Operator Asymmetries in Romanian: Syntax and/or Phonology? [*]

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1. Introduction

Drawing on Romanian data, this paper discusses the triggers behind the asymmetrical behaviour of *wh*-operators and focus operators present in a number of Romance languages. Specifically, a *wh*-operator is obligatorily associated with a distinct verb-adjacent and left-peripheral structural position but a focus operator is only optionally present in the left-periphery in languages such as Italian, Spanish, and Romanian. Consider the data in (1), which illustrate this discrepancy for Romanian.

(1) a. Pe care$_i$ l$_i$-a strigat
PE which$_i$ CL.3SG.ACC.M$_i$-AUX.3SG called
Victor (* pe care$_i$)?
Victor (* PE which$_i$)
"Which (one) did Victor call?" [1]

b. (Pe MIHAI$_i$) l$_i$-a strigat
PE Mihai$_i$ CL.3SG.ACC.M$_i$-AUX.3SG called
Victor (pe MIHAI$_i$) (, nu pe Ion). [2]
Victor (PE Mihai$_i$) (, not PE Ion)
"It is Mihai that Victor called, (not Ion)."

The contrastively focused operator in (1b) may surface in-situ, but it may also surface in the canonical preverbal verb-adjacent operator position, on a par with the *wh*-phrase in (1a). Furthermore, independent of positioning, the

contrastively focused operator is *obligatorily* associated with prosodic marking (heavy stress/emphasis). The question is whether displacement is always involved and, more generally, how to account for optionality of preverbal versus postverbal occurrence of the contrastive focus operator assuming a computational system functioning according to economy principles.

In this paper, I propose that focus operators in Romanian show consistent overt movement, but inconsistent PF behaviour. I argue that this is due to the fact that contrastive focus in this language is a representational property at the interface between syntax and phonology. This approach can account for the intrinsic relationship between focus operators and prosodic stress, while capturing the asymmetry between the behaviour of various operators in Romanian as an instance of trigger location in choice of copies: syntax, in (1a), versus PF-interface, in (1b). This is a desirable result, as it moves optionality to a level where economy plays no role.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 elaborates on the empirical and theoretical problems of the data in (1b), Section 3 introduces the reader to some basic assumptions on Romanian syntax, and Section 4 discusses the syntax of contrastive focus, highlighting the A-bar movement effects present regardless of positioning. Section 5 provides an analysis of the data based on the copy theory of movement in conjunction with the particular realization of the [+focus] feature in Romanian. Section 6 returns to the asymmetry between

contrastive focus operators and *wh*-phrases, while Section 7 summarizes the main findings of the paper.

2. Empirical and theoretical problems

Several logical possibilities present themselves with regards to the optionality of preverbal versus postverbal occurrence of contrastively focused constituents illustrated in (1b). Under the first scenario, we could assume the absence of a formal [+focus] feature and, implicitly, lack of feature checking. This would explain flexibility of positioning but would fail to account for the trigger of movement to the left-peripheral structural position. Furthermore, as shown in (2), fronted focused constituents require adjacency with the verbal complex (i.e., V and clitic cluster).

(2) Pe MIHAI$_i$ (* Victor$_j$) l$_i$-a
PE Mihai$_i$ Victor$_j$ CL.3SG.ACC.M$_i$-AUX.3SG
strigat t$_j$ t$_i$
called t$_j$ t$_i$
"It is Mihai that Victor called."

Dislocation and verb-adjacency both indicate a requirement for specific licensing conditions, notably a specifier-head relationship between the raised

operator and the functional head targetted (see Herburger 2000, Kiss 1998, Rizzi 1997, Zubizarreta 1998, inter alia).

A second scenario would involve the conditioned presence of a [+focus] feature in the derivation: feature checking would occur in the required specifier-head relationship but only when movement is visible. Specifically, when the focus operator targets the left-peripheral scope position but not when left in-situ. The problem with this solution is that it fails to account for the contrastive focus interpretations in-situ.

