are found in human languages.

(29) Cross-linguistic properties of the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature:

Empirical properties	Functional head FF type	Lexical item FF type
movement of a single wh-phrase (e.g., English)	selectional	non-selectional
ordered movement of all wh-phrase (e.g., Romanian)	selectional	selectional
unordered movement of all wh-phrases (e.g., Serbo-Croatian)	non-selectional	selectional
no movement (e.g., Chinese)	non-selectional	non-selectional

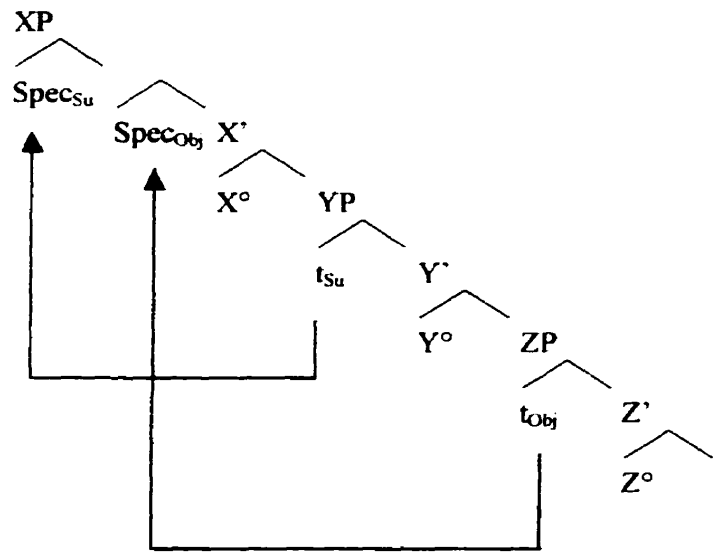
4.3.2.2 Formalizing multiple wh-movement

In this section we show that a subject-first approach in multiple wh-constructions is the only one tenable for Romanian (and, presumably, all languages with selectional/strong [+wh] FF on LIs), from both an empirical as well as a theoretical perspective.

In view of the empirical constraint previously illustrated, namely that wh-subjects precede wh-objects in Romanian multiple interrogatives, the syntactic tree can only be

represented as in (30), in which the basic c-command relations between subject and object are preserved.

(30)

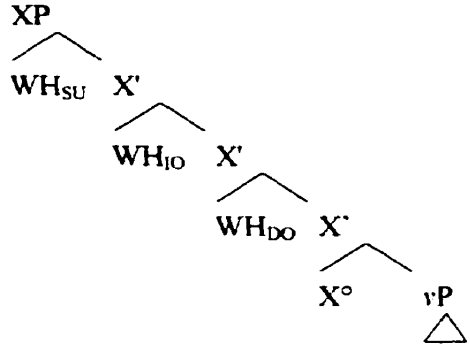


There are two logical possibilities of deriving the syntactic tree in (30). The first possibility is to assume that wh-object movement precedes wh-subject movement. This possibility raises several theoretical problems. The Minimal Link Condition (which is, in effect, an economy requirement) is violated, since the wh-object is Attracted when the subject wh-phrase is a closer candidate to check the [+wh] FF of the functional head X°. Moreover, under the assumption that [+wh] FF on the lexical items is of a selectional nature (otherwise there would not be multiple movement), wh-phrase licensing is also violated since the required strictly local specifier-head relationship is inaccessible to all but the wh-phrase that moves first. The second possibility is to assume that wh-subject movement precedes wh-object movement. In this case, both the empirical and the theoretical facts are observed. The Minimal Link Condition is respected since the closer candidate (i.e., the subject wh-phrase) is the one Attracted. Feature-checking in a strict locality relation is realized for all wh-phrases since the desired specifier-head relationship, with the felicitous

outcome of proper wh-phrase licensing, is available to all wh-phrases. We therefore conclude that the subject-first approach is the correct alternative. [21]

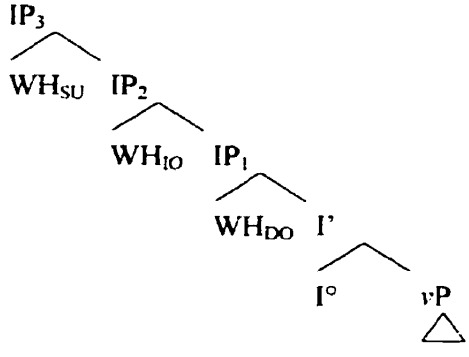
In constructions such as (25)-(26), once the subject wh-phrase has moved in Romanian, the remaining wh-phrases 'tuck in' below the specifier created by the moved subject in any order, as illustrated in (31). Given the selectional nature of the [+wh] FF on Romanian wh-phrases, each wh-phrase has to have direct access to the [+wh] FF on X° in order for feature-checking to apply. Such access is only provided by a tucking-in mechanism which ensures the strictly local specifier-head relationship required for checking of selectional features. [22]

(31) a.



[21] Observe that under the proposal we are pushing for, namely that wh-movement in Romanian targets the IP rather than the CP, an object-first analysis would engender undesired Subjacency violations. Subjacency conditions require that movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP (cf. Chomsky 1986). In (i), the subject wh-phrase would illicitly raise across two such bounding nodes.

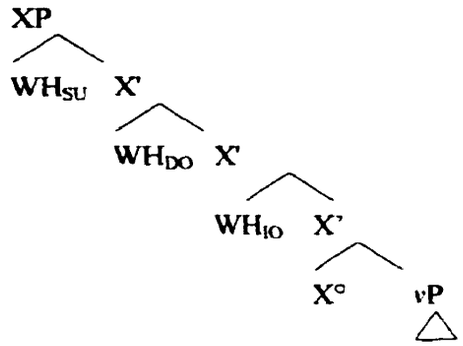
(i)



A subject-first analysis poses no such problems since no IPs are crossed.

[22] Notice that a crossing paths analysis with 'tucking in' (to borrow a term from Richards 1997) is the one adopted by other authors for diverse languages with multiple wh-movement (e.g., Bošković 1998, Nichols 1999, Richards 1997).

b.



Let us sum up. We have argued that wh-movement in Romanian is the result of both Attract and Move, operations due to the nature of the [+wh] formal feature present in the derivation. More specifically, in Romanian the [+wh] FF appears as:

(i) an uninterpretable [+wh] FF on X° (the functional head hosting the interrogative formal feature). This formal feature is selectional in nature and, as such, requires checking in a strictly local (i.e., specifier-head) relationship. The [+wh] FF on X° will Attract the closest candidate, thereby creating Spec,XP (by second Merge).

(ii) a selectional [+wh] FF on each wh-phrase present in the derivation. The selectional [+wh] FF on the LIs will also require checking in a specifier-head relationship, against the Agreeing X° functional head. The specific nature of the [+wh] FF on Romanian LIs will induce Move, which is an unordered operation. Wh-phrases are licensed in Romanian only as a result of second Merge into the domain hosting the interrogative formal feature (namely, once movement into Spec,XP has been observed).

The operation Attract observes the Minimal Link Condition, but Move applies in an unordered fashion. In multiple wh-constructions in Romanian, once the closest candidate (defined in terms of c-command) has merged as Spec,XP, the remaining wh-phrases may move in any order, provided a 'tucking in' mechanism is observed until checking is complete.

4.3.3 Interaction with Topics

The last property to be discussed in this section is the interaction between wh-phrases and topics in Romanian. This is an important issue since it will shed light on the position targetted by wh-raising. Insofar as topicalization is concerned, there is no asymmetry between main and embedded clauses. Consider (32), in which the topicalized phrases are underlined.

(32) a. Victor mîine are un recital de trombon.
Victor tomorrow has.3SG.PR a recital of trombone
'Victor has a trombone recital tomorrow.'

b. Ştiu că Victor mîine are un recital de trombon.
know.1SG.PR that Victor tomorrow has.3SG.PR a recital of trombone
'I know that Victor has a trombone recital tomorrow.'

In (32), *Victor* and *mîine* 'tomorrow' are topicalized in both (a) and (b). [23] In the embedded clause (32b), the topicalized elements follow the complementizer *că* 'that' in C°. It follows that topicalized elements occupy a position below C°, which we assume for our present discussion to be a position adjoined to IP (but above any specifiers of IP). [24]

Let us consider next topics in relation to wh-phrases. The sentences in (33) clearly indicate that in Romanian wh-phrases can be preceded by one or more topics.

(33) a. **Pe cine**$_j$ a văzut Mihai t_v t_j la film?
PE who AUX3SG seen Mihai t_v t_j at movie

---

[23] Recall that the default word order for Romanian is VSO and that material in the preverbal field is more restricted (see chapters 2, 3, and 5).

[24] For the purposes of this chapter it is irrelevant whether topics are analysed as adjoined to IP, or whether we assume they project a Topic Phrase in the Romanian preverbal field. For more on Romanian topics, see chapter 5.

b.	Mihai$_i$	**pe**	**cine$_j$**	**a**	**văzut**	**t_i t_v t_j**	**la film?**
	Mihai	PE	who	AUX3SG	seen	t_i t_v t_j	at movie

c.	Mihai$_i$	la film$_k$	**pe**	**cine$_j$**	**a**	**văzut**	**t_i t_v t_j t_k?**
	Mihai	at movie	PE	who	AUX3SG	seen	t_i t_v t_j t_k

'Whom did Mihai see at the movies?'

Romanian topics precede wh-phrases even in multiple wh-contexts (see 34 and 35a). Since topics are situated in a position below C°, we conclude that wh-phrases cannot target the CP domain. In the remainder of this chapter, we will argue that wh-phrases are hosted by the Romanian IP, as illustrated in the syntactic representation in (35b).

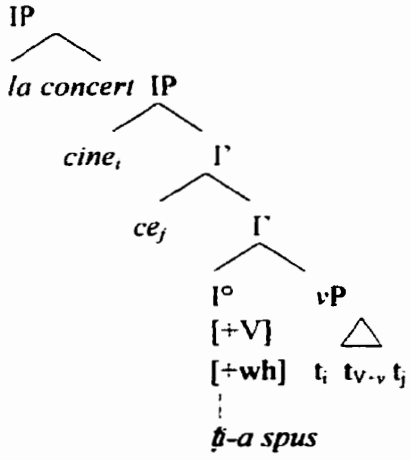
(34)	Ieri	la film	**cine**	**pe cine**	a	văzut?
	Yesterday	at movie	who	PE who	AUX3SG	seen

'Who saw whom yesterday at the movies?'

(35)	a.	La concert	**cine**	**ce**	ți-a	spus?
		at concert	who	what	CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG	said

'Who told you what at the concert?'

b.



4.4 Romanian and CV2 languages: a comparison

The position of the finite verb in a given language varies along several dimensions that concern: the morphological marking of the verb, the type of clause containing the verb, and the properties of the functional heads in the respective language. One of the most striking examples of the sensitivity of verb placement to these distinctions is the verb-second constraint (V2), particular to Germanic languages. This is a main clause constraint which requires that the inflected verb or auxiliary move to a position immediately following exactly one phrasal constituent, with no requirement on the nature of the first constituent. [25]All Germanic languages, with the exception of modern English, show this verb-second constraint. Some illustrations follow in (36)-(38).

(36)	a.	Diesen	Roman	las	ich	schon	letztes	Jahr.	(German)
		this	novel	read	I	already	last	year	
	b.	Ich	las	schon	letztes	Jahr	diesen	Roman.	
		I	read	already	last	year	this	novel	
	c.	* Diesen		Roman	ich	las	schon	letztes	Jahr.
		this		novel	I	read	already	last	year
		'I already read this novel last year.'							
(37)	a.	I går		hade	Johan	sett	Eva.		(Swedish)
		yesterday		had	John	seen	Eva		
	b.	Johan	hade	sett	Eva	i går.			
		Johan	had	seen	Eva	yesterday			
	c.	* I går	Johan	hade	sett	Eva.			
		yesterday		John	had	seen	Eva		
		'John had seen Eva yesterday.'							

[25] Reinholtz (p.c.) notes that matrix polar questions and other apparently verb-initial constructions contain a phonologically null operator in Spec,CP.

(38) a. Þessum hring haft Olafur lofað Maríu. (Icelandic;
this ring had Olaf promised Mary Thráinsson 1986)

b. * Þessum hring Olafur haft lofað Maríu.
this ring Olaf had promised Mary
'Olaf had promised Mary this ring.'

It is generally assumed that the verb-second constraint represents finite verb movement to C° (cf. den Besten 1977, Holmberg and Platzack 1991, van Kemenade 1987, Koster 1975, Rizzi 1990b, Roberts 1992, Vikner 1992, among others). Consequently, we use CV2 as a label for these languages.

Modern English has been claimed to have 'residual-verb-second' (Rizzi 1990b), since auxiliaries and modals move from I° to C° only in specific contexts, namely, in root interrogatives, and other operator environments (i.e., topicalized negative elements and 'only' phrases). In these contexts (see 39), English undergoes subject-auxiliary-inversion (SAI), since in this language the subject is always in Spec,IP.

(39) a. What (*Mary) has Mary read?
b. Never (*Mary) has Mary seen such a horrible accident.
c. Only once in a lifetime (*such a thing) could such a thing happen.

In this section then, we offer a comparison of root and embedded interrogatives between 'wh-CV2' languages (i.e., all of Germanic) and Romanian, with the purpose of highlighting major differences which further point to the impossibility of analysing CP as the host for wh-movement in Romanian.

4.4.1 Main clause interrogatives

In wh-CV2 languages (i.e., Germanic), the [+wh] feature is assumed to be a property of the C° head (cf. Chomskyan tradition). In main clause interrogatives, finite verb raising to C° (V° > C°), resulting in SAI, along with wh-movement into the specifier of CP, are both present. Consider below relevant illustrations from Icelandic and English.

(40) a. [$_{CP}$ **Hvern** hefur [$_{IP}$ Maria t_v [$_{vP}$ ... kysst....]]? (Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)[26]

b. [$_{CP}$ **Whom** has [$_{IP}$ Mary t_v [$_{vP}$ ...kissed ...]]?

c. *[$_{CP}$ **Hvern** [$_{IP}$ Maria hefur [$_{vP}$ ... kysst ...]]?

d. *[$_{CP}$ **Whom** [$_{IP}$ Mary has [$_{vP}$ ...kissed ...]]?

e. *[$_{CP}$ Maria$_i$ **hvern** hefur [$_{IP}$ t_i t_v [$_{vP}$ ... kysst....]]?

f. *[$_{CP}$ Mary$_i$ **whom** has [$_{IP}$ t_i t_v [$_{vP}$ ...kissed ...]]?

The examples in (40a,b) show wh-movement into the specifier of CP, alongside verb movement into C°. The ungrammatical (40c,d) point to obligatory V° > C° movement, which results in a SAI structure. The verb-second constraint, operative in Germanic root interrogative contexts, prohibits any topicalized material from preceding the wh-phrase in Spec,CP. Therefore, (40f,e), in which the subject NP has undergone topicalization to the left of the wh-phrase, are ill-formed.

In Romanian, there are no SAI effects present in main clause questions, which suggests that the verb has not undergone movement from I° to C° (cf. also Cornilescu 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Isac p.c., Ştefănescu 1997). Compare the examples in (41a) and (41b).

(41) a. (Victor) cîntă (Victor) la trombon. [- wh]
(Victor) sing.3SG.PR (Victor) at trombone
'Victor plays the trombone.'

b. (Victor) cîntă (Victor) la trombon? [+ wh]
(Victor) sing.3SG.PR (Victor) at trombone
'Does Victor play the trombone?'

---

[26] Note that no gloss is provided for the Icelandic examples in Thráinsson (1986), but the English examples represent true equivalents.

The interrogative clause in (41b) maintains the same word order flexibility as its non-interrogative counterpart in (41a). Furthermore, there is no additional movement, the only difference being one of intonation. Recall that, insofar as Romanian is concerned, subject NPs (or any other material) are freely topicalizable to the left of the moved wh-phrase(s) in root interrogatives, as in (42).

(42)	Mihai$_i$	la film	**pe**	**cine$_j$**	a	vãzut	t_i t_v t_j	?
	Mihai	at movie	PE	who	AUX3SG	seen	t_i t_v t_j	
	'Whom did Mihai see at the movies?'							

In the previous section we showed that topicalized material is situated below C°, presumably being IP-adjoined in Romanian. Consequently, the examples in (41)-(42) clearly indicate lack of V° > C°. Moreover, the incapacity of verb-raising above the clitic cluster, as in (43b) below, represent further evidence against V° > C°.

(43)	a.	L-ai	vãzut	pe Ion?
		CL.3SG.ACC-AUX2SG	seen	PE Ion
	b.	*Vãzutu-l-ai	t_v	pe Ion?
		seen-CL.3SG.ACC-AUX2SG	t_v	PE Ion
		'Have you seen Ion?'		

To conclude, there is no V° > C° and no verb-second effect in Romanian main clause questions.

4.4.2 Embedded interrogatives

In wh-CV2 languages, embedded interrogatives differ slightly from their main clause counterparts. Although the wh-phrase continues to target the specifier of CP, the finite verb no

longer raises to C° (i.e., there is no V2 effect in embedded clauses). [27] We borrow Thráinsson's (1986) examples to illustrate lack of V° > C° for Icelandic and English.

(44) a. Ég veit ekki [$_{CP}$ **hvern** [$_{IP}$ Maria hefur [$_{vP}$ ...kysst..]].
I know not [$_{CP}$ whom [$_{IP}$ Mary has [$_{vP}$ kissed]]
'I don't know whom Mary kissed.'
(Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)

b. I don't know [$_{CP}$ **whom** [$_{IP}$ Mary [$_{vP}$ kissed]].

The examples in (44) show wh-movement into Spec,CP, but lack of V° > C° movement in embedded interrogatives. In addition, the Icelandic example in (45) shows that the wh-phrase cannot be preceded by a topicalized subject. [28]

(45) * Ég veit ekki [Maria [**hvern** hefur [$_{vP}$ ...kysst..]].
I know not [Mary [whom has [$_{vP}$ ...kissed..]]
'I don't know whom Mary kissed.'
(Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)

In Romanian embedded interrogatives, the word order facts are almost at a counterpoint to those of wh-CV2 languages. Consider the examples in (46).

(46) a. Nu ştiu [**pe cine** a sărutat Mihai].
not know.1SG.PR. [PE who AUX.3SG kissed Mihai]

---

[27] Exceptions due to 'bridge verb' effects are of no consequence here (for further discussion see Alboiu 1994, Platzack 1986, Reinholtz 1989, Taraldsen 1985, Thráinsson 1986, among others).

[28] Note that Icelandic is a language which normally allows for topicalized elements in its embedded clauses (see i).

(i) Jón segir að Mariu hefur Helgi aldri kysst.
John says that Mary has Helgi never kissed
'John says that Helgi has never kissed Mary'
(Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)

b.	Nu ştiu	[Mihai	**pe cine**	a	sărutat].
	not know.1SG.PR.	[Mihai	PE who	AUX.3SG	kissed]
c.	*Nu ştiu	[**pe cine**	Mihai	a	sărutat].
	not know.1SG.PR.	[PE who	Mihai	AUX.3SG	kissed]

'I don't know whom Mihai kissed.'

(46a) tells us little with respect to either the landing site of the moved wh-phrase or the positioning of the verb. (46b), on the other hand, indicates IP as the target for wh-movement, in view of the fact that it is grammatical to topicalize the subject noun phrase (a structure impossible to obtain in embedded interrogatives in wh-CV2 languages). Last but not least, (46c) shows that the structure typical of the interrogatives illustrated in (44), is illicit in Romanian. In (46c), the verb-adjacency requirement, which holds between fronted wh-phrases and the verbal complex in Romanian, has been violated. Moreover, the examples in (46) point to the fact that there is no asymmetry between root and embedded interrogatives in Romanian (see preceding section). Under the analysis we are currently assuming, namely that wh-phrases are hosted by the IP in Romanian, it should come as no surprise that some contexts allow topicalization in embedded interrogatives. In (47), we offer some more illustrations of embedded interrogatives with various other topics.

(47) a.	Mă-ntreb	[pe Petre	**cine-l**		mai
	REFL-ask.1SG.PR	[PE Peter	who-CL.3SG.ACC		more
	crede].				
	believes]				

'I wonder who believes Peter any more.'

b.	Nu ştiu	[la Londra **cum**	o	fi	vremea].
	not know.1SG.PR	[at London how	AUX.FUT	be	weather-the]

'I don't know what the weather is like in London.'

In (46) and (47), we assume that the main clause verb, *ştiu* 'know', selects a [+ wh] IP. [29]

To conclude this section then, a comparison between root and embedded interrogatives in CV2 languages and Romanian, points to the following facts with regard to Romanian:

(i) there is no SAI effect in either root or selected interrogatives;

(ii) there is no V° > C° in either root or selected interrogatives; consequently, we assume the verb continues to reside in I°, to which it moves for independent reasons (see discussion in chapter 2);

(iii) word order and interaction with topics point toward a [+wh] feature in I°, rather than in C°, for Romanian.

We conclude that Romanian wh-phrases are hosted by the IP domain.

4.5 Two apparent problems

In the following two sections, we address two structures which might, at first sight, be taken as counter-arguments to our present analysis. We will show that they represent apparent problems having to do either with the irrelevancy of the test (in the case of sluicing discussed in section 4.5.1), or the misinterpretation of the data (in the case of successive-cyclic movement discussed in section 4.5.2).

---

[29] This verb can also select embedded CPs, as illustrated in (i).

(i)	Nu ştiam	[$_{CP}$ că	[$_{IP}$ ieri	Mihai	a
	not know.1SG.PST.	that	yesterday	Mihai	AUX.3SG
	sărutat-o	pe	Mioara].		
	kissed- CL.3SG.ACC.F.	PE	Mioara]		

'I didn't know that Mihai had kissed Mioara yesterday.'

This should not be seen as a problem, since verbs have been assumed to be capable of selecting various types of clause structure by a number of authors (more recently, Wurmbrand 1998 and references therein).

4.5.1 The (ir)relevancy of sluicing

In her analysis on Spanish wh-movement, Suñer (1994) proposes that, while Spanish does not show evidence for V > C°, wh-phrases are nevertheless hosted by CP in this language. In order to argue for wh-movement to Spec,CP in Spanish, the author discusses IP ellipsis (sluicing), first examined by Ross (1967). We illustrate with Suñer's examples in (48).

(48) a. Este verano lei varias novelas, pero no recuerdo cuántas.
'This summer I read several novels, but I do not remember how many'

b. Se fue de vacaciones, pero no dijo adónde.
'S/he left on vacation, but s/he didn't say where.'
(Spanish, Suñer 1994:349)

Under the assumption that the verb remains in I°, the author proposes that the interpretation of the phrases *cuántas* 'how many' (48a) and *adónde* 'where' (48b) is licensed by the [+WH] feature in C° (which is provided by the selecting higher predicate). Ellipsis of the IP constituent can proceed unhindered, leaving only the wh-phrase as the remnant of the embedded clause.

Let us consider the Romanian data. Once we translate Suñer's Spanish examples, we observe in (49) that sluicing is equally grammatical in Romanian.

(49) a.

În vara	asta	am	citit	mai	multe	romane,
in summer-the	this	AUX.1SG.	read	more	many	novels,
dar	nu-mi	amintesc	**cîte** [-].			
but	not-REFL.	remember	how many [-]			

'This summer I read several novels, but I do not remember how many'

b.

A	plecat	în	vacantă,
AUX.3SG.	left	in	holiday'
dar	n-a	spus	**unde** [-].
but	not- AUX.3SG.	said	where [-]

'S/he left on vacation, but s/he didn't say where.'

Under the assumption that sluicing/ellipsis affects constituents, the examples in (49) appear to create problems for our analysis. Once we assume wh-phrases to be hosted by IP in Romanian, it follows that sluicing affects the level I' in examples like the ones in (49). Needless to say, this is an undesirable result. However, sluicing of the type in (49) is also available in CV2 languages, in which the verb cannot be argued to reside in I° (as Suñer does for Spanish), but occupies C°. Consider the English examples in (50), in which ellipsis can only be assumed to affect the C' level, because the verb in C° has also disappeared.

(50) a. [$_{CP}$ **Who** is coming] and [$_{CP}$ **why** [$_{C'}$ -]]?

b. [$_{CP}$ **What** would you like to eat] and [$_{CP}$ **how many helpings** [$_{C'}$ -]]?

c. [$_{CP}$ **What** book did you buy] and [$_{CP}$ **wherefrom** [$_{C'}$ -]]?

If sluicing of the type in (50) is allowed, sluicing in Romanian of the type in (49), for which we assume a structure as in (51), should be equally acceptable.

(51) [$_{IP}$ **Wh-phrase** ...] and [$_{IP}$ **wh-phrase** [$_{I'}$ -]]?

In other words, if sluicing can apply to C' (as in (50), there is no reason to assume it cannot apply to I' (as in (51)). The point we are trying to make here is that this type of test cannot be taken as a counter-argument to our analysis, since it has little to say about the type of constituent targetted. As for the question referring to why and how sluicing applies to X' constituents, this is beyond the scope of our present discussion.

4.5.2 Successive-cyclic movement and apparent SAI

In this section we discuss instances of apparent subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) that arise in Romanian long-distance wh-movement contexts. We will show that the empirical facts

point toward lack of topicalization in these contexts, rather than to the presence of V° > C°, with resulting SAI effects.

In Romanian, indicative and conditional embedded clauses are introduced by the finite-clause complementizer *că* 'that', situated in C°. *Că* 'that' is non-deletable (see 52a) and non-interrogative (i.e., it cannot select a [+wh] IP, see 52b).

(52) a. Ştiu [$_{CP}$ *(că) de lingvistică se ocupă puţini].
know.1SG.PR [*(that) of linguistics REFL. occupy.3PL few]
'I know that few people do linguistics.'

b. Nu ştiu [(* că) **pe cine** a sărutat Mihai].
not know.1SG.PR [(*that) PE who AUX.3SG kissed Mihai]
'I don't know whom Mihai kissed.'

Recall that in our discussion on the nature of the [+wh] FF in Romanian, we concluded that it is present as a selectional feature on both the LI and the functional head (see sections 4.3.2.1, 4.3.2.2). Consequently, all [+wh] feature checking requires a strict locality relationship in Romanian. Whenever a lexical item with the [+wh] formal feature is present in a selected *că* 'that' clause, the respective LI will have to raise out of the embedded clause and merge into a higher position, against a compatible functional head (i.e., an X° with [+wh] FF). This follows, since the embedded I°, being selected by a non-interrogative C°, cannot be marked for the [+wh] FF. As such, it cannot Attract (or accommodate Move) of the wh-phrase. This is illustrated in (53) and (54), where the wh-phrase raises out of two embedded clauses.

(53) [$_{IP}$ **Cine**$_i$ crezi [$_{CP}$ că [$_{IP}$ nu va veni [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ la
[$_{IP}$ who$_i$ think.2SG.PR [that [not AUX.FUT.3SG come [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ at
spectacol]]]]?
show]]]
'Who do you believe will not come to the show?'

(54) [$_{IP}$ **Ce**$_i$ crede Ion [$_{CP}$ că spusese Victor
[$_{IP}$ what think.3SG.PR Ion [$_{CP}$ that said.PAST.3SG Victor
[$_{CP}$ că publicase ziarul t_i]]?
[$_{CP}$ that published.PAST.3SG newspaper.the t_i]]
'What does Ion think Victor said the journal had published?'

In (53) and (54) wh-movement proceeds from embedded clauses into the matrix clause. Since locality conditions are not violated, such instances of apparently long movement are standardly assumed to represent a succession of short movements from clause to clause (e.g., Ross 1967, et seq.). This is referred to as successive cyclic movement.

Examples of the type in (54) have been analysed as instances of SAI in Romanian, in view of the fact that the subject cannot precede the verb in the embedded clauses involved in successive-cyclic movement (Comorovski 1996, Motapanyane 1995). In (55), the direct object wh-phrase *ce* 'what' raises out of the embedded *că* 'that' clause. The subject NPs of the embedded CPs cannot raise into the preverbal field (i.e., to the left of the verb).

(55) [$_{IP}$ **Ce**$_i$ crede Ion [$_{CP}$ că (*Victor) spusese (Victor)
[$_{IP}$ what think.3SG.PR Ion [$_{CP}$ that (*Victor) said.PAST.3SG (Victor)
[$_{CP}$ că (*revista) publicase (revista) t_i]]?
[$_{CP}$ that (*journal.the) published.PAST.3SG (journal.the) t_i]]
'What does Ion think Victor said the journal had published?'

We suggest this is an incorrect approach, due mainly to the misleading emphasis on subjects. It should be noted that in successive-cyclic movement contexts, <u>no XP</u> can front in embedded clauses (not just subject NPs). In effect, nothing can topicalize or inhabit the preverbal field in these contexts. Consider the examples in (56) and (57), which illustrate this ban.

(56) [$_{IP}$ **Ce$_i$** crede (Ion) [$_{CP}$ cã (*Victor) spusese (Victor)
[$_{IP}$ what think.3SG.PR (Ion) [$_{CP}$ that (*Victor) said.PAST.3SG (Victor)
[$_{CP}$ cã (*săptămîna trecută) publicase revista t$_i$ (săptămîna
[$_{CP}$ that (*week-the last) published.PAST.3SG journal.the t$_i$ (week-the
trecută)]]?
last)]]
'What does Ion think Victor said the journal had published last week?'

(57) [$_{IP}$ **Pe cine$_i$** crezi [$_{CP}$ cã (*la film) l-a văzut
[$_{IP}$ PE who think.2SG.PR [$_{CP}$ that (*at movie) CL.3SG.ACC-AUX.3SG seen
Mihai t$_i$ (la film)]?
Mihai t$_i$ (at movie)]
'Whom do you think Mihai saw at the movies?'

We propose that fronting to the preverbal field in the embedded clauses of successive-cyclic movement contexts is ruled out due to Subjacency effects. [30]

Let us consider how checking of the [+wh] formal features occurs in examples such as (53)-(57). In each case, the root clause contains a functional head (X°) with a selectional [+wh] FF which requires checking in a specifier-head relationship for the derivation to converge. We proposed this feature is a property of I° in Romanian. Furthermore, one of the embedded *cã* 'that' clauses contains a lexical item with a selectional [+wh] FF which it cannot check in the embedded clause (since there is no matching functional head). The [+wh] I° of the main clause (i.e., the Probe) looks for a matching Goal to Attract. The only matching Goal present in the derivation is situated in the selected embedded clause. However, whatever is within the CP is opaque to syntactic processes outside of its immediate domain. This constraint has been formalized in a number of ways along the years, and more recently (Chomsky 1998), it is

[30] Recall that Subjacency conditions require that movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP (Chomsky 1977).

