Moving Forward with Romanian Backward Control and Raising [*]

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1 Introduction

This chapter investigates various licensing constraints imposed on shared subject arguments in Romanian obligatory control constructions and argues for an analysis of obligatory control (henceforth, OC) in this language analogous to that of raising predicates. On the one hand, the discussion contributes to the current debate with respect to whether OC can and should be construed as raising or not (i.e., the 'Hornstein-Landau' debate referenced in footnote 1[1]), on the other hand, the analysis provides an account of seemingly optional subject dislocation that is intimately tied to the Theme-Rheme sentence partitioning in Romanian and, consequently, independent of the control phenomenon per se. With respect to the first point, I propose that movement out of control is a parametrized option made available by UG and kept under control by well-defined conditions. Specifically, it is available in languages where complements to control verbs lack phasal status, or can void phase-hood, a proviso that guarantees an active subject Goal available to both thematic and non-thematic checking operations with matrix probes. Regarding the second point, I show that dislocation of the subject DP, which may but need not occur, is *not* incumbent on morpho-syntactic featural requirements related to OC (such as Case or theta-role valuation), but determined by well-defined semantico-pragmatic constraints, such as topic and focus movement, construable as OCC features (Chomsky 2001b) on the various probing heads. This analysis has the merit of limiting the amount of

[*] For various discussion and/or comments, I would like to thank Ion Alboiu, Larisa Avram, Alexandra Cornilescu, William Davies, Stanley Dubinsky, Sam Epstein, Norbert Hornstein, Konstantia Kapetangianni, Idan Landau, Virginia Motapanyane-Hill, Johan Rooryck, David Pesetsky, Daniel Seely, two anonymous reviewers, as well as the audience of the 2005 LSA Workshop on New Horizons in the Grammar of Raising and Control. All errors are mine.

[1] See discussion in Hornstein 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, Boeckx and Hornstein 2003, 2004, this volume, and Landau 1999, 2003, 2004, this volume.

movement required by reductionist approaches to OC, accounting for optionality in a systematic manner, and providing adequate empirical coverage of the phenomena under discussion.

The chapter is organized as follows. Following the Introduction, Section 2 familiarizes the reader with recent minimalist formalizations of reductionist and non-reductionist approaches to OC. Section 3 focuses on Romanian subject control constructions and argues for a reductionist solution as the only formalization capable of doing justice to the data. Section 4 investigates the relationship between phases, movement and Case and provides evidence for the non-phasal status of OC complements and their inability to value Case. Section 5 discusses the infomation packaging properties available to Romanian and analyzes the various triggers for PF copy preference. Section 6 is a conclusion.

2 PRO, obligatory control and minimalism

It is well-known that cross-linguistically, aspectual, implicative, and modal matrix verbs select a sentential complement whose external argument has to be coreferential to the matrix clause subject DP, as exemplified in (1).

(1) a. Erica$_i$ just started [PRO$_i$ to take syntax].

b. Philippa$_i$ tried [PRO$_i$ to read the new Chomsky].

Given the one-to-one mapping between theta-roles and arguments assumed in the generative grammar of the 1980s (see Theta-Criterion of Chomsky 1981), PRO in (1) is construed as both a semantic and a syntactic subject. Specifically, the subject theta-position is filled structurally with some brand of null nominal element 'PRO' distinct from any matrix clause DP or trace there-of. In (1), PRO is constrained to an exhaustive identity with a matrix clause controller, where coindexation is subject to some c-commanding version of the Minimal Distance Principle of Rosenbaum (1967). The inherent

non-overt nature of PRO is linked to its compulsory association with Case-less T domains (i.e., infinitival T) - and, later, null Case (as in Chomsky and Lasnik 1993). The properties of PRO, however, are known to surpass those seen in (1). For example, PRO also surfaces with a partial control interpretation, as in (2a), or an arbitrary interpretation, as in (2b).

(2) a. Mrs. Dalloway$_i$ wanted [PRO$_{i+}$ to meet at 9] (but it was too early).

b. It can be very rewarding [PRO$_{arb}$ to do syntax].

PRO then has two arguments working against it: on the one hand, an undesired theory-internal flavour, and on the other hand, an unwelcome oscillatory nature. No wonder it keeps making linguists uncomfortable.