A third scenario is to assume that the [+focus] feature is present whenever sentences contain contrastive focus and that feature checking is always involved. This seems the best solution in view of the semantics of these constructions: regardless of positioning, the presence of a contrastive focus operator in the derivation restricts a contextually presupposed closed set to an exhaustive subset for which the predicate phrase actually holds. This last scenario has two possible implementations: (i) either overt movement is optional (i.e., either pre-LF or LF feature checking) or (ii) overt movement is compulsory but the higher copy is not always of interest at PF.

Previous analyses have argued for optionality of overt displacement and a choice between overt or covert feature checking of the [+focus] feature based on underspecification of feature strength (see Motapanyane 2000, Tsimpli 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, inter alia). Optionality of movement was, however, somewhat problematic given a computational system functioning

according to economy principles (Chomsky 1995 et seq.): Procrastinate – while available – was clearly violated in cases of overt displacement. In addition, given that current generative theory assumes all feature-driven movement operations to be overt and to be triggered only by uninterpretable/unvalued formal features (Chomsky 2000, 2001), such analyses are difficult to maintain.

Aside from the current theoretical issues, there are empirical complications with focus operators and LF movement. There is evidence in Romanian that contrastively focused constituents reconstruct at LF. Consider the examples in (3):

(3) a. *Pe copilul SĂU*$_i$ îl iubeşte
PE child-the self$_i$ CL.3SG.ACC.M loves
orice mamă$_i$ *t*.
any mother$_i$ *t*.
"It is her own child that any mother loves."

b. * *Copilul SĂU*$_i$ o iubeşte
child-the self$_i$ CL.3SG.ACC.F loves
t pe orice mamă$_i$.
t PE any mother$_i$.
"* It is her own child that loves any mother."

In both (3a) and (3b), the anaphor *SĂU* 'self' is moved to the left periphery of the clause and yet, (3a) yields a well-formed sentence. The difference between

(3a) and (3b) is that in (3a), the trace of the focused phrase is c-commanded by its appropriate binder, whereas in (3b), the quantifier fails to c-command either the head or the tail of the chain in italics. Given the grammaticality of (3a), the focused constituent is assumed to 'reconstruct' to its base position at LF where binding relations hold (Chomsky 2000). Crucially, the reconstruction data in (3) signify that for the purposes of LF interpretation (in the sense of Hornstein 1995), it is the *tail* of the chain that counts. Covert displacement for feature checking then has to be ruled out, as it would engender a contradiction at LF.[3]

As anticipated in the Introduction, I will argue for obligatory overt displacement with contrastive focus but inconsistent behaviour at PF. This approach is desirable as it solves the optionality problem and provides an account consistent with current theory.

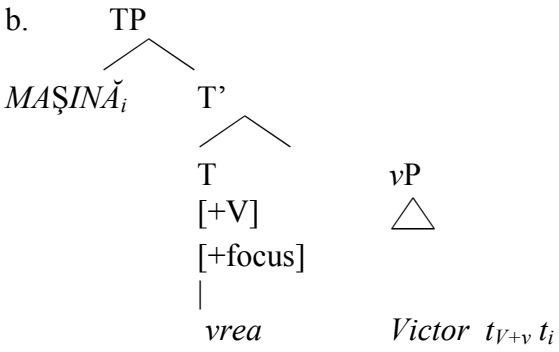
3. Romanian syntax: Basic assumptions

All current studies on Romanian agree that Romanian is VSO in the sense that Spec,TP is not required to host subjects (see Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Hill 2002). Specifically, Case is checked in initial-merge position via long-distance Agree and there is no subject externalization in the usual EPP sense. The 'subject related' EPP feature is satisfied by obligatory lexical verb-raising to T. As a consequence, Spec,TP is available as a scope

position for Romanian sentence-initial operators, such as contrastively focused constituents and *wh*-phrases (Alboiu 2002, Hill 2002). This is shown in (4) and (5), respectively.