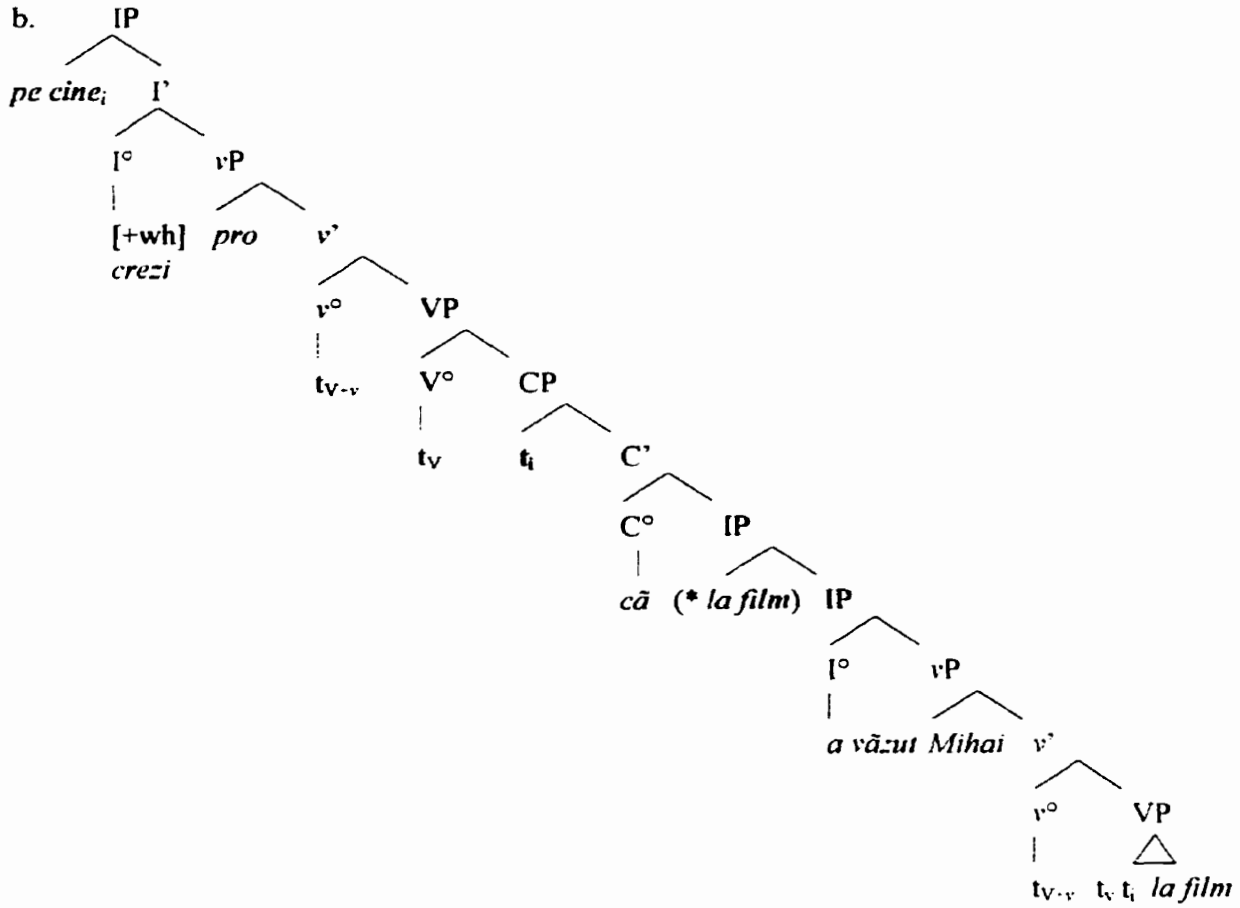
formulated as 'the phase-impenetrability condition' (essentially a new version of cyclicity); this is outlined in (58).

(58) In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, but only H and its edge (Chomsky 1998:22)

In other words, in order for the wh-phrase of the embedded clause to be accessible to operations outside of CP (i.e., within the higher clause), it first has to move to the edge of the highest phase (i.e., the CP), using the specifier of CP as an escape hatch. Consequently, the wh-phrase has to raise through all intermediary Spec,CP positions before it is merged as the specifier of the main clause I°, where the uninterpretable [+wh] features are checked and deleted against the compatible Probe [+wh] I°.

The fact that topics intervene with wh-raising in embedded *că* 'that' clauses with successive-cyclic movement is the result of a Subjacency effect, having nothing to do with SAI (which we argued in section 4.4 to be absent in Romanian). Fronting to topic creates an additional IP with the effect of requiring the wh-phrase to cross two bounding nodes (i.e., two IPs). This would create a Subjacency violation and would yield an ungrammatical output. For illustration, consider (59a) and its representation in (59b).

(59) a. **Pe cine**$_i$ crezi [$_{CP}$ t_i că (* [$_{IP}$ la film) [$_{IP}$ a
PE who think.2SG.PR [$_{CP}$ t_i that (* [$_{IP}$ at movie) [$_{IP}$ AUX.3SG
văzut Mihai t_i (la film)?
seen Mihai t_i (at movie)
'Whom do you think Mihai saw at the movies?'



Notice that, for the purposes of our present analysis (centred around the IP versus CP debate), it is irrelevant whether we assume successive cyclicity. In a context with embedded topicalization, we would still expect Subjacency effects, irrespective of whether the wh-phrase undegoes long movement or step by step movement. However, we retain cyclic movement (formalized as in (58)) in view of its general acceptance and relevance elsewhere (see section 4.7.3). The wh-phrase does not undergo any feature checking in (any of) the embedded Spec,CP(s), which it uses as an escape hatch on its way to the main clause (more specifically, to the functional head hosting the [+wh] FF). We conclude that there are no SAI effects in Romanian successive-cyclic movement contexts, and consequently, no V° > C° to support a [+wh] feature in C°.

4.6 Romanian wh-phrases move to IP

Let us summarize our findings so far. In Romanian interrogatives, the wh-phrases are adjacent to the verbal complex (i.e., IP). A comparison with CV2 languages suggested lack of evidence for V° > C° in Romanian wh-contexts. Furthermore, Romanian does not show instances of subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) in wh-contexts, nor is there any requirement for constituent movement (other than the wh-phrases) in interrogatives. Lack of verb movement into C° and compulsory verb-adjacency point to the presence of the [+wh] feature on the Romanian I° head. Topicalized constituents, which for our present purpose we assumed to be IP-adjoined, precede the fronted wh-phrases. This suggests that wh-phrases are not hosted by the CP domain in Romanian.

We also showed that wh-in-situ is unavaliable in Romanian. Given these empirical facts, we concluded that: (i) the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature present on the functional head is a selectional feature. By definition, it triggers wh-movement, acting as a Probe/target for the raised wh-phrases. Wh-movement will create a specifier of XP, where X° is the head which hosts the [+wh] feature. (ii) the [+wh] feature present on each wh-phrase is equally selectional in nature, thereby requiring checking in a strict locality (i.e., specifier-head) relationship. The result is a 'multiple-specifier' structure. Furthermore, economy conditions (formalized as the MLC) together with specific licensing conditions suggest wh-movement involves crossing paths with tucking in. This analysis captures the empirical word ordering facts of the newly merged multiple specifiers.

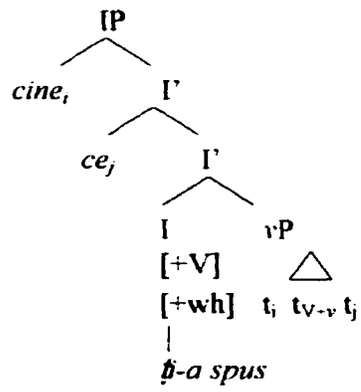
We conclude that there is sufficient evidence to maintain an analysis in which interrogative structures in Romanian involve I° as the functional head hosting the uninterpretable formal feature [+wh] . [31] I° then is a *syncretic* category in Romanian, capable of hosting at least

[31] For the time being, we refrain from expanding the IP domain, since this does not serve our immediate purpose. We return to this issue in section 4.8 of this chapter.

the selectional feature [+wh] , alongside with its intrinsic verbal features. [32] It follows that, in Romanian wh-phrases are all hosted by IP, the closest being attracted and merged as Spec,IP, the rest being 'tucked in' below. We propose that the presence of the selectional [+wh] FF on the Romanian Inflectional system is a direct consequence of the fact that this language lacks a D-type EPP feature (which would otherwise require overt raising of the subject NP into Spec,IP; see discussion in chapter 2). Given that Spec,IP in Romanian is not a Case related specifier, it is in principle available to operator material. We suggest this is a property Romanian has fully exploited. To illustrate, we offer the Romanian example in (60a), for which we propose the structural representation in (60b).

(60) a. **Cine** **ce** ți-a spus?
who what CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said
'Who told you what?'

b.



In the following sections, we return to the issue introduced at the commencement of this chapter, namely the dichotomy between IP-absorption versus CP-absorption languages. The

[32] For a similar proposal on Spanish, see Zubizarreta (1998).

purpose of our discussion is to show that Romanian interrogatives share important properties with IP-absorption languages, which is expected under our present analysis.

4.7 The IP/CP dichotomy and multiple wh-movement

In section 4.1, we introduced the issue of landing-sites for multiple [+wh] -checking languages. We cited Rudin (1988) and Richard's (1997) bipartite division of 'IP-absorption' and 'CP-absorption' languages. In Rudin's analysis, which Richards fully adopts and expands, IP-absorption languages include Polish, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, and Hungarian, in which wh-movement is to a specifier of IP, with one wh-phrase possibly in Spec,CP (depending on the language type). CP-absorption languages, such as Romanian, and Bulgarian, always involve wh-movement to a specifier of CP.

A cluster of properties are considered to be distinguishing diagnostics for the two groups. These properties are included in the table in (61).

(61)

properties	CP-ABSORPTION Ls	IP-ABSORPTION Ls
wh-islands	-	+
local scrambling = A-mvt	-	+
weak crossover	+	-
wh-movement = QR	-	+
superiority	+	-

Unfortunately, neither Rudin, nor Richards apply these tests in any consistent manner to Romanian. Both limit themselves to a minor discussion on wh-islands, itself based on Comorovski (1986), which leaves out important empirical facts. With the exception of

Superiority, we test all of the properties included in (61) on Romanian data. [33] It will be shown that Romanian shares important properties with IP-absorption languages, a desirable result under the present analysis.

4.7.1 Wh-islands and interacting wh-dependencies

Recall that wh-phrases cannot remain in-situ in Romanian. In this language, all of the wh-phrases in a multiple question must move up to the closest interrogative host, even if this means extracting more than one wh-phrase out of an embedded clause, or extracting wh-phrases from different clauses, as in (20), repeated as (62).

(62)	**Cine**$_i$	**ce**$_j$	ziceai	[$_{CP}$ că	**îşi**	**inchipuie**	t_i
	who	what	say.2SG.PAST	[$_{CP}$ that	REFL	imagines.3SG.PR	t_i
	[$_{CP}$ că	ai	spus	t_j]]?			
	[$_{CP}$ that	AUX.2SG	said	t_j]]			

'Who did you say imagines that you've said what?'

In view of the fact that examples such as (62) are well-formed in a language that otherwise obeys Subjacency, Rudin (1988) concludes that in Romanian more than one wh-phrase is able to pass through the embedded clause Spec,CP position. For this author then, it follows that Romanian is a language with the [+wh] feature in C°. The author further predicts that languages that allow multiple wh-elements in Comp, "will not obey any form of wh-island constraint" (Rudin 1988:456). [34]

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[33] We leave out Superiority since it is irrelevant as a diagnostic. Given that Superiority is a condition on wh-phrase movement order, it is a constraint that forbids movement of a phrase over another phrase that is superior to it, it tells us little (if anything) about the nature of the targetted head.

[34] Where 'wh-island constraints' refer to the impossibility of extracting wh-phrases from an embedded wh-question. In English, for example, embedded wh-questions generally block extraction of most wh-phrases. See examples in (i) from Culicover 1997:196.

We agree with Rudin that Romanian allows multiple Spec,CPs which serve as intermediary landing-sites in wh-movement. As argued in section 4.5.2, embedded wh-phrases use the specifier of CP as an escape hatch in their movement to the matrix IP. However, we do not agree with the fact that 'silent' multiple specifiers constitute evidence for the [+wh] feature in C° in this language (i.e., Romanian as a CP-absorption language). Romanian wh-phrases do not target the CP domain for feature-checking, but do so for the purposes of occupying the leftmost edge of the clause ('phase' in MP98 terminology), in order to become accessible to operations in the matrix clause (where they ultimately move to check their [+wh] feature). Support for our assumption comes from the fact that multiple Spec,CPs are licensed even in the 'acknowledged' IP-absorption languages, as long as they are used as intermediary landing-sites. Consider the Serbo-Croatian example (63), in which both wh-phrases have moved from within the embedded clauses to check their uninterpretable features in the main clause.

(63) **Ko** si **koga** tvrdio [$_{CP}$ da t je istukao t]
who AUX whom claimed [$_{CP}$ that AUX beaten]
'Who did you claim beat whom?'
(Serbo-Croatian, Richards 1997:41)

In view of Chomsky's (1998) 'phase-impenetrability condition' defined in (58) and repeated here as (64), movement of the wh-phrases from the embedded clause in (63) must have proceeded via specifiers of CP.

(64) In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, but only H and its edge (Chomsky 1998:22)

(i) a. *what$_i$ did [$_{IP}$ you wonder [$_{CP}$ to whom$_j$ [$_{IP}$ John gave t_i t_j]]
b. *to whom$_j$ did [$_{IP}$ you wonder [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{IP}$ John gave t_i t_j]]]

Let us next consider wh-island constraints with respect to the IP/CP dichotomy. Recall that under Rudin's (1988) prediction, whether a language obeys wh-islands or not is crucial in determining the locus of the [+wh] feature.

It has been claimed that Bulgarian (a CP-absorption language) does not obey wh-island constraints (Rudin 1988), its wh-phrases being able to target specifiers of distinct CPs. Consider some examples in (65).

(65) a. **koj**$_i$ se opitvat da razberat **kogo**$_j$ t_i e ubil t_j?
who SELF try to find-out whom AUX killed
(translation not provided by author)
(Bulgarian, Richards 1997:43)

b. ?? **koj** se cudis dali e dosul?
'Who do you wonder whether came?'
(gloss not provided by author)
(Bulgarian, Rudin 1988:458) [35]

IP-absorption languages, on the other hand, are assumed to obey wh-islands (cf. Rudin 1988, Richards 1997). It follows that in these languages wh-phrases from a single clause cannot front to specifiers of distinct CPs. This is illustrated with a Serbo-Croatian example in (66).

(66) * **Sta** si me pitao **ko** moze da uradi?
what AUX. 2SG asked who can to do
'What have you asked me who can do?'
(Serbo-Croatian, Richards 1997:40)

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[35] Note that we are uncertain as to the relevance of the examples in (65) for the following reasons. It not clear to us why in (65a) the subject trace is not in the main clause, in which case this example would not be an instance of a wh-island violation. Lack of the translation does not help much either. As for (65b), in the first place, it seems to be highly marked (or so we interpret the double question mark) and secondly, the status of the complementizer 'dali' is unclear. Since we have not been able to find other relevant examples, we have included the seemingly less than perfect ones in (65).

Following work done by Rizzi (1982) on Italian, Comorovski (1986, 1996) argues that D(iscourse)-linked wh-phrases can escape out of embedded interrogatives in Romanian. Consider the examples in (67), taken from Comorovski (1986:172-3). [36]

(67) a. **Pentru care clauzã**$_i$ vrei [sã afli [**cine**$_j$ t_j nu
for which paragraph want.2SG [SUBJ find out [who$_j$ t_j not
a decis încã [**ce**$_k$ va vota *pro*$_j$ t_k t_i]]]?
AUX.3SG decided yet [what will vote *pro* t_k t_i]]]
'For which paragraph do you want to learn who has not decided yet what he will vote?'

b. Maria, **cu care**$_i$ ştiu [**ce**$_j$ crezi [cã
Mary with whom$_i$ know.1SG [what$_j$ think.2SG [that
am discutat t_j t_i] .....
AUX.2SG discussed t_j t_i] .....
'Mary, with whom I know what you think that I discussed....'

We assume that (67b) is grammatical, in view of the fact that the relative *cu care* 'with whom' cannot co-occur in the same clause as the interrogative wh-word *ce* 'what'. A sentence cannot simultaneously be an embedded interrogative, which is a non-predicative utterance, and a restrictive relative clause, which is a predicative utterance. In Romanian, relative operators behave differently from interrogative operators and should be kept apart (see also chapter 5, section 5.4.1). [37]

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[36] Where 'D(iscourse)-linked' wh-phrases refer to wh-phrases for which the range of felicitous answers is limited by a set that both speaker and hearer have in mind (cf. Pesetsky 1987). D-linked phrases are contrasted to 'non-D-linked' phrases, for which the speaker and hearer do not have any particular set in mind.

[37] Moreover, for the required feature-sharing to apply, the relative wh-phrase *cu care* 'with whom' in (68b) has to be in the immediate vicinity of the NP *Maria* 'Mary' it modifies; this is represented in (i).

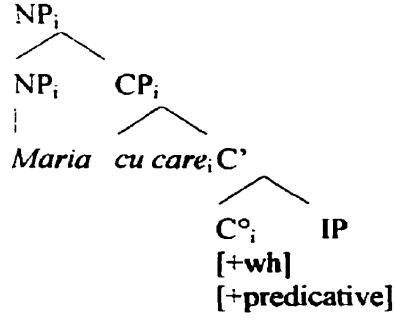
(67a), on the other hand, involves a genuine interrogative operator. Notice, however, that in Romanian, the D-linked wh-phrase in (67a) *pentru care clauză* 'for which paragraph' can also be interpreted as an argument of the verb within the embedded affirmative subjunctive clause (i.e., parsed with *a afla* 'to find out'); consider (68).

(68) **[Pentru care clauză** **din contract]**$_i$ vrei *pro* [să **afli**
for which paragraph within contract want.2SG *pro* [SUBJ find out
pro acest amănunt t_i]?
pro this detail t_i]
'?? For which paragraph of the contract do you want to find out this detail?'

It is then unclear whether an example such as (67a) is indeed an obviation of the wh-island effect, but the case remains that D-linked wh-phrases may raise out of embedded interrogatives in Romanian. Consider some more illustrations in (69).

(69) a. **Pe care copii**$_i$ nu **ştii** [**cine**$_j$
PE which children$_i$ not know.2SG [who$_j$
i_i-a invitat t_j t_i]?
CL.3PL.ACC.M-AUX.3SG invited t_j t_i]
'* Which children don't you know who invited?'

(i)



b. **Cu care candidat**$_i$ nu ştii [**cine**$_j$ a
with which candidate$_i$ not know.2SG [who$_j$ AUX.3SG
votat t_j t_i]?
voted t_j t_i]
'* For which candidate don't you know who voted?'

Citing examples with D-linked wh-phrases borrowed from Comorovksi (1986), Rudin (1988) concludes that Romanian is a language free of wh-islands. Richards (1997) assumes Rudin (1988) to be correct and makes the same predictions for Romanian. Recall, however, that Comorovski (1986, 1996) refers to wh-island violations in Romanian *only in relationship to D-linked wh-phrases*. Non-D-linked wh-phrases, however, observe wh-islands, on a par with their counterparts in IP-absorption languages. Consider the illustrations in (70a-e), which show wh-island effects to be operative in Romanian, too.

(70) a. ?? **Cine**$_i$ m-ai întrebat [**ce**$_j$ poate face t_i t_j]?
who$_i$ CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked [what$_j$ can do t_i t_j]
' * Who did you ask what can do?'

b. * **Cine**$_i$ m-ai întrebat [**cui**$_j$ i-a
who$_i$ CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked [to whom CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG
dat t_i t_j cartea]?
given t_i t_j book-the]
'* Who did you ask gave the book to whom?'

c. * **Cine**$_i$ încearcã Ion$_s$ [sã afle *pro*$_s$
who try.3SG.PR Ion$_s$ [SUBJ find out *pro*$_s$
[**pe cine**$_j$ a ucis t_i t_j]] ?
[PE whom AUX.3SG killed t_i t_j]]
'* Who is Ion trying to find out killed whom ?'

d. • **Pe cine**$_j$ m-ai întrebat
PE whom CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
[**cine**$_i$ iubeşte t_i t_j]]?
[who loves.3SG.PR t_i t_j]]
'* Whom did you ask me who loves ?'

e. • **Ce**$_j$ m-ai întrebat
what CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
[**cine**$_i$ să mănînce t_i t_j]]?
[who SUBJ eat t_i t_j]]
'* What did you ask me who should eat?'

The examples in (70a-e), in which wh-phrases move across an embedded interrogative are all ruled out in Romanian. In all of these examples, the wh-phrases can felicitously check their [÷wh] formal features in the embedded interrogative, thereby becoming inactive for further attraction (cf. MP98). Consequently, the matrix clause interrogative feature cannot attract further movement of these wh-phrases and the derivation crashes, yielding ungrammatical results. Chomsky (1998) argues that wh-islands act as a 'defective intervention constraint', since the effects of matching a higher probe should be blocked. [38] Specifically, feature-checking should proceed against the first Agreeing functional head (i.e., Probe), after which the wh-phrase should become inactive to further attraction for the purposes of checking a higher [+ wh] FF. This effect is illustrated in the Romanian examples in (70), which can be rescued only if the the non-D-linked wh-phrases are checked against the first Agreeing functional head (i.e., the first X° marked [+ wh]). Consider some illustrations in (71), in which both wh-phrases are base-generated within the embedded question and the matrix clause is a yes/no question, as well as further examples in (72), in which

[38] A 'defective intervention constraint' is defined (cf. Chomsky 1998) in the structure in (i), where > is c-command, β and τ match the probe α, but β is inactive so that the effects of matching are blocked.
(i) $\alpha > \beta > \tau$ (Chomsky 1998:39)
See also economy considerations as formalized in Chomsky (1986), in which it is argued that wh-island effects are due to failure to observe the shorter movement.

the matrix clause wh-phrase is base-generated as an adjunct in that clause (72a), or an embedded non-interrogative clause (72b).

(71) a. Încearcă Ion$_s$ [să afle *pro*$_s$
try.3SG.PR Ion$_s$ [SUBJ find out *pro*$_s$
[cine$_i$ pe cine$_j$ a ucis t$_i$ t$_j$]]?
[who PE whom AUX.3SG killed t$_i$ t$_j$]].
'Is Ion trying to find out who killed who?'

b. M-ai întrebat
CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
[cine$_i$ pe cine$_j$ iubeşte t$_i$ t$_j$]]?
[who PE whom loves.3SG.PR t$_i$ t$_j$]]
'Did you ask me who loves who.'

c. M-ai întrebat
CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
[cine$_i$ ce$_j$ să mănînce t$_i$ t$_j$]]?
[who what SUBJ eat t$_i$ t$_j$]]
' Did you ask me who should eat what?'

(72) a. **Despre cine$_i$** m-ai întrebat t$_i$ [**ce$_j$** poate face *pro*$_i$ t$_j$]?
about who$_i$ CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked t$_i$ [what$_j$ can do *pro*$_i$ t$_j$]
' About whom did you ask what he can do?'

b. **Despre cine$_i$** încearcă Ion$_s$ [să afle *pro*$_s$ t$_i$
about who try.3SG.PR Ion$_s$ [SUBJ find out *pro*$_s$ t$_i$
[pe cine$_j$ a ucis *pro*$_i$ t$_j$]] ?
[PE whom$_j$ AUX.3SG killed *pro*$_i$ t$_j$]]
'About whom is Ion trying to find out whom he killed?'

In both (71) and (72) the wh-phrases check their [+ wh] FF against the first functional head bearing the [+ wh] FF.

An interesting example is provided by the Romanian sentence in (73) which is somewhat similar to the Bulgarian example in (65a).

(73) **Cine**$_i$ vrea t_i [$_{IP}$ să afle *pro*$_i$
who want.3SG.PR t_i [$_{IP}$ SUBJ find out *pro*$_i$
[$_{IP}$ **pe cine**$_j$ a sărutat *pro*$_i$ t_j]] ?
[$_{IP}$ PE whom AUX.3SG kissed *pro*$_i$ t_j]]
'Who$_i$ wants to find out whom s/he$_i$ kissed?' [39]

Given that, according to standard theta-theory (cf. Chomsky 1981), each theta-role must be assigned to an argument and, consequently, chains cannot have more than one argument, we cannot assume that *cine* 'who' in (73) is base-generated in the lowest embedded clause and subsequently raises to the matrix clause, but need to assume that it is base-generated as the subject of the matrix clause and coindexed with the embedded null-subjects. As such, the

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[39] There is ongoing debate as to the status of the embedded subject in these subjunctive clauses in Romanian. Seemingly control structures, it is unclear whether the silent subject should be represented as a 'pro' or a 'PRO' (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Farkas 1985, Kempchinski 1986, Motapanyane 1995, Terzi 1992, among others). We choose to represent subjects of subjunctives as 'pro' in view of the fact that the slots they occupy are compatible with overt NPs (see i). Either way, this is a technical detail with no import on our present discussion.

(i) a. Mioara vrea [$_{IP}$ să afle Ion
Mioara want.3SG.PR [$_{IP}$ SUBJ find out Ion
[$_{IP}$ **pe cine**$_j$ a sărutat Mihai t_j]].
[$_{IP}$ PE whom AUX.3SG kissed Mihai t_j]]
'Mioara wanted Ion to find out whom Mihai had kissed?'

b. Mioara$_i$ vrea [$_{IP}$ să afle *pro*$_i$
Mioara$_i$ want.3SG.PR [$_{IP}$ SUBJ find out *pro*$_i$
[$_{IP}$ **pe cine**$_j$ a sărutat Mihai t_j]].
[$_{IP}$ PE whom AUX.3SG kissed Mihai t_j]]
'Mioara wanted to find out whom Mihai had kissed.'

c. Mioara$_i$ vrea [$_{IP}$ să afle *pro*$_i$
Mioara$_i$ want.3SG.PR [$_{IP}$ SUBJ find out *pro*$_i$
[$_{IP}$ **pe cine**$_j$ a sărutat *pro*$_i$ t_j]].
[$_{IP}$ PE whom AUX.3SG kissed *pro*$_i$ t_j]]
'Mioara wanted to find out whom she had kissed.'

example in (73) does not represent an instance of a wh-island violation since neither of the two wh-phrases are extracted out of a wh-question. Let us next consider the example in (74), a construction similar to (73) with the significant difference that the wh-subject is base-generated in the embedded interrogative.

(74)	Vrea	*pro*$_s$ •$_i$	[$_{IP}$ să	afle	*pro*$_s$ •$_i$		
	want.3SG.PR	*pro*$_s$ •$_i$	[$_{IP}$ SUBJ find	out	*pro*$_s$ •$_i$		
	[$_{IP}$ **cine**$_i$ **pe cine**$_j$		a	ucis	t_i	t_j]].	
	[$_{IP}$ who PE whom		AUX.3SG	killed	t_i	t_j]]	
	'S/he tried to find out who killed who.'						

Notice that in (74), the wh-subject cannot be coindexed with the upper null subjects, since it cannot raise out of its embedded clause.

Insofar as non-D-linked wh-phrases are concerned, we conclude that the examples discussed in (70) - (74) constitute sufficient evidence that Romanian is a language in which the wh-island constraint is operative and in which disjoint checking of wh-phrases is disallowed (i.e., it is not the case that wh-phrases base-generated within the same clause may check their [+ wh] FF against distinct functional heads marked for the interrogative formal feature).

Let us now return to D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian. We suggest these raise out of a wh-island to a higher clause as an instance of topicalization scrambling and not to check [+ wh] features. [40] This proposal is supported by the interpretation of sentences such as (69) repeated here as (75), which contrast in interpretation with (76), in which both wh-phrases reside within the wh-island. Consider (75) and (76) below.

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[40] Non-wh-topics are also felicitous in these contexts; see (i).

(i)	La Londra$_j$	nu ştiu	[**cum**$_i$ o	fi	vremea	t_i t_j].
	at London$_j$	not know.1SG.PR	[how$_i$ AUX.FUT	be	weather-the	t_i t_j]

'I don't know what the weather is like in London.'

(75) a. **Pe care copii**$_i$ **nu ştii [cine**$_j$
PE which children$_i$ not know.2SG [who$_j$
i_i-a invitat t_j t_i]?
CL.3PL.ACC.M-AUX.3SG invited t_j t_i]
'* Which children don't you know who invited?'
[- distributive]

b. **Cu care candidat**$_i$ **nu ştii [cine**$_j$ a
with which candidate$_i$ not know.2SG [who$_j$ AUX.3SG
votat t_j t_i]?
voted t_j t_i]
'* For which candidate don't you know who voted?'
[- distributive]

(76) a. Nu ştii **[pe care copii**$_i$ **cine**$_j$
not know.2SG [PE which children$_i$ who$_j$
i_i-a invitat t_j t_i]?
CL.3PL.ACC.M-AUX.3SG invited t_j t_i]
'Don't you know who invited which children?'
[+ distributive]

b. Nu ştii **[cu care candidat**$_i$ **cine**$_j$ a
not know.2SG [with which candidate$_i$ who$_j$ AUX.3SG
votat t_j t_i]?
voted t_j t_i]
'Don't you know who voted for which candidate?'
[+ distributive]

In (75), with raising of the D-linked wh-phrases out of the embedded interrogative, the only available reading is the one in which these wh-phrases are interprteted as the topics of the following discourse. In contrast, in (76), in which the wh-phrases reside within the embedded

question, the only available reading is a distributive, 'pair-list' one (in the sense of Beghelli 1997).[41]

In view of the interpretational differences in (75) and (76), we claim that obviation of wh-island effects with D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian is independent of [+ wh] feature-checking and conclude that Romanian shows wh-island effects, at least with non-D-linked wh-phrases. Recall that this is a property associated with IP-absorption languages.

4.7.2 Local scrambling: A- or A-bar movement

Another characteristic of IP-absorption languages is that they exhibit local scrambling with properties of A-movement (Richards 1997). According to Richards, the Hungarian example in (77a) is ungrammatical due to a weak crossover violation. When object quantifier scrambling applies, as in (77b), the weak crossover violations in (77a) are fixed, indicating A-movement.[42]

(77)	a.	*Nem	szeret	az	pro$_i$ anyja	mindenkit$_i$.		
		not	loves	the	mother-his	everybody.ACC		
	b.	Nem	szeret	mindenkit$_i$		az	pro$_i$ anyja	t$_i$.
		Not	loves	everybody.ACC		the	mother-his	

'His mother does not love everybody'

(Hungarian, Richards 1997:30; author does not provide traces)

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[41] Notice that in (76b) the (Anti)-Superiority effect is apparently not observed, since *cu care candidat* 'for which candidate', an object, appears to the left of the wh-subject. This is due to the fact that the two wh-phrases are of semantically distinct natures: the wh-object is D-linked, while the wh-subject is non-D-linked. Given that in the preverbal field, D-linked phrases always appear to the left of non-D-linked material (see chapter 5, section 5.3.3.2), we suggest that (Anti)-Superiority is masked in these cases by further raising of the D-linked wh-phrase to a scope position above the non-D-linked phrase, from where the former can be felicitously interpreted as distributive or topical.

[42] Recall that weak crossover effects arise whenever a variable is the antecedent of a pronoun to its left, being characteristic of A-bar movement (see discussion in chapter 3, section 3.3.1). Since Richards (1997:235) provides a definition for weak crossover with specific reference to wh-phrases, we reproduce it in (i);

(i) Weak Crossover:
All pronouns bound by a wh-word must also be bound by a trace of that wh-word in an A-position.

In (77a), the quantifier object undergoes A-bar moment at LF leaving behind a variable, which is illicitly coindexed with a pronoun to its left; hence, the ungrammaticality. In (77b), the object quantifier has scrambled locally. In this case, there is no weak crossover violation, which means that the trace left behind this local move is not a variable (since it allows coindexation by a pronominal on its left).

Richards further shows that Serbo-Croatian and Japanese (both IP-absorption languages) pattern identically. On the other hand, a CP-absorption language such as Bulgarian, lacks the above switch in grammaticality. Consider (78).

(78) a. *Majka mu obica vseki covek.
Mother his love every person

b. *Vseki covek obica majka mu.
Every person his mother love
'His$_i$ mother loves everyone$_i$.'
(Bulgarian, Richards 1997:31)

Richards concludes that in these languages scrambling is either absent, or that it is A-bar movement.

In chapter 3, we discussed VOS constructions in Romanian, which we argued to involve local object A-scrambling. The Romanian data in (79) is similar to the Hungarian one in (78).

(79)	a.	*Nu-l	iubeşte	mama [lui]$_i$	[pe fiecare copil]$_i$.
		not-CL.3SG.ACC.M	loves.3SG.PR	mother-the [his]$_i$	[PE each child]$_i$
	b.	Nu-l	iubeşte	[pe fiecare copil]$_i$	mama [lui]$_i$ t_i.
		not-CL.3SG.ACC.M	loves.3SG.PR	[PE each child]$_i$	mother-the [his]$_i$ t_i
		'His mother does not love every child.'			

In (79b), weak crossover effects are absent, which indicates that the quantified object has undergone A-movement. If, following Richards (1997), we are to equate availability of local A-scrambling with the IP-absorption nature of the language, Romanian examples of the type in (79), further point to Romanian as an IP-absorption language.

4.7.3 Wh-movement and weak crossover

Another characteristic of IP-absorption languages, is that local wh-movement has certain properties of A-movement as opposed to A-bar movement (cf. Richards 1997). In Hungarian, for example, wh-movement fails to induce weak crossover effects; consider (80).

(80) a. **Ki**$_i$ szereti az anyjat$_i$?
who loves the mother-his.ACC
'Who loves his mother?'

b. **Kit**$_i$ szeret az anyja$_i$?
Who.ACC loves the mother-his
'Who does his mother love?'
(Hungarian, Richards 1997:35; author does not provide traces)

In example (80b), the moved wh-phrase can be interpreted as co-referential with the possessive. This means that the trace left behind after wh-movement in not a variable and wh-movement itself is reminiscent of A-movement.