With the advent of minimalism in the 1990s, which sees the collapse of government and the elimination of D-structure and S-structure as separate levels of representation (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001a,b, 2005), the availability of PRO in control has been questioned by a number of authors, most notably, Boeckx and Hornstein (2003, 2004), Hornstein (1999, 2000, 2001, 2003), Manzini and Roussou (1998), and O'Neil (1997). Crucially, these authors also assume that movement out of control is legitimate, which in effect, points toward a synonymous construal of raising and control, theta roles notwithstanding. The reductionist view of control is not only legitimate theoretically but has the added bonus of providing better empirical coverage than the standard view, given that it can also handle backward control languages (see discussion in Polinsky and Potsdam 2002). While not everybody agrees on eliminating PRO (see, especially Landau 1999, 2003, 2004) and while there may be conceptual and empirical reasons to maintain PRO in certain cases and for certain languages, a movement analysis of obligatory control cannot be universally dismissed prior to a careful cross-linguistic investigation. However, before pursuing such an investigation, let us first discuss relevant current formalizations of OC.

Recent, minimalist, formalizations of OC pursue either a reductionist (i.e., without PRO) or a non-reductionist (i.e., with PRO) approach. Approaches eliminating PRO differ primarily as to whether they assume or do not assume movement, which is in turn linked to whether theta roles are construed as features or not. Perhaps the least controversial reductionist minimalist approach is that put forth by Wurmbrand (1998, 2004), who essentially argues that obligatory control presupposes a monoclausal construction, with no PRO. Her analysis is reminiscent of various restructuring analyses that go back all the way to Rizzi (1982) and Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986). In a nutshell, for sentences like (1), which according to Wurmbrand (ibid.) are an instance of lexical restructuring labelled 'semantic control', the matrix verb selects a VP complement, as in (3).

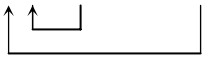
(3) John tried [$_{VP}$ to read the new Chomsky]

The most influential syntactic movement analyses of obligatory control belong to Manzini and Roussou (1998, 2000) and Hornstein (1999, 2000, 2001, 2003), so I will briefly focus on those. Both of these analyses view theta roles as features which have to be checked (i.e., valued) and crucially, both enable a DP to be associated with more than one theta-role.

Manzini and Roussou propose that theta roles are aspectual features which merge in the verbal domain and which associate with a DP. In their system, DPs can only merge in their Case position and, consequently, can only occur in the inflectional domain. From there a DP will attract as many theta-roles as are in its domain, essentially, all of the theta-roles up to the next DP. Obligatory control is devoid of any PRO, being simply viewed as attraction of two theta-roles instead of one. This is schematically illustrated in (4).

(4) a. [$_{TP}$ John T [$_{vP}$ tried [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP}$ read]]]]

b. [John$_D$ [θ_1 tried [θ_2 read]]]



Hornstein's approach is more conservative in that it assumes DPs to be merged in theta-domains rather than in the inflectional domain. However, it is novel in that is allows for DP-movement into theta-positions on a par with movement into Case positions. In his system, theta-roles are features that check either by initial or by second Merge (i.e., via DP-insertion from the Numeration or via DP-movement from within the syntactic tree, respectively). In this approach PRO is simply a lower unpronounced copy of a moved DP, as in (5), where the pronounced copy is in bold. [2]

(5) $[_{TP}$ **John** T $[_{vP}$ John tried $[_{TP}$ to $[_{vP}$ John v $[_{VP}$ read the new Chomsky]]]]]

The major proponent of the non-reductionist approach to control in minimalism is Landau. Landau (1999, 2003, 2004) argues that PRO is cross-linguistically present in obligatory control structures and that equating control with raising is a major mistake. His insights rely heavily on an earlier analysis proposed by Borer (1989) that he adapts to minimalism. Essentially, obligatory control is seen as an instantiation of the operation Agree (see Chomsky 2000 et seq.) holding between a matrix Probe and an embedded anaphoric element. This anaphoric element is sensitive to the specific type of control at stake in the derivation. If involved in 'exhaustive control', the anaphoric element is PRO; if involved in 'partial control', the anaphoric element is Agr of the embedded clause. The split between exhaustive versus partial control depends on whether the selecting matrix predicate obligatorily requires an identical embedded argument, as in (6), or does so optionally, as in (7b), or even partially, as in (7c).