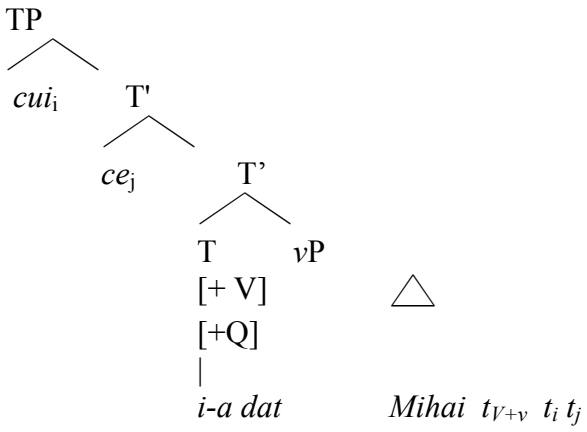
(4) a. MAŞINĂ$_i$ vrea Victor t_v t_i,
car$_i$ want.3SG Victor t_v t_i
nu casă.
not house
"It's a car that Victor wants, not a house."

b.



(5) a. **Cui** **ce** i-a
wh-DAT. what CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG
dat Mihai?
given Mihai
"To whom did Mihai give what?"

b.



The [+focus] and the [+Q] formal features - in (4) and (5), respectively - parasitically incorporate on T, yielding a syncretic category.[4] The presence of these uninterpretable formal features triggers operator movement into Spec,TP, engendering a single specifier in (4) and multiple specifiers in (5).[5, 6]

4. The syntax of in-situ contrastive focus in Romanian

In (1b), I have shown that the focused constituent is interpreted as contrastive whether it surfaces in-situ or in the left-peripheral operator position. In addition, given reconstruction effects and related problems, I concluded that feature checking at LF has to be ruled out. In this section, I show that in-situ contrastive focus is involved in the same feature checking mechanism as its preverbal counterpart. Specifically, I discuss evidence from weak crossover

and parasitic gap licensing that points to displacement and the formation of a non-trivial chain as in (4b) regardless of surface positioning.

4.1 Weak crossover effects

The data in (6) show that contrastively focused elements in Romanian induce weak crossover effects whether they surface in-situ, as in (6b), or in the preverbal verb-adjacent position, as in (6c):

(6) a. Mama lui$_i$ a dat bomboane
mother-the his$_i$ AUX.3SG given sweets
copilului$_i$.
child-the.DAT$_i$
"His$_i$ mother gave the child$_i$ sweets."

b. * Mama lui$_i$ a dat bomboane
mother-the his$_i$ AUX.3SG given sweets
COPILULUI$_i$.
child-the.DAT$_i$
"* It is to the child$_i$ that his$_i$ mother gave sweets."

c. * Mama lui$_i$ COPILULUI$_i$ a dat
mother-the his$_i$ child-the.DAT$_i$ AUX.3SG given
bomboane t$_i$.
sweets t$_i$

"* It is to the child$_i$ that his$_i$ mother gave sweets."

The ill-formedness of both (6b) and (6c) indicates that A-bar movement is equally involved. Compare with the grammatical counterpart in (6a) where the indirect object *copilului* 'to-the-child' is left unfocused and, consequently, fails to induce a weak crossover violation as it does not create an operator-variable chain. I conclude that displacement to Spec,TP for feature checking purposes is involved regardless of surface positioning of the focus operator. Furthermore, displacement has to be overt, as covert displacement is not an option.

4.2 Parasitic gaps

The uniform licensing of parasitic gaps (PGs) provides further evidence for both dislocation and overt feature checking with in-situ and left-peripheral contrastive focus in Romanian. Consider the data in (7):

(7) a. *A mîncat bomboane [fără să desfacă _PG]
AUX.3SG eaten sweets [without SUBJ open _PG]
"S/he ate sweets without unwrapping them."

b. Nu, CIOCOLATĂ a mîncat
no, chocolate AUX.3SG eaten
[fără să desfacă _PG] (, nu bomboane)!
[without SUBJ open _PG] (, not sweets)

c. Nu, a mîncat CIOCOLATĂ

no, AUX.3SG eaten chocolate

[fără să desfacă _PG] (, nu bomboane)!

[without SUBJ open _PG] (, not sweets)

"No, it's chocolate that s/he ate without unwrapping,

not sweets!"