In CP-absorption languages wh-movement is argued to always induce weak crossover. Namely, equivalents of (80b) are ungrammatical. Consider (81) from Bulgarian:

(81) ***Kogo**$_i$ obica majka su$_i$?
who loves mother his
'Whom does his mother love?'
(Bulgarian, Richards 1997:34)

Using this test, in Romanian, wh-movement of non-D-linked wh-phrases is A-bar movement. The example in (82) shows that co-referentiality of the moved wh-phrase with the pronominal induces a weak crossover effect and triggers the same ungrammatical results as in Bulgarian and CP-absorption languages, more generally.

(82) *** Pe cine$_i$** iubeşte mama lui$_i$ t$_i$?
PE who$_i$ loves.3SG.PR mother-the his$_i$ t$_i$
'Whom does his mother love?'

However, it has been recognized in the literature that, wh-movement of D-linked wh-phrases does not induce weak crossover effects in Romanian (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990b, 1994a, Motapanyane 1998a). It follows that, at least with D-linked wh-phrases, wh-movement in Romanian triggers similar results to those obtained in IP-absorption languages. See (83) for an illustration. [43]

(83) **Pe care băiat$_i$** nu-l$_i$ iubeşte mama lui$_i$ t$_i$?
PE which boy$_i$ not-CL.3SG.ACC$_i$ loves.3SG.PR mother-the his$_i$ t$_i$
'Which of the boys does his mother not love?'

When long-distance wh-movement is involved, weak crossover effects are also found in IP-absorption languages, which suggests that long distance wh-movement always involves A-bar scrambling. Consider the Hungarian example in (84).

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[43] Notice, however, that with D-linked wh-phrases a coindexed clitic is necessarily present (see i).

(i) **Pe care băiat$_i$** nu-*(l$_i$) iubeşte mama lui$_i$ t$_i$?
PE which boy$_i$ not-CL.3SG.ACC$_i$ loves.3SG.PR mother-the his$_i$ t$_i$
'Which of the boys does his mother not love?'

We suggest that the clitic acts as a binder of the wh-trace and follow Safir (1999) who claims that when a copy is a copy of a pronoun, it should behave like a pronoun (see also chapter 5, section 5.3.3.1). Given that the wh-trace is bound by a pronoun, it will no longer be a variable and there will be no WCO effects. Lack of a weak crossover effect in examples such as (83) is due primarily to the fact that Romanian can resort to clitic insertion rather than to the type of movement undergone by the wh-phrase.

(84) * **Kit**$_i$ gondol az anyja$_i$ hogy Mari szeret?
Who.ACC thinks the mother-his that Mary loves
'Who does his mother think that Mary loves?'
(Hungarian, Richards 1997)

In Romanian, too, weak crossover effects arise in long-distance wh-movement contexts, irrespective of whether the wh-phrase is non-D-linked (see 85a) or D-linked (see 85b). This suggests two things: (i) that long-distance wh-movement involves A-bar movement, and (ii) that the presence of the clitic in the embedded clause in (85b) cannot save the derivation.

(85) a. * **[Pe cine]**$_i$ crede mama lui$_i$
PE who$_i$ thinks.3SG mother-the his$_i$
[$_{CP}$ cã iubeşte Ioana t$_i$]?
[that loves.3SG Ioana t$_i$]
'*Who$_i$ does his$_i$ mother think Ioana loves?'

b. * **[Pe care baiat]**$_i$ crede mama lui$_i$
PE which boy$_i$ thinks.3SG mother-the his$_i$
[$_{CP}$ cã-l$_i$ iubeşte Ioana t$_i$]?
[that-cl.3SG.ACC.M. loves.3SG Ioana t$_i$]
'*Which of the boys$_i$ does his$_i$ mother think Ioana loves?'

The implications of (ii) are important since they constitute evidence for successive-cyclic movement in this language. If weak crossover effects are absent with D-linked wh-phrases in local wh-movement, in view of clitic insertion, but present in long-distance wh-movement contexts, it follows that in (85b) there is an additional variable illegitimately coindexed with a pronominal to its left (since the trace in (85b) is bound by the clitic). We assume this additional variable is the second trace (i.e., a silent copy of the moved wh-phrase) left behind in Spec,CP, as a result of cyclic movement. This is represented in (86).

(86) **[Pe care baiat]**$_i$ crede mama lui $*_{i,j}$

PE which boy$_i$ thinks.3SG mother-the his $*_{i,j}$

[$_{CP}$ **t**$_i$ cã-l$_i$ iubeşte Ioana t$_i$]?

[$_{CP}$ t$_i$ that-cl.3SG.ACC.M. loves.3SG Ioana t$_i$]

'*Which of the boys$_i$ does his$_i$ mother think Ioana loves?'

The bolded trace in (86) is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, triggering an ungrammatical result.

We conclude that, in Romanian, wh-movement is always A-bar movement. In local wh-movement contexts, however, weak crossover effects are absent with D-linked wh-phrases, as a result of clitic insertion, but present with non-D-linked wh-phrases. In effect, local wh-movement in Romanian shares properties with both IP- and CP-absorption languages.

4.7.4 Wh-movement and quantifier raising

We discuss one further piece of data before summing-up this section. Richards (1997) argues that wh-movement in IP-absorption languages is syntactically reminiscent of Quantifier Raising (QR), in that it involves multiple adjunction in order to establish scope relations. The author also maintains, following Kiss (1987, 1994), that wh-words in Hungarian occupy the same position as certain quantificational elements (i.e., an IP-related position). This is different from a language such as English, for example, in which wh-phrases target Spec,CP and QR adjoins quantifiers to IP.

In Romanian, too, bare quantifiers share important properties with wh-phrases. Similar to wh-phrases, bare quantifiers can raise overtly triggering merge of multiple specifiers, as in (87), in which case they show identical properties to those discussed for multiple wh-movement structures (i.e., they are subject to a strict verb-adjacency requirement and observe the (Anti)-Superiority effect). Consider the contrast in grammaticality in (87a) and (87b), which shows that multiple quantifer-raising in Romanian observes the same economy conditions as multiple wh-

movement; specifically, the subject quantifier needs to precede the object quantifier in terms of word ordering in the preverbal field.

(87) a. [$_{IP}$ **Nimeni$_i$** **cu nimic$_j$** nu te va
[$_{IP}$ nobody$_i$ with nothing$_j$ not CL.2SG.ACC FUT.3SG
deranja [$_{vP}$ t_i t_v t_j]].
bother [$_{vP}$ t_i t_v t_j]].

b. * [$_{IP}$ **Cu nimic$_j$** **nimeni$_i$** nu te va
[$_{IP}$ with nothing$_j$ nobody$_i$ not CL.2SG.ACC FUT.3SG
deranja [$_{vP}$ t_i t_v t_j]].
bother [$_{vP}$ t_i t_v t_j]].
'Nobody will be bothering you with anything.'

Furthermore, quantifier movement is in complementary distribution with wh-movement (see contrast in 88a - 88b), which suggests both types of movement involve operator raising, presumably targetting the same host, namely IP. [44]

(88) a. **Pe** **cine$_i$** nu cunoaşte nimeni t_i t_v?
PE who$_i$ not know.3SG.PR. nobody t_i t_v

b. * **Pe** **cine$_i$** **nimeni$_j$** nu cunoaşte t_j t_v t_i?
PE who$_i$ nobody$_j$ not know.3SG.PR. t_j t_v t_i
'Whom does nobody know?'

---

[44] Note that, cross-linguistically, generic pro-forms cannot be topics, since they are 'semantically weightless' (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997:190). Consequently, they are ruled out in topic position (see (i)), and the position they target when raising to take scope has to be lower than the topic position.

(i) a. *Cît despre cineva$_i$, el$_i$ este băiat bun.
as for someone$_i$, he$_i$ is boy good
'* As for someone, he is a good boy.'

b. Cît despre [Victor şi Mihai], ei$_i$ sunt copii excepţionali.
as for [Victor and Mihia]$_i$, they$_i$ are children exceptional
'As for Victor and Mihai, they are great kids.'

There is other evidence that preverbal quantifier raising is scope related in Romanian. Kiss (1998:252) argues that, in order for a universal quantifier to be licit in the preverbal scope position, it has to be interpreted as 'identifying without exclusion'. This follows since only non-unique quantifiers (i.e., quantifiers that are non-exclusive) can bind a variable within IP. Observe that bare quantifiers can only front in Romanian when they can be interpreted as non-unique (similar to the Hungarian case). Consider, for example, the bare quantifiers in (89) – (90).

(89) <u>non-unique reading:</u>

a.	Să	stea	cineva	la uşă.	
	SUBJ	stay.3SG	someone	at door	
b.	**Cineva**$_i$	să	stea	t_i	la uşă.
	someone	SUBJ	stay.3SG	t_i	at door

'Someone should stay at the door.'

(90) <u>unique reading</u>:

a.	Te-a		căutat	cineva	la telefon.
	CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.3SG		searched	someone	at phone
b.	***Cineva**$_i$	te-a		căutat	t_i la telefon.
	someone	CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.3SG		searched	t_i at phone

'Someone asked for you on the phone.'

In (89), the bare quantifier is licensed in preverbal position (i.e., Spec,IP) in view of the fact that it is interpreted as non-unique, namely as 'identifying without exclusion', and it can felicitously bind a variable within IP. It follows that movement for scope attainment is licit. In (90), the bare quantifier has a unique reading (acquired contextually) which precludes it from binding a variable

within the IP and consequently, it cannot raise (recall that these quantifiers cannot be topics). The dichotomoy in (89) versus (90) shows that preverbal quantifier raising is clearly scope related. [45]

We conclude that IP is a scope position in Romanian and that it serves as the landing-site for both wh-movement and bare quantifiers, which are in complementary distribution. The fact that, both QR and wh-movement target the same position points toward another property Romanian shares with IP-absorption languages.

4.7.5 Summing up

In this section, we have discussed a cluster of properties which either Rudin (1988) or Richards (1997) regard as diagnostics for distinguishing IP-absorption from CP-absorption languages. We summarize our findings in table (91).

(91)

properties	CP-ABSORPTION Ls	ROMANIAN	IP-ABSORPTION Ls
wh-islands	-	+	+
local scrambling = A-mvt	-	+	+
weak crossover	+	+/-	-
wh-movement = QR	-	+	+

[45] Consider in (i) an additional example with 'something'. The same result obtains; specifically, only the quantifier identifying without exclusion can raise to the preverbal field.

(i) 1. <u>non-unique reading:</u>

a. Vei face ceva pînă la urmă.
FUT.2SG do something to at end

b. Ceva vei face pînă la urmă.
something FUT.2SG do to at end
'In the end you will find something to do.'

2. <u>unique reading</u>:

a. Se scurge ceva din plasă.
REFL. drip.3SG something from bag

b. * Ceva se scurge din plasă.
something REFL. drip.3SG from bag
'There's something dripping from your bag.'

The table in (91) places Romanian closer to the IP-absorption languages than to the CP-absorption languages. We therefore conclude there is also typological cross-linguistic evidence, aside from the language-internal evidence, to support the claim that IP serves as the host for wh-movement in Romanian. We claim that Spec,CP in this language is never a checking domain for Romanian interrogative constituents, and that it can only host traces/copies of wh-phrases in successive-cyclic movement contexts.

4.8 Colophon: Romanian interrogative X°

At this point, we need to detail our analysis. So far, we have used I° as an umbrella term, to refer to all of the functional verbal heads within the IP domain. Recall from our discussion in chapter 2 that, for Romanian, IP may include the following maximal phrases: MoodP > NegP > CliticP* > AgrSP > TP > AspectP. Thus we need to identify which of these projections hosts the uninterpretable [+wh] feature in Romanian interrogatives.

There are two ways of tackling this problem. One is to suggest that the uninterpretable [+wh] feature is always associated with the same head, namely M°, which is the highest possible functional verbal head. This entails that all interrogatives are MPs in Romanian. The other is to argue that the interrogative formal feature attaches to the highest functional verbal head already present in the derivation, whether M°, Neg°, Agr°, or T°. We suggest the latter approach is the correct one and argue that the syntactic [+wh] feature merges on the highest Infl (verbal) head present in the derivation.

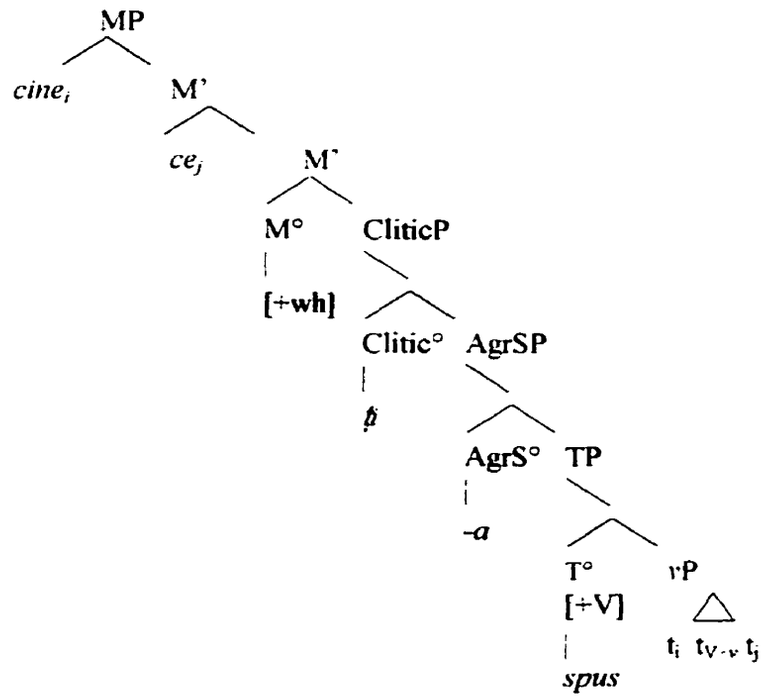
For the sake of argument, let us assume that the formal feature [+wh] can only be associated with M° (Cornilescu 1997, Isac p.c.). It follows that all interrogative clauses are MPs, with both M° and Spec,MP* projected. (60a), repeated here as (92a), would then be represented as in (92b).

(92) a. **Cine** **ce** ți-a **spus?**

who what CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said

'Who told you what?'

b.



The first question that comes to mind is why is the M° head empty, namely why does it not trigger V° > M° movement, on a par with wh-CV2 languages. Suppose that for PF reasons, in Romanian, the formal feature [+wh] on X° is not affixal in nature and does not require an overt host, its only requirement being that wh-phrase(s) move and merge as Spec,MP. This is not implausible, since there are various language situations in which XP is licensed (i.e., retrievable at the interface levels, PF and LF) if either its specifier or its head is lexically filled. [46]

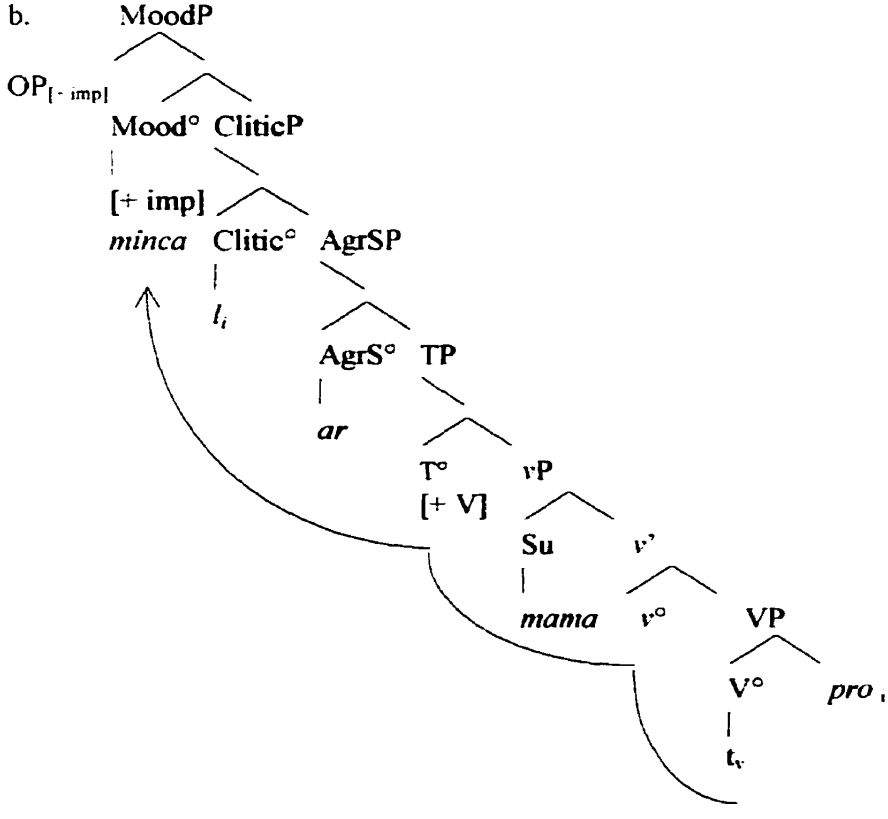
However, if both the head and the specifier are phonetically null, we assume the respective XP is not retrievable, and the utterance cannot be well-formed. This follows since the respective XP will not contain the necessary phonetically interpretable features at PF, so the derivation will crash (since it does not converge at PF). That this is indeed the case can be

[46] In English, for example, there is no V° > I° (apart from contexts in which auxiliaries are present), yet IP is present since Spec,IP is always filled by the subject NP.

illustrated with Romanian imperatives. Romanian imperatives always involve Long Head Movement (unless the M° head is not already lexically filled; see discussion in chapter 2, section 2.2.2), as in (93b). The empty operator in Spec,MP needs to be licensed by an overt element (for retrieval at PF), so verb raising applies.

(93) a. Mînca-l-ar mama!
eat-CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.COND.3SG mother-the
'(He's so sweet) his mum could eat him!'

b.

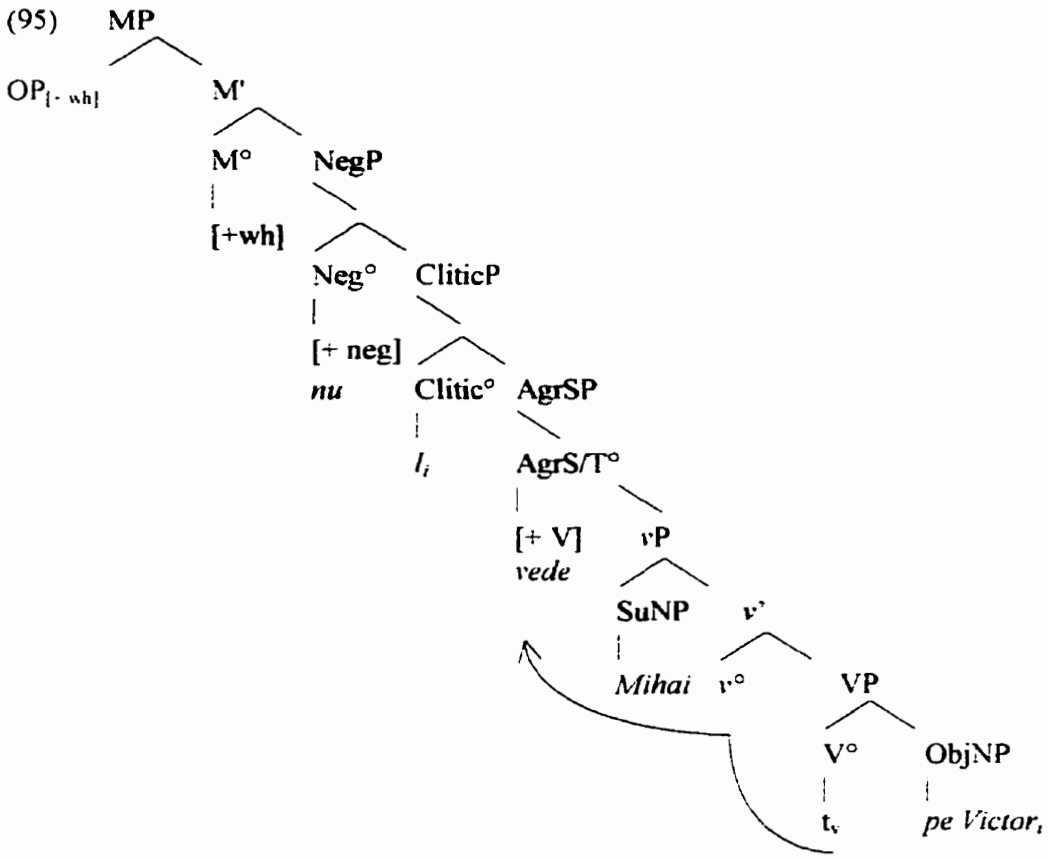


Let us next consider Romanian yes/no interrogatives. Recall from our discussion in section 4.4.1 that interrogatives in Romanian do not trigger verb movement. We illustrate this here with a yes/no interrogative (see 94ab) and its non-interrogative counterpart (see 94b).

(94)	a.	Nu-l_i	vede	Mihai	pe Victor$_i$?	[+ wh]
		not-CL.3SG.ACC.M	see.3SG.PR	Mihai	PE Victor	
		'Can't Mihai see Victor?'				
	b.	Nu-l_i	vede	Mihai	pe Victor$_i$.	[- wh]
		not-CL.3SG.ACC.M	see.3SG.PR	Mihai	PE Victor	
		'Mihai can't see Victor.'				

Under the assumption that all interrogatives are MPs (since the interrogative formal feature is exclusively a property of M°), the syntactic representation of (94a) is as in (95).

(95)

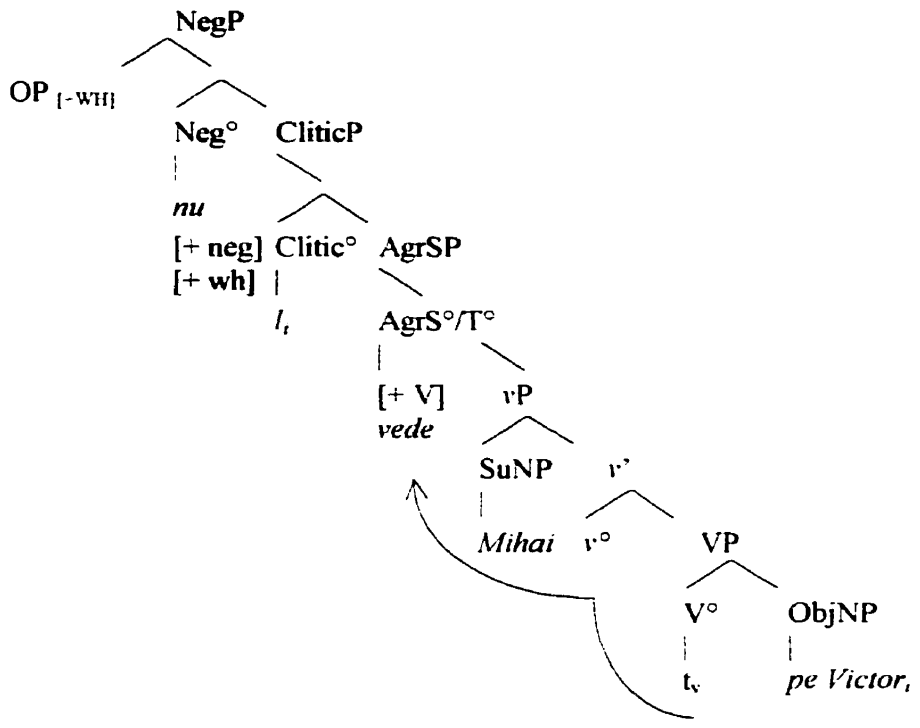


Notice however, that MP is not retrievable at PF, since it is not licensed by any overt elements. The empty operator in Spec,MP which checks the uninterpretable [+wh] feature in M° is only interpretable at LF, so the derivation should crash. Yet, it does not, since it is perfectly

grammatical. It follows that the syntactic representation in (95) cannot be correct. Therefore, we cannot maintain an analysis in which the interrogative feature is always a property of the M° head, and all interrogative clauses are MPs.

In order for (94a) to converge both at PF and LF, we need to assume that the uninterpretable formal feature [+wh] merges onto a phonetically present head. In view of the fact that [+wh] FF in Romanian is selectional in nature, thus requiring merge of a specifier for checking and deletion to apply, we assume it has to merge on the highest functional verbal head, which for (94a) is Neg°. [47] The correct syntactic representation for (94a) is then as in (96).

(96)



In (97) and (98) we offer illustrations in which the [+ wh] FF merges onto the AgrS/T° head and the M° head, respectively.

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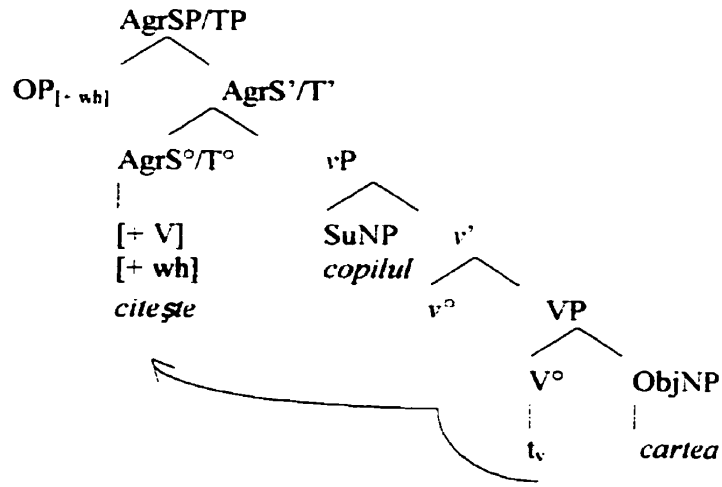
[47] Notice that the [+ wh] formal feature can only merge on the highest Infl head present in the derivation and never on lower/intermediary Infl heads. According to Chomsky (1995), strong uninterpretable formal features need to be deleted prior to the creation of a higher category. Given that [+ wh] is selectional in nature, it will trigger insertion of a matching specifier prior to the creation of a higher category. Unless we assume [+ wh] incorporates onto the highest Infl head, we should see wh-phrases allowed within the verbal complex in Romanian, contrary to fact.

(97) a. **Citeşte** **copilul** **cartea?**

read.3SG **child-the** **book-the**

'Is the child reading the book?'

b.

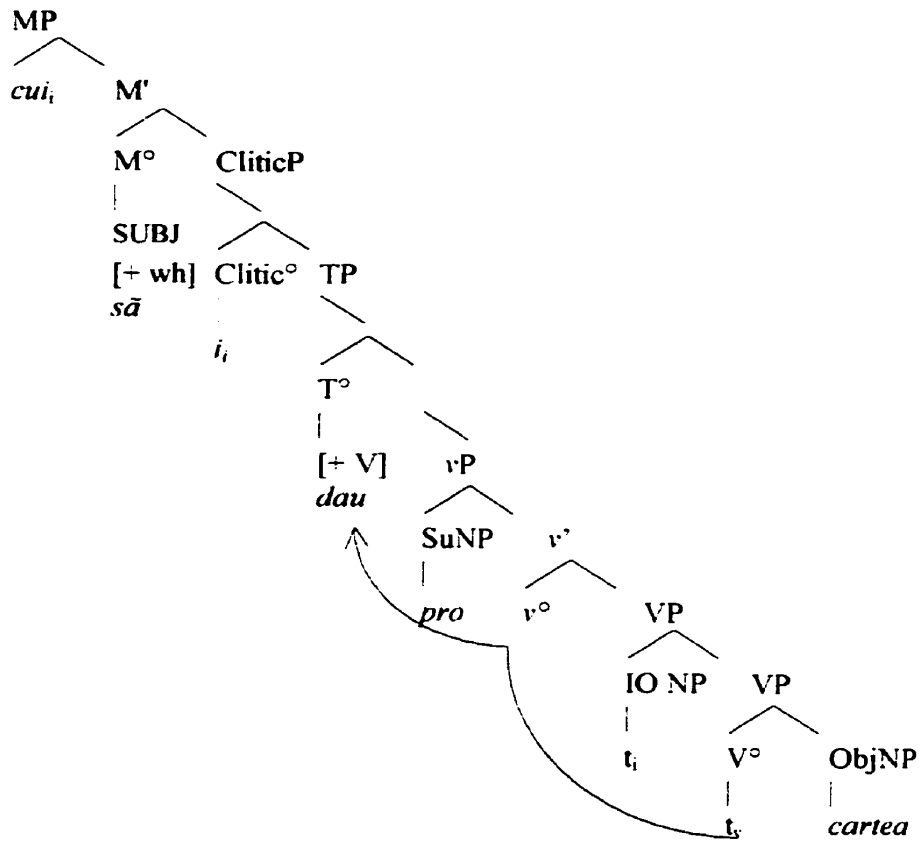


(98) a. **Cui$_i$** **să-i$_i$** **dau** **cartea?**

to whom **SUBJ-CL.3SG.DAT** **give** **book-the**

'Whom should I give the book to?'

b.



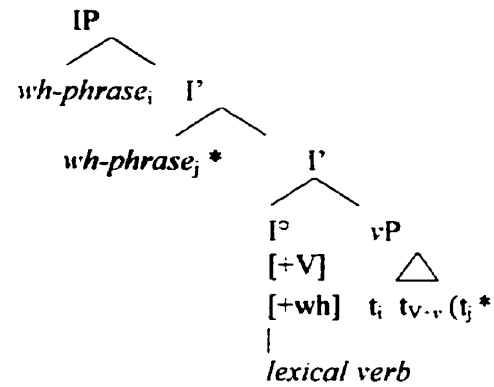
We conclude that, in Romanian, the [+wh] formal feature is merged on the highest functional verbal head. The result is a *syncretic* Inflection, capable of hosting various formal features; we return to this issue in chapter 5. This is possible in view of the fact that in Romanian there is no EPP or Case-related Spec,IP. Rather, Spec,IP is an operator/scope position.

4.9 Conclusions

In this chapter we have argued that the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature is a property of I° in Romanian, rather than of C°. Language internal evidence, such as the interaction with topic, as well as the absence of a D-type EPP selectional formal feature on I° in Romanian (i.e., 'surface subject'), suggests Spec,IP is a scopal position available to operators such as wh-phrases. A comparison with wh-CV2 languages further suggested lack of V° > C° and the absence of subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) structures. We concluded that, in Romanian, wh-phrases are hosted by IP.

In order to account for multiple wh-constructions in Romanian, we adopted a 'symmetric' theory of checking which acknowledges the checking requirements of *both* FFs belonging to functional heads and FFs belonging to lexical items. We showed that the nature of the [+wh] FF is parametrized across languages and concluded that, in Romanian, the [+wh] FF is of a selectional nature on both the functional head and the wh-phrases. We further proposed that, from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective, a subject-first approach is the only viable one for Romanian multiple wh-constructions. Following economy conditions (formalized as the MLC), the wh-phrase closest to the Probe (i.e., the one highest in terms of c-command) merges as the Spec,IP. The remaining wh-phrases tuck in under the newly merged specifier, thereby satisfying the wh-phrase licensing conditions. The result is a multiple-specifier structure which engenders a single IP, as in (99).

(99)



We further discussed several diagnostics for distinguishing IP-absorption from CP-absorption languages. We argued that Romanian shows wh-island effects, allows for local A-movement scrambling, and hosts its wh-phrases in slots also targetted by fronted bare quantifiers. Moreover, local D-linked wh-movement was shown to escape weak crossover violations. We pointed out that Romanian does not share significant properties with CP-absorption languages since the above cluster of properties characterizes IP-absorption languages. Therefore, we concluded there was also cross-linguistic evidence to support the claim that IP serves as the host for wh-movement in Romanian. This implies that Spec,CP in this language is never a checking domain for Romanian interrogative constituents, and can only host traces/copies of wh-phrases in successive-cyclic movement contexts. We further proposed that, due to requirements of PF convergence, the uninterpretable interrogative formal feature merges onto the highest functional verbal (Infl) head present in the derivation, rather than being an exclusive property of M°. In effect, the presence of the [+wh] formal feature engenders a syncretic Inflection in Romanian, a property we will show in the next chapter to be shared with other selectional features in this language.

And NUH is the letter I use to spell Nutches
Who live in small caves, known as Nitches, for hutches.
These Nutches have troubles, the biggest of which is
the fact there are many more Nutches than Nitches.
Each Nutch in a Nitch knows that some other Nutch
Would like to move into his Nitch very much.
So each Nutch in a Nitch has to watch that small Nitch
Or Nutches who haven't got Nitches will snitch.
Dr. Seuss, *On Beyond Zebra*

Chapter 5: Contrastive Focus and Preverbal Raising

5.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses several issues related to preverbal noun phrase movement, with special emphasis on movement for contrastive focus in Romanian. It examines the manner in which contrastive focus and other sentence-initial operators are licensed in Romanian and discusses the interaction among preverbal constituents.