(6) Exhaustive Control (EC)

a. Tom_i tried [PRO_i to understand calculus]

b. * Tom_i tried [for Mary to understand calculus]

c. * Tom_i tried [PRO_{i+} to meet at 9]

[2] To simplify, in (5), I disregard properties of the embedded T. I also use 'T' notation throughout the chapter, despite the fact that there is variation in some of the cited work with respect to 'T' versus 'I' notation.

(7) Partial Control (PC)

a. Gandalf$_i$ wanted [PRO$_i$ to succeed]

b. Gandalf$_i$ wanted [for Frodo to succeed]

b. Gandalf$_i$ wanted [PRO$_{i+}$ to meet late at night]

Crucially, for Landau, PRO is present throughout, being 'active' for Agree due to its anaphoric nature and 'inactive' for movement given that it is Case-marked with null Case.

I next turn my attention to subject OC constructions in Romanian.

3 To raise or not to raise: evidence from Romanian obligatory control

While in languages like English, the shared argument is constrained to a matrix clause position, in Romanian it may surface in a number of legitimate slots, including in the embedded clause, as shown in (8). However, only one PF copy instantiation of the DP subject is permitted.

(8) (**Victor**) încearcă (**Victor**) [să cînte (**Victor**)
(Victor.NOM) try.PRES.3SG (Victor.NOM) [SBJ sing.3SG (Victor.NOM)
la trombon (**Victor**)]. [3]
at trombone (Victor.NOM)]
'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

Note also, that even if the complement clause in Romanian is a subjunctive (with agreement morphology) rather than an infinitive, obligatory control still holds, as shown in (9). [4]

(9) a. Victor încearcă [(* Mihai) să cînte]

[3] The abbreviations used in the Romanian example sentences are: SE: impersonal clitic, AUX: auxiliary, SBJ: subjunctive, INF: infinitive, IND: indicative, PRES: present tense, PART: participle, NEG: negative, CL: pronominal clitic, SG: singular, Pl: plural, NOM: Nominative case, ACC: Accusative case, DAT: Dative case, M: masculine, F: feminine. 'PE' is a preposition associated with Romanian direct objects that have an <e> type denotation (see Cornilescu 2000b).

[4] These properties are shared with modern Greek (see Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2002, Spyropoulos this volume, Kapetangianni and Seely this volume).

Victor try.PRES.3SG [(* Mihai) SBJ sing.3SG]

'Victor is trying (*Mihai) to sing.'

b. Victor$_i$ încearcă [x_i să cînte]

Victor try.PRES.3SG [x_i SBJ sing.3SG]

'Victor is trying to sing.'

Given the availability of agreement morphology present on the subjunctive and the *pro*-drop status of the language, the null subject in Romanian OC constructions (i.e., *x* in (9b)), has often been claimed to be *pro* (e.g., Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Farkas 1988, Motapanyane 1995), but some authors have argued for PRO (e.g. Kempchinski 1986, Terzi 1992). We will see that neither approach can be maintained.

Clearly, the data in (8) make it difficult to adopt a standard analysis of control for Romanian and at least the following questions need to be addressed in connection to these data: (i) Where does the DP subject originate? (ii) Is movement involved? and if so, (iii) What factors determine pronunciation site? (iv) Is there any genuine evidence for PRO or *pro*?

In the following subsections, I investigate the relevance of the various minimalist proposals presented in Section 2 and conclude that none of them can do justice to the data. I show that the best solution is reductionist in spirit and along the lines of Hornstein, but modified to allow for optional subject displacement and the relevant semantico-pragmatic effects to be discussed in Section 5.

3.1 Wurmbrand's proposal and Romanian subject control

Wurmbrand's lexical restructuring analysis cannot be maintained as (8) shows evidence for structure beyond VP (i.e., phi-complete T, embedded subject DP, etc.). Furthermore, clitic climbing - a

crucial argument for restructuring - while present in certain contexts in Romanian, see (10a), is ruled out in obligatory control contexts, see (10b). [5]

(10) a. L_i-a putut [$_{VP}$ (* $îl_i$) vedea] ?
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.3SG could.PART [$_{VP}$ (*CL.3SG.M.ACC) see.3SG]
'Could s/he see him ?'

b. Nu (*l_i)-a încercat [să-l_i vadă].
not (*CL.3SG.M.ACC)-AUX.3SG try.PART [SBJ-CL.3SG.M.ACC see.3SG]
'S/he didn't try to see him.'