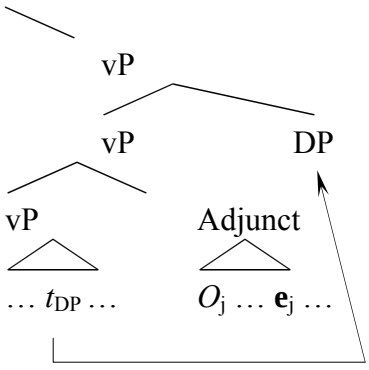
In (7), the presence of a PG only yields well-formed sentences in (7b) and (7c) which contain a contrastive focus. Given that PGs are only licensed by a variable (Engdahl 1983), operator movement to Spec,TP must be involved in both (7b) and (7c). Moreover, Engdahl's (1983:22) examples in (8) show that *wh*-in-situ does not license PGs, which has been generalized as an implication that covert movement in general fails to license parasitic gaps.

(8) a. Which article$_1$ did you [file _$_1$] [without reading _PG]

b. *Who [filed *which paper*] [without reading _PG]

Nissenbaum (2000) assumes that a modified-predicate configuration, as in (9), is responsible for licensing PGs.

(9) Modified-predicate configuration (Nissenbaum 2000:117)



He further argues that Engdahl's generalization is explained by a general constraint on movement that forces this modified-predicate configuration to be derived in the *overt* syntax. Consequently, empirical (Engdahl) and theoretical (Nissenbaum) arguments point to *overt* movement of the contrastively focused phrase in both (7b) and (7c).

5. Streamlining optionality: an analysis

In section 4, I showed that both preverbal and in-situ focused constituents trigger the usual set of A-bar movement effects seen with operators.[7] Crucially, identical syntactic properties suggest identical feature checking mechanisms regardless of whether the focus operator is pronounced preverbally or in-situ: from a syntactic point of view, the focused constituent is only relevant in Spec,TP. Under current Minimalist assumptions, this indicates the presence of an uninterpretable/unvalued [+focus] feature that can only be checked via the operations Agree and Move (Chomsky 2000, 2001), engendering a non-trivial chain. Given that Chomsky (2000) defines a 'chain' as "a sequence of identical αs; more accurately, a sequence of *occurrences* of a single α." (Chomsky 2000:114), questions arise as to the saliency of these identical αs, typically referred to as 'copies'. The salient copies at the various levels are illustrated in the table in (10).[8]

(10)

Surface position ***Levels***	**Focus in left periphery**	**Focus in-situ**
Syntax	Higher copy	Higher copy
PF	Higher copy	Lower copy
LF	Lower copy	Lower copy

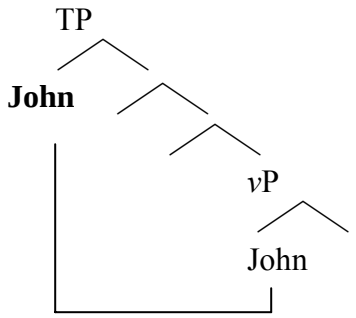
The summary in (10) indicates that the positions singled out by the various grammatical levels need not be the same. While at LF reconstruction facts (recall discussion in section 2) suggest the lower copy (i.e., the tail) to be the salient one, syntax always privileges the upper copy (i.e. the head) in Spec,TP. Specifically, in narrow syntax, an operator chain will be invariably required. On the other hand, PF seems to optionally privilege either copy. I will return to these issues after providing an analysis in which I propose that, in Romanian, the [+focus] feature is checked at the intersection between syntax and phonology.

5.1 PF and the copy theory of movement

Consider subject movement to Spec,TP in English which involves the creation of a non-trivial chain containing two instances of the subject (11b); the copy in Spec,TP is the one pronounced as shown by the bold print.

(11) a. John is reading a book.

b.