Contrastive focus restricts a contextually presupposed closed set to an exhaustive subset for which the predicate actually holds. For example, in (1), 'VICTOR' is contrasted to and identified from all other members of a contextually presupposed set of which the predicate phrase could in principle hold.

(1) It is VICTOR who plays the trombone. [1]

[1] In this chapter, we use upper case letters to mark contrastively focused elements. This serves to indicate that, in Romanian, contrastively focused constituents are also prosodically stressed.

The sentence in (1), both negates and asserts; it negates that the predicate phrase holds of any member of the pressuposed set other than 'VICTOR', and asserts that it holds only of 'VICTOR'. Roughly, the equivalent of (1) would be: 'It is not the case that *x* plays the trombone, but that Victor plays the trombone', where both *x* and 'Victor' belong to a presupposed (or inferable) set. An implication is contradicted and an alternative is offered. To quote Zubizarreta (1998:102), with contrastive focus. "[...] both the hearer's presupposition is negated [...] and a variable and its associated value are introduced." In propositional logic, where statements have truth values, the role of negation is to reverse the truth value of the sentence with which it combines. Given that contrastive focus contains an inherent negation, it has the effect of changing the truth value of the presupposition implied in the sentence. Consequently, contrastive focus affects the truth conditions of the sentence in which it is present (see also Kiss 1998): (1) is true if and only if the predicate phrase holds exclusively of 'VICTOR'.

Cross-linguistically, contrastive focus (or any operator focus that affects the truth conditions of the sentence) seems to require special licensing conditions. One such licensing condition is syntactic movement into an operator position. Therefore, contrastive focus is assumed to be a quantificational operator which licenses operator-variable chains in a manner similar to wh-phrases and quantifiers (e.g. Brody 1995, Chomsky 1971, Kiss 1995b, 1998, Rochemont 1986, Rizzi 1997, Zubizarreta 1998). We propose that in Romanian contrastive focus is licensed by movement into an IP-related operator position. This position is syntactically and semantically distinct from new information, presentational focus which in Romanian we showed to be embedded within the VP (see chapter 3).

We argue that contrastive focus operators obey the same syntactic constraints as wh-phrases, polarity items and non-D-linked quantifiers. However, we show there is evidence for challenging the exclusive quantificational nature of contrastive focus and suggest that, in Romanian, contrastive focus involves either a quantificational operator or a non-quantificational, anaphoric operator.

Our account differs from previous analyses for Romanian in that it argues for the following:

(i) the realization of the [+ focus] feature as a *syntactic non-selectional feature* (FF) on I° and a *phonological selectional feature* (P-feature) on the contrastive element

(ii) contrastive focus as a syntactic feature (i.e., [+ focus] FF), rather than a syntactic head

(iii) exclusive IP-related operator checking

(iv) a syncretic Inflection, capable of hosting non-verbal selectional FFs

(v) contrastive focus as either a quantificational or an anaphoric operator

(vi) 'optionality' of focus movement as a result of focus representation in phonosyntax.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.1 offers some theoretical background and discusses previous analyses. Section 5.2 introduces contrastive focus in Romanian, illustrates previous assumptions with regards to the Romanian preverbal field, and sums up the problems for discussion. In sections 5.3 - 5.4, we discuss empirical and syntactic properties of the elements involved in the Romanian left-periphery, and in section 5.5 we offer an analysis. Section 5.6 is a conclusion.

5.1 Defining the term and previous analyses

Starting with the early 70s, generative grammar has viewed focus as a syntactic notion. Chomsky (1971) argues that certain aspects of semantic interpretation are determined by surface structure, focus and presupposition being thus established. In his account the focused constituent contains and is marked by the 'intonation center', and the presupposition is obtained by replacing the focus with a variable. According to Chomsky (1971), the semantic representation of (2a) and (2b), show 'John' is the focus of the sentence, and 'someone writes poetry' is the presupposition. In (2c), the presupposition remains the same and the focus changes to 'Bill'.

(2) a. is it JOHN who writes poetry?

b. it isn't JOHN who writes poetry.

c. no, it is BILL who writes poetry.

(Chomsky 1971:199)

Chomsky (1976) further suggests that the focus/presupposition partitioning of a sentence can be represented at LF by applying the rule of Quantifier Raising (QR) to the focused constituent. For example, Chomsky explains the English contrasts in (3a-b), to follow from LF raising of the focused element.

(3) a. * His_i mother loves $JOHN_i$.

b. His_i mother loves $John_i$.

The ungrammaticality in (3a) can only be accounted for provided the focused 'JOHN' is an operator that has to raise at LF leaving behind a variable (i.e., a trace that is illicit when c-commanded by a preceding pronoun). [2]

Jackendoff (1972:230) agrees that "intuitively, it makes sense to speak of a discourse as 'natural' if successive sentences share presuppositions". The author defines the focus of a sentence as "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer". and the presupposition as "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the speaker" (1972:16). Like Chomsky, Jackendoff agrees that the division into presupposition and focus is part of the semantic representation of the sentence, reflected in its syntactic structure by a syntactic marker F which is associated with a node in the surface structure to indicate focus.

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[2] According to Chomsky's Leftness Condition (see also discussion in previous chapters), a variable cannot be the antecedent for a pronoun to its left. Consequently, quantifiers cannot cross over a coreferential pronoun because this violates the Leftness Condition and induces what is referred to in the literature as a 'weak crossover' effect.

In the same vein, Rochemont (1986) views the focus construction as a bipartite structure comprising a focus and an open proposition. The author argues that this type of focus forms an A-bar chain. Rochemont (1986) assumes the focused constituent moves to a clause-external non-argument position and is construed with a gap in the open proposition. The moved focused constituent acts as an operator binding a variable in the open proposition.

This is the type of focus we are concerned with in this chapter; namely, focus that uniquely delimits (i.e., contrasts or identifies) a member of a presupposed or inferable set. In Romanian, the semantic effect is one of contrast, the syntactic effect yet open to exploration.

In what follows, we offer a brief presentation of some of the more recent analyses on operator focus. For ease of exposition, we limit our discussion to those authors who distinguish between new information/presentational focus and contrastive/operator focus.

5.1.1 Kiss (1995b, 1998)

Kiss (1995b) argues that an operator expressing identification (or contrast) is universally associated with a structural position. This position is associated with a functional projection of its own, FocP, usually found above IP (and within CP) but next to the inflected verb in languages that instantiate it. FocP is assumed to project cross-linguistically whenever there is an element with the feature [+focus] in the sentence. Elements bearing the feature [+ focus] are referred to as 'contrastive focus', or 'identificational focus', depending on the semantic contribution of this type of focus, which varies cross-linguistically. Elements bearing the feature [+ focus] affect the truth-functional conditions of the sentence and are associated in one way or another to FocP against which they will have to check this feature at some point in the derivation. Languages have been shown to differ as to whether their [+ focus] element is forced to move into the FocP in the visible syntax or later (at Logical Form). Kiss argues that in Hungarian, the [+ focus] element obligatorily raises to FocP in the visible syntax, while in Greek, among others, it does so optionally. According to Kiss, following Chomsky (1976), raising applies in all

languages, even in those that do not raise the [+ focus] element in the overt syntax. In view of the focus operator behaving on a par with quantifiers, Kiss (1995) assumes that FocP is a cross-linguistic 'quantificational' projection. [3]

Kiss (1998), citing Rochemont (1986) among others, argues along the lines of her previous work, where two different types of focus are distinguished. One type of focus expresses a quantification-like operation, the other merely conveys nonpresupposed information. [4] Quantificational (operator) focus is labelled 'identificational' and is defined as representing the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold. Identificational focus is identified as the exhaustive subset for which the predicate phrase actually holds. Semantically, identificational focus represents the value of the variable bound by an abstract operator expressing exhaustive identification. Syntactically, identificational focus itself acts as an operator, moving into a scope position in the specifier of a functional projection and binding a variable. Information (presentational) focus, on the other hand, is not associated with movement. Information focus, being synonymous to non-presupposed material, is present in every sentence, and is devoid of any formal feature. However, not every sentence contains an identificational focus. An identificational focus is only present in derivations assigned a [+ focus] feature. In Hungarian, these two types of focus are never optional interpretational variants but are associated with distinct structural positions. Consider the examples in (4) taken from Kiss (1998).

(4) a. Tegnap este MARINAK mutattam be Petert.
last night Mary.DAT introduced.I PERF Peter.ACC
'It was TO MARY that I introduced Peter last night.'

---

[3] This view dates back to Chomsky's (1976) classical analysis and is shared by other authors (Rizzi 1997, among others). We will show, however, that for Romanian this claim is too strong.

[4] Focus conveying nonpresupposed information is the equivalent of presentational focus introduced in chapter 3.

b. **Tegnap este be mutattam Petert Marinak.**
'Last night I introduced Peter to Mary.'
(Hungarian - Kiss 1998:247)

In (4a), 'TO MARY' represents identificational focus, being the exhaustive subset of which the predicate phrase 'introduced Peter last night' actually holds. In (4b), on the other hand, 'to Mary' is simply perceived as the new information element of the sentence.

Kiss (1998) discusses several significant differences that distinguish between identificational and information focus. Most importantly, identificational focus takes scope, with the complement of F being the part of sentence over which it scopes. Therefore, the element bearing identificational focus is moved to a specifier of a functional projection, from where it can act as an operator. Consequently, identificational focus has to be coextensive with an XP (otherwise, it would not be available for operator movement). Information focus, on the other hand, does not take scope; it simply extends over any sentence part which consists of non-presupposed material. As such, it does not involve movement, being less restricted (both syntactically and semantically).

The author further argues that focus is strictly correlated to wh-phrases (cf. also Chomsky 1976, Zubizarreta 1998, among others). However, a wh-phrase in Hungarian can be answered both by information (presentational) focus and identification (operator) focus, depending on whether the answer is or is not intended to be exhaustive.

To sum up, Kiss argues that operator focus is universally associated with a structural position. The feature [+ focus] heads a functional projection of its own, FocP to which contrastively (or identificationally) focused elements need to raise at some point in the derivation (i.e., overtly or covertly).

5.1.2 Rizzi (1995/97)

Rizzi (1995/97) starts from the assumption that the structural representation of a clause consists of three kinds of structural layers:

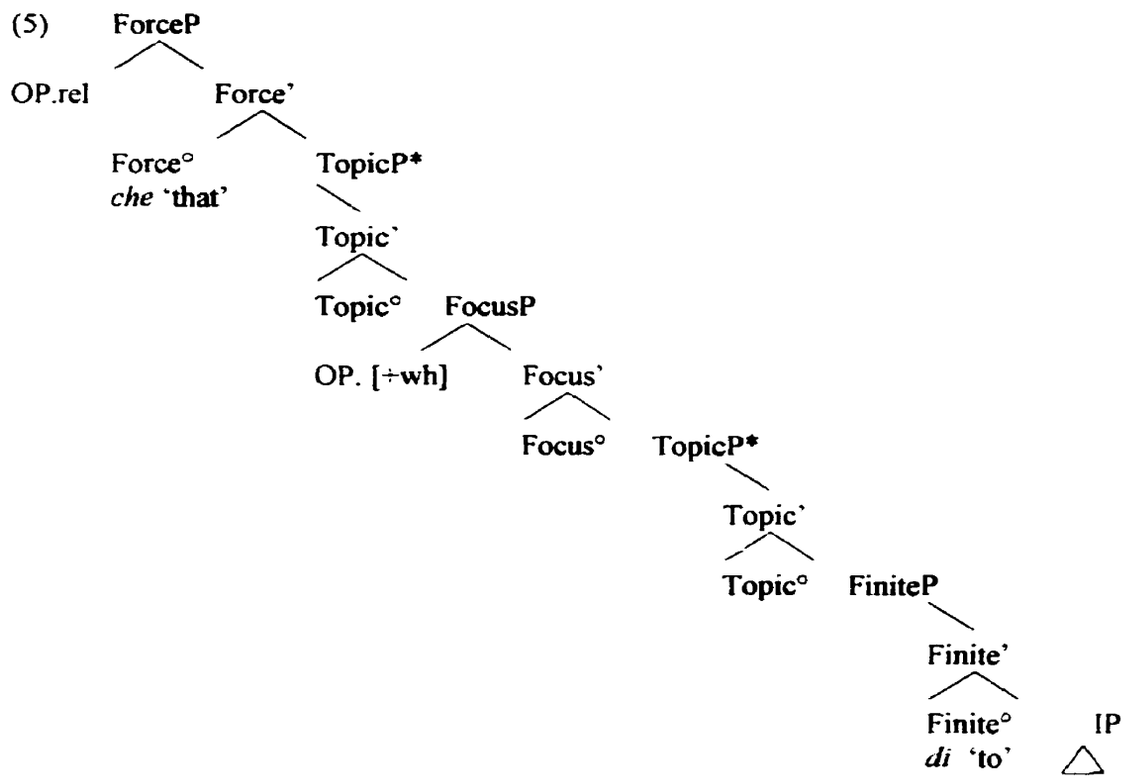
(i) the lexical layer, headed by the verb, is the layer in which theta assignment takes place;

(ii) the inflectional layer, headed by functional heads corresponding to concrete or abstract morphological specifications on the verb, is the layer responsible for the licensing of argumental features such as case and agreement;

(iii) the complementizer layer, typically headed by a free functional morpheme, is the layer responsible for hosting topics and various operator-like elements such as interrogative and relative pronouns, focused elements, and so on.

The complementizer system is viewed as the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and a superordinate structure (a higher clause, or the articulation of discourse). Consequently, Rizzi argues for a C system that expresses information related both to discourse (i.e., 'the outside') and the IP (i.e., 'the inside').

He discusses the structure of the left periphery of a clause, arguing that the C° head should be 'exploded' into ForceP > (TopicP*) > (FocusP) > (TopicP*) > FiniteP, as in (5), partially illustrated with Italian.



The crucial argument for expanding the CP is that a theory involving a unique C head cannot deal with the distributional constraints of different kinds of operators hosted by the C-system (for example, the fact that relative operators must precede interrogative ones in Italian). The specification of Force in (5) constitutes the information looking at the higher structure (i.e., outside). Complementizers express the fact that a sentence is a question, a declarative, an exclamative, a relative, a comparative, an adverbial of a certain kind, and can be selected as such by a higher selector. The specification of Finiteness, on the other hand, reflects the core IP-related characteristics expressed by the complementizer system. [5]

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[5] Note that languages vary in the extent to which IP information is replicated in the complementizer system: for example, some languages replicate mood distinctions. The languages of the Balkans have special subjunctive complementizers, among which the Romanian subjunctive complementizer *ca* which replicates the IP particle *sã*, itself replicating synthetical marking on the verb stem available in the third person singular. Consider the examples in (i), which illustrate mood information in a subjunctive embedded clause (ia) and an indicative one (ib).

Rizzi further argues that the CP system should not be treated as an extended projection of the IP. The C system is fundamentally distinct from the I system in that it is not V-related. Furthermore, the 'inflectional' properties of the C system are not encoded in the form of verbal morphology, but expressed on free functional morphemes. While Top° and Foc° can be phonetically null (e.g., in Italian), there are languages that pronounce them (the author exemplifies with the focus particle *we* in Gungbe [6]). The topic-focus field is 'sandwiched' in between force and finiteness whenever activated, being related to both the C and I systems. As can be seen in (5), topic can iterate, while focus cannot. Rizzi argues that recursion of FocP is

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(i) a. Vreau [{*că / ca } de luni Mihai
want.1SG [{*that-IND / that- SUBJ } from Monday Mihai
să nu mai vină acasă cu autobuzul
SUBJ not more come- SUBJ.3SG home with bus-the
şcolar].
school]
'As of Monday, I want Mihai to stop taking the schoolbus home.'

b. Ştiu [{că / * ca } de luni Mihai
know.1SG [{that-IND / * that- SUBJ } from Monday Mihai
nu mai vine acasă cu autobuzul şcolar].
not more come- IND.3SG home with bus-the school]
'As of Monday, I know Mihai will stop taking the schoolbus home.'

Moreover, the presence of the indicative complementizer *că* is obligatory in all embedded indicatives, while the presence of the subjunctive complementizer *ca* is contextually dependent (being usually licensed by the presence of topicalized material). The invariable subjunctive particle *să*, on the other hand, is always compulsory; consider the examples in (ii) which lack topicalized material in the embedded clause.

(ii) a. Vreau [(* ca) * (să) nu mai
want.1SG [(*that-SUBJ) * (SUBJ) not more
vină Mihai acasă cu autobuzul şcolar].
come- SUBJ.3SG Mihai home with bus-the school]
'I want Mihai to stop taking the schoolbus home.'

b. Ştiu [* (că) nu mai vine Mihai
know.1SG [* (that-IND) not more come- IND.3SG Mihai
acasă cu autobuzul şcolar].
home with bus-the school]
'I know (that) Mihai has stopped taking the schoolbus home.'

[6] Note also the [wh]/focus particle *ni* in Yoruba (cf. Déchaine 1998), and the topic particle *wa* in Japanese (cf. Van Valin 1997).

banned by the interpretive clash that would arise. The lower focus would have to simultaneously serve a dual function: as presupposition for Focus1, and as Focus2.

In order to satisfy the Topic/Focus Criteria, an element endowed with topic or focus features must end up in a Spec-Head configuration with the Top or, Foc head, respectively. In essence, focus and topic are seen as structure-dependent functions assigned in some specific structural relation (i.e., an appropriate specifier-head relation). This analysis draws on Rizzi's earlier assumptions (1991) regarding affective operators (i.e., [wh]- and negative operators). Consider the WH-Criterion (Rizzi 1991) introduced in chapter 4 and repeated below as (6).

(6) WH-CRITERION (Rizzi 1991)

A. A WH Operator must be in a Spec-Head configuration with X° [+ WH] ;

B. An X° [+ WH] must be in a Spec-Head configuration with a WH Operator.

Rizzi's Topic/Focus Criteria are a means of formalizing licensing conditions for Topic, Focus (as well as other affective operators). The entire format is similar to Chomsky's feature checking mechanism.

Rizzi also addresses some of the distinguishing properties between topic and focus and we offer a summary of the most salient differences. In Romance, the topic-comment articulation is typically expressed by the construction that Cinque (1990) has called Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), involving a resumptive clitic coreferential to the topic, as in (7).

(7) Il tuo libro, lo ho letto.

'Your book, I have read it.'

(Italian, Rizzi 1995:5)

The focus-presupposition articulation can be expressed in Italian by preposing the focal element and assigning it special focal stress, as in (8). Rizzi argues that in Italian this structural option is

restricted to contrastive focus (i.e., (8) presupposes that you believe that I have read something different from your book, and corrects this belief).

(8) IL TUO LIBRO ho letto (, non il suo)
'Your book I read (, not his)
(Italian, Rizzi 1995:5)

Both topic and focus are argued to involve A'- constructions, but whereas topics involve resumptive clitics, focalized constituents disallow them, as illustrated in (9).

(9) * IL TUO LIBRO lo ho comprato (, non il suo)
'Your book I bought it (, not his)
(Italian, Rizzi 1995:8)

This, coupled with the fact that a topic does not give rise to weak crossover, which is consistently detectable with focus, points to the major conclusion that focus is 'quantificational' while topic is not. Rizzi's (1995/97) analysis for contrastive focus then is very much in line with Kiss' (1995b, 1998).

5.1.3 Zubizarreta (1998)

In a vein reminiscent of Kiss (1995b, 1998), Zubizarreta (1998) equates focus in a statement with that part of statement that substitutes for the wh-phrase in the context question (see also Kiss 1998). The author further distinguishes between new information (presentational) focus and contrastive focus. The conclusions with regards to the syntax and semantics of these two types of focus are strikingly similar to those presented in section 5.1.1. and will not be discussed in any detail here. Instead, we briefly outline Zubizarreta's analysis for contrastive focus, since it bears interestingly on the Romanian data.

In this theory, contrastive focus is argued to have two effects. It negates the value assigned to a variable in the context statement (as indicated by the implicit or explicit negative tag

associated with contrastive focus), and at the same time, it introduces an alternative value for such a variable. Consider for illustration the contrastive utterance and its context statement (in square brackets) in (10):

(10) John is wearing a RED shirt today (not a blue shirt).
[John is wearing a blue shirt today.]
(Zubizarreta 1998:7)

Zubizarreta (1998) further discusses properties of the preverbal field in Spanish and Italian and concludes that the two languages have different structural realizations for focus. For Spanish, the author argues for a "generalized TP analysis", proposing that "within a view of syntactic structure in which heads consist of features that need to be checked against other heads, languages with a generalized TP may be said to allow a certain amount of feature syncretism." (Zubizarreta 1998:100). Consequently, Tense is viewed as a syncretic category (in the sense of Giorgi and Pianesi 1996), in which the feature T(ense) may combine with discourse-based functional features, such as topic, focus, or emphasis, yielding the syntactic categories T/topic, T/focus, T/emphasis. Such an analysis is argued to be desirable in view of Chomsky's (1995) minimalist approach to syntactic structure, since feature syncretism will ensure a minimal structure in a given derivation. In Spanish, different types of constituents may occupy Spec,TP: topics, emphatics, focused phrases (including wh-phrases) and subjects. T is thus seen to play a crucial role in checking nominative Case, as well as discourse-based features that belong to the outer layer of the clausal structure. However, a phrase may not check more than one type of feature in a given specifier-head configuration. In other words, a phrase may not simultaneously check an intrinsically grammatical feature such as Case and a discourse-based feature such as 'topic', 'emphasis', or 'focus'. Moreover, while there can be several topics in Spanish, at most one functional 'focus' feature is allowed per sentence for focus-checking purposes. For Italian, on the other hand, a different analysis is adopted. It is argued, following Belletti and Shlonsky

(1995), that Spec,TP is occupied exclusively by the subject and that fronted focused phrases, emphatics and topics are left-dislocated (that is, they occupy a position above TP). Several differences between Spanish and Italian support such a dichotomy. For example, in contrast to Spanish, Italian disallows VSO word order and post-verbal subjects are right-dislocated, where right-dislocation is derived from left-dislocation via leftward adjunction (following Kayne 1994). These facts suggest that in Italian, nominative Case must always be checked overtly in Spec,TP. Moreover, in Italian, but not in Spanish, the preverbal focused or emphatic constituent need not be adjacent to the verb. Zubizarreta (1998) cites the examples in (11).

(11) a. QUESTO Gianni ti dira (non quello che pensavi).
this Gianni to-you will-say (not what (you) thought)
(Italian, Rizzi 1995:48)

b. Qualcosa, di sicuro, io farò.
something surely I will do
(Italian, Cinque 1990:15)

These facts are taken to suggest that Italian has a Focus or Emphasis projection located between CP and TP (cf. Rizzi 1995/97). In effect, the functional feature T in Italian cannot constitute a syncretic category with the functional feature 'topic', 'focus' or 'emphasis' (as is argued for Spanish).

To sum up, Zubizarreta views focus as a syntactic feature incorporated onto T in generalized TP languages, such as Spanish, while allowing for the projection of a Focus Phrase in languages for which there is enough empirical evidence to support a distinct Focus head (i.e., Italian).

5.1.4 Erteschik-Shir (1997)

Erteschik-Shir (1997) uses the term focus structure (f-structure) to characterize structural descriptions (SDs) annotated for topic and focus constituents. F-structure feeds both PF, since this level provides explicit phonetic intonation, as well as semantics (i.e., it is accessible and visible to both). F-structure theory is a pragmatic theory which is concerned with felicity conditions on the relation between sentences and context. Thus, the function ' topic' can only be assigned to constituents which are already in the hearer's attention. Focus is shown to be of two types. New information/presentational focus ('plain' focus in the author's terminology), which is defined as "the (intension of a) constituent c of S which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer(s) to, by uttering S." (Erteschik-Shir 1997:11). This type of focus is a discourse property which is assigned to a constituent in a context of conversation. Contrastive focus (operator focus) is argued to be contextually constrained to occur only if a contrast set is available. In (12), for example, if 'PETER' is to be interpreted contrastively, {Susan, Peter} must be members of a contextually defined set.

(12) Speaker A: You saw Susan at the party.
Speaker B: No, I didn't see SUSAN, I saw PETER.
(Erteschik-Shir 1997:121)

Contrastive foci are by definition metalinguistic, since a previous utterance (possibly implied) is being objected to. Moreover, contrastive focus is assumed to be unique, since one cannot object to more than one implied utterance at a time. Erteschik-Shir (1997:121) further suggests the f-structure in (13b) for the sentence in (13a) with a contrastive interpretation.

(13) a. A MAN is intelligent.

b. $[\ \left[\begin{array}{l}\text{a man}_{FOC}\\ \text{a woman}\end{array}\right]_{TOP}\ ]_{TOP}\ [\text{is intelligent}]_{FOC}$

Under a contrastive interpretation, (13a) means "a man, not a woman, is intelligent." In (13b), '[is intelligent]$_{FOC}$' refers to plain (i.e., non-operator), while 'a man $_{FOC}$' refers to contrastive (i.e., operator) focus and is part of a contextually defined set. The second line of the f-structure indicates the other member of the contrast set – 'the woman' - (which is not overt), without which the sentence is uninterpretable. In other words, if XP is to be interpreted contrastively, XP must be a member of a contextually defined set, which set acts like a topic and is restrictive. Metalingusic foci then, evoke contrastive sets that provide the topic for the subordinate (metalinguistic) f-structure.

To sum up, Erteschik-Shir (1997) essentially views operator focus as a unique metalinguistic focus. The contrasted element is a member of a topic set and is, consequently, at least impliable to the hearer (i.e., it does not consist of new information, it only pinpoints/identifies a unique element of the old/metalinguistic information).

5.1.5 Some conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn from the analyses presented above point to a distinction between two types of focus at least with respect to function and positioning within the sentence. On the one hand, there is the new information, presentational type of focus, usually deeply embedded within the IP, which coincides with the rhematic/asserted domain of the sentence (see chapter 3). Presentational focus is acquired as a result of specific sentence partitioning, yielding desired information structures in various languages. This type of focus is pragmatically conditioned. Therefore, the lexical items which represent new information in a sentence are not marked for the feature [+ focus] and do not require special licensing conditions. On the other hand, there is the operator focus, which requires special licensing conditions and seems to be a property of several levels of grammar. Cross-linguistically, it is marked in a number of ways: (i) by intonation (i.e., phonology), (ii) by affixation (i.e., morphology), or (iii) by structural position (i.e., syntactic). Some authors accept the possibility of co-existence among the

types of scope-marking mentioned above (Kiss 1995b, 1998, Rizzi 1995/97), others see it solely as a property of phonology (Erteschik-Shir 1997). Déchaine (1998), argues that in-situ focus (intonational, affixal) and focus-movement do not both realize a syntactic [+ focus] feature in one and the same language. Déchaine (1998) proposes that Focus involves the marking of prominence via the application of Move, where Move applies either to syntactic or phonological formal features, but never to both.

Operator focus affects the truth-functional conditions of the sentence and scopes over a proposition. In the cases and languages presented so far, it licenses operator-variable chains. Consequently, it is taken to be quantificational in nature. Furthermore, contrastive focus is *unique*, since one cannot object to more than one implied utterance at a time (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997, Kiss 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, among others). The uniqueness of contrastive focus is semantic in nature.

In terms of material that belongs to the left periphery of the sentence, contrastive focus is to be distinguished from topics, both syntactically and semantically. While topicality represents an 'aboutness' relation, referring to constituents the sentence is true of, contrastive focus represents an aboutness relation which is unique. While both topics and contrastive focus seem to raise and scope over the IP they are base-generated in, topics do not seem to require special licensing conditions. A lexical item (LI) can be interpreted as a topic solely as a result of a c-command relationship, usually resolved via scrambling. Contrastively focused LIs, on the other hand, require more than just c-command, being subject to specific licensing conditions. We will see that contrastively focused LIs, in contrast to topics, also cluster together with other quantificational operators (i.e. wh-phrases and bare quantifiers) for a number of syntactic tests.

The question is whether a syntactic feature [+ focus] is present cross-linguistically on all contrastively focused lexical items, irrespective of marking type. In other words, is it the case that when a lexical item is interpreted as contrastive and its prominence is marked phonologically or morphologically, the respective LI also bears a syntactic [+ focus] feature?

A related question refers to the specifics of the [+ focus] syntactic feature and the extent to which grammatical functions are configurationally distinguished. Generally speaking, the literature follows two major directions, essentially centered around the issue of whether focus should be viewed as a syntactic head projecting its own phrase (cf. Kayne 1998, Kiss 1995b, 1998, Rizzi 1997, Russell and Reinholtz 1996, among others), or a syntactic feature incorporating onto a functional head (cf. Brody 1995, Horvath 1996, Motapanyane 1995, 2000, Zubizarreta 1998, among others). We will attempt to answer these questions, at least for Romanian, in the course of this chapter. [7]

5.2 Introductory remarks on contrastive focus in Romanian

In Romanian, contrastive focus denotes a closed set (or member) of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase actually holds. In (14), the contrastively focused constituent *pe MIHAI* delimits the predicate phrase 'I have called' to uniquely hold only of 'Mihai'.

(14)	Pe MIHAI$_i$	l$_i$-am	strigat	t$_i$	(,nu	pe Ion). [8]
	PE Mihai$_i$	CL.3SG.ACC.M$_i$-AUX.1SG	called	t$_i$	(not	PE Ion)
	'It is Mihai I called, (not Ion).'					

Syntactically, the contrastively focused element acts as an operator, moving into a scope position in the preverbal field. In (14), scope-taking is signalled prosodically, by emphasis (higher pitch), as well as syntactically, by movement. Descriptively speaking, movement of the

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[7] Throughout this chapter when we refer to 'focus' we have in mind contrastive focus (i.e., operator focus) unless otherwise specified.

[8] We translate Romanian contrastive focus with English clefts, in view of the semantic equivalence of the two. This is also consistent with other authors working on focus in Romanian (cf. Cornilescu 1997, Göbbel 1996, Motapanyane 1994a,b, in press); see also discussion in Rooth (1996). Note also that Romanian lacks cleft constructions; for an analysis, see Motapanyane (in press).

contrastively focused element into the preverbal position is not obligatory. Consider the examples in (15), illustrative of argument focus (Lambrecht 1994), in which the contrastively focused element either raises (see 15a), or stays in-situ (see 15b). Prosodical marking (prosodic stress) is obligatory in both cases.

(15) <u>argument-focus (contrastive focus)</u> :

Q: Has dad come home?

a.	MAMA$_i$	a	venit	t_i	acasă	(şi nu tata).
	mother-the$_i$	AUX.3SG	come	t	home	(and not father-the)

'It is mother that has come home.'

b.	A	venit	MAMA	acasă	(şi nu tata).
	AUX.3SG	come	mother-the	home	(and not father-the)

'It is mother that has come home.'

In (15a) and (15b), the presupposition provided by the (implicit or explicit) context that 'dad has come home', is corrected via the use of contrastive focus. The constituent that is contrastively focused is the argument *mama* 'mother'. The truth-functional conditions of the sentence are changed by negating the fact that 'father' holds of the predicate phrase, while at the same time asserting the validity of 'coming home' to hold only of 'mother'. [9]

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[9] Constituents that are interpreted contrastively can also be lexically marked. For example, in (i) there is no prosodic stress on *mama* 'mother' but a particle denoting uniqueness needs to be used. As (ic) indicates, however, a contrastive reading cannot be obtained in the absence of both prosodic and lexical marking, irrespective of the syntactic positioning of the argument *mama* 'mother'.

(i) Q: Has dad come home?

a.	[Doar/Numai	mama]$_i$	a	venit	t_i	acasă
	[only/just	mother-the]$_i$	AUX.3SG	come	t_i	home

(şi nu tata).
(and not father-the)
'It is only/just mother that has come home.'

b.	A	venit	[doar/numai mama]	acasă	(şi nu tata).
	AUX.3SG	come	[only/just mother-the]	home	(and not father-the)

'It is only/just mother that has come home.'

Lambrecht (1994) distinguishes between argument-, predicate-, and sentence-focus. Contrastive focus in Romanian is equivalent to Lambrecht's (1994) argument focus kind, while the other two types are instances of presentational focus, as shown in (16).

(16) a. <u>predicate-focus (presentational focus)</u> :

Q: What happened to mother?