Note that functional restructuring along the lines of Cinque (2004) and Wurmbrand (2004), also needs to be ruled out as the matrix clause predicate assigns a subject theta-role, contra to what functors do. Interestingly, however, restructuring analyses are tempting because they are relevant for environments that are to be treated as mono-clausal. Once it becomes clear that OC subjunctives are non-phasal, a clause union of sorts becomes vital. However, what I hope to have convinced the reader of here is that restructuring cannot be assumed to apply any lower than the T domain. Consequently, we need to investigate beyond Wurmbrand's approach.

3.2 Manzini and Roussou's proposal and Romanian subject control

A Manzini and Roussou (henceforth M&R) approach has actually been proposed for Romanian by Dobrovie-Sorin (2001). Essentially, it would work as in (11):

(11) a. Victor încearcă [să cînte la trombon].
Victor try.PRES.3SG [SBJ sing.3SG at trombone]

[5] Motapanyane-Hill (p.c.) points out that clitic climbing is independently ruled out in (11b), given the clitic status of the subjunctive particle and the ban against excorporating from within clitic domains. Either way, this only strengthens the argument against restructuring as it highlights the fact that clitics are licensed in the embedded clause. This, in effect, points at least toward a T status of the subjunctive domain, following assumptions in (Kayne 1991) for Romance clitics.

'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

b. [Victor$_D$ încearcă [θ_1 < încearcă> [să cînte θ_2 la trombon$_D$ < cînte > θ_3]]]

The shared argument *Victor* is merged directly in Spec,TP from where it attracts all the theta-roles up to the next DP. [6] Given that it attracts two subject theta-roles, obligatory control ensues. Leaving aside theory-internal problems with the M&R approach, such as for example, the fact that it is stipulative to assume the DP would be interested in attracting more than one theta-feature to begin with, there are also empirical problems which are more difficult to ignore. Basically, this analysis only works if the unique DP argument is in the main clause preverbal position but becomes problematic once we consider data of the type in (12) where the shared argument is not pronounced in the matrix clause domain but lower.

(12) a. pro$_i$ încearcă [să cînte Victor$_i$ la trombon].

pro$_i$ try.PRES.3SG [SBJ sing.3SG Victor$_i$ at trombone]

'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

b. [pro$_D$ [încearcă θ_1 < încearcă > [să cînte Victor$_D$ [θ_2 la trombon < cînte > θ_3]]]

The reasons are self-evident. First, the obligatory OC interpretation *cannot* be accounted for as each DP attracts a single theta-role. Specifically, θ_1 checks against the null pronominal and θ_2 checks against *Victor* and there is no further permissible coindexation mechanism. Second, (12) represents a Condition C violation. If anything, assuming the null pronoun is indeed available in the Numeration, we expect it to be incapable of bearing the same index as the subjunctive DP subject, contrary to fact. One possibility is to hypothesize that Romanian is insensitive to Condition C effects. However,

[6] Note that (11b) illustrates lexical verb raising to T, a dislocation which is obligatory for Romanian (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, a.o.).

example (13) shows that Condition C effects are, nonetheless, operative in this language, which amounts to disqualifying the Manzini and Roussou approach as a correct analysis for Romanian.

(13) pro $_{k / *j}$ ştie [că pleacă Mihai$_j$ mîine].
pro $_{k / *j}$ know.PRES.3SG [that leave.3SG Mihai$_j$ tomorrow].
'He $_{k / *j}$ knows that Mihai$_j$ will be leaving tomorrow.'

3.3 Landau's proposal and Romanian subject control

I first discuss Landau and leave Hornstein last, given that I ultimately adopt a revised version of Hornstein as the best solution for Romanian.

As mentioned in Section 2, Landau's approach assumes PRO across the board in OC contexts. However, by definition, standard theories of control have assumed PRO to be in complementary distribution with overt DPs, which, as shown in (8) and (12) is not the case for Romanian. Clearly, a PRO analyis cannot do justice to the data, so it seems stipulative to adopt it. I would, however, like to point out that one of Landau's main arguments against a Hornstein-type raising analysis for obligatory control in English comes from the availability of partial control with certain matrix verbs in this language, as seen in (7). This is a viable argument that cannot be ignored. However, it is an argument that does not apply to Romanian, which lacks the partial control effects seen with English desideratives. Look at (14), with phi-values in bold .