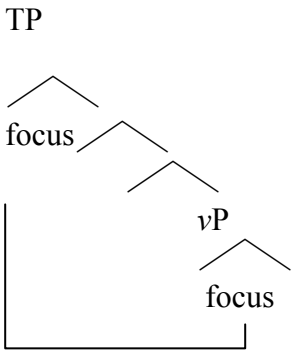
Richards (1999) argues that feature strength on the functional head will determine whether we pronounce the head or the tail of a chain (i.e., the upper or the lower copy). Specifically, if a formal feature is strong, feature checking will involve dislocation and PF will be instructed by the syntactic component to choose the higher of the two copies and ignore the base position. Conversely, if a formal feature is weak, checking will proceed without dislocation, via Agree. In this case, Richards (1999) assumes there is no chain formation and consequently no higher copy, so PF will pronounce the in-situ copy by default as it is the only one available.

In the next section, I address the mechanism of feature checking and visibility of copies for derivations with contrastive focus in Romanian.

5.2 Focus operators and the syntax-phonology interface

I have shown that, in Romanian, the presence of a [+focus] feature requires checking via movement to Spec,TP with the formation of a non-trivial chain as in (12):

(12)



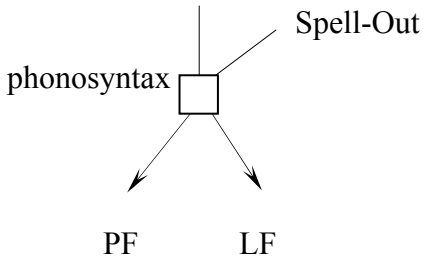
Following Richards (1999), the obligatory chain-formation facts with focus operators in Romanian suggest that the [+focus] feature is a 'strong' feature. As such, narrow syntax should be sending instructions to PF to pronounce the upper copy, contrary to fact. PF does not seem to ignore the base position and as the data summarized in (10) suggest, the articulatory system has access to both copies. Crucially, *the decision in choice of copies rests at the PF-Interface and not in the syntactic component*. I propose that these facts can be readily explained under an account, which views contrastive focus as a representational property of phonosyntax (Spell-Out) in Romanian.

Sentence well-formedness is incumbent on convergence at the interface levels, which in turn requires that uninterpretable features be matched and inactivated/eliminated in the narrow-syntactic derivation (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Consequently, an *uninterpretable* [+focus] feature on T will probe for a

matching *interpretable* feature to Agree with. Crucially, focused phrases cannot be assumed to enter the Numeration with an interpretable [+focus] feature, as this type of information (i.e., whether a phrase is to be a contrastive focus or not) is not stored in our mental lexicons. Assume, rather, that focused phrases enter the Numeration with an uninterpretable [+focus] feature which serves to make them active for match, but which cannot inactivate the uninterpretable [+focus] feature on T as valuation of an uninterpretable feature can only take place against a matching interpretable one (Chomsky 2001). However, provided the prosodic *stress* requirement is met, sentences with contrastive focus are well formed in Romanian. In other words, these derivations converge at the interfaces which means that the uninterpretable [+focus] feature is felicitously inactivated. We then need to assume that prosodic stress is the manifestation of the required *interpretable* subpart of the [+focus] feature on lexical items. In other words, the phonological feature [+stress] - present in the Numeration - is the equivalent of *interpretability* on the uninterpretable morpho-syntactic [+focus] feature present on the contrastively focused phrase. Typically, all the languages with the optionality described in (1b), have a prosodic *stress* requirement which identifies a lexical item as contrastively focused, regardless of surface positioning.[9] This observation prompts the obvious conclusion that the [+focus] feature on the lexical item is a *syntactico-phonological feature* and that [+focus] feature

checking occurs at the interface between syntax and phonology (i.e., at Spell-Out), as in (13).