Mama$_i$	a	venit	t_i	acasă	(# şi nu tata).
mother-the$_i$	AUX.3SG	come	t_i	home	(and not father-the)

'# It is mother that has come home.'

'Mother [$_{focus}$ has come home].'

b. <u>sentence-focus (presentational focus)</u> :

Q: What happened?

A	venit	mama	acasă	(# şi nu tata).
AUX.3SG	come	mother-the	home	(and not father-the)

'# It's mother that has come home.'

'[$_{focus}$ Mother has come home].

(16a) and (16b) are both instances of presentational focus in Romanian. In (16a), it is the predicate that constitutes new information. The argument *mama* 'mother', having previously been introduced in the discourse, acts as a topic, therefore licensing SV, and cannot be interpreted as either presentational or contrastive focus. In (16b), the whole sentence represents new information and all the sentence constituents are part of the presentation/novelty. In this case, the argument *mama* 'mother' cannot raise to the preverbal position, but has to stay in situ and the word order is VS. Presentational focus can also be realized as Lambrecht's argument-focus argument. For clarification, consider (17) in which the argument *mama* 'mother' represents new

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c.

# (Mama)	a	venit	(mama)	acasă	(şi nu tata).
mother-the	AUX.3SG	come	mother-the	home	(and not father-the)

'It is (only/just) mother that has come home.'

information, acting as a presentational focus. In this case, the word order is VXPS, where XP has scrambled across the subject left in situ (see discussion in chapter 3).

(17) <u>argument-focus (presentational focus)</u> :

Q: Who has come home?

a.	A	venit	acasă	mama.
	AUX.3SG	come	home	mother-the

b.	# Mama	a	venit	acasă.
	mother-the	AUX.3SG	come	home

'Mother came home / Mother did'

A comparison between (15a/b) and (17) highlights the fact that presentational/new information focus in Romanian does not have the syntax, semantics or phonological/morphological properties of contrastive focus. Elements that represent new information stay in-situ in their base-generated position (within the VP) and do not make statements about the truth or correctness of the presupposition. Furthermore, new information focus is not prosodically stressed.

These focus distinctions are somewhat obscured in English, where (for the most part) a preverbal subject constraint conceals information structure. Contrastive focus, however, does have a syntactic impact (i.e., the cleft construction) even in a language normally referred to as having rigid word order, such as English. [10] A sentence such as, *It is your book that I have read (not his)*, presupposes that you believe that I have read something different from your book and corrects this belief. It could not be felicitously uttered as conveying non-contrastive new information, namely, as an answer to the question 'what did you read?'.

[10] According to Vallduví (1990), English in-situ focus does not force a presupposition, while clefts do.

5.2.1 Previous analyses concerning the Romanian preverbal field

As mentioned in chapter 2, the Romanian preverbal field allows for a number of word order sequences provided the fronted noun phrase can acquire the required interpretation, namely, topicality or contrastive focus. We briefly mention some of the analyses available to interpret these empirical facts before proceeding with our own discussion on contrastive focus.

Following Cinque (1990), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990b, 1994a) discusses left-dislocation structures in Romanian. Her main concern is to show that these structures do, in fact, involve movement (as against Cinque 1990). She argues that a distinction should be kept between clitic left dislocation structures (CLLD), (as in 18a), and the English type of left dislocation (ELD), (as in 18b).

(18) a. Pe Ion$_i$ l$_i$-am întîlnit (* pe el$_i$) anul trecut.
PE Ion CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG met PE him year last
'I met John last year'

b. (Cît despre) Ion$_i$, (pe el$_i$) nu l$_i$-am văzut
as for Ion PE him not CL.3SG.ACC.M -AUX.3SG seen
de anul trecut.
of year last
'(As for) John, I haven't seen him since last year'
(Dobrovie-Sorin 1990b)

Dobrovie-Sorin argues there is obligatory 'connectivity' in CLLD (i.e., the dislocated element behaves as if it occupied the argumental position with which it is coindexed). In these structures the sentence-internal element can only be a clitic, and we observe that an emphatic pronoun is ruled out (see 18a). This follows under the assumption that '*pe Ion*' is base-generated within the clause and undergoes movement into the left periphery. Given that with ELDs an emphatic pronoun, which is assumed to be coindexed with the sentence-internal position, is grammatical (see 18b), the left-dislocated constituent is not analyzed as base-generated in the sentence-internal

position. Moreover, Dobrovie-Sorin notices another distinguishing syntactic property between CLLD and ELD constructions in Romanian: the left dislocated element of CLLD, can be of any maximal category and there is no theoretical limit to the number of dislocated elements in this construction. ELDs, on the other hand, essentially allow for left-dislocated NPs only and only one at a time. Dobrovie-Sorin's conclusion is that, while ELDs do not rely on movement, CLLD structures do so.

In her discussion on the Romanian pre-verbal segment, Motapanyane (1994a,b, 1995) argues for a clear hierarchy for topic and focus. The author suggests that constituents preceding the interrogative morpheme *oare*, base-generated within CP (following Rudin 1992), occupy a topic position, whereas those following *oare* hold a focus clause-internal position. In the examples in (19), the constituent in topic, preceding *oare*, bears little stress and carries old information, while the constituent in focus, following *oare*, conveys new information, bears the main sentence stress and renders a contrastive reading. [11, 12]

(19)	a.	Scrisorile,	*oare*	ieri	le-a	primit	Ion?
		the letters	Q	yesterday	them has	received	John
		(sau azi)					
		(or today)					

'As for the letters, was it yesterday that John received them, (or today)?'

---

[11] Arguments for topic as the leftmost element comes from other areas of study, as well as cross-linguistic evidence; for example, Büring (1998) argues that the only restriction on topic placement in German is that topic has to precede focus (see also Rizzi 1995/97 for Italian). Farkas and Kazazis (1980) notice that, in Romanian, clitics in the pre-verbal field are ordered according to Topicality: the most topical clitic always preceding the less topical clitic.

[12] Note, however, that *oare* can appear in other positions within the clause. The occurrence of *oare* in (i) suggests it might be an insufficient diagnostic for pragmatic clause partitioning.

(i)	(*Oare*)	scrisorile,	(*oare*)	ieri	(*oare*)	le-a	primit
	(Q)	the letters	(Q)	yesterday	(Q)	them has	received
	(*oare*)	Ion	(*oare*)?				
	(Q)	John	(Q)				

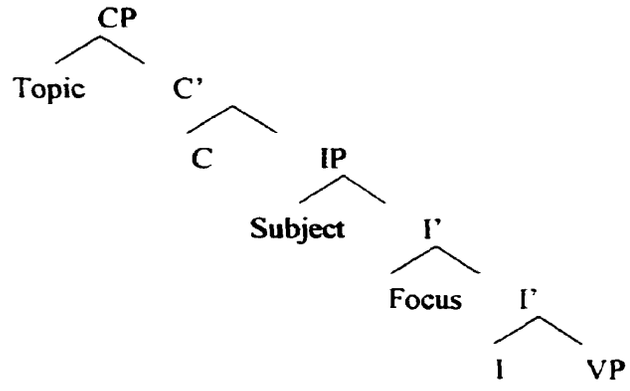
'Was it yesterday that John received the letters?'

b.	Ieri	*oare*	scrisori	a	primit	Ion?	(sau colet)
	yesterday	Q	letters	has	received	John	(or parcel)

'Yesterday, was it letters that John received, (or a parcel)?'
(Motapanyane 1994b:729)

The distinction between the functions of pre-verbal positions is then established in Motapanyane as follows: topicalized elements appear in Spec,CP, a slot which also hosts wh-elements. The subject position is the argumental Spec,IP (in a non-split IP) and the focus position is adjoined to I', immediately below (see (20)).

(20)

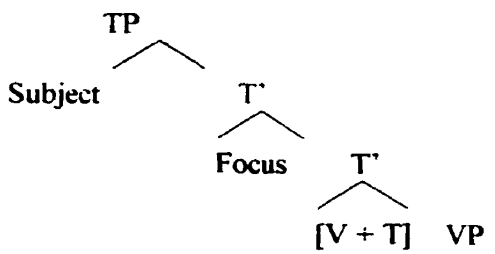


Motapanyane further assumes that dislocation to topic does not involve movement (cf. Cinque 1990 and in contrast to Dobrovie-Sorin 1990b, 1994a) since topics do not licence parasitic gaps and do not display subjacency violations. Insofar as focus is concerned, specific NPs in focus behave like topics and are, therefore, taken to be base-generated there and not to qualify as structural operators; on the other hand, indefinite NPs and bare quantifiers in focus are shown to create Operator-variable chains.

Motapanyane (2000) reinterprets the analyses of earlier studies in a Minimalist light. The author points out that [+ focus] has an unexpected syntactic impact for a semantic, non-categorial feature and argues that [+ focus] features combine with the semantically related formal features: [+ wh] and [tense]. This hypothesis leads to a parametric approach with two possible settings for

focus: (i) [focus/wh] (as, for example, in English); (ii) [focus/tense] (as in Romanian). Motapanyane further claims that the presence of a [+ focus] feature does not trigger the projection of a functional head in Romanian. Since clauses are Tense projections (following Chomsky 1995), focus will target a position within TP, namely Spec, TP. Following a recent version of Checking theory that allows for projections with multiple Specifiers (Chomsky 1995), the author argues that fronting to focus in Romanian undergoes the derivation in (21).

(21)



Motapanyane's (1998) analysis for Romanian is similar in spirit to the one proposed by Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish. However, Motapanyane distinguishes wh-movement from focus-movement in Romanian. Wh-elements check their focus feature against T, but raise further to Spec,CP where they check their [+ wh] features. Focused elements move only as far as Spec,TP.

Cornilescu (1997), following Rizzi (1995/97), argues for the existence of a Topic-Focus articulation in the Romanian declarative sentence. The author assumes that a constituent endowed with topic or focus features must end up in a Spec-Head configuration with Topic or Focus. The respective constituent moves to the pre-verbal 'initial' field so that checking of features can occur. In this analysis, operator focus is taken to be quantificational in contrast to topic. [13]

Göbbel (1996), as cited in Kiss (1998), claims that the Romanian operator focus is [+ exhaustive], [+ contrastive] and argues that it is preposed into Spec-Pol(arity). Göbbel further claims that the use of an operator focus is possible only if the domain of contrast is a closed set of

individuals known to the participants of the discourse. As the following examples demonstrate, the phrase *numai pe Ion* 'only Ion' is formulated as a contrastive focus in Spec-PolP when identifying a subset of the set *pe Ion si pe Ioana* 'Ion and Ioana', as in (22b).

(22) a. Am auzit că i-ai invitat pe Ion şi pe Ioana.
AUX.1SG heard that CL-AUX.2SG invited PE Ion and PE Ioana
'I heard you invited Ion and Ioana.'

b. [$_{PolP}$ NUMAI PE ION l-am [$_{VP}$ invitat]]
only PE Ion CL-AUX.1SG invited
'It is only Ion I invited.'

However, *numai pe Ion* 'only Ion' can only be used as an information focus in-situ when identifying a subset of the set *mulți musafiri* 'many guests'. This follows since *mulți musafiri* 'many guests' does not denote a closed set whose members are known to the participants of the discourse. Consider the examples in (23), where *numai pe Ion* 'only Ion' cannot be interpreted as contrastive focus (23b), but only as information focus (23c).

(23) a. Am auzit că ai invitat mulți musafiri.
AUX.1SG heard that AUX.2SG invited many guests
'I heard that you invited many guests.'

b. # [$_{PolP}$ NUMAI PE ION l-am [$_{VP}$ invitat]]
only PE Ion CL-AUX.1SG invited
'It is only Ion I invited.'

c. L-am [$_{VP}$ invitat numai pe Ion].
CL-AUX.1SG invited only PE Ion
'I only invited Ion.'
(adapted from Göbbel 1996, cited in Kiss 1998:268)

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[13] In Cornilescu (2000), however, the author argues that no FocP is needed in Romanian. The feature [+ f], being interpretive, will be checked as a free rider in the A-bar-/A-projections in

5.2.2 Summing up Pandora's box

Several concluding remarks can be made with respect to the analyses illustrated above. The main issues targetted are whether topics involve movement or base-generation, whether [+ focus] as a syntactic feature is licensed in its own functional projection or parasitically, and whether focus is distinct from other quantification-like elements or not. Essentially, all analyses implicitly or explicitly assume a distinction between presentational and contrastive focus, as well as between topic and contrastive focus.

At this point in our discussion, we are clear on the following insofar as contrastive focus in Romanian is concerned:

(i) Contrastive focus is unique, is prosodically marked, undergoes operator movement to the left periphery (appears preverbally), and affects the truth-functional conditions of a sentence. Contrastive focus requires specific licensing conditions. We, therefore, assume that contrastive focus is associated with a [+ focus] formal feature;

(ii) Presentational focus does not involve movement from its base-generated position and does not require special licensing conditions. Consequently, we assume it is a discourse property, not associated with a [+ focus] formal feature.

(i) and (ii) are summed up in the table in (24).

(24)

	Operator (movement)	[+ focus] FF	Uniqueness	Prosodically marked	Affects truth-functional values of S
contrastive focus	+	+	+	+	+
presentational focus	-	-	-	-	-

which the NP finds itself at LF for other semantic or syntactic reasons.

On the other hand, we have introduced a number of issues which we need to further address in the hope of clarifying:

(i) What is the relationship between focus and other sentence initial operators in Romanian?

- the relationship between focus and topic;

- the relationship between focus and quantifiers;

- the relationship between focus and wh-phrases.

(ii) What is the nature of the licensing condition for the [+ focus] feature in Romanian?

- does the [+ focus] formal feature incorporate on an already present non-substantive head (i.e., a functional head), or is there evidence for a distinct Focus head?

- is the [+focus] feature present as a syntactic feature on the lexical item, or only on the non-substantive head?

- is the [+ focus] feature selectional or non-selectional?

(iii) How do we account for optionality of preverbal versus postverbal occurrence in a theory in which movement for the purposes of feature-checking is exclusively overt?

A first step in answering the above queries involves a description of the empirical properties of contrastively focused elements in Romanian.

5.3 Properties of contrastive focus and other sentence-initial elements in Romanian

As discussed in the previous chapters, Romanian is a language with basic VSO and verb movement into Inflection. Therefore, material surfacing in the preverbal field is related to the IP-CP domain. In chapter 4, we argued that wh-phrases target Spec,IP in Romanian, which is a scope position, and that topicalized material appears below C°. Aside from topicalized material and wh-phrases, elements that target the left-periphery (preverbal field) in Romanian include quantifiers and contrastively focused phrases. These are all operators that raise to an A-bar position to scope

over the sentence. In this section, we discuss the interaction between these elements, with emphasis on focus movement.

5.3.1 The verb-adjacency requirement

As with wh-phrases, focused elements can only move into a position immediately to the left of the verbal complex, which comprises the raised verb plus any clitic material. This is a characteristic common to both main and embedded clauses, irrespective of the clause type. The verb-adjacency requirement - a term we use as a descriptive generalization - manifested by focus is illustrated in (25).

(25) a. MAŞINĂ$_i$ vrea Victor t_i, nu casă.
car$_i$ want.3SG Victor t_i not house
'It's a car that Victor wants, not a house.'

b. Am spus că VICTOR$_i$ n-a venit t_i acasă, (nu Ion).
AUX.1SG said that Victor$_i$ not-AUX.3SG come t_i home not Ion
'I said it was Victor that hadn't come home, not Ion.'

The examples in (26), where the presence of material intervening between the fronted focused element and the verbal complex disrupts the required adjacency, result in ungrammaticality in both the main and embedded clauses.

(26) a. * MAŞINĂ$_i$ Victor$_j$ vrea t_j t_i, nu casă.
car$_i$ Victor$_j$ want.3SG t_j t_i not house
'It's a car that Victor wants, not a house.'

b. *Am spus că VICTOR$_i$ acasă$_j$ n-a venit
AUX.1SG said that Victor$_i$ home$_j$ not-AUX.3SG come
t_i t_j (, nu Ion).
t_i t_j (, not Ion)
'I said it was Victor that hadn't come home (, not Ion).'

The same adjacency is observed with fronted bare quantifiers (indefinite negatives or affirmatives); consider the examples in (27), in which material intervening between the fronted quantifier and the verbal complex is ruled out.

(27) a. Negative indefinites:
Nimic$_i$ (* Petre) nu știe t_i (Petre).
nothing$_i$ (* Petre) not know.3SG t_i (Petre)
'Petre doesn't know anything.'

b. Affirmative indefinites:
Cineva$_i$ (* la ușă) să stea t_i de pază (la ușă).
somebody$_i$ (at door) SUBJ. stay t_i of guard (at door)
'Somebody should guard the door.'

Recall that topicalized material is under no such adjacency restriction in Romanian. Topicalized phrases may precede wh-phrases, fronted bare quantifiers and focused constituents in any order and any (processable) amount. For example, in (28a), the topicalized direct object *pe Victor* 'Victor' precedes the fronted wh-phrase, while in (28b), it precedes the bare quantifier *nimeni* 'nobody'. In (28c), two topics precede the focused NP *CĂRȚI* 'books', immediately adjacent to the verbal complex.

(28) a. Pe Victor$_i$ cine$_j$-l așteaptă t_j t_i la aeroport?
PE Victor$_i$ who$_j$-CL.3SG.ACC.M wait.3SG t_j t_i at airport
'Who's going to wait for Victor at the airport?'

b. Pe Victor$_i$ nimeni$_j$ nu l-a văzut t_j t_i afară.
PE Victor$_i$ nobody$_j$ not CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG seen t_j t_i outside
'Nobody has seen Victor outside.'

c. Mihai$_j$ Ioanei$_k$ CĂRȚI$_i$ i-a citit t_j t_k t_i,
Mihai$_j$ Ioana.DAT$_k$ books$_i$ CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG read t_j t_k t_i
nu ziare.
not newspapers
'It's books that Mihai read to Ioana, not newspapers.'

To sum up, fronted focused constituents require adjacency with the verbal complex, a property shared by other indefinites (such as bare quantifiers and wh-phrases). Topics, on the other hand, do not manifest this requirement. It could be argued that definiteness is the factor responsible for the adjacency effect. Note, however, that contrastively focused definite NPs show the same adjacency requirement as indefinite focus. This is illustrated in (29); [14]

(29) a. Ieri (lui Mihai) MAMA$_i$ i-a citit
yesterday (Mihai.DAT) mother-the$_i$ CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG read
t_i (lui Mihai), nu tata.
t_i (Mihai.DAT) not dad-the

b. * Ieri MAMA$_i$ lui Mihai$_j$ i-a citit
yesterday mother-the$_i$ Mihai.DAT$_j$ CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG read
t_i t_j, nu tata.
t_i t_j, not dad-the
'It is mom that read to Mihai yesterday, not dad.'

(29b) is ungrammatical, since the argument *lui Mihai* 'to Mihai' interferes between the fronted focused constituent and the verb. We return to this issue in section 5.3.3.

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[14] Recall that, in Romanian, definite marking on feminine nouns in the singular is achieved by vowel alternation from *-ă*, a stressed schwa, which marks the bare form, to *-a*, an open rounded back vowel, which marks the definite enclitic.

5.3.2 Complementary distribution

An immediate consequence of the adjacency requirement presented above, is that contrastively focused elements cannot co-occur in the preverbal field alongside wh-phrases and bare quantifiers, since all compete for verb-adjacency. Let us consider the examples in (30).

(30) a. * Pe cine$_j$ nimeni$_i$ n-a vrut să vadă t_i t_j ?
PE who$_j$ nobody$_i$ not-AUX.3SG wanted SUBJ. see t_i t_j
'Whom did nobody want to see?'

b. * Cineva$_i$ pe cine$_j$ vroia să lovească t_i t_j ?
somebody$_i$ PE who$_j$ want.3SG.PAST SUBJ. hit t_i t_j
'Who did somebody want to hit?'

c. * Unde$_k$ MIHAI$_i$ pleacă t_i t_k , (nu Ion)?
where$_k$ Mihai$_k$ leave.3SG t_i t_k (not Ion)
'* Where is it that it is Mihai that is leaving for (rather than Ion)?'

d. * VICTOR$_i$ cu nimic$_j$ nu m-a deranjat t_i t_j.
Victor$_j$ with nothing$_j$ not CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG bothered t_i t_j
'It was Victor that didn't bother me with anything.'

In (30a), the wh-phrase *pe cine* 'whom' cannot co-occur with the negative bare quantifier *nimeni* 'nobody' in the preverbal field. In (30b), the affirmative indefinite *cineva* 'someone' cannot precede the wh-element. That bare quantifiers can neither precede nor follow wh-phrases in the initial field in Romanian is a direct consequence of the verb-adjacency requirement operative on both types of constituents. (30c-d) illustrate the interaction of wh-elements and bare quantifiers with a preverbal contrastive focus. Since all of these operators compete for a verb-adjacent position, they cannot co-occur in the left periphery of the sentence.

Notice, however, that all of the sentences in (30) become fully grammatical if only one of the operators surfaces preverbally. In other words, the semantics of the sentences in (30) can be saved with the correct structural arrangement. This is illustrated throughout (31).

(31) a. Pe cine$_j$ vroia să lovească cineva t_j ?
PE who$_j$ wanted SUBJ. hit somebody t_j
'Who did somebody want to hit?'

b. Unde$_k$ pleacă MIHAI t_k , (nu Ion)?
where$_k$ leave.3SG Mihai t_k (not Ion)
'Where is it that Mihai is leaving for (rather than Ion)?'

c. Cu nimic$_j$ nu m-a deranjat VICTOR t_j.
with nothing$_j$ not CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG bothered Victor t_j
'It was Victor that didn't bother me with anything.'

d. VICTOR$_i$ nu m-a deranjat t_i cu nimic.
Victor$_i$ not CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG bothered t_i with nothing
'It was Victor that didn't bother me with anything.'

Recall that we mentioned in our introductory remarks on contrastively focused elements in Romanian, that the focused phrase need not occupy the preverbal field; however, irrespective of whether it surfaces immediately adjacent to the verb or in situ, the contrastively focused constituent is always phonologically marked. This flexibility is also shared by bare quantifiers, wh-phrases being the only operators that require compulsory (visible) movement. [15]

We follow Kayne (1998) and suggest that the adjacency requirement manifested by bare quantifiers, wh-phrases, and focused constituents is indicative of a specifier-head relationship between these raised operators and the functional head they target. In chapter 4, we argued that in Romanian the [+ wh] feature incorporates onto I°, making Spec,IP the host for raised wh-phrases. In view of their complementarity of distribution in the preverbal field, we suggest that all operators requiring special licensing conditions, such as a specifier-head relationship with I° (i.e.,

[15] Romanian does not allow wh-in-situ (see discussion in chapter 4).

the verbal complex) undergo movement to Spec,IP. [16] Questions arise concerning the nature of this movement (A or A-bar), and its optionality in some cases.

For wh-phrases we argued that the presence of a selectional [+ wh] feature on both the functional head I° and the wh-phrases engenders feature-checking in a specifier-head relationship and consequently second merge (movement) in Spec,IP. The dichotomy selectional versus non-selectional features (or, strong versus weak, for that matter) works nicely up to the point of 'optionality'. How is it that a computational system functioning according to economy principles can allow for optionality and, implicitly, obviation of economy? In Chomsky (1995), strong features are checked prior to Spell-Out, while weak features are checked at LF; this follows from the principle of Procrastinate which roughly states that feature-checking can be postponed until LF whenever possible (LF checking being more economical). Optionality of movement, present in a number of languages other than Romanian (for example, Italian, Rizzi 1995/97, Greek, Tsimpli 1995) has to be captured as an underspecification of the strong/weak dichotomy, being viewed as the result of LF raising (for Romanian, see Göbbel 1996, Motapanyane 1998a, 2000). This account, however, violates principles of economy, which require that focus movement should always procrastinate in languages with this option. In any case, LF raising for feature-checking is untenable under our current analysis which assumes all feature-driven movement to be overt (see discussion in chapters 1, 2, and 4). [17] Recall that we assume formal features are either selectional, in which case they require checking in a strict locality relationship (such as, specifier-head for XPs), and trigger movement, or non-selectional, in which case they only require feature-matching, but no movement. Whether a feature is selectional or non-selectional

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[16] Notice that for the purposes of our present discussion, we do not distinguish any internal IP projections. In chapter 2 we argued that specifiers are illicit within the Romanian IP, so material lower than the Spec,IP can be treated as a nonsubstantive (i.e., functional) head, even though it might contain distinct functional projections. We refer the reader to our discussion in chapter 2.

[17] Note that we still maintain Quantifier Raising as LF movement. However, we rule out LF movement for morpho-syntactic feature-checking.

has to do with language particular licensing requirements, largely deriving from morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies (such as lack of a D-type EPP feature in Romanian), rather than economy principles. How is optionality to be captured in this case? Before providing an answer (see section 5.5.2), let us explore some other properties of preverbal operators in Romanian.

5.3.3 D-linking and sentence initial operators in Romanian

So far, we have shown that preverbal focused constituents, wh-phrases, and bare quantifiers all require verb-adjacency and, consequently, are in complementary distribution (descriptively speaking). We have also shown that any of the above operators can be preceded by topicalized material. Let us further consider the interaction between verb-adjacent operators and topics, as well as other D(iscourse)-linked material (i.e., material for which a particular set is presupposed by both speaker or hearer, see Pesetsky 1987).

5.3.3.1 What's in a topic?

As previously mentioned, there is no verb-adjacency requirement with topics in Romanian, and no constraint (other than processing requirements) on the number of topics that can appear in the left-periphery of the sentence, as illustrated in (32). [18]

(32)	a.	Mioarei,	Anghel, inelul,		la nuntã	i
		Mioara.DAT	Anghel ring-the		at wedding	CL.3SG.DAT
		l-a		dat.		
		CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG		given		
		'Anghel gave Mioara the ring at the wedding.'				

[18] Recall that focus is semantically constrained by a uniqueness condition (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997, Rizzi 1995/97, Zubizarreta 1998, among others). Given that one cannot negate more than one implied sentence at a time, this constraint is assumed to be universal, and therefore, also operative in Romanian, as well as English (where one cannot get more than one cleft at a time).

b.	Inelul, Anghel, Mioarei,	la nuntă	i
	ring-the Anghel Mioara.DAT	at wedding	CL.3SG.DAT
	l-a	dat.	
	CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG	given	

'Anghel gave Mioara the ring at the wedding.'

All of the preverbal XPs are topicalized in (32). The word order sequence in (32a) is indirect object - subject - direct object - locative, but a reordering among the topicalized elements is also possible, as can be seen in (32b). Notice then that topic iteration does not observe any of the word order constraints discussed in chapter 4 for multiple wh-movement sequences. In other words, topicalized XPs can occur in any order in the preverbal field. [19]

Given that topicalized XPs are not constrained by ordering, alongside the fact that they differ in pragmatic interpretation from their non-topicalized counterparts, we suggest that topics do not involve feature driven movement. Therefore, we do not entertain the possibility of a Topic Phrase (along the lines of Rizzi 1995/97, Cornilescu 2000) since we assume featureless-driven movement does not engender the creation of additional functional projections. Lack of a Topic Phrase suggests one of two possible analyses: (i) either topicalized elements are base-generated as adjuncts in the Romanian left-periphery (cf. Motapanyane 1994a, 1995), or (ii) topicalized elements involve movement from an IP-internal base-generated position to an IP-external position (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990b, 1994a). We favour analysis (ii) and argue that, in Romanian, topicalization involves scrambling to an IP-adjoined position.

Culicover (1996) proposes that, in English, topicalization involves A-bar movement for two reasons. First, it permits reconstruction, which is a test for A-bar movement. The topicalized NPs in (33a-b) contain an anaphor, which needs to be bound by LF. [20] Since the sentences are

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[19] There are interpretation differences depending on topic word order, but the basic meaning does not change. Essentially, the leftmost topic is understood as having maximum relevance, presumably because it has highest scope.

[20] Recall that anaphors are bound in their local domains (see chapter 1, section 1.2).

grammatical, it follows that the anaphor 'herself' is felicitously bound by 'Mary', hence the topicalized NPs are interpreted in their base-generated position at LF (i.e., they reconstruct). [21]

(33) a. Pictures of herself, Mary would never buy t.
b. Herself, Mary would never endanger t.
(Culicover 1996:452)

The second reason Culicover (1996) assumes that topicalization involves A-bar movement stems from the fact that it is not clause-bound (see 34). Given that English requires overt arguments, 'this book' in (34a) and 'herself' in (34b) have to be interpreted as arguments of the embedded verb in the absence of any other such candidates. Therefore, they cannot be assumed to have been base-generated adjoined to the matrix IP.

(34) a. This book, I think you should read.
b. Herself, Mary says she would never endanger.
(Culicover 1996:452)

Applying similar tests to Romanian topicalized elements, we derive identical results. In (35a-b), *pe sine* 'himself' is an anaphor that needs to be bound in its governing category. The grammaticality of these sentences indicate that, at LF, the topicalized anaphor is interpreted in its base-generated position where it is felicitously bound by *Victor*. In other words, the left-dislocated constituent in (35a) has a copy (or trace) which is properly bound. Moreover, the topicalized anaphor in (35b) is not clause-bound, so we cannot assume it was base-generated in its surface position.

[21] See section 5.5.1. for a reinterpretation of 'reconstruction' under the copy theory of movement, following Chomsky (1995, 1998).

(35) a. Pe sine$_i$, Victor nu s$_i$-ar pune în pericol t$_i$.
PE self$_i$ Victor not REFL-AUX.COND.3SG place in danger t$_i$
Himself, Victor would not endanger.

b. Pe sine$_i$, Victor spune că nu s$_i$-ar pune
PE self$_i$ Victor says.3SG that not REFL-AUX.COND.3SG place
în pericol t$_i$.
in danger t$_i$
Himself, Victor says he would not endanger.

We consider the examples in (35) to suffice as arguments for a movement analysis insofar as Romanian topics are concerned. Topicalization in Romanian does not involve a base-generated left dislocation analysis (as assumed by Cinque 1990 for Romance in general). As first noticed by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a), there are two types of left-peripheric structures in Romanian, one which is base-generated (ELD) and one which is derived by movement (CLLD) (see discussion in section 5.2.1). In contrast to the structures in (35), which are derived by movement, base-generated left-peripheric constituents, comprising of *cît despre NP* 'as for NP' phrases, engender ungrammatical results when they contain an anaphor. Consider the example in (36).

(36) *Cît despre sine$_i$, Victor nu s$_i$-ar pune în pericol.
as of self$_i$ Victor not REFL-AUX.COND.3SG place in danger
'* As for himself, Victor would not endanger.

The ill-formedness of (36) follows from the assumption that the constituent containing the anaphor is base-generated adjoined to the matrix IP. Consequently, the anaphor contained in *cît despre sine* 'as for himself' is left unbound (since there is no trace or copy within IP) and the sentence is ungrammatical.

An argument against topic movement is provided by Motapanyane (1994a, 1995). The author shows there is systematic contrast between wh-movement and dislocation to topic, to

which we fully adhere (at least, insofar as non-D-linked wh-phrases are concerned). Topics do not license parasitic gaps, while wh-phrases do; consider the examples in (37) taken from Motapanyane (1994a:29).

(37)	a.	[Ce scrisori$_i$	ai	trimis t$_i$	[fără	să verifici e$_i$?]]
		what letters	AUX.2SG	sent	without	SUBJ check
		'What letters did you send without checking?'				
	b.	*Scrisorile$_i$	le-ai	trimis t$_i$	[fără	să
		letters-the	CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.2SG	sent	without	SUBJ
		verifici e$_i$?]]				
		check				
		'* You sent the letters without checking.'				

Based on distinctions such as (37), Motapanyane concludes that topics do not involve movement, but are base-generated. We propose that the fact that topicalized elements cannot co-occur with parasitic gaps does not tell us whether topics are moved or base-generated in the left-periphery of the clause. It only tells us that the parasitic gap is not licensed. Given that parasitic gaps are licensed by a variable, this suggests that there is no variable to license them in structures involving topics. There are two possible explanations: (i) topics do not involve movement, so there is no trace left behind (perspective adopted by Motapanyane 1994a, following Cinque 1990), or (ii) topics *do* involve movement, but the trace left behind *does not act as a variable*. We propose it is (ii) that holds for Romanian, and not (i).

Romanian has other examples of traces left behind by A-bar movement which fail to act as variables: D-linked focused and wh-phrases also fail to license parasitic gaps. Consider the examples in (38a) and (38b), which involve a D-linked wh-phrase and focused constituent, respectively.