(14) a. * Eu vreau [să plec împreună]
I want. PRES.**1SG** [SBJ leave.**1SG** together]
b. * Vreau [să plecăm eu împreună]
want.PRES.**1SG** [SBJ leave.**1PL** I together]
c. Eu vreau [să plecăm x împreună]

I want.PRES.**1SG** [SBJ leave.**1PL** x together]

'I want to leave together.'

What (14) shows us is that Romanian requires syntactic plurality of any semantically plural predicate. Given that syntactic plurality can only be guaranteed by formal feature checking against a plural value, the *x* subject in (14c) has to bear a syntactically plural feature, so is *not* controlled by the matrix singular subject *eu* 'I'. Rather, it is a referential *pro* specified as 1.PL. This then explains the ungrammaticality of (14a,b) but rules out partial control which is defined by a syntactically *singular* controller of semantically plural predicates and *identity* in syntactic agreement between the matrix and the embedded clause predicates.

The data in (14) also show that Romanian OC is always exhaustive control (EC) in the sense of Landau. So, the relevant split for Romanian is between OC and non-OC (NOC), as in standard accounts, without further refinements for OC. Specifically, with predicates such as aspectuals and implicatives, OC/EC obtains, while desideratives instantiate NOC. This dichotomy is illustrated in (15).

(15) a. OC/EC (e.g. aspectuals & implicatives):

pro_i încearcă [să plece $pro_{i/*j}$]

pro_i try.PRES.3 [SBJ leave.3 $pro_{i/*j}$]

(i) 'S/he wants (*for them) to leave.' OR

(ii) 'They want (*for her/him) to leave.'

b. NOC (e.g. desideratives):

pro_i vrea [să plece $pro_{i/j}$]

pro_i want.PRES.3SG [SBJ leave.3 $pro_{i/j}$]

'S/he wants (for her/him/them) to leave.'

Note that even if (15a) shows that in the absence of an overt subject, the 3 person subject referent can be interpreted as either singular or plural, OC holds. On the other hand, in (15b), a main clause singular subject can license either an embedded singular or an embedded plural subject, hence NOC.

The above split yields the expected readings under ellipsis (see Williams 1980). In particular, OC only allows for a sloppy reading under identity, while NOC allows for both sloppy and strict readings, as shown in (16). I will argue in Section 4 that OC structures are non-phasal while NOC structures are phasal, which explains their distinct semantics and subject availabilities.

(16) a. <u>sloppy reading only for OC</u>

Mihai încearcă să-i ajute şi la fel (încearcă) şi

Mihai try.PRES.3SG SBJ-CL.DAT.3PL help.3SG and at same (try.PRES.3SG) and

Victor.

Victor

'Mihai is trying to help them and so does Victor (= Victor to help)'

b. <u>sloppy and strict readings for NOC</u>

Mihai vrea să-i ajute şi la fel

Mihai want.PRES.3SG SBJ-CL.DAT.3PL help.3SG and at same

(vrea) şi Victor.

(want.PRES. 3SG) and Victor

'Mihai wants to help them and so does Victor (= Victor to help OR Mihai to help)'

To conclude this sub-section, I have shown here that OC in Romanian is exclusively EC and that backward control rules out an account based on PRO. These two facts can only be felicitously captured under some version of a theta-chain analysis of control.

3.4 Hornstein's proposal and Romanian subject control

A Hornstein-type analysis would work as in (17), where the subject DP first merges in the Spec,vP of the embedded clause and subsequently moves to its second Merge position in Spec,vP of matrix clause, thus satisfying the external thematic roles of both predicates (i.e., θ_v^e and θ_v^m, respectively).

(17) [$_{TP}$ încearcă [$_{vP}$ Victor θ_v^m <încearcă> [să cînte [$_{vP}$ <Victor> θ_v^e [$_{VP}$ <cînte> la trombon]]]]]

Note, however, that (17) only partially accounts for (8), repeated as (18) with the copies relevant for the theta-chain in boxes and potential occurrences of the shared argument in bold:[7]

(18) (**Victor**) încearcă (**Victor**) [să cînte (**Victor**)

(Victor) try.PRES.3SG (Victor) [SBJ sing. 3SG (Victor)

la trombon (**Victor**)].

at trombone (Victor)]