(13) Lexicon



In contrast to structures which do not involve dislocation and where there is a single suitable candidate to be pronounced (since there are no copies), with the [+focus] formal feature there will always be two copies available to PF, but no syntactic instructions as to which of the two copies are salient at PF. Consequently, PF can access both copies and, since economy considerations do not apply at PF, it will not matter which copy is uttered. There is still the issue as to what determines the choice at PF. According to Minimize Mismatch (as defined in Bobaljik 2002:251 and earlier work), both PF and LF should in principle privilege the same copy. Given that at LF the lower copy is always preferred (see section 2), Minimize Mismatch would predict a saliency of the lower copy at PF also. It is possible to assume that in-situ focus is indeed the default case and that PF will choose to violate Minimize Mismatch only for stylistic reasons. Stylistic reasons do not relate to feature strength, but can be assumed to follow due to some EPP requirement at PF. I take to be the case. [10]

The advantages of the analysis proposed above are summarized as follows. First, the account moves optionality to a level where economy plays no role: choice in pronunciation of copies is due to the absence of instructions sent to the PF-interface: crucially, whether focus is pronounced preverbally or in-situ is a PF choice and not a syntax choice. Equally important, it accounts for the intrinsic relationship between contrastive focus and phonology, a fact insufficiently discussed in previous studies on focus in Romance. In addition, the analysis provides evidence from A-bar movement that supports the "Lower Right Corner effect" discussed by Bobaljik (2002) in conjunction with A-movement cases; specifically, the possibility of an element undergoing "movement (chain formation) in the syntax, but such movement having no direct consequences on the PF or LF position of the moved element" (Bobaljik 2002:260). Last but not least, it captures the asymmetry between focus-operators and *wh*-operators, an issue which I address in the next section.

6. The asymmetry between focus operators and wh-operators

In section 1, I showed that *wh*-operators are obligatorily associated with the left-peripheral structural position in Romanian, while focus operators can surface either preverbally or in-situ. I suggest that, while chain formation is involved with both types of operators, the asymmetry can be captured as an

instance of trigger location: syntax with *wh*-operators but the phonological component with focus operators.

First, cross-linguistically, *wh*-phrases are inserted in the Numeration with an interpretable [+Q] feature and an uninterpretable [+wh] feature (Chomsky 2001). Their uninterpretable feature makes them active for match with a functional head probing for interpretable [+Q] (i.e., C or T with uninterpretable [+Q]). As such, *wh*-phrases can enter formal feature checking prior to Spell-Out. Focused phrases, on the other hand, acquire their interpretable feature at the intersection between syntax and phonology, so formal feature checking is in a sense 'late(r)'. Second, the obligatory pronunciation of the upper copy with *wh*-movement can be captured by assuming a strong [+Q] feature on T (see Alboiu 2002). Following Richards (1999), this would not only trigger obligatory *wh*-movement but, in addition, would guarantee the pronunciation of the higher copy due to syntactic instructions sent to PF. Alternatively, feature strength can be equated to an obligatory EPP feature in the presence of [+Q] in Romanian. Either account provides an elegant explanation for why *wh*-phrases are ungrammatical in-situ: PF has to ignore the lower copy and pronounce the upper copy.

In the next section, I address the behaviour of focus operators in derivations containing interrogative phrases. I show that you cannot have a fronted *wh*-phrase and a fronted focus simultaneously and discuss possible implications.

6.1 Derivations with both [+Q] and [+focus] formal features

The data in (14) show that, in derivations with both [+Q] and [+focus] features, PF is prevented from pronouncing the upper copy of the contrastively focused element.[11]

(14) Ce$_i$ (*COPILULUI) i-a spus
what$_i$ (*child-the.DAT) CL.3SG.DAT.M-AUX.3SG said
el COPILULUI t$_i$ (, nu vecinei)?
he child-the.DAT t$_i$ (, not neighbour.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 from weak crossover effects that focus movement still applies, even in the presence of *wh*-phrases. Consider the data in (15):

(15) a. Ce$_i$ i-a spus mama lui$_j$
what$_i$ CL.3SG.DAT.M-AUX.3SG said mother his$_j$
copilului$_j$ t$_i$?
child-the.DAT$_j$ t$_i$
"What did his$_i$ mother say to the child$_i$?"

b. * Ce_i i-a spus mama lui_j

$what_i$ CL.3SG.DAT.M-AUX.3SG said mother his_j

$COPILULUI_j$ t_i (, nu vecinei)?