(38) a. *Pe care scrisori$_i$ **le$_i$**-ai trimis t_i [fără să
which letters$_i$ CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.2SG sent t_i without SUBJ
verifici e_i ?]
check e_i
'Which letters did you send without checking?'

b. *SCRISORILE$_i$ **le**-ai trimis t_i [fără să
letters-the$_i$ CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.2SG sent t_i without SUBJ
verifici e_i ?]
check e_i
'It's the letters that you sent without checking.'

Given that the same scope effects obtain as with their non-D-linked counterparts, we rule out a 'non-movement' analysis for the preverbal wh-phrase and focus operators in (38). Since both (38a) and (38b) are ill-formed, we assume this is due to the fact that the parasitic gap fails to be licensed. Our claim is that movement is involved, but the trace (or copy) left behind does not count as a variable. Notice that in (37b), as well as (38a-b), a clitic/resumptive pronoun (in bold) is obligatorily present. [22] In chapter 4, we proposed these clitics act as binders of the traces left behind by the fronted elements. We follow Safir (1999) who suggests that when a copy is a copy of a pronoun, it should behave like a pronoun. If the trace (or copy) of fronted topics, D-linked wh-phrases, and focused constituents is not bound by the moved NP, but by the clitics, it will be a copy of a pronoun (rather than of an operator). So the trace/copy left behind by operators which form chains with resumptive pronouns (i.e., all of the D-linked ones) *is not a variable, but a pronoun.* [23] In section 5.4.4 we return to this issue and propose a distinction between operator movement which leaves behind a variable and operator movement whose trace is a pronoun.

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[22] In Romanian, indirect and direct object NP topics require the presence of a coindexed resumptive pronoun (i.e., a syntactic clitic).

[23] Alternatively, we could adopt Müller's (1995) analysis. This author argues that "a trace is a variable if and only if its local chain antecedent occupies an A-bar position" Müller (1995:210).

To sum up, we have suggested that topicalization involves A-bar movement in Romanian and that the trace/copy left behind acts as a pronoun rather than a variable. Moreover, since ordering is absent among topics, we proposed scrambling and adjunction to XP, rather than targetting of a Topic Phrase. Since topics are always below C° (see chapter 4), scrambling will be to IP (in a manner similar to English). Furthermore, since topics do not require special licensing conditions (i.e., verb-adjacency), we do not take topic movement to be feature-driven. In effect, movement to topic represents one of Chomsky's (1995) stylistic operations not captured by the theory of features.

5.3.3.2 Topichood and sentence-initial operators

In this section we distinguish between D-linked and non-D-linked quantifiers and further discuss the interaction among preverbal operators. We show that D-linked quantifiers behave similarly to topics in terms of positioning in the preverbal field, while D-linked wh-phrases and focused elements obey the same word ordering constraints as their non-D-linked counterparts.

As illustrated in section 5.3.2, topicalized elements can co-occur in the left periphery with wh-phrases, contrastive focus, and quantifiers in Romanian, the only requirement being that topics occupy a position above the latter operators. Consider the examples in (39):

(39)	a.	(* Cui)	Anghel	(* cui)	inelul	(* cui)	
		who.DAT	Anghel	who.DAT	ring-the	who.DAT	
	la nuntă	**cui**		i	l-a		dat?
	at wedding	who.DAT		CL.3SG.DAT	CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG		given

'Whom did Anghel give the ring at the wedding?'

Under these assumptions, only traces bound directly by their copies in A-bar positions count as variables, while traces bound by a coindexed clitic would not be variables.

b. (* SOȚIEI) Anghel (* SOȚIEI) inelul SOȚIEI
wife.DAT Anghel wife.DAT ring-the wife.DAT
i l-a dat.
CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC.M- AUX.3SG given
'It is to his wife that Mircea gave the ring.'

c. (* Nimănui) Anghel (* nimănui) la nuntă nimănui
nobody.DAT Anghel nobody.DAT at wedding nobody.DAT
n-a dat inelul.
not-AUX.3SG given ring-the
'Anghel didn't give anybody the ring at the wedding.'

In all of the examples in (39), topics are licit provided they precede the verb-adjacent wh-phrase, focused constituent, or bare quantifier.

Let us next discuss the behaviour of D-linked quantifiers. While it is beyond our purpose to investigate Romanian quantifiers in any detail, some relevant remarks are necessary. So far, we have seen that bare quantifiers target the sentence-initial operator position adjacent to the verbal complex, on a par with wh-phrases and contrastively focused elements. In chapter 4 (section 4.7.4), we showed that the verb-adjacent operator position is only open to quantifiers which identify without exclusion, namely which are non-unique. However, it is well known that the large variety of quantifiers extant across languages have different properties, which affect scope and interpretation. A significant such property is D(iscourse)-linking. As previously mentioned, Pesetsky (1987) introduces the terms 'D-linked' versus 'non-D-linked' in relationship to wh-phrases. Wh-phrases for which a particular set is presupposed by both speaker (S) and hearer (H) are D-linked (e.g., *which*-phrases), while wh-phrases for which no set is shared are non-D-linked (e.g., *what*-phrases). Essentially, with D-linked constituents the choice of felicitous answers is narrowed down to a presupposed set.

D-linking should not be equated with topichood or definiteness. In Romanian, the syntactic effects of D-linked phrases are similar to definite phrases (e.g., D-linked phrases require

clitic doubling in the relevant contexts), but are not identical. If D-linking presupposes a set that is known or inferable to S and H, then all contrastively focused elements are D-linked. However, not all focused constituents require clitic doubling in Romanian. Conversely, some quantifiers require clitic doubling, but are never D-linked (e.g. distributive *oricine* 'anyone', see example 40). [24] We will, therefore, maintain a distinction between the terms D-linked and topicality, as well as limit our use of definiteness to NPs marked as such.

In Romanian, focused constituents and wh-phrases always require verb-adjacency, in effect, a special licensing condition, irrespective of their semantic interpretation. With quantifiers, on the other hand, the verb-adjacent position is semantically restricted to non-unique, therefore non-D-linked interpretations (i.e., to quantifiers that identify without exclusion). In Romanian, bare quantifiers are all non-D-linked, even under a distributive reading. For example, the universal quantifier *oricine* 'anyone', inherently underspecified for distributivity, requires verb-adjacency in the preverbal field, even if interpreted distributively; this is illustrated in (40).

(40)	Pe oricine$_i$	-l$_i$	(* mama	lui$_i$)	iubeşte	mama	lui$_i$.
	PE anywho	CL.3SG.ACC.M	(* mother-the	his)	loves	mother-the	his

'* His$_i$ mother loves anyone$_i$.'

(note that this sentence is ungrammatical in English)

The direct object *pe oricine* 'anyone' in (40) is interpreted distributively (hence the resumptive clitic), as follows: 'for any *x*, it is true that *x*'s mother loves *x*'. *x*, however, is infinite and does not belong to any set. A D-linked reading is therefore excluded and so is unique

[24] Where a constituent marked for distributivity requires that the property denoted by the predicate holds of each individual. Clitic doubling seems to be related to distributivity, which is dependent on individuality.

identification. Therefore, *oricine* 'anyone' identifies without exclusion on a par with other bare quantifiers, being licit in the verb-adjacent operator position. [25]

Universal quantifiers that are inherently D-linked (in the sense of Pesetsky 1987) behave in a manner similar to topics in terms of word order and operator co-occurrence. Consider the examples in (41) which illustrate the topic-like behaviour of the universal D-linked quantifier *fiecare* 'each'.

(41) a. (Pe fiecare elev), cu ocazia olimpiadelor, (pe fiecare
PE each student with occasion-the contests-the.DAT (PE each
elev) l-a felicitat profesorul.
student) CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG. congratulated teacher-the
'The teacher congratulated each student on the contests.'

b. (* Pe cine) Fiecare copil pe cine-şi alege?
PE who each child PE who-REFL choose
'Whom does each child choose?'

c. (* ceva) Pentru fiecare elev ceva vei găsi
something for each student something FUT.2SG find
de comentat.
of commenting
'You will find something to point out for each student.'

d. (* Pe MAMA) Fiecare copil pe MAMA o iubeşte.
PE mother-the each child PE mama-the CL.3SG.ACC.F. loves.3SG
'It is his mother that each child loves.'

---

[25] Some existential quantifiers, such as *cineva* 'someone' may contextually acquire a unique interpretation, in which case they are excluded from the preverbal position (see chapter 4, section 4.7.4).

e. (Pentru fiecare elev), fiecare profesor (pentru fiecare elev)

for each student		each teacher		for each student
a	pus	o	vorbă	bună.
AUX.3SG	put	a	saying	good

'Each teacher put in a good word for each student.'

The examples in (41) point toward a topic treatment of D-linked quantifiers in Romanian. In (41a), the quantifier co-occurs with another topicalized element, having the option to precede or follow it. In (41b-d), the quantifier can co-occur with a wh-phrase, a bare quantifier, and a contrastively focused element, respectively, provided it precedes all of the latter elements. In (41e), two D-linked quantifiers co-occur and no ordering is imposed. In sum, with D-linked quantifiers, iteration, as well as co-occurrence with topicalized elements and operators is possible, and no verb-adjacency is required. We therefore conclude that D-linked quantifiers in Romanian are topics, and occupy a position that is distinct from that occupied by fronted bare quantifiers, as well as wh-phrases and contrastively focused elements. In fact, these conclusions are not unexpected. *Fiecare* 'each' constituents are inherently D-linked, distributive quantifiers. Semantically speaking, they uniquely identify each member of a known set to have the property denoted by the predicate. Therefore, they are specific and cannot be associated with a syntactic slot (i.e., Spec,IP) which hosts non-unique elements. We suggest it is the combination of distributivity (individuality) and D-linking that qualifies these quantifiers for topichood. From a syntactic point of view, D-linked indefinites have been argued to saturate their quantificational features within the XP they occur in. In other words, they do not project their quantificational features to the respective XP and do not bind variables outside of XP. [26]

Notice that noun phrases containing a universal quantifier which disallows a D-linked reading, but is nevertheless inherently distributive, such as, *fiece* 'every' in Romanian, pattern

[26] For a broader discussion see Erteschik-Shir (1997), Pesetsky (1987), and, for D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian see Dobrovie-Sorin (1990b, 1994a).

together with bare quantifiers and cannot be interpreted as topics. This follows under the assumption that topics are semantically restricted by a presupposition constraint, which for quantifiers is manifested as an 'inferable set' constraint (i.e., D-linking). Consider a comparison between *fiecare* 'each' and *fiece* 'every' in (42i) and (42ii) below.

(42) (i) inherently distributive universal quantifiers with wh-elements:

a. Fiecare copil pe cine şi-alege?
each child PE whom REFL-chooses
'Whom does each child choose?'

b. • Fiece copil pe cine şi-alege?
every child PE whom REFL-chooses
'? Whom does every child choose?'

(ii) inherently distributive universal quantifiers with contrastive focus:

a. Fiecare părinte$_i$ [pe copilul SĂU$_i$] îl iubeşte.
each parent PE child-the his CL.3SG.ACC.M loves
'Each parent loves his own child.'

b. * Fiece parinte$_i$ [pe copilul SAU$_i$] îl iubeşte.
every parent PE child-the his CL.3SG.ACC.M loves
'Every parent loves his own child.'

A D-linked quantifier such as *fiecare* 'each' is licit in constructions involving both wh-phrases, as in (42ia), as well as contrastively focused elements, as in (42iia). As argued above, this quantifier can function as a topic and, therefore, does not interfere with operators such as [wh] or focus. (42ib) and (42iib), on the other hand, are ungrammatical. The universal quantifier *fiece* 'every' behaves on a par with bare quantifiers, acting like an operator that interferes with any other operator in the Romanian preverbal field. In contrast to *fiecare* 'each', *fiece* 'every' constituents distribute over a potentially infinite set, therefore requiring variable binding outside their own XP. Consequently, this quantifier cannot function as a topic and competes with focus,

yielding ungrammatical results upon co-occurrence. It is non-unique and requires the same licensing conditions as bare quantifiers. [27]

Given that a distinction needs to be made between D-linked quantifiers (topics) and bare quantifiers (operators) in Romanian, the question arises as to whether a similar distinction is found for wh-phrases and contrastively focused constituents.

In Pesetsky (1987), it is argued that D-linked wh-phrases are not quantifiers in English (while non-D-linked ones are). Consequently, D-linked wh-phrases are not assumed to move at LF and no Superiority effects arise. Consider the English examples in (43).

(43) a. Who read what?
b. *What did who read?
c. Which boy read which of the books?
d. Which of the books did which boy read?

With indefinite wh-phrases, the raising of the subject wh-phrase is preferred over the raising of the object wh-phrase, as can be seen in (43a-b). With D-linked wh-phrases, on the other hand, no such ordering is imposed, (43c-d) being equally grammatical.

In Romanian, however, D-linked wh-phrases obey the same word ordering constraints as their non-D-linked counterparts. The examples in (44) show that (Anti)-Superiority effects (as described in chapter 4) are also present with D-linked wh-elements in Romanian.

(44) a. Care băiat$_i$ pe care dintre cărți$_j$ le-a luat t_i t_j ?
which boy$_i$ PE which of books$_j$ CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG taken t_i t_j
'Which boy took which of the books?'

[27] Beghelli and Stowell (1997) propose an analysis in which quantifiers are bound by different operators, such as distributive, generic, negation, existential, depending on specification. In this analysis, Quantifier Raising is seen as feature-driven movement (contra Chomsky 1995, 1998) up to the required scope position (see also Kennedy 1997). Quantifiers that are [+ distributive], [+ universal], such as the 'each' type, must be bound by a definite operator and must raise and check features in the Specifier of DistributivePhrase. Though extremely appealing, such an analysis is beyond the scope of our present discussion.

b. * Pe care dintre cărți$_j$ care băiat$_i$ le-a luat t_i t_j ?
PE which of books$_j$ which boy$_i$ CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG taken t_i t_j
'Which of the books did which boy take?'

Furthermore, the examples in (45) show D-linked wh-phrases to behave on a par with their indefinite counterparts, in that they require verb-adjacency and cannot co-occur with contrastively focused elements or bare quantifiers, as in (45a), or indefinite wh-phrases (46b). Movement of wh-phrases uniformly targets the same preverbal position in Romanian, which position was argued in chapter 4 to be Spec,IP, an operator position in Romanian.

(45) a. * Pe care băiat {VICTOR / cineva / nimeni nu }
PE which boy Victor someone nobody not
l-a văzut?
CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG seen
'Which boy did {VICTOR / somebody / nobody} see?'

b. * Pe care dintre cărți cine a citit-o?
PE which of books who AUX.3SG read-CL.3SG.ACC.F
'Which of the books did who read?'

Insofar as contrastively focused elements are concerned, both the verb-adjacency requirement and lack of co-occurrence with wh-phrases and bare quantifiers are observed irrespective of the semantic (i.e., indefinite versus definite) nature of the contrastively focused NP. Consider the examples in (46).

(46) a. (Ieri) CĂRȚI (* ieri / * cineva / * cine)
(yesterday) books (yesterday/ somebody/ who
a cumpărat (cineva/ ieri/ * cine),
AUX.3SG bought (somebody/ yesterday/ who)
nu dosare.
not binders
'It was books that somebody bought (yesterday), not binders.'

b. (Ieri) CĂRȚILE (* ieri / * cineva / * cine)
yesterday books-the yesterday/ somebody/ who
le-a cumpărat (cineva/ ieri/ * cine),
CL.3PL.ACC-AUX.3SG bought (somebody/ yesterday/ who)
nu dosarele.
not binders-the
'It was the books that somebody bought (yesterday), not the binders.'

The indefinite focused element in (46a) and the definite focused element in (46b) behave identically in terms of obligatory verb-adjacency and interaction with topical material or other sentence-initial operators.

5.3.4 In sum

To conclude, focused constituents and wh-phrases target the same verb-adjacent slot, irrespective of their semantic type. Quantifiers, on the other hand, are either context sensitive (as discussed in chapter 4), or sensitive to their inherent specifications (i.e., dependent on the type of scope relations they can entertain). For example, we have shown D-linked quantifiers to behave like topics, being capable of preceding fronted focused constituents or wh-phrases. Non-D-linked quantifiers, on the other hand, behave like other operators which require verb-adjacency. Their interpretation is non-unique and they need to bind variables within the IP over which they scope.

The table in (47) sums up the properties of the sentence-initial elements under discussion. Contrastively focused phrases pattern alongside non-D-linked quantifers (e.g., bare quantifiers) and wh-phrases, and in a manner distinct from topics and D-linked quantifiers.

(47)

	V-adjacency	Complementary distribution with other operators	Unordered co-occurrence
wh-phrases	+	+	-
Focus	+	+	-
Non-D-linked quantifiers	+	+	-
Topics	-	-	+
D-linked quantifiers	-	-	+

5.4 Evidence for A-bar movement

The verb-adjacency and interaction properties summed up in table (47) point toward a uniform treatment of sentence-initial operators in Romanian. Intuitively speaking then, these operators are expected to show parallel properties under a movement analysis. In this section, we discuss shared A-bar properties between focus- and wh-movement, as well as further parallels between contrastive focus and bare quantifiers.

5.4.1 Contrastive focus-movement and wh-movement

It has been argued (cf. Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1990) that there are two ways in which a gap can be related to its antecedent. Non-NPs are 'identified' through antecedent government, which is a local relation, while NPs are 'identified' by binding, a non-local relation. Non-NPs (i.e., adjuncts) cannot be identified by binding, since binding requires that the antecedent and the bound constituent have the same index. Cinque (1990) has argued that since only NPs can have referential indices, only NPs can be identified via binding. The difference in manner of gap identification has obvious consequences on the length of movement. While long movements of NPs can in principle produce well-formed chains, only local movements are allowed for non-NPs. To theorize this, Cinque (1990) argues the two types of 'identification' are subject to different types of barriers, which produce two types of islands (i.e., strong and weak islands). Strong islands affect both NPs and non-NPs, while weak islands exclusively affect non-NPs.

There is evidence in Romanian that focus movement is subject to the same weak and strong island constraints as movement of wh-phrases. Let us first consider strong island constraints, which include extraction out of a clause dominated by a noun phrase (CNPC) and extraction out of an adjunct clause, a consequence of conditions on extraction domains (CED).

In (48) through (51), NP and non-NP preverbal focused elements are shown to be subject to both CNPC and CED, in a manner parallel to moved NP and non-NP wh-phrases. Let us first consider extraction out of a clause dominated by a noun phrase (see 48-49).

A. STRONG ISLANDS:

(i) CNPC (extraction out of a clause dominated by a noun phrase):

(48) NPs:

a. Am intîlnit un elev [care a scris
AUX.1SG met a student [which AUX.3SG written
o scrisoare foarte îngrijit].
a letter very carefully]
'I met a student who worded a letter with great care.'

b. * Ce ai întîlnit un elev [care a scris
what AUX.2SG met a student [which AUX.3SG written
t foarte ingrijit]?
t very carefully]
'* What did you meet a student who had worded very carefully?'

c. Am întîlnit un elev [care a scris
AUX.1SG met a student [which AUX.3SG written
o SCRISOARE foarte îngrijit].
a letter very carefully]
'*I met a student that a LETTER had written very carefully (as opposed to something else)'

d. * O SCRISOARE am întîlnit un elev [care
a letter AUX.1SG met a student [which
a scris t foarte ingrijit]?
AUX.3SG written t very carefully]
'I met a student that a LETTER had written very carefully (as opposed to something else)'

(49) non-NPs:

a. Am citit o scrisoare [care era scrisă foarte îngrijit].
AUX.1SG read a letter [which was written very carefully]
'I read a letter that was written very carefully.'

b. *Cît de îngrijit ai citit o scrisoare
how of carefully AUX.2SG read a letter
[care era scrisă t]? [28]
[which was written t]
'* How carefully did you read a letter that was written?'

[28] In this sentence Romanian *îngrijit* 'carefully' refers exclusively to the manner of writing and cannot be understood to refer to the manner of reading.

c.	Am	citit	o scrisoare	[care	(CU GRIJĂ)	era
	AUX.1SG	read	a letter	[which	(with care)	was
	(CU GRIJĂ)	scrisă	CU GRIJĂ]. [29]			
	(with care)	written	(with care)]			

'I read a letter that had been written WITH CARE (, not sloppily).

d.	* CU GRIJĂ	am	citit	o scrisoare	[care	era	scrisă t]
	with care	AUX.1SG	read	a letter	[which	was	written t]

'I read a letter that had been written WITH CARE (, not sloppily).

Given that the wh-phrases have been extracted out of a relative clause, which represents a strong island for movement, the examples in (48b) and (49b) are ungrammatical. We assume (48d) and (49d) to be ungrammatical for the same reason. Specifically, moved focus behaves in a parallel manner to moved wh-phrases in terms of strong islands. Notice, however, that focused material which does not move out of the strong island (cf. 48c and 49c) does not display any island effects. This follows once we assume strong islands to be inoperative at LF, that is, to be relevant only for overt A-bar movement operations.

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[29] Notice that *care* 'which', while a wh-word, does not interfere with focus movement in the embedded clause. *Care* 'which', however, is not an interrogative but a relative operator. Consequently, it need not behave on a par with interrogative wh-phrases and, indeed in Romanian, it does not (see also Rizzi 1995/97 for a similar discussion of the Italian data). Relative operators in Romanian may allow for intervening topics (this being a function of the specificity or lack thereof of the head noun they modify) and do not require verb-adjacency. This is illustrated in (i) below, in which the topics 'Mihai' and the negative indefinite 'niciodată'/never interfere between the relative operator and the verbal complex..

(i)	Fata	[pe care	Mihai	niciodată	n-o			va	
	girl-the	[PE which	Mihai	never	not-CL.3SG.ACC.F			FUT.3SG	
	lua	de	nevastă]	s-a	decis	să	plece	în	SUA.
	take	of	wife]	SE-AUX.3SG	decided	SUBJ	leave	in	USA

'The girl that Mihai will never marry decided to leave for the USA.'

We assume relative wh-word to be related to the CP domain since they can precede topics and are in complementary distribution with the complementizer *că* 'that'. Consequently, they target a position that is distinct from that targetted by focus and wh-phrases, a welcome conclusion according to Massam (p.c.), since relative clauses are nominalizations and wh-interrogatives scope over propositions and have nothing to do with relativization.

The same observations hold for wh-phrase and focus-extraction out of adjunct clauses. a result on Conditions of Extraction Domains (CED), illustrated in (50-51) below.

A. STRONG ISLANDS:

(ii) CED (extraction out of an adjunct clause):

(50) non-NPs:

a. Am citit [după ce am scris tema
AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written homework-the
foarte îngrijit].
very carefully]
'I read after having done my homework very carefully.'

b. * Cît de îngrijit ai citit [după ce ai
how of carefully AUX.2SG read [after AUX.2SG
scris tema t]?
written himework-the t]
'* How carefully did you read after having done your homework?'

c. Am citit [după ce am scris tema
AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written homework-the
CU GRIJĂ].
with care]
'I read after it was WITH CARE that I did my homework.'

d. * CU GRIJĂ am citit [după ce am scris
with care AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written
tema t]
homework-the t]
'*It was WITH CARE that I read after having done my homework.'

(51) NPs:

a. Am citit [după ce am scris tema
AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written homework-the
foarte îngrijit].
very carefully]
'I read after having done my homework very carefully.'

b. * Ce am citit [după ce am scris t
what AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written t
foarte îngrijit]?
very carefully]
'*What did I read after having done very carefully?'

c. Am citit [dupa ce am scris
AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written
TEMA foarte îngrijit]?
homework-the very carefully].
'I read after I did my HOMEWORK very carefully (, not something else).'

d. * TEMA am citit [după ce am
homework-the AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG
scris-o t foarte îngrijit]
written-CL.3SG.ACC.F t very carefully]
'I read after I did my HOMEWORK very carefully (, not something else).'

Let us now turn our attention to weak islands. Weak islands involve embedded wh-clauses, factive islands, extraposition, and inner islands (to be discussed in the next section). [30] According to Cinque (1990), weak islands are inoperative for NPs, a point we illustrate for Romanian with the example in (52), where the contrastively focused NP is seen to raise out of the embedded factive clause.

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[30] According to Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970), transitive verbs can be divided into factive (e.g., *(dis)like, resent, regret*, etc.) and non-factive (e.g., *say, tell*, etc.), depending on how they affect the truth value of their embedded CP argument. Factive verbs retain the truth value of their

(52) SCRISOAREA regret [că am scris-o t
letter-the regret.1SG [that AUX.1SG written-CL.3SG.ACC.F t
foarte neîngrijit, (nu plicul)].
very sloppily, (not envelope-the)]
'It is the LETTER that I regret having written very sloppily (not the envelope).'

Given that weak islands are only operative with non-NPs (adjuncts), we do not discuss NPs any further. With non-NP wh-phrases and contrastive focus (which are subject exclusively to local movements), however, we expect to see weak island effects. In (53)-(54), we illustrate with examples from factive islands and embedded interrogatives.

(53) a. Regret [că am scris scrisoarea
regret.1SG [that AUX.1SG written letter-the
FOARTE NEÎNGRIJIT].
very sloppily]
'I regret having written the letter VERY SLOPPILY (, not very carefully).'

b. * FOARTE NEÎNGRIJIT regret [că am scris
very sloppily regret.1SG [that AUX.1SG written
scrisoarea t]
letter-the t]
'I regret having written the letter VERY SLOPPILY (, not very carefully).'

c. * Cît de neîngrijit regreți [că ai scris
how of sloppily regret.2SG [that AUX.2SG written
scrisoarea t]?
letter-the t]
'* How sloppily do you regret that you wrote the letter?'

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argument CP, while non-factive verbs can cancel the truth value of the embedded proposition (see also Progovac 1988, among others).

(53a) illustrates a factive island which is seen to allow in-situ contrastive focus. (53b) and (53c) are instances of factive islands out of which an adjunct - a focused and a wh-phrase, respectively - is extracted. Both (53b) and (53c) are equally ungrammatical, which points to the parallel behaviour of both wh-phrases and focused constituents in terms of movement. Similar results obtain with other weak barriers, such as embedded interrogatives illustrated in (54).

(54) a.

Te	întrebai	[ce	citesc	FOARTE	REPEDE
REFL	asked.2SG	[what	read.1SG	very	quickly
(,nu	foarte atent)].				
not	very carefully				

'You were asking yourself what I was reading VERY QUICKLY, (and not very carefully).'

b.

*FOARTE	REPEDE	te	întrebai	[ce	citesc	t]
very	quickly	REFL	asked.2SG	[what	read.1SG	t]

'You were asking yourself what I was reading VERY QUICKLY, (and not very carefully).'

c.

* Cum	te	întrebai	[ce	citesc	t]?
How	REFL	asked.2SG	[what	read.1SG	t]

'* How were you asking yourself what I'm reading?'

In (54a), the focused adverbial is in situ and the sentence is grammatical. In (54b), the focused adverbial moves into a preverbal position, across a weak barrier and ungrammaticality results. The same ungrammaticality is obtained with the extracted wh-adjunct in (54c).

To sum up, we can conclude that evidence from both strong and weak barriers points towards adopting an A-bar movement analysis of preverbal wh-phrases and contrastively focused elements. Furthermore, in situ focus does not display any island effects, while moved focused constituents display both weak and strong island effects. This is desirable, in view of the clear connection between the semantics of focus and that of questions.

5.4.2 Affective operators

Klima (1964) first noticed that interrogatives, existential quantifiers, negative words, conditionals, and degree words in English share a common grammatico-syntactic feature, which he referred to as 'affective'. Syntactically speaking, these 'affective constituents/operators' (e.g., *nobody, if, too*) can only occur in negative, interrogative, conditional, and degree structures, but never in declaratives (see 55). Given that they must fall within the scope of an affective constituent, the expressions restricted as such are also referred to as 'polarity experssions'. Consider (55a-e), in which we illustrate this structural requirement for the existential quantifier 'any'.

(55) a. Nobody will say anything.
b. I doubt whether anyone will say anything.
c. If anyone should ask for me, say I've gone to lunch.
d. He was too lazy to do anything.
e. * He has found anything interesting.
(Radford 1997:111)

According to Rizzi (1990), affective operators produce inner island effects. According to Ross (1983), inner islands are weak islands created by phrases in A-bar positions which block extraction of other phrases to A-bar positions within the same clause. Since inner islands are a subpart of weak islands, they will only affect non-NP movement (i.e., movement of adjuncts). Consider the English examples in (56).

(56) a. How strongly does Jamie hate everyone / * no one?
b. How strongly does everyone / * no one dislike Jamie?
c. With how much difficulty did Jamie read everything / * nothing?
d. With how much difficulty did everyone / * no one read that book?

The examples in (56) all show that negative indefinites, such as the bare weak quantifiers 'no one' and 'nothing', induce inner island effects with moved wh-adjuncts. Rizzi argues that inner island effects follow from the fact that, at LF, affective operators raise to A-bar positions creating chains that interfere with the operator-variable chains formed by the moved wh-adjunct. On the other hand, strong (i.e., D-linked) quantifiers, such as 'everyone' and 'everything', are not seen to induce these effects. This seems puzzling since under the rule of Quantifier Raising (cf. May 1995), whereby that all quantifiers raise and take scope at LF, one wouldn't expect the dichotomy in (56). A possible solution would be to explain the puzzle along the lines of Kiss' (1992) Specificity Filter, which we reproduce in (57).

(57) SPECIFICITY FILTER (Kiss 1992, in Szabolcsi and Zwarts 1997:229):
If Op_i is an operator which has scope over Op_j and binds a variable in the scope of Op_j, then Op_i must be specific.

D-linked quantifiers are specific operators and under (57) are be allowed to bind the variable of weak (i.e., non-D-linked) operators over which they scope. Consequently, they will not interfere with raising of any semantically weaker operator, such as the wh-adjuncts of (56). Weak quantifiers, such as the negative polarity items in (56), are not D-linked and will yield ungrammatical results whenever they bind the variable of another operator (alongside their own). Another possible explanation resumes our discussion of Romanian topics (section 5.3.3.1), in which we argued that the gap left behind in topic movement is pronominal in nature. Therefore, it could be assumed that topical material (whether quantificational or not) leaves behind a pronominal gap, rather than a variable. [31] Under such an analysis, no chain interference is predicted between the chain formed by weak operators and that formed by strong operators, since the chains are of a distinct nature.

[31] This view is also consistent with the assumption that D-linked quantifiers (topics) need not bind variables outside their XP (see discussion in section 5.3.3.2).

Whatever theoretical approach we adopt in explaining the dichotomy between the (non)-emergence of islands effects depending on quantifier-type, what is crucial to our discussion is that non-D-linked/bare quantifiers induce inner islands, while D-linked quantifiers do not. The question is whether focused elements, which otherwise behave on a par with bare quantifiers in Romanian, also induce inner island effects, as described in (56). Consider the examples in (58).

(58) a. Cît de uşor a citit Victor cartea?
how of easy AUX.3SG read Victor book-the
'How easily did Victor read the book?'

b. Cît de uşor a citit fiecare elev cartea?
how of easy AUX.3SG read each student book-the
'How easily did each student read the book?'

c. * Cît de uşor n-a citit nimeni cartea?
how of easy not-AUX.3SG read nobody book-the
'* How easily didn't anyone read the book'

d. * Cît de uşor a citit cineva cartea?
how of easy AUX.3SG read someone book-the
' ? How easily did someone read the book?'

e. * Cît de uşor a citit MIHAI (, nu Ion) cartea?
how of easy AUX.3SG read Mihai (,not Ion) book-the
'? How easily did MIHAI (,not Ion) read the book?'

We notice that both (58a-b) are grammatical, while (58c-e) are not. In (58a), the topic *Victor* does not interfere with movement of the adverbial wh-phrase and neither does the strong (topical) quantifier *fiecare elev* 'each student' in (58b). On the other hand, the negative indefinite in (58c), the affirmative indefinite in (58d), and the contrastively focused element in (58e) all induce inner

island effects. This then suggests that focused phrases in Romanian undergo LF movement to an A-bar/operator position, on a par with other bare quantifiers, leaving behind a variable and behaving similarly to affective constituents in the language.

That the semantics of the quantifier is crucial is further supported by the ambiguity versus non-ambiguity of the following examples.

