

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| Abstract | 1 |
| Acknowledgements | 2 |
| Table of contents | 5 |
| Abbreviations | 8 |
| | |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 10 |
| 1.1 Aim | 10 |
| 1.2 Theoretical assumptions | 13 |
| 1.3 Romanian sentence structure | 21 |
| 1.4 Dissertation outline | 25 |
| 1.5 Major claims | 29 |
| | |
| Chapter 2: V-Raising and NP-Licensing | 31 |
| 2.0 Introduction | 31 |
| 2.1 Remarks on word order in the Romanian clause | 32 |
| 2.2 Verb raising and the split IP hypothesis | 38 |
| 2.2.1 Brief overview of previous analyses | 39 |
| 2.2.2 The verbal complex revisited | 43 |
| 2.2.3 Verb raising: a minimalist account | 54 |
| 2.2.4 Summing up | 63 |
| 2.3 Subject positions and NP licensing | 65 |
| 2.3.1 Brief overview of previous analyses | 65 |
| 2.3.2 EPP, Case-licensing and Minimalism | 68 |
| 2.4 Unaccusatives | 78 |
| 2.4.1 The Romance data | 79 |
| 2.4.2 Unaccusatives and Minimalism | 82 |
| 2.4.3 Unaccusatives and the definiteness effect | 86 |
| 2.4.4 Summing up a V-type EPP language | 89 |
| 2.5 Passive structures | 91 |
| 2.5.1 Passive constructions in Romanian | 92 |
| 2.5.2 Passives and Minimalism | 96 |
| 2.6 Summing up NP-licensing in Romanian | 101 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Chapter 3: NP-Raising and Presentational Focus | 107 |
| 3.0 Introduction | 107 |
| 3.1 VOS constructions in Romanian | 111 |
| 3.2 Against subject right-adjunction in Romanian | 116 |
| 3.2.1 VSO and extraction from clausal objects | 116 |
| 3.2.2 VOS and sentential objects | 119 |
| 3.2.3 VP-ellipsis | 121 |
| 3.2.4 Summing up | 123 |
| 3.3 Evidence for object raising | 124 |
| 3.3.1 The view from Binding | 124 |
| 3.3.2 Condition C effects | 134 |
| 3.3.2 Quantifier Float phenomena | 135 |
| 3.3.4 In sum | 136 |
| 3.4 Object raising: cross-linguistic evidence | 136 |
| 3.4.1 Clause-medial object raising in Germanic: the specificity effect | 137 |
| 3.4.2 Object raising as Noun Incorporation | 144 |
| 3.4.3 Summing up | 146 |
| 3.5 Object raising in Romanian: triggers and landing site | 146 |
| 3.6 Colophon: ‘leapfrogging’ versus ‘stacking’ | 151 |
| 3.7 Conclusions | 152 |

Chapter 4: WH-Movement

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4.0 Introduction | 155 |
| 4.1 The issue | 156 |
| 4.2 Former accounts and a new proposal | 159 |
| 4.3 Wh-phrases in Romanian: summary of properties | 163 |
| 4.3.1 The Verb-adjacency requirement | 163 |
| 4.3.1.1 Two notes on the adjacency requirement | 164 |
| 4.3.1.2 <i>De ce</i> ‘why’: a cross-linguistic headache | 169 |
| 4.3.2 Multiple checking and (Anti)-Superiority | 171 |
| 4.3.2.1 ‘Attract’ versus ‘Move’ | 176 |
| 4.3.2.2 Formalizing multiple wh-movement | 180 |
| 4.3.3 Interaction with Topics | 184 |
| 4.4 Romanian and CV2 languages: a comparison | 186 |
| 4.4.1 Main clause interrogatives | 188 |
| 4.4.2 Embedded interrogatives | 189 |
| 4.5 Two apparent problems | 192 |
| 4.5.1 The (ir)relevancy of sluicing | 193 |
| 4.5.2 Successive-cyclic movement and apparent SAI | 194 |
| 4.6 Romanian wh-phrases move to IP | 200 |
| 4.7 The IP/CP dichotomy and multiple wh-movement | 202 |
| 4.7.1 Wh-islands and interacting wh-dependencies | 203 |
| 4.7.2 Local scrambling: A- or A-bar movement | 214 |

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 4.7.3 | Wh-movement and weak crossover | 216 |
| 4.7.4 | Wh-movement and quantifier raising | 219 |
| 4.7.5 | Summing up | 222 |
| 4.8 | Colophon: Romanian interrogative X° | 223 |
| 4.9 | Conclusions | 229 |

Chapter 5: Contrastive Focus and Preverbal Raising 231

| | | |
|---------|--|-----|
| 5.0 | Introduction | 231 |
| 5.1 | Defining the term and previous analyses | 233 |
| 5.1.1 | Kiss (1995b, 1998) | 235 |
| 5.1.2 | Rizzi (1995/97) | 238 |
| 5.1.3 | Zubizarreta (1998) | 242 |
| 5.1.4 | Erteschik-Shir (1997) | 245 |
| 5.1.5 | Some conclusions | 246 |
| 5.2 | Introductory remarks on contrastive focus in Romanian | 248 |
| 5.2.1 | Previous analyses concerning the Romanian preverbal field | 252 |
| 5.2.2 | Summing up Pandora's box | 257 |
| 5.3 | Properties of contrastive focus and other sentence-initial elements in Romanian | 258 |
| 5.3.1 | The verb-adjacency requirement | 259 |
| 5.3.2 | Complementary distribution | 262 |
| 5.3.3 | D-linking and sentence initial operators in Romanian | 265 |
| 5.3.3.1 | What's in a topic? | 265 |
| 5.3.3.2 | Topichood and sentence-initial operators | 271 |
| 5.3.4 | In sum | 279 |
| 5.4 | Evidence for A-bar movement | 280 |
| 5.4.1 | Contrastive focus-movement and wh-movement | 280 |
| 5.4.2 | Affective operators | 288 |
| 5.4.3 | Weak crossover | 292 |
| 5.4.4 | Is focus quantificational in Romanian? | 294 |
| 5.4.5 | Summing up | 300 |
| 5.5 | Analysis | 302 |
| 5.5.1 | The copy theory of movement | 307 |
| 5.5.2 | Streamlining optionality | 312 |
| 5.6 | Conclusions | 316 |

Chapter 6: Conclusions 318

| | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-----|
| 6.0 | Introduction | 318 |
| 6.1 | Summary of dissertation | 318 |
| 6.2 | Open ends | 325 |

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| References | 329 |
|------------------|-----|

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 principle |
| 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 | <i>Minimalist Inquiries: the Framework</i> (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 ^o | 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:
 - * ungrammatical (speakers agree)
 - ?? ungrammatical (speakers agree, minor exceptions)
 - # grammatical, but pragmatically ill-formed
 - () optional