$child\text{-}the.DAT_j$ t_i (not, neighbour.DAT)

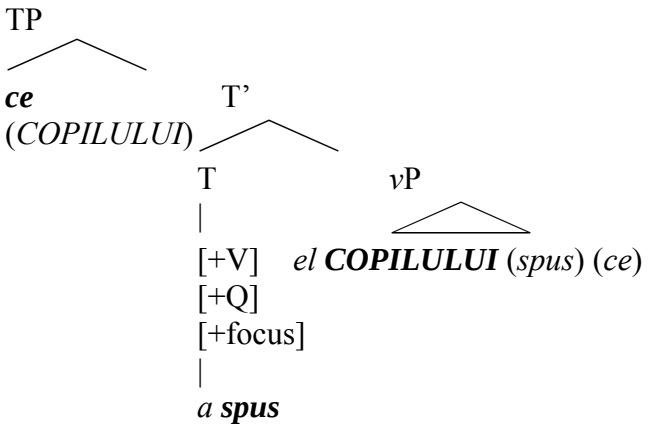
"*What is it that his_i mother said to the $child_i$

(, not the neighbour)?"

(15a) is grammatical, given that *copilului* 'to the child', which is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, does not undergo dislocation and implicitly, does not leave behind a variable engendering a weak crossover effect. On the other hand, (15b) in which the indirect object *COPILULUI* 'to the child' is contrastively focused, is not well-formed. The ungrammaticality of example (15b) shows that a weak crossover effect is triggered in the presence of the in-situ contrastive focus. This effect can only be explained if we assume that the focus operator undergoes A-bar movement to Spec,TP, forming a chain with two copies, whereby the lower copy is a variable illicitly coindexed with a pronoun to its left.

In view of the syntactic evidence provided by (15), I assume the syntactic representation of (14) to be as in (16) where the pronounced copies are represented in bold, while the silent copies are in brackets.

(16)



The representation in (16) highlights the fact that the *wh*-operator and the focus operator both enter a checking relationship with T via chain-formation. Given the strong nature of the [+Q] feature on T, PF receives instructions to pronounce the upper copy of the *wh*-phrase (i.e., the *wh*-phrase in Spec,TP); in contrast to derivations where no interrogative operator is present and PF has a choice in the saliency of the focus copies, in derivations of the type represented in (16), PF cannot cannot access the upper copy of the focused constituent. Specifically, in cases where syntax will instruct phonology to pronounce the upper copy – as happens with *wh*-operators – the focus operator in Spec,TP will be opaque to the PF-interface.

The facts above seem surprising given previous remarks on the optionality of focus operator realization in Romanian and the question to be addressed is why it is the case that the upper copy becomes opaque at PF in these constructions. In Romanian, multiple specifiers are not ruled out at PF as evidenced by the example in (5) and discussion therein, so phonological

exclusion of multiple specifiers cannot be the answer. The generalization that seems to hold of PF (but not narrow syntax) is that, when multiple specifiers are permitted, they have to share the same feature (e.g. interrogative). This suggests that EPP is somehow uniquely determined per head for each derivation and sensitive to feature-identity, a plausible hypothesis. If true, this would predict that PF has a choice in copy saliency only in the absence of EPP-related instructions from the syntactic component. Furthermore, it is not surprising that *wh*-operators have precedence over focus operators given that uninterpretable [+Q] is inactivated prior to uninterpretable [+focus]: narrow-syntactic computation versus Spell-Out.[12]

7. Conclusions

In this paper I claimed that the asymmetrical behaviour of *wh*-operators and focus operators in Romanian can be explained as an instance of trigger location: narrow syntax with *wh*-operators but PF-interface with focus operators. I proposed that contrastive focus in Romanian is a representational property at the interface between syntax and phonology and that the uninterpretable [+focus] feature on T is inactivated by a syntactico-phonological feature on contrastive operators whose valuation property at Spell-Out is incumbent on stress. Such an approach accounts for the presence

of obligatory prosodic stress on contrastive phrases in Romanian, usually left unexplained in syntactic accounts of focus and could in principle be extended to other Romance languages that share this asymmetry. I also showed that inactivation of [+focus] on T involves the formation of a non-trivial chain containing two identical copies regardless of the surface realization of the focus operator. I discussed saliency of copies at various levels and concluded that the surface optionality with contrastive focus is a PF choice and not a syntax choice; specifically, the articulatory system has access to both copies. Bobaljik (2002) has recently argued this for A-chains. This paper contributes evidence that A-bar chains are also present at the PF-Interface. This is a desirable result as optionality no longer involves the feature checking mechanism (in which economy considerations play a role) but the phonological component where economy considerations are irrelevant.