(59) a. De ce a picat toată lumea?
of why AUX.3SG failed all people-the
'Why did everyone fail?'
i. They all failed because they hadn't studied.
ii. Jane failed because she hadn't studied and John failed because he didn't attend the exam.'

b. De ce n-a picat nimeni?
of why not-AUX.3SG failed nobody
'Why did nobody fail?'
i. Nobody failed because the exam was easy.'
ii. * Jane didn't fail because she had studied, and John didn't fail because he was lucky.'

(59a) allows for two types of answers: an answer as in (i), in which *toată lumea* 'everybody' is interpreted as collective, and an answer as in (ii), in which the quantifier is interpreted as topical (i.e., D-linked and distributive), licensing a 'pair-list' reading, to borrow a term from Beghelli (1997). Consequently, (59a) is ambiguous. (59b), on the other hand, is unambiguous, since the bare quantifier *nimeni* 'nobody' can only allow for a collective, lower construal reading. In other words, *nimeni* 'nobody' is inherently non-unique, non-distributive and non-D-linked. In effect, the semantics of the quantifier is crucial both to the interpretation of the sentence, and to the position the quantifier can occupy within the clause.

In sum, in this section we have shown that in Romanian contrastively focused elements induce similar island effects to those triggered by bare quantifiers (i.e., non-topical). Bare

quantifiers behave differently form their strong counterparts and pattern together with the focus operator with regards to weak island effects.

So far, we have seen that focus-movement obeys island constraints in a parallel manner to bare quantifiers and wh-phrases. Moreover this seems to be a universal constraint, at least to a certain degree. Rooth (1996:284) suggests that "there is a connection between the semantics of focus and the semantics of questions. [...]", and that, consequently we should not be satisfied "with a theory that treats focus as *sui generis*." Focus is seen as an operator belonging to a larger "family of operators which uses restricted variables to name families of propositions, open propositions, and/or their existential closures." Our discussion so far fully supports the view proposed in Rooth (1996). As yet, there is no evidence for postulating a distinct Focus head, which projects a Focus Phrase in the Romanian syntactic tree. The [+ focus] formal feature is presumably licensed in a manner similar to the [+ wh] formal feature, which incorporates onto the highest verbal nonsubstantive head.

5.4.3 Weak crossover

The last shared A-bar property we are going to discuss concerning contrastive focus in Romanian is weak crossover. Recall from our discussions in chapters 3 and 4 that weak crossover effects arise whenever a pronoun is coindexed with a variable to its right. Chomsky (1976) first observed that, like wh-movement, focus triggers weak crossover effects, whether it has moved or is in situ. Consider the examples in (60) which illustrate weak crossover effects for both the in-situ focus in (60a) and the focus in the clefted construction in (60b). [32]

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[32] Kayne (1994) assumes English clefts involve overt movement to the Specifier of 'that', as in (i).

(60) a. * His$_i$ mother loves JOHN$_i$.

b. * [It is John$_i$] that his$_i$ mother loves.

c. His$_i$ mother loves John$_i$.

The ill-formedness of (60a-b) contrasts with the grammatical utterance in (60c), in which 'John' is not contrastively focused. The contrasts in (60a) and (60c) have been explained, starting with Chomsky (1976), as a result of LF raising of the focused element, thereby creating an operator-variable chain, as in (61), in which the possessive pronoun is coindexed with a variable to its right.

(61) LF: JOHN$_i$, his$_i$ mother loves t$_i$.

Contrastively focused elements in Romanian also induce weak crossover effects, whether moved or in situ (for exceptions see discussion in the next section). Consider the examples in (62).

(62) a. * Cui$_i$ a dat mama lui$_i$ bomboane t$_i$?
whom.DAT$_i$ AUX.3SG given mother-the his$_i$ sweets t$_i$
'* To whom$_i$ did his$_i$ mother give sweets?'

b. * Mama lui$_i$ a dat bomboane COPILULUI$_i$.
mother-the his$_i$ AUX.3SG given sweets child-the.DAT$_i$
'* It is to the child$_i$ that his$_i$ mother gave sweets.'

c. * Mama lui$_i$ COPILULUI$_i$ a dat bomboane t$_i$.
mother-the his$_i$ child-the.DAT$_i$ AUX.3SG given sweets t$_i$
'* It is to the child$_i$ that his$_i$ mother gave sweets.'

d. Mama lui$_i$ a dat bomboane copilului$_i$.
mother-the his$_i$ AUX.3SG given sweets child-the.DAT$_i$
'His$_i$ mother gave the child$_i$ sweets.'

(i) [$_{CP}$ It is a bike$_i$ [$_C$ (that) [$_{IP}$ Victor wants t$_i$]]

(62a) is ungrammatical since the trace left behind by the raised wh-phrase is a variable which is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, thus triggering WCO. The same result obtains in both (62b-c), which indicates that the focused phrases *COPILULUI* 'to-the-child', undergoes A-bar movement, leaving behind a variable. (62d), however, is grammatical, since the indirect object is left unfocused and, consequently, does not raise at LF, does not create an operator-variable chain and does not induce a weak crossover violation.

5.4.4 Is focus quantificational in Romanian?

In the preceding section, we saw that focused phrases in Romanian trigger weak crossover whether they have undergone overt movement or whether they are in situ. This property is also shared by indefinite wh-phrases in Romanian. However, recall from our discussion in chapter 4 that D-linked wh-phrases fail to trigger weak crossover effects. For an illustration see (63).

(63) **Pe care băiat**$_i$ nu-l$_i$ iubeşte mama lui$_i$ t_i ?
PE which boy$_i$ not-CL.3SG.ACC$_i$ loves.3SG.PRES mother-the his$_i$ t_i
'Which of the boys does his mother not love?'

Lasnik and Stowell (1991) argue that weak crossover (WCO) is a distinctive characteristic of A-bar relations involving genuine quantification. For example, in English, wh-raising involves quantification. Consider the English pair in (64).

(64) a. What$_i$ did you say t_i?
b. * Who$_i$ does his$_i$ mother really love t_i?

(64a) is perfectly grammatical in view of the fact that the variable left behind by the raised wh-phrase is properly bound and is not coindexed to any pronoun. (64b), on the other hand, is

ungrammatical since the trace of the wh-phrase, namely a variable, is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, triggering a WCO effect. The grammaticality of (63) thus implies D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian do not involve genuine quantification. [33]

The question we address here is whether contrastively focused elements in Romanian always form quantificational chains, thus behaving in a manner similar to operator focus cross-linguistically (cf. Chomsky 1967, Kiss 1995, 1998, Rizzi 1995/97, among others), or whether the type of chain formed in movement is sensitive to the inherent semantic properties of the focused constituent, in a manner similar to Romanian wh-phrases. In view of pervasive similarities between wh-phrases and focus in Romanian, we predict that focused elements will behave in a manner consistent with Romanian wh-phrases, reflecting language-particular idiosyncrasies, rather than teaming with operator focus in other languages. We will show this prediction to be borne out, a further indication that focus in Romanian is semantically and syntactically similar to wh-phrases.

As stated in the introductory sections, operator focus has been argued to involve quantification. In Spanish and Italian, for example, resumptive pronouns are disallowed with preverbal focus (i.e., contrastive focus that has raised for scope-taking), since they would induce a weak crossover effect. Consider the examples in (65). [34]

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[33] For a detailed analysis, see Dobrovie-Sorin (1990b, 1994a). The author argues that discourse-linked wh-elements of the *care* 'which' type are 'restricted quantifiers', in the sense that the domain of quantification is limited to the NP to which the wh-element belongs. Therefore, wh-phrases in Romanian differ with respect to their inherent properties in that, when moving to a scope position, some of them form operator-variable chains, while others form chains with clitic pronouns.

[34] Recall that these two languages require resumptive pronouns with topicalized material (see section 5.4.2). We repeat example (7) in (i) below, in which the clitic is bolded.

(i) Il tuo libro, **lo** ho letto.
'Your book, I have read it.'
(Italian, Rizzi 1995/97:5)

(65) a. IL TUO LIBRO (* lo) ho letto (, non il suo)
'Your book I read (, not his)
(Italian, Rizzi 1995/97:8)

b. Las ESPINACAS (* la) detesta Pedro (y no las papas).
'Pedro hates spinach, not potatoes.'
(Spanish, Zubizarreta 1998:190)

Recall that in Romanian both definite and indefinite preverbal contrastively focused elements undergo A-bar movement. To further illustrate this, consider the examples in (66).

(66) a. * Arhitecții ORAŞELE$_i$ [nu ştiau [cum să
architects-the cities-the$_i$ [not knew.3PL [how SUBJ
le$_i$ proiecteze t_i] (nu casele).
CL.3PL.ACC design t_i] (not house-the)
'It was the cities that the architects had trouble designing (not the houses).'

b. * Victor CĂRȚI$_i$ [nu ştia [cum să-şi cumpere t_i].
Victor books$_i$ [not knew.3SG [how SUBJ-REFL buy t_i]
'It was books Victor had trouble buying.'

The examples in (66) are both ungrammatical, irrespective of whether the fronted focused element is definite, as in (66a), or indefinite, as in (66b). The ill-formedness follows as a result of a Subjacency violation, which is a constraint applying on movement to an A-bar position. [35]

In Romanian, contrastively focused definite object NPs require coindexation with a resumptive pronoun (i.e., a syntactic clitic) whenever overt movement occurs. This contrasts with the situation in Spanish and Italian, but is not unheard of cross-linguistically. [36] Consider (67a-b).

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[35] Subjacency effects arise whenever an A-bar moved constituent crosses more than two bounding nodes (i.e., IP or NP), since the dependency between the initial position and the landing site is broken.

[36] Déchaine (1998) argues that argument-focus (i.e., contrastive focus) in Yoruba leaves a gap or a resumptive pronoun.

(67) a. CĂRȚI$_i$ (*le$_i$)-a cumpărat Victor t$_i$ (,nu dosare).
books$_i$ CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.3SG bought Victor t$_i$ (,not binders)
'It is books that Victor bought (not binders).'

b. CĂRȚILE$_i$ *(le$_i$)-a cumpărat Victor t$_i$
books-the$_i$ CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.3SG bought Victor t$_i$
(,nu dosarele).
(,not binders-the)
'It is the books that Victor bought (rather than the binders).'

In (67a), a resumptive pronoun is ungrammatical, since the focused element is not definite. (67b), on the other hand, would be ungrammatical without the coindexed resumptive pronoun. In effect, contrastively focused elements on a definite reading do not observe weak crossover. Consequently, according to Lasnik and Stowell (1991), definite focus does not seem to involve genuine quantification in Romanian. [37]

Another frequently used test for determining whether A-bar movement is of a quantificational nature, is the parasitic gap test. In (68), we use the parasitic gap test on contrastively focused elements in Romanian.

(68) a. DRAGOSTE$_i$ am avut t$_i$ fără să dau e$_i$.
love AUX.1SG had t$_i$ without SUBJ. give e$_i$
'It's LOVE that I had without giving.'

b. * DRAGOSTEA$_i$ am avut-o$_i$ t$_i$
love-the AUX.1SG had- CL.3SG.ACC.F t$_i$
fără să dau e$_i$.
without SUBJ. give e$_i$
'* It's the LOVE that I had without giving.'

[37] These properties of fronting to focus in Romanian have been independently argued for in Motapanyane (1998a, in press).

The parasitic gap in the embedded clauses in (68a-b) is coindexed with the focus operator through interpretive rules, and not via movement. However, the parasitic gap is only licensed in (68a), with an indefinite focus. In this case then, focus-movement leaves behind a variable which is indispensable in licensing the parasitic gap. (68b), with definite focus movement, is ungrammatical, which points to the fact that the trace left behind in definite focus-movement cannot license parasitic gaps. The results with definite focus are similar to the ones found in topic movement (section 5.3.3.1). Following Safir (1999), we suggested that the trace/copy left behind by operators which form chains with resumptive pronouns are not variables, but pronouns. The same analysis applies to contrastive focus.

To distinguish between the two types of chains involved in focus-movement, and with Romanian scope-taking elements more generally, we introduce a proposal made by Rizzi (1995/97). Following Lasnik and Saito (1991), Rizzi (1995/97) assumes WCO to be a distinctive characteristic of A-bar relations involving genuine quantification. In order to distinguish between focus and topic movement in Italian, the author splits A-bar dependencies into those involving a quantifier which binds a variable and those that involve non-quantificational A-bar binding. The latter case is argued to involve binding of a null constant by an anaphoric operator. This distinction is rooted in the English dichotomy exemplified in (69).

(69) a. ?? This is the boy$_i$ [which$_i$ his$_i$ mother really loves t$_i$].
b. John$_i$, who$_i$ his$_i$ mother really loves t$_i$, is in big trouble.

In the restrictive relative clause in (69a), weak crossover is observed, pointing to the fact that the trace left behind by the wh-phrase is a variable. In the appositive relative clause in (69b), there is no weak crossover effect and, consequently, the trace cannot be analysed as a variable. Rather, the trace is assumed to be a null constant licensed by an anaphoric operator (cf. Rizzi 1995/97). The anaphoric operator is an element inherently characterized as an operator but different from

quantificational operators in that it does not assign a range to its bindee, but seeks for an antecedent to which it connects its bindee. In (69b), the antecedent is 'John'. Turning to Italian, Rizzi (1995/97) shows that focus is quantificational, while topic is not.

Under this analysis, fronted indefinite focused phrases and wh-elements in Romanian create (quantificational) operator-variable chains, while fronted definite focused and wh-phrases create (anaphoric) operator-null constant chains, in which the resumptive pronoun/clitic acts as the anaphoric operator.

The same remarks obtain for fronted bare quantifiers in Romanian. An inherently non-distributive bare quantifier, such as *nimeni* 'nobody', will never allow for a resumptive pronoun and, consequently, will form a quantificational chain, as illustrated in (70a). A bare operator, such as *oricine* 'anyone', which in Romanian allows for a distributive reading and, consequently requires the insertion of a resumptive pronoun, will form an anaphoric chain; see (70b).

(70) a. * Pe nimeni$_i$ nu (*-l$_i$) iubeşte mama lui$_i$.
PE nobody not CL.3SG.ACC.M loves mother-the his
'* His$_i$ mother loves nobody$_i$.'

b. Pe oricine$_i$ -l$_i$ iubeşte mama lui$_i$.
PE anywho CL.3SG.ACC.M loves mother-the his
'* His$_i$ mother loves anyone$_i$.'
(note that this sentence is ungrammatical in English)

To sum up, evidence from both parasitic gaps and weak cossover in Romanian point toward an analysis of definite focused elements as non-quantificational operators, on a par with definite wh-phrases. This is a desirable conclusion in view of the semantic and syntactic similarities between the two types of operators.

5.4.5 Summing up

In the sections throughout 5.3 - 5.4, we focused on the interaction among the elements present in the Romanian preverbal field. We saw that bare quantifiers, wh-phrases and focused phrases behave alike in terms of A-bar movement properties. We showed that co-occurrence among these operators is illicit in the preverbal field, a constraint directly following from the verb-adjacency requirement, which is a specific licensing condition on these operators. These requirements were seen to be distinct from those involved in topicalization or D-linked quantifier movement, which do not require verb-adjacency or special ordering. We therefore conclude that verb-adjacent constituents target Spec,IP, while topics (including D-linked quantifiers) scramble and adjoin to IP.

We further discussed the types of chains involved in operator movement and concluded that a distinction needs to be made between quantificational chains, which prohibit clitic doubling, and anaphoric chains, which require clitic doubling. Specifically, A-bar movement into the left-periphery will involve quantificational chains when the moved element lacks a coindexed clitic (i.e., with non-D-linked or non-distributive constituents), and anaphoric chains when the moved element requires a coindexed clitic (ie., is D-linked or distributive). Under this analysis, topics (including D-linked quantifiers) form anaphoric chains in Romanian, given that they require clitic doubling. Our findings are summed up in table (71).

(71)

	V-adjacency	Complementary distribution with other operators	A-bar mvt. to Spec,IP	A-bar mvt. as scrambling to IP	Presence of clitic doubling
indefinite wh-phrase (e.g. *cine* 'who')	+	+	+	-	-
D-linked wh-phrases (e.g. *care* 'which')	+	+	+	-	+
indefinite Focus (e.g. *DRAGOSTE* 'love')	+	+	+	-	-
definite Focus (e.g. *DRAGOSTEA* 'the love')	+	+	+	-	+
non-D-linked (indefinite) non-distributive quantifier (e.g., BQ: *nimeni* 'nobody', *cineva* 'someone')	+	+	+	-	-
non-D-linked (indefinite) distributive quantifier (e.g., *oricine* 'anyone', *fiece* 'every')	+	+	+	-	+
Topic (e.g. *dragostea* 'the love')	-	-	-	+	+
D-linked distributive quantifier (e.g., *fiecare* 'each')	-	-	-	+	+

The properties summed up in table (71) point toward a uniform analysis of verb-adjacent operators in terms of licensing conditions. We suggest that the major distinction involved in preverbal operators in Romanian can be related to the presence versus absence of feature-driven movement. Topic movement is not feature-driven, while verb-adjacent operator movement is.

5.5 Analysis

In section 5.3.2. we suggested (following Kayne 1998) that the adjacency requirement manifested by bare quantifiers, wh-phrases, and focused constituents is indicative of a specifier-head relationship between these raised operators and the functional head sharing their formal feature. Given that the verb only raises to I° in Romanian, we argued in chapter 4 that the [+ wh] feature incorporates onto I°, making Spec,IP the host for raised wh-phrases.[38] We also proposed that Spec,IP serves as an operator position for raised bare quantifiers and concluded that Spec,IP is a polarity oriented category in Romanian which hosts both quantificational and anaphoric chains.

The verb-adjacency requirement, together with the overt complementarity of distribution with wh-phrases and bare quantifiers, suggests that contrastively focused phrases occupy Spec,IP in the preverbal field. In the presence of contrastive elements, we propose that the formal feature [+ focus] incorporates onto I° (see also Motapanyane 1998a), while a [+ focus] feature is also present on the constituent denoting contrast. Given that there is evidence for movement from weak crossover effects, irrespective of whether the focused constituent is preverbal or in-situ (see section 5.4.3), we further suggest that the [+ focus] feature is a selectional/strong feature, requiring checking in a strict locality configuration (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration). We defer until the next section the question as to whether the selectional [+ focus] feature is present on the focused constituent, on I°, or on both. For the time being, it suffices to say that the lexical item bearing the [+ focus] feature will undergo second merge in Spec,IP. In a similar vein to the analysis proposed for wh-movement in chapter 4, we suggest the [+ focus] formal feature incorporates on the highest verbal functional head present in the derivation (i.e., T°, Neg°, M°).[39]

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[38] Recall that Spec,IP in Romanian is not obliged to host Nominative subjects (see chapter 2).

[39] Such a 'parasitic' affiliation of the [+ focus] feature on diverse non-substantive categories, including Negation and Tense is also proposed by Horvath (1995) for Hungarian.

We illustrate this analysis in examples (72) – (74). Consider (72), which represents a derivation with two topicalized constituents and a focused phrase.

(72) a.. TOPIC* – FOCUS - ...

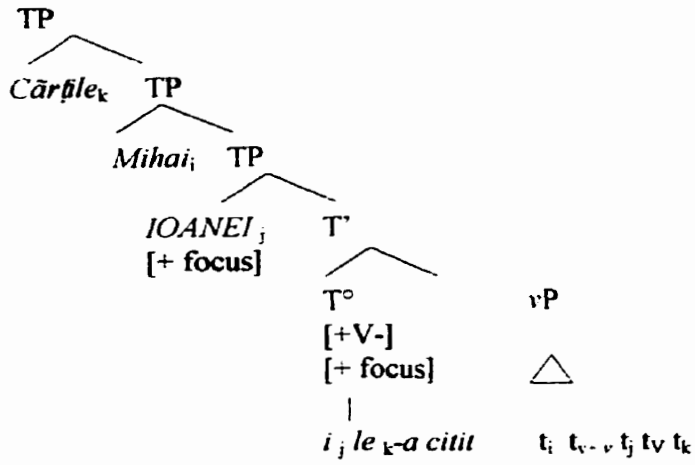
Cărțile$_k$	Mihai$_i$	IOANEI$_j$	i$_j$	le$_k$-a
books-the$_k$	Mihai$_i$	Ioana.DAT$_j$	CL.3SG.DAT$_i$	CL.3SG.ACC.M$_k$-AUX.3SG

citit [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ t$_{v+v}$ t$_j$ tv t$_k$].

read [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ t$_{v+v}$ t$_j$ tv t$_k$].

'It's to Ioana that Mihai read the books.'

b.



In (73), we assume the [+ focus] feature incorporates onto Neg°:

(73) a.

TEZA$_i$	n-am	citit-o	[$_{vP}$ t$_i$ t$_{v+v}$ tv]
dissertation-the$_i$	not-AUX.1SG	read-CL.3SG.ACC.F	[$_{vP}$ t$_i$ t$_{v+v}$ tv]

(,nu articolul).

not article-the

'It's the dissertation that I haven't read (,not the article).'

b. NegP

TEZA $_i$ [+ focus] — Neg'

Neg° [+ focus] — TP

n- — T° [+V-] — *vP*

am citit-o — t_i t_{v-v} t_V

(74) is an illustration of a subjunctive embedded clause with focus: the [+ focus] feature incorporates onto M°:

(74) a. Vreau [CP (ca) VICTOR$_i$ să plece
want.1SG [CP (that.SUBJ) VICTOR$_i$ SUBJ leave

[$_{vP}$ t_i t_{v-v} t_V la Toronto]].[40]

[$_{vP}$ t_i t_{v-v} t_V at Toronto]].

It's Victor that I want to leave for Toronto.'

b. (CP

C'

C° —) MP

ca — *VICTOR* $_i$ [+ focus] — M'

M° [+ focus] — TP

să — T° [+V-] — *vP*

plece — t_i t_{v-v} t_V *la Toronto*

[40] While the vowel in the indicative complementizer is a stressed schwa, the vowel in the subjunctive complementizer is an open rounded back vowel. Moreover, note that *ca* is compulsory in subjunctives whenever topics or quantifiers precede *să*, but is optional in the presence of contrastively focused constituents.

With respect to quantifier movement, we follow Chomsky (1995, 1998) who assumes quantifier raising (QR) is not feature driven. [41] Chomsky (1998:21) argues that QR operations do not interact with the computational system, being probably among the principles of interpretation of LF, hence "post-cyclic". Nevertheless, we want to maintain a uniform analysis for all verb-adjacent operators and propose that this empirical requirement is indicative of a special licensing condition. Technically speaking, this licensing condition reflects a formal feature driving movement. Cornilescu (1997) has suggested preverbal bare quantifiers are focused and in Spec,FocP. Consequently, we could argue they are marked [+ focus] and undergo feature-driven movement to Spec,IP, whenever verb-adjacent. This approach, however, is not devoid of problems. We have argued that contrastive focus is constrained by a uniqueness condition, yet bare quantifiers can undergo multiple-movement to Spec,IP, as in (75).

(75)	$[_{IP}$ **Nimeni**$_i$	**niciodată**	**cu nimic**$_j$	nu	te	va
	$[_{IP}$ nobody$_i$	never	with nothing$_j$	not	CL.2SG.ACC	AUX.FUT.3SG
	deranja $[_{vP}$ t_i t_v $t_j]]$.					
	bother $[_{vP}$ t_i t_v $t_j]]$.					
	'Nobody will ever be bothering you with anything.'					

We suggest that multiple quantifier movement, as in (75), is possible due to the fact that the formal feature behind quantifier verb-adjacent movement is a subtype of the [+ focus] FF, namely [+ emphasis] FF. We follow Zubizarreta (1998:120) who argues that preverbal bare indefinites in Spanish are emphatic elements. The author distinguishes between emphasis and focus as follows: pure emphatics negate or reassert part of the hearer's presupposition, "but do *not* introduce a variable with *an associated value*." (Zubizarreta 1998:120). Contrastively focused constituents, on the other hand, introduce a variable, *as well as* its associated value. Such an analysis for

[41] For a different view, see Beghelli and Stowell (1997) and Szabolcsi (1997).

verb-adjacent quantifiers is consistent with the 'non-uniqueness' condition associated with quantifiers in this position. Since bare quantifiers identify without exclusion, they cannot introduce an associated value. Given the lack of an associated value, the uniqueness constraint required for focus need not hold for emphatics. Since we take [+ emphasis] to be a subtype of [+ focus], we do not offer a separate analysis. [42]

We conclude that Romanian allows for a certain amount of feature syncretism (along the lines of Giorgi and Pianesi 1996, Horvath 1995, Zubizarreta 1998), in that syntactic features such as [+wh], and [+ focus] combine with Inflectional features such as T(ense), M(ood), and Neg(ation), engendering second merge (i.e., dislocation) of a constituent with matching features in the specifier of the respective functional head. Given that under our analysis, the [+ focus] formal feature incorporates on an already present non-substantive head, we do not postulate a distinct Focus Phrase in Romanian. [43]

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[42] Negative indefinites (i.e., *nimeni* 'nobody') are only licensed by a [+ Neg] / I° in Romanian. Consider (i).

(i)	*(N)-a	plecat	nimeni.
	*(NEG.)-AUX.3SG	left	nobody
	Nobody left.		

Given the facts in (i), we assume negative indefinites to be involved in feature checking, independently of the [+ emphasis] FF. We suggest negative indefinites enter the derivation with a [+ Neg] FF which is erased once checking occurs against a compatible functional head (i.e., [+ Neg] / I°). However, we assume that the [+ Neg] FF is a non-selectional feature, checked as a result of feature-matching only (i.e., the operation Agree). Checking of the [+ Neg] FF does not involve constituent movement. Under this analysis all preverbal negatives undergo movement as a result of the [+ emphasis] FF; this is consistent with the empirical facts which show an emphatic interpretation of preverbal indefinites.

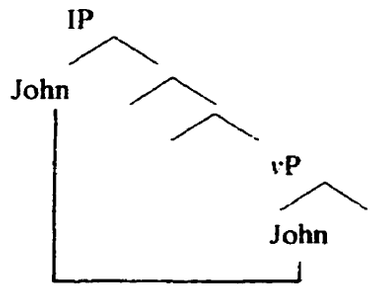
[43] This approach is consistent with general Minimalist requirements, which argue against structure proliferation, as well as Rizzi's (1995/97) 'Avoid Structure Principle' which predicts that the option of expressing features on a single head wins over the option of selecting two heads.

5.5.1 The copy theory of movement

Under the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 1998, inter alia), movement operations are not assumed to involve traces. Rather, a copy theory of movement is introduced, primarily because it can better account for the need to maintain trace visibility in interpretation and computation. In the MP98, a 'chain' is defined as " a sequence of identical αs; more accurately, a sequence of occurrences of a single α." (Chomsky 1998:29). For example, subject movement to Spec,IP in English involves the creation of a non-trivial chain which contains two instances of the subject: the lower copy in Spec,*v*P (the subject's initial merge position), and the upper copy in Spec,IP (the subject's second merge position). For the sentence in (76a), the non-trivial chain formed by subject-movement is represented in (76b).

(76) a. John is reading a book.

b.



An account is, however, needed to explain which of the two copies contained in the chain is to be pronounced. Richards (1999) argues that whether we pronounce the head or the tail of a chain (i.e., the upper or the lower α) is a direct consequence of feature strength. In other words, if a formal feature is strong, PF is given instructions to choose the higher of the two copies, if a formal feature is weak, PF will pronounce the lower copy. Note, however, that feature-strength is the exclusive property of functional heads.

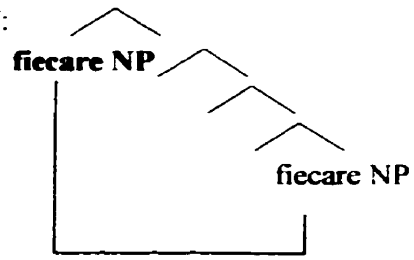
By extrapolation, we assume that a lexical item (LI) will be relevant in its head or its tail position at LF, depending on interpretive requirements (see also Culicover 1999, Fox 1999). For

example, if reconstruction effects are observed, it will be the tail (the lower copy) that is interpreted, and if there are no reconstruction effects, it will be the head (the upper copy) that is interpreted. D-linked quantifiers as subjects, such as *fiecare* 'each' in Romanian do not show reconstruction effects and are always interpreted as having wide scope (cf. Cornilescu 2000). Consider the interpretation of the quantified subject in (77), where we use '>' to indicate scope.

(77)	a.	Va	scrie	fiecare	student	o lucrare.		(VSO:
		FUT.3SG	write	each	student	a paper		S > O; *O > S)
	b.	Fiecare student	va		scrie	o lucrare.		(SVO:
		each student	FUT.3SG		write	a paper		S > O; *O > S)
	c.	Va	scrie	o lucrare	fiecare	student.		(VOS:
		FUT.3SG	write	a paper	each	student		S > O; *O > S)

'Each student will write a paper.'

d. LF:



Irrespective of whether the quantifier c-commands the object from an in-situ (77a) or higher position (77b), or is c-commanded by the object (77c), *fiecare student* 'each student' can only be interpreted as scoping over the object *o lucrare* 'a paper'. Specifically, it can only allow for a distributive reading (in which the number of students is paired to that of papers), and never for a collective reading. Consequently, at LF, the subject quantifier will always raise for scope. Assuming a copy theory of movement, for the purposes of LF, it will be the head (the upper copy that is relevant). LF relevancy of *fiecare* 'each' in (77a-c) is illustrated in (77d); the upper copy (in bold) is the one interpreted at LF, irrespective of which copy is pronounced at PF.

Focused constituents, on a par with other indefinites, 'reconstruct' at LF. This is illustrated by the difference in grammaticality between (78a) and (78b).

(78) a. [Pe copilul SĂU$_i$] îl iubeşte orice părinte$_i$ t_i
PE child-the his$_i$ CL.3SG.ACC.M loves any parent$_i$ t_i
'It is his own child that any parent loves.'

b. *[Copilul SĂU$_i$] îl iubeşte t_i pe orice părinte$_i$.
child-the his$_i$ CL.3SG.ACC.M loves t_i PE any parent
'* It is his own children that loves any parent.'

The difference between (78a) and (78b) is that in (78a), the trace of the focused phrase is c-commanded by its appropriate binder, whereas in (78b), *SĂU* 'his' is left unbound, since the trace is not c-commanded by the quantifier NP. Given the grammaticality of (78a), the focused constituent is assumed to 'reconstruct' to its base position at LF. [44] As already mentioned, in a

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[44] Consider also the examples in (i), which further support reconstruction of the focused constituent at LF.

(i) a. Inculpatul multă vreme n-a vorbit. (Neg > V;
defendant-the much time not-AUX.3SG spoken * Neg > V + Av)
'For a long time, the defendant did not speak.'

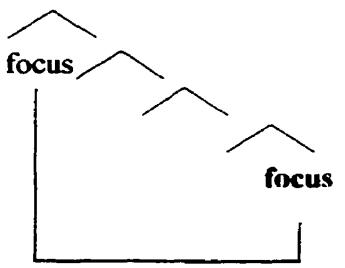
b. Inculpatul n-a vorbit multă vreme. (Neg > V;
defendant-the not-AUX.3SG spoken much time Neg > V + Av)
'For a long while, the defendant did not speak.'
'The defendant did not speak at length.'

c. Inculpatul MULTĂ VREME n-a vorbit. (Neg > V + Av;
defendant-the much time not-AUX.3SG spoken * Neg > V)
'The defendant did not speak at length.'

In (ia), the only interpretation available is the one in which negation scopes only over the verb; this follows as a result of overt quantifier raising to a scope position. (ib), in which the quantifier is in situ, is ambiguous between a reading in which negation scopes over the verb (the result of QR at LF) and a reading in which negation scopes over the verb and adverbial. (ic), in which the adverbial is contrastively focused, the only available interpretation is the one in which negation scopes over both the verb and the adverbial, even though the adverbial has undergone overt movement to a position above negation. This signifies that, at LF, the focused constituent is interpreted in its base position (i.e., it 'reconstructs').

copy theory of movement, we capture reconstruction by saying that it is the lower copy (the tail) that is relevant for the purposes of LF interpretation (again, irrespective of the copy pronounced at PF). This is illustrated in (79), in which the relevant copy is in bold.

(79) LF:



We have shown that for the purposes of LF interpretation, the focused constituent is interpreted in its base position, irrespective of where it surfaces. If at LF, it is the lower copy that is relevant, we claim that at Spell-Out, it is always the upper copy that counts. In other words, [+ focus] feature checking involves the upper copy, again, irrespective of whether focus is pronounced preverbally or in its base.