'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

It is important to mention here that all current studies on Romanian (see Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000a, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Hill 2002) have argued that the language is VSO in that the lexical verb undergoes obligatory displacement into the T domain, while Case is valued via Agree without dislocation to Spec,TP for classical EPP purposes. Preverbal subjects in this language undergo A-bar rather than A-movement and are interpreted as topics or - with the relevant prosody - as contrastively focused constituents. Crucially then, in (18), *Victor* is not involved in movement of the English EPP-type when matrix initial. If anything, the Hornstein account predicts pronunciation of the

[7] In the embedded subjunctive, both instances of the DP subject *Victor* are boxed given that they both occupy Spec,vP, the initial Merge position of the shared argument. As the discussion in Section 5 will clarify, under specific pragmatic constraints, the direct object raises above (and to the left of) the subject in Spec,vP, seemingly yielding two subject copies within the embedded clause.

postverbal copy for VSO language like Romanian, which we see not to be supported by the empirical facts.

Consequently, while I take an approach which views theta-roles as features in need of valuation to be not only correct but the optimal solution for Romanian, dislocation is not a prerequisite for either Case, EPP or theta-valuation. [8] Even if A-related properties are satisfied solely via Agree, any analysis of Romanian OC needs to be capable of providing a coherent account of all available displacements. I propose that the Romanian data can be captured via a movement analysis of control reminiscent of raising. Specifically, I adopt an approach which views theta-roles as features that can be valued via Agree on a par with any other unvalued feature. I argue that, despite agreement with the embedded T, the embedded DP subject does not value its Case feature in the subjunctive clause and, consequently, is accessible to matrix clause Agree operations as long as it remains active. I further argue that whether theta-feature and/or Case feature valuation is accompanied by movement depends on the presence or absence of relevant semantico-pragmatic triggers for displacement (e.g., focus, de-rhematization, etc.).[9]

Before fine-graining the analysis to accomodate all of the copy availabilities seen in Romanian, let us proceed with our discussion of relevant properties of OC subjunctives that not only enable but crucially require a shared argument.

4 Obligatory control and phases

[8] Unsurprisingly, neither is dislocation a prerequisite in standard raising constructions in this language:

(i) (Mihai) pare [să fie (Mihai) băiat deştept (Mihai)]
(Mihai) seem.3SG [SBJ be.3SG (Mihai) boy smart (Mihai)]
'Mihai seems to be a smart guy.'

[9] An anonymous reviewer expressed concern lest the proposed analysis is merely "an exercise" (see also Kapetangianni and Seely, this volume) and worried about "independent evidence". I hope to have shown that none of the previous analyses work, while the proposal here is not only theoretically coherent but also empirically comprehensive. It seems to me that if we indeed aim at doing justice to the multifaceted aspects of Romanian subject control, there simply is no other road to take.

Here I discuss morpho-syntacic properties of subjunctive clauses in Romanian OC constructions and conclude that they have properties typical of non-phasal rather than phasal domains. Evidence for this is based on the absence of a lexical complementizer, a temporally unsaturated, even if phi-complete, T, and the incapacity of the embedded domain to value Case on the DP subject. Given that all of these are properties of C - the phase head - rather than of T (see Chomsky 2005, 2006), their absence indicates absence of phase-hood. Lack of PIC (*phase impenetrability condition*) only strengthens this claim, as does the fact that the embedded subject DP remains active for Match and Agree operations with relevant heads in the matrix clause.

4.1 OC subjunctives lack phasal CP status

In addition to the fact that the subjunctive verb in Romanian shows person and number agreement with the subject (i.e., synthetic marking on the verb stem as in other Romance languages), subjunctives also require the obligatory presence of a subjunctive particle *să* preceding the verb (i.e., the subjunctive is analytically marked as in other languages of the Balkans). Most analyses take this particle to be the highest head of the verbal functional domain and refer to it as Mood, I, or just T (e.g. Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000a, Isac 2002, Motapanyane 1995, Pîrvulescu 2001, Rivero 1994, Terzi 1992), but Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) suggests *să* is ambiguous between a C and a T element. In fact, under a cartographic approach to the left-periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2004), this ambiguity could perhaps translate as T to Fin (i.e., low C) movement. Farkas (1985) actually claims this movement to be obligatory in the absence of *ca* and Hill (2003), not only provides crucial arguments for this movement, but also shows that in the absence of *ca*, subjunctives are non-phasal, while in the presence of *ca*, these domains show PIC properties and have phasal status. For example, Hill (2003) shows that while DP movement is licit across *să*-subjunctives, it is ruled out in *ca*-subjunctives, thereby