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[*] Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the University of Toronto Syntax Project Group, the Fifth Annual Workshop on Theoretical Linguistics, and the 32nd Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages. I would like to thank the audiences for fruitful discussion and two anonymous reviewers for their comments. All errors are my own.

[1] The abbreviations used in the example sentences are: AUX: auxiliary, SUBJ: subjunctive, CL: pronominal clitic, SG: singular, PL: plural, NOM: Nominative case, ACC: Accusative case, DAT: Dative case, M: masculine, F: feminine. 'PE' is a dummy preposition associated with Romanian [+human] direct objects.

[2] I use upper case letters to mark contrastively focused elements.

[3] Kidwai (1999) highlights an additional problem with focus checking at LF: if we consider that in-situ focused constituents must wait until LF to be checked/interpreted, the question arises as to how PF can 'see' into LF and 'know' it has to assign heavy stress to focused constituents given that LF does not feed PF.

[4] See Zubizarreta (1998) for a similar analysis for Spanish.

[5] Romanian is a multiple *wh*-fronting language; for a tucking-in analysis of multiple specifiers, see Alboiu (2002).

[6] Note, however, that the analysis of focus and optionality at the PF interface argued for in this paper does not rely in any crucial way on these assumptions. Specifically, there need not be a correlation between VSO and PF focus, and SVO (or other word order type) languages could also, in principle, show the same behaviour with respect to focus phenomena.

[7] In addition, in Alboiu (2002), I show that island effects are equally present with both focus fronting and focus in-situ.

[8] Gierling (1997) and Alboiu (1999, 2002) show that, in Romanian, objects can undergo movement for de-rhematization purposes to a position outside of the *v*P domain but below T, as shown by the *v*P-adjoined adverb. Furthermore, contrastive focus stress and interpretation is also available (but not required) in this intermediary position. Consider (i), adapted from Gierling, which confirms these facts:

(i)	a.	Îi	trimite	FLORI	*mereu*, (nu bani).
		CL.3SG.DAT	sends	flowers	*always*, (not money).

"It's flowers that (s)he's always sending her, not money."

b. Îi trimite flori *mereu*, (* nu bani).
CL.3SG.DAT sends flowers *always*, (* not money).
"(S)he's always sending her flowers."

In Alboiu (1999, 2002) it is argued extensively that the intermediary position is an instance of evacuation for (rhematic) focus (i.e., movement for avoiding the rhematic domain). Given that this type of movement need not have a contrastive focus correlate, it is *not* the result of focus feature movement and falls outside the scope of the present discussion. Consequently, cases with contrastive focus, e.g.(ia), would fall under 'focus in-situ' in (10), as the phonological component does not entertain the copy in the operator scope position, Spec,TP.

[9] There are also languages that only permit stress on preverbal focus, while disallowing stress on in-situ focused elements (e.g. Bulgarian, Russian). However, in-situ focus readings can only obtain in the *obligatory* presence of a contrastive phrase. I assume that the contrastive phrase serves the same purpose at Spell-Out (i.e., interpretability) as stress does in Romanian-type languages.

[10] For example, Hill (2002) suggests that in Romanian preverbal focus operators are stylistically more emphatic than their in-situ counterparts. This would also explain why both copies cannot be pronounced simultaneously: stylistic emphasis cannot be both present and absent.

[11] Rizzi (p.c.) notes the obligatory 'echo' reading of this example. Nonetheless, what is relevant here is that the *wh*-phrase undergoes movement to the preverbal operator position and, in doing so, obviates optionality of focus pronunciation site.

[12] Note that this result is intuitively desirable as the [+Q] formal feature - an illocutionary force feature - is ultimately more relevant than the [+focus] feature.