For clarification, let us turn our attention to the optionality of focus movement in Romanian. Recall that contrastively focused constituents in Romanian can surface preverbally or in their base position. Two crucial facts are, however, noteworthy: focused constituents are always prosodically marked and focused constituents always induce WCO. This is illustrated in (80) and (81), respectively.

(80) a.

MAMA	a	venit	t	acasă	(şi nu tata).
mother-the	AUX.3SG	come	t	home	(and not father-the)

'It is mother that has come home (and not father).'

b.

A	venit	MAMA	acasă	(şi nu tata).
AUX.3SG	come	mother-the	home	(and not father-the)

'It is mother that has come home (and not father).'

(81)	a.	* Mama	lui$_i$	COPILULUI$_i$	a	dat	bomboane	t$_i$.
		mother-the	his$_i$	child-the.DAT$_i$	AUX.3SG	given	sweets	t$_i$
		'* It is to the child$_i$ that his$_i$ mother gave sweets.'						
	b.	* Mama	lui$_i$	a	dat	bomboane	COPILULUI$_i$.	
		mother-the	his$_i$	AUX.3SG	given	sweets	child-the.DAT$_i$	
		'* It is to the child$_i$ that his$_i$ mother gave sweets.'						

Both examples in (81) are ungrammatical. This follows under the assumption that both (81a) and (81b) constitute instances of WCO violations. Specifically, both cases involve a chain with two copies, the lower of which is a variable. Given that the variable is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, ungrammaticality arises, irrespective of whether focus is preverbal (81a) or in its base position (81b).

Examples such as (81a) and (81b) imply that focus movement is always involved in feature-checking. This is a desirable outcome. As discussed in section 5.3.2, optionality related to feature-checking should not, in principle, be possible in a theory driven by economy conditions. According to Chomsky (1995, 1998, et seq.), either features are strong and checking occurs prior to Spell-Out, or features are weak and checking has to wait until LF. Even if it were not for economy considerations, given our analysis, in which all feature-driven movement is overt, the optionality in (80) cannot be captured as an LF outcome. How are we then to capture the fact that both (80a) and (80b) are equally grammatical with contrastive focus on *MAMA* 'the mother'? We propose that, in fact, there is no optionality involved in terms of feature-checking, and that overt focus movement to Spec,IP is always the norm. The 'apparent optionality' with focus movement illustrated in (80a-b) can be felicitously accounted for using the copy theory of movement in conjunction with the particulars of the realization of the [+ focus] feature in Romanian.

5.5.2 Streamlining optionality

In order for feature-checking to apply, both the lexical items and the functional categories involved in the checking relationship must share the same feature. As with all formal features, whenever a [+ wh] FF is present in the derivation, checking will felicitously occur provided this feature is present on both the functional head (in our case, I°) and on (at least) a lexical item (LI), namely a wh-phrase. We have argued that, in Romanian, the [+ wh] FF is selectional. Therefore when the [+ wh] FF is present in the derivation, movement occurs (with second merge in the specifier of the functional head bearing the respective feature), and, consequently, a non-trivial chain containing a head and a tail is formed. [45] In this case, the operation Move (cf. Chomsky 1998) applies to the wh-phrase(s) and checking of the [+ wh] FF occurs. Given that the [+wh] FF is selectional on both the functional head (i.e., I°) and the LI, whenever wh-phrases are present in the derivation they can only be realized immediately adjacent to the verbal complex. In other words, it is always the upper copies that are pronounced (wh-in-situ being unavailable in Romanian). This is consistent with Richards' account, which predicts that selectional features on functional heads will instruct PF to pronounce the upper copy.

When the [+ focus] FF is present in the derivation (incorporated on I°, as with the [+ wh] feature), it too will need an LI with which to establish a checking relationship (otherwise the derivation will crash and the utterance will be ungrammatical). The respective LI must share the [+ focus] feature (i.e., must match) in order for checking to occur. However, we have argued that movement to Spec,IP is also involved, irrespective of whether the focused constituent is pronounced preverbally or in its base position. Consequently, we assume that a non-trivial chain obtains with [+ focus] feature-checking, on a par with [+wh]-checking. Nevertheless, in contrast to wh-movement, when the [+ focus] FF is present in the derivation, we have seen there is a choice in pronouncing the upper or the lower copy in Romanian.

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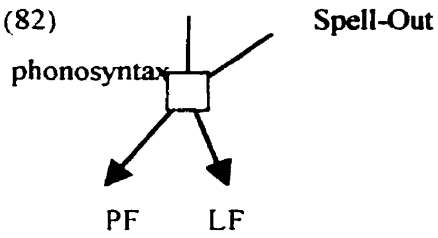
[45] In sentences containing multiple-wh-phrases several such chains are formed.

Recall that according to Richards (1999), whenever a functional feature is strong, pre-Spell-Out movement is involved, a non-trivial chain is formed, and PF is instructed to pronounce the upper copy (i.e., the head of the chain). Given that with wh-movement in Romanian it is always the upper copies that need to be pronounced, while with focus-movement there is a choice, we suggest that while the [+wh] feature on I° is selectional, the *[+ focus] feature on I° is non-selectional.* Since the [+ focus] feature on I° is non-selectional, PF will not be instructed as to which of the two copies to pronounce.

In contrast to wh-phrases, which are inserted with a selectional [+ wh] feature directly from the lexicon, focused phrases are not inserted marked [+ focus] from the lexicon. We assume the [+ focus] feature on lexical items is acquired after lexical insertion, via phonology (hence the prosodic stress requirement which identifies an LI as contrastively focused). In other words, we propose that, while the [+ focus] feature on I° is a formal feature (FF), the [+ focus] feature on the lexical item is a phonological feature (P-feature). [46] The account proposed here views contrastive focus in Romanian as a representational property of phonosyntax, that is, the intersection between syntax and phonology (see also Büring 1997, Déchaine 1998 and references therein). The [+ focus] FF on I° is checked against a lexical item bearing a [+ focus] P-feature in phonosyntax, as in (82).

(82)



[46] The term 'P-feature' is taken from Déchaine (1998). Notice that the [+ focus] feature on I° has to be a grammatical feature (i.e., a FF). If both features were P-features, there would be no impact at LF, since PF does not feed LF.

Given that a non-trivial chain is always formed with contrastive focus, we assume *the [+ focus] feature on the lexical item to be selectional* in nature. As opposed to constructions which involve a non-selectional FF (weak in Richards' terms), in which, even though PF does not receive any instructions, there is a single suitable candidate to be pronounced (since there are no copies), with the [+ focus] FF there are two copies available to PF, but no instruction as to which of the two copies to pronounce. Given that the [+ focus] FF on I° is non-selectional, and does not itself trigger Attraction, the syntactic component will send no instructions to PF as to which of the two copies to be pronounced. Since economy considerations do not apply at PF, for the purposes of PF it will not matter which copy is uttered.

Notice, however, that in derivations with both [+ wh] and [+ focus] features, it will always be the lower copy of the contrastive element that is pronounced. Consider (83).

(83)	Ce$_i$	(*COPILULUI)	a	spus	el	COPILULUI	t$_i$
	what$_i$	(*child-the.DAT)	AUX.3SG	said	he	child-the.DAT	t$_i$

(, nu vecinei)?
(not, friend.DAT)
'What is it that it is to the child that he said (, not to the neighbour)?'

Despite the impossibility of simultaneous pronunciation in the preverbal field, there is evidence that even in the presence of wh-phrases, focus raising still applies. Consider the examples in (84).

(84)	a.	Ce$_i$	a	spus	mama	lui$_j$	copilului$_j$	t$_i$
		what$_i$	AUX.3SG	said	mother	his$_j$	child-the.DAT$_j$	t$_i$

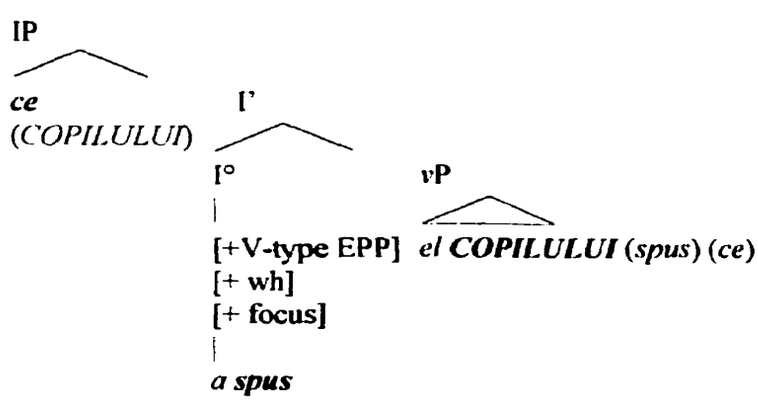
(, nu vecinei)?
(not, friend.DAT)
'What did his$_i$ mother say to the child$_i$ (, not the neighbour)?'

b. * Ce$_i$ a spus mama lui$_j$ COPILULUI$_j$ t$_i$
what$_i$ AUX.3SG said mother his$_j$ child-the.DAT$_j$ t$_i$
(, nu vecinei)?
(not, friend.DAT)
'*What is it that his$_j$ mother said to the child$_j$ (, not the neighbour)?'

(84a) is grammatical, in view of the fact that *copilului* 'to the child', which is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, does not move and implicitly, does not leave behind a variable engendering WCO. On the other hand, (84b) in which the indirect object *COPILULUI* 'to the child' is contrastively focused, is ungrammatical. In this case then, we are witnessing a WCO effect, captured under the assumption that the contrastively focused element undergoes A-bar movement to Spec,IP, forming a chain with two copies, whereby the lower copy is a variable illicitly coindexed with a pronoun to its left.

We assume the representation in (83) to be as in (85), in which the copies that are pronounced are represented in bold, while the silent copies are in brackets. Given that PF has received instructions to pronounce the wh-phrases in Spec,IP, it will be the tail of the contrastive focus that is pronounced in these structures.

(85)



We conclude that in derivations in which the [+ focus] feature is present, the contrastively focused phrase acquires a [+ focus] P-feature which is selectional in nature and which triggers movement of the respective phrase into Spec,IP. Feature-checking will then

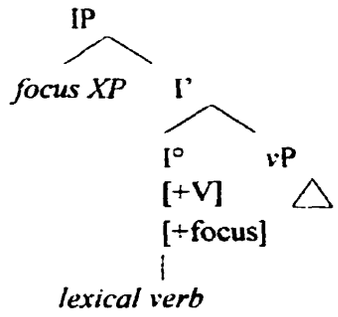
proceed against the I° which can accomodate a non-selectional [+ focus] FF in Romanian. Consequently, a non-trivial chain containing two identical focus elements will be formed. Given that the [+ focus] feature on I° is non-selectional, the syntactic component will fail to send instructions to PF as to which of the two copies should be pronounced. In the absence of any relevant instructions, PF will have a choice in pronouncing either the upper or the lower copy, *unless* it has been instructed by the syntactic component to do otherwise. Specifically, unless the presence of a selectional [+wh] feature on I° has already instructed PF to pronounce Spec,IP as interrogative. The advantage of such an analysis is that optionality no longer involves the feature checking mechanism (in which economy considerations do play a role), but the absence of instructions sent to the PF interface.

5.6 Conclusions

In this chapter we discussed sentence-initial operators in Romanian, with special emphasis on contrastive focus. We argued that topicalized constituents, quantifiers, focused elements, and wh-phrases all involve A-bar movement into the left periphery of the clause. However, based on their properties and interaction, we concluded that sentence-initial operators can be grouped into two major classes based on the presence versus absence of feature-driven movement. In the case of feature-driven movement, preverbal operators (i.e., wh-phrases, focused elements, and bare quantifiers) occupy Spec,IP, an operator position in Romanian, and are sensitive to a verb-adjacency requirement (i.e., require special licensing conditions). In the case of non-feature driven movement, preverbal operators (i.e., topics and D-linked quantifiers) scramble to IP, engendering recursive IPs with topic iteration, and are insensitive to any such adjacency requirement. Furthermore, based on the presence versus absence of resumptive pronouns acting as anaphoric operators, we argued that Spec,IP hosts operators that create either anaphoric or quantificational chains (cf. also Rizzi 1995/97).

We proposed that, in Romanian, the grammatical formal feature [+ focus] incorporates onto I° (or, more precisely, on the highest verbal functional head present in I° in the respective derivation). Since it has a parasitic affiliation on diverse non-substantive verbal categories within I° (i.e., T°, Neg°, M°), FF [+ focus] never projects its own Focus Phrase. In other words, it is limited to being a syntactic feature and never a syntactic head in Romanian, as in (86).

(86)



We claimed the [+ focus] FF on I° to be non-selectional, while the [+ focus] feature on the lexical item is selectional. We further proposed that the [+ focus] feature on LI is a P-feature, acquired as a selectional feature at the intersection between syntax and phonology. Such an approach has the desirable effect of accounting for the presence of obligatory prosodic stress on contrastive phrases in Romanian, usually left unexplained in syntactic accounts of focus. This P-feature requires checking in a strict locality configuration (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration). Given that feature-driven movement is always overt, contrastively focused movement to Spec,IP is never an instance of LF raising. We offered an analysis of contrastively focused phrases in Romanian based on the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995, 1998, Richards 1999). On a par with the [+ wh] FF in Romanian, movement for focus is always overt and it creates a non-trivial chain containing two copies. We accounted for the optional presence of contrastively focused phrases in the preverbal field due to a lack of instructions received by PF as to which of the two copies to pronounce. This approach has the advantage of moving the issue of optionality outside the domain of morpho-syntactic feature-checking.

I went to find the pot of gold
That's waiting where the rainbow ends.
I searched and searched and searched and searched.
And searched, and searched, and then —
There it was, deep in the grass,
Under an old and twisty bough.
It's mine, it's mine, it's mine at last...
What do I search for now?
Shel Silverstein, *The Search*

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.0 Introduction

In this dissertation, we set out to investigate the dynamics of movement in Romanian. More specifically, we tried to define the forces behind dislocation from base-generated positions and explored the syntactic and interpretational effects of reordering. In this chapter, we offer a summary of the dissertation in section 6.1, while in section 6.2, we highlight and discuss some of the main findings of our investigation.

6.1 Summary of dissertation

The aim of **chapter 1** was to introduce the scope of inquiry, offer some insight into the theoretical framework the analysis is grounded in, as well as to touch on the major claims this dissertation puts forth. Our main working assumption was that *feature-checking is exclusively overt, but that it does not always involve movement.* We proposed two types of formal features which show symmetric behaviour irrespective of whether they are hosted by a lexical item or a functional head: (i) non-selectional features, which check in a less local relationship and do not trigger movement; (ii) selectional features, which check in a strict locality relationship, whereby the strict locality relationship involves a specifier-head configuration or head-adjunction configuration, both of which always trigger movement.

Chapter 2 introduced the relevant word order facts of Romanian and set out to investigate the build-up of the Romanian IP and the manner in which noun phrases are licensed in this language. We suggested that the Romanian IP may consist of various combinations of the following maximal phrases: MoodP > NegP > CliticP* > AgrP > TP > AspectP. All of the aforementioned maximal phrases lack specifiers, consisting exclusively of heads which contain base-generated syntactic clitics or formal features. For example, T° does not host syntactic clitics but will always host a selectional formal feature, namely a V-type EPP feature, which triggers lexical verb raising into the Romanian inflectionl domain. We proposed that the clitic composition together with the absence of IP-internal specifiers situates all verbal heads within the inflectional domain in a local relationship with each other, rendering them symmetrically equidistant. This property was argued to have important consequences for movement: on the one hand, lexical verb raising to the inflectional domain need only target the closest I° head, on the other hand, skipping heads within the Romanian IP would not count as a Head Movement Constraint violation.

Romanian NPs were argued to be Case-licensed in their base-generated position. We looked at various predicate types and concluded Romanian lacks empirical evidence to suggest that NPs move for the purposes of Case checking. Our findings are consistent with theoretical assumptions which view Case as incapable of inducing movement (cf. Bittner and Hale 1996, Chomksy 1998, among many others). We suggested structural Case is a non-selectional feature which checks off in initial Merge positions, and as with all feature-checking, Case-checking takes place overtly. Given that structural Case is viewed as a non-selectional feature, structural Case-checking requires feature-matching between an X° and a lexical item, within a given domain. In view of the fact that T° is responsible for Nominative Case, this Case will be checked off against the closest NP c-commanded by T°. In transitive and unergative structures the closest NP is located in the specifier of *v*P; in unaccusative-like structures (i.e., unaccusatives, passives, impersonals), the closest NP is located within the VP. Depending on the build up of the respective

derivation (i.e., whether it contains or lacks a *v*P), we showed that structural Accusative Case may also be assigned. Given that T° is present in all types of predicates, while *v*° is absent in unaccusative-like structures, we concluded that Nominative Case is the default Case in Romanian.

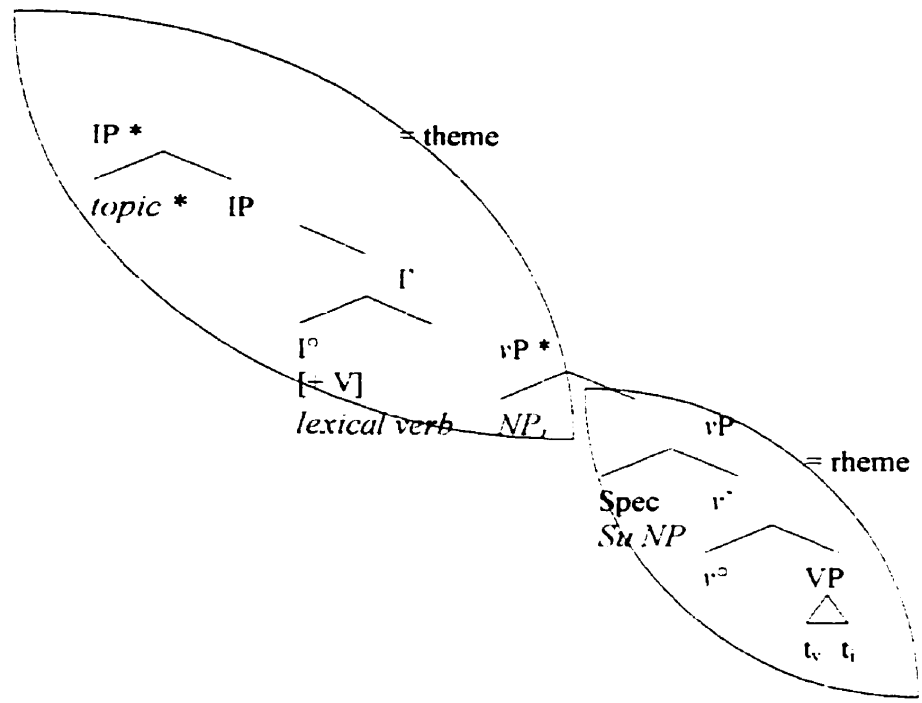
We claimed the selectional formal feature present on I° (i.e., the EPP feature) to be verbal in nature and thus require checking in a head-adjunction configuration, satisfied by lexical verb raising into the inflectional domain. We showed there is no NP movement into the Romanian Spec,IP for EPP or Case-related purposes and concluded that Spec,IP is not the canonical subject position in Romanian. NPs in general were argued to be both Case-marked and theta-marked in situ. Consequently, the unmarked word order in Romanian is VSO and any word order sequence which departs from this option needs to be accounted for.

In **chapter 3**, we set out to explore the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of Romanian VOS constructions, which represent derived structures. We argued that Romanian VOS constructions are the result of object raising across the subject left in-situ. Our analysis was supported by a variety of syntactic evidence, such as the reversal of binding interactions, condition C effects, and stranded quantifiers. Since weak crossover effects are absent, we further claimed that object movement forms an A-chain. We showed that dislocated object NPs in Romanian VOS constructions show significant positional flexibility in terms of their interaction with *v*P-adjoined adverbials and concluded that object raising is best analysed as an instance of A-scrambling to a *v*P-adjoined position.

We further showed that object scrambling to *v*P lacks special licensing conditions (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration), and concluded that this type of movement is not driven by formal features, but that it is pragmatically motivated. If left unaccented, the raised object NP is interpreted as part of the presupposition, being in effect, de-focused. At the same time, whatever material is left in-situ in the predicate acquires maximal focus/rhematic prominence as a result of object raising. VOS constructions in Romanian are legitimate as a result of the fact that this

language can tailor its sentences to encode information structure. Material that is accessible to both speaker and hearer, may raise out of its base-generated position and adjoin to the vP, thus entering the presuppositional domain (i.e., the theme) and escaping a rhematic (i.e., presentational focus) interpretation. In contrast to material which occupies the preverbal field in Romanian, vP-adjoined constituents are under no specificity constraint since they are not in and of themselves interpreted as topics. Both topicalization-scrambling (i.e., adjunction to IP) and evacuation-for-focus-scrambling (i.e., adjunction to vP) can be recursive in Romanian, this being a general property of non-feature-driven movement. We discussed the pragmatic domains available in the Romanian clause, which we represent in (1).

(1)

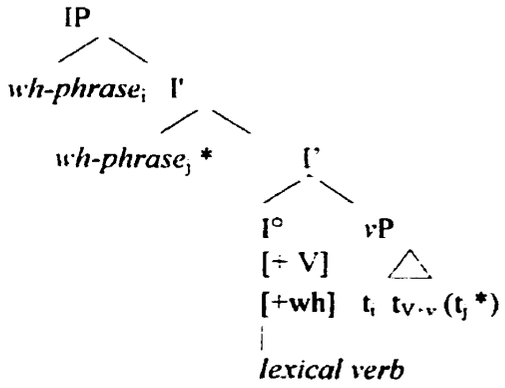


In a language which does not check its EPP feature in a Spec-Head configuration, Spec,IP is theoretically available as a checking domain to other selectional features which might choose to incorporate onto I°. In chapters 4 and 5, we argued that, in Romanian, Spec,IP acts as a host to operators which undergo feature-driven movement into the left periphery of the clause.

Chapter 4 investigated wh-movement constructions in Romanian. We claimed that both language-internal and cross-linguistic evidence pointed toward an analysis in which the [+wh] formal feature incorporates onto I° in Romanian and wh-phrases are hosted by the IP domain. Several diagnostics for distinguishing IP-absorption from CP-absorption languages were discussed and we concluded by proposing that Romanian is an IP-absorption language.

We claimed that the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature is a selectional feature on both the functional head hosting it and on the wh-phrase. The symmetric selectional nature of the [+wh] FF in Romanian was argued to engender multiple wh-movement in constructions with multiple wh-phrases. Given that selectional features can only get checked in a strict locality relationship, all of the Romanian wh-phrases require a Spec-Head configuration with I° (i.e., the functional head hosting the [+wh] FF) in order to be licensed. We further proposed that, from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective, a subject-first approach is the only acceptable one for Romanian multiple wh-constructions. Following economy conditions, the wh-phrase closest to I° (i.e., the one highest in terms of c-command) merges as the Spec.IP. The remaining wh-phrases tuck in under the newly merged specifier, thereby satisfying the wh-phrase licensing conditions. The result is a multiple-tucking-in-specifier structure which engenders a single IP, as in (2).

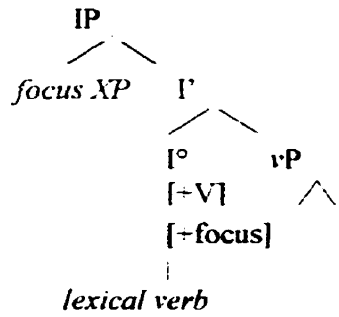
(2)



Chapter 5 addressed issues related to preverbal noun phrase movement. Movement into the preverbal field can result in any of the following word orders in Romanian: OVS, SVO, SOV, OSV. Questions arise concerning the nature of these derived word orders; specifically, whether movement is feature-driven and whether it is in any way semantically or pragmatically constrained. While the chapter discussed several types of preverbal constituents, our discussion centred on movement for contrastive focus in Romanian. We argued that sentence-initial operators, while all involving A-bar movement, can be grouped into two major classes based on the presence versus absence of feature-driven movement. In the case of feature-driven movement, preverbal operators (i.e., wh-phrases, focused elements, including emphatic bare quantifiers) occupy Spec,IP, an operator position in Romanian, and require verb-adjacency (i.e., special licensing conditions, materialized as Spec-Head configurations with I°). In the case of non-feature driven movement (i.e., topicalization-scrambling), preverbal operators (i.e., topics and D-linked quantifiers) scramble to IP, engendering recursive IPs with topic iteration, and do not require adjacency to the verb. Based on the presence versus absence of resumptive pronouns acting as anaphoric operators, we further argued that Spec,IP hosts operators that create either anaphoric or quantificational chains.

We proposed that, in Romanian, the grammatical formal feature [+ focus] incorporates onto I° (or, more precisely, on the highest verbal functional head present in I° in the respective derivation). Since it has a parasitic affiliation on diverse non-substantive verbal categories within I° (i.e., T°, Neg°, M°), FF [+ focus] never projects its own Focus Phrase. In other words, it is limited to being a syntactic feature and never a syntactic head in Romanian, as in (3). We concluded this is consistent with theoretical assumptions which favour a minimized structure (Chomsky 1995, et seq., Rizzi 1995/97).

(3)



We used weak crossover effects to show that, in Romanian, movement for focus to Spec.IP is always involved, irrespective of whether the focused constituent is pronounced preverbally or in its base position. Moreover, given that feature-driven movement is always overt, we argued that contrastively focused movement to Spec.IP is never an LF outcome. We assumed that a non-trivial chain obtains with [+ focus] feature-checking, on a par with [+wh] feature-checking and offered an analysis of contrastively focused phrases in Romanian based on the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995, 1998, Richards 1999). We further accounted for the optional presence of contrastively focused phrases in the Romanian preverbal field as a result of lack of instructions received by PF as to which of the two copies to pronounce. We assumed this lack of instructions follows due to the fact that the [+ focus] FF on I° is non-selectional. In contrast to wh-phrases which are marked with the relevant [+wh] feature from within the lexicon, we argued that the contrastively focused constituent acquires a [+ focus] P(honological)-feature at the intersection between syntax and phonology. This feature is selectional in nature and triggers overt movement of the respective phrase into Spec.IP. Under these suggestions, contrastive focus in Romanian is a representational property of phonosyntax. Given our account, the presence of obligatory prosodic stress on contrastive phrases in Romanian is explained and the issue of optionality is conveniently moved outside the domain of feature-checking (where economy considerations should in principle exclude inconsistencies such as optionality).

6.2 Open ends

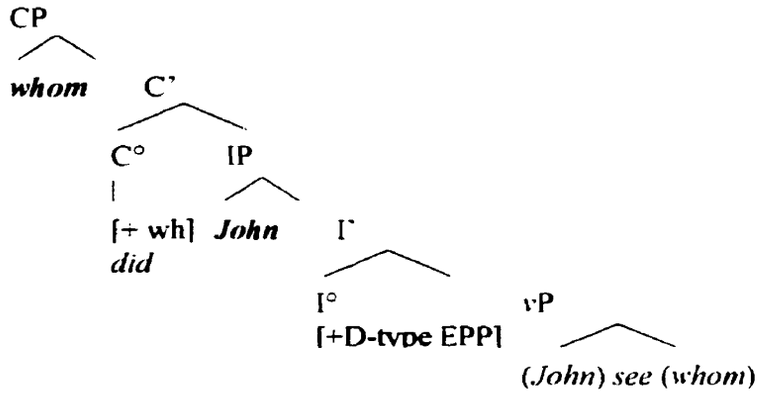
In the course of this dissertation, several interesting results were obtained, some of which raise questions for further study.

Let us first turn to feature checking. A crucial assumption was that all feature-checking is overt, whether movement is or is not involved. Recall that we adopted a feature dichotomy which distinguishes between features that are checked without movement (i.e., non-selectional features) and features that are checked by movement into an appropriate configuration (i.e., selectional features). Given our proposal that the appropriate configuration required by selectional features involves either a Spec-Head *or* a head-adjunction relationship, it is in principle possible to have selectional features checked in either of the two configurations, depending on feature specification (e.g., D-type or V-type EPP feature). As previously mentioned, in a language such as Romanian, in which the EPP feature is checked as an instance of head-adjunction, we predicted that I° may in principle host other features, provided they can be checked in a Spec-Head configuration, or without movement. In fact, several formal features have the option of parasitically inhabiting I°, yielding a *syncretic* Romanian I°, in which syntactic features such as [+ wh] and [+ focus] combine with genuine inflectional features such as phi-features, the EPP, and Case, among others.

In languages in which the EPP feature is checked exclusively in a Spec-Head relationship and the subject NP (or an expletive) obligatorily merges as Spec,IP, other selectional features requiring a Spec-Head licensing condition may not incorporate onto I°. Consequently, they look for other, higher, functional heads to incorporate on, or they engender the creation of new functional heads to serve as their host. The latter view has been argued for the [+ focus] formal feature by Kiss (1998) and Rizzi (1995/97), for Hungarian and Italian, respectively. In English, the [+wh] formal feature incorportates onto C°, the functional head immediately above IP. Consider for illustration the English example in (4a) and its syntactic representations in (4b) (pronounced copies are in bold, while copies not pronounced are in brackets).

(4) a. **Whom did John see?**

b.



Parametrization across languages is then dependent on feature specification. For Romanian, we have shown that I° may host a variety of non-selectional features, but only one selectional feature per functional head for each of the two locality relationships it can entertain (i.e., Spec-Head and head-adjunction). More specifically, we discussed the following formal features which incorporate on the Romanian I°:

(5) a. *non-selectional FFs on I°*:
- Case (on T°);
- phi- (on Agr°);
- [+ neg] (on Neg°);
- [+ focus], with [+ emphasis] as its sub-type,
(on the highest I° head available in the derivation);

b. *selectional FFs on I° checked as an instance of head-adjunction*:
- [+ V-type EPP] (on T°);
- [+imp] (on M°)

c. *selectional FFs on I° checked as an instance of a Spec-Head configuration*:
[+wh] (on the highest I° head available in the derivation)

Lexical items against which the FFs in (5) are checked all bear non-selectional features, with the notable exception of wh-phrases and contrastive focus. Romanian wh-phrases are

inserted with a selectional [+wh] FF from within the lexicon, while contrastively focused constituents acquire a selectional [+ focus] P-feature later in the derivation. In view of the fact that selectional features require dislocation, both wh-phrases and contrastively focused constituents move overtly to Spec,IP. However, given that in Romanian the [+wh] FF on I° is selectional, while the [+ focus] FF on I° is non-selectional, PF will only receive instructions to pronounce wh-phrases in Spec,IP. The syntactic component does not instruct PF where to pronounce contrastively focused constituents, these being pronounced either in Spec,IP or in their base position. Nevertheless, we showed that whenever PF is instructed to pronounce wh-phrases in Spec,IP, PF cannot pronounce focused constituents in the same configuration (see chapter 5, section 5.5.2).

The above remarks seem to point toward a *uniqueness constraint imposed on PF by the syntactic component* in the presence of feature-checking movement. Further investigation is required into the cross-linguistic implications and/or validity of such a *uniqueness constraint*.

Second, the dissertation highlights important theoretical issues in terms of NP movement more generally. While NPs have usually been assumed to undergo A-movement for the purposes of Case checking, we have shown that in Romanian, NPs do not move for the purposes of Case assignment, yet A-movement is still employed. For example, object NPs undergo A-movement in VOS constructions in order to escape the domain of presentational focus. Recall that lack of weak crossover effects, alongside the availability to raise quantified objects to a non-scopal position (i.e., vP-adjoined) point towards object raising as an instance of A-movement rather than A-bar movement in these constructions. Under these considerations, we need to *divorce A-movement from Case checking*. It is possible that the A-movement effects present with vP-scrambling are due to the fact that the vP-domain is somewhat L-related. Recall that IP-scrambling (i.e., topicalization) in Romanian is an instance of A-bar movement, again, presumbaly because the IP domain is not L-related. We leave this query open to further investigation.

Finally, *pre-Spell-Out movement*, which according to the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995, et seq.) should only occur for the purposes of checking off strong/selectional morpho-syntactic features and thus ensure that a derivation does not crash, *can also occur for non-feature checking purposes*. Since, in Romanian, de-focusing constructions of the VOS type make their effects felt in the syntactic component, these structures cannot be analysed as stylistic PF rearrangements. Consequently, at least some sentence-pragmatics has to be rooted within the syntactic module. In a theory which embraces economy considerations, the implications are noteworthy and further cross-linguistic research would be welcome.

A general statement is valuable only in REFERENCE
to the known objects or facts.
Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading*

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