concluding that the latter, but not the former, constitute phasal domains. In Alboiu (2006), I reach a similar conclusion by looking at movement constraints on focused negative polarity items across the two types of subjunctives. Given the availability of a distinct subjunctive complementizer in Romanian, specifically *ca*, an unambiguous C element which surfaces to the left of the subjunctive particle and yields phasal effects, I take *să* to be at least the highest verbal functor and at most a low C head and treat it as a genuine non-phasal element. Henceforth, I use C_{HIGH} notation to represent a phasal domain and C_{Low} notation to represent a non-phasal domain. The reader might wonder why I do not simply use the better established Force versus Fin(ite) notation of Rizzi (1997, 2004). As mentioned, Hill (2003) argues that in *ca*-less subjunctives, *să* and its verbal host must move up to the Fin head. The same is argued for infinitives lacking a complementizer: movement of the infinitive mood particle *a* and its verbal host proceeds to Fin. I take this to be essentially correct given that both subjunctives and infinitives must contain minimally a FinP, the domain responsible for finiteness or lack thereof (see also Barrie, this volume). Crucially, these are non-phasal domains in Romanian. However, Hill (ibid.) also argues, convincingly to my mind, that the subjunctive complementizer *ca*, as well as the infinitive complementizer *de*, are merged in Fin, and not in Force in Romanian. Nonetheless, the author clearly shows that these domains are phasal. So it looks like FinP can be both phasal and non-phasal in Romanian. To put this another way, the phasal status of FinP is obviated in OC contexts. Possibly when FinP is phasal, the Force domain is also projected but left empty or is simply merged with *ca*-Fin and forms a syncretic category with it. Essentially, OC only holds in the absence of phase-hood, so with a non-phasal FinP. To capture this critical distinction, I use C_{HIGH} for phasal subjunctives (i.e., domains which allow for the lexical complementizer *ca*) and C_{Low} for non-phasal subjunctives (i.e., domains which rule out the complementizer), even though they both instantiate a FinP.[10]

[10] Note that Barrie (this volume) argues that FinP is a phase in English based on the behaviour of *wh*-infinitivals.

From an empirical point of view, as illustrated in Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000), the subjunctive complementizer is obligatory with topicalised material, see (19a), optional with fronted focus, see (19b), and subject to idiolectal variation when nothing precedes *să*, see (19c).

(19) a. Trebuie [*(ca) Mioara$_i$ să ajungă t_i repede].
must.PRES that.SBJ Mioara SBJ arrive.3SG t_i soon.'
'Mioara must arrive soon.'

b. Vreau [(ca) AZI să pleci (nu mîine)].
want.PRES.1SG that.SBJ today SBJ leave.2SG (not tomorrow)
'It is today that I want you to leave (, not tomorrow).'

c. Vreau [(? ca) să ningă].
want.PRES.1SG that.SBJ SBJ snow.3SG
'I want it to snow.'

Given that C_{HIGH} is not always lexicalized as *ca*, the absence of *ca* cannot be taken as synonymous to the absence of C_{HIGH}. However, the illegitimacy of *ca* is synonymous to the absence of a phasal C and denotes a C_{LOW}.

A number of authors have noticed that *ca* is obligatorily absent in both raising and OC subjunctive complements (e.g. Alboiu, 2006, Grosu and Horvath 1987, Dobrovie-Sorin 2001, Rivero and Geber 2004, among others). This is illustrated in (20).

(20) a. Victor încearcă / pare [(*ca pe Mihai) să-l ajute].

Crucially, extraction of the subject DP is argued to block extraction of a *wh*-phrase as the escape hatch for movement [Spec,FinP] has already been used in the A-movement operation. However, phases are known to block A-movement (Chomsky 2000 et seq.), a constraint I take to be correct, as well as to hold cross-linguistically. Hornstein (2000:137), being equally aware of this problem, especially given that in English many of the OC contexts are structurally more complex than canonical raising constructions (recall the classical CP versus IP split), argues as follows, "assume that some mechanism, say incorporation, can void the CP phase derivationally [...]". Crucially, for A-movement to occur, the phase status has to be obviated. One could speculate some mechanism whereby movement of a DP with unvalued features (say, Case) to the left edge of the phase would not only block A-bar movement (as discussed by Barrie) but would also guarantee obviation of the phase.

Victor try.PRES.3SG / seem.PRES.3SG [(that PE Mihai) SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help]

b. Victor încearcă / pare [să-l ajute (pe Mihai)].

Victor try.PRES.3SG / seem.PRES.3SG [SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help (PE Mihai)]

'Victor is trying to help Mihai / seems to be helping Mihai.'

Consequently, these subjunctives are never $C_{HIGH}P$ but reduced, non-phasal, $C_{LOW}P$ domains. As shown below, this constrasts with NOC subjunctives, such as desideratives, where the lexical complementizer is optional.

In (21) the desiderative selects a *ca*-less subjunctive. Given the empirical facts in (20), structurally speaking, (21) is ambiguous between a $C_{HIGH}P$ and a $C_{LOW}P$ domain. Semantic ambiguity (see the two readings) provides empirical support for this claim. What is noteworthy, however, is that the OC reading must of necessity involve a theta-chain (i.e., and A-chain). This follows from the fact that Condition C of Binding Theory would rule out a coindexed referential *pro*.

(21) pro_{k} / $*pro_{j}$ vrea [să cînte Mihai$_{j}$ la violoncel].

pro_{k} / $*pro_{j}$ want.PRES.3SG [SBJ sing.3SG Mihai$_{j}$ at cello].

(i) 'S/he wants Mihai to play the cello.' OR

(ii) 'Mihai wants to play the cello.'

Let us compare (21) with (22), where C is lexicalized as *ca*, thus ensuring an unambiguous $C_{HIGH}P$ status to the subjunctive complement. We notice an asymmetry in readings between (21) and (22). In (22), the OC reading is ruled out.

(22) *pro* $_{k / *j}$ vrea [$_{CHIGHP}$ ca mîine să cînte

pro $_{k / *j}$ want.PRES.3SG [$_{CHIGHP}$ that.SBJ tomorrow SBJ sing.3SG

Mihai $_{j}$ la violoncel].

Mihai at cello]

(i) 'S/he wants Mihai to play the cello tomorrow.'

(ii) but *not*: 'Mihai wants to play the cello tomorrow.'

These data confirm two things: (i) that OC subjunctives are $C_{LOW}P$ domains and (ii) that A-chains are not permitted across $C_{HIGH}P$ (phasal) boundaries. In the next two sections, I show that non-phasal domains are neither temporally saturated nor capable of valuing Case. As such, a clause-union analysis of sorts becomes compulsory. [11]

4.2 No saturated T in the absence of phasal C

While subjunctive complements do not manifest independent tense on a par with indicative clauses, their tense properties may or may not be anaphoric depending on the matrix verb selecting them (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 and Farkas 1992, for Romanian; Krapova 2001, for Bulgarian; Landau 2004, for Balkan languages more generally). Specifically, complements to obligatory OC predicates are untensed (i.e., bear anaphoric tense). For Romanian, this is illustrated in (23), where (23a) involves an OC implicative and (23b) involves an OC aspectual predicate. In both instances, subjunctive T is anaphorically related to matrix T as indicated by the absence of distinct temporal deixis.

(23) a. Am reuşit [$_{CLowP}$ să plec (*mîine)]
AUX.1SG managed [$_{CLowP}$ SBJ leave.1SG tomorrow]
'I managed to leave (*tomorrow).'

b. Încep [$_{CLowP}$ să citesc / *fi citit].
begin.PRES.1SG [$_{CLowP}$ SBJ read.1SG / PAST read]
'I'm beginning to (*have) read.'

[11] See also Hill (2003), following Roberts (1997).

On the other hand, NOC predicates allow for a distinct tense from that of the matrix clause, even if dependent on matrix clause T given the irrealis status of subjunctives in general (see Landau 2004). This is shown in (24).

(24) Am vrut [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ să plece Mihai mîine].
AUX.1SG wanted [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ SBJ leave.3SG Mihai tomorrow]
'I wanted for Mihai to leave tomorrow.'

In Alboiu (2006), I suggested that temporal deixis is strictly dependent on the presence versus absence of the CP domain. This insight goes back to Stowell (1982), who viewed tense domains as C properties and has received support recently from novel proposals in Chomsky (2005, 2006). To sum up, OC subjunctives are non-phasal, and, consequently temporally unsaturated domains.

4.3 A-chains and phases

The non-phasal status of OC and raising subjunctives guarantees that matrix Probes have access to embedded material in these Romanian constructions. In Minimalism, a DP is active until Case-marked. I take this to be true, at least for structural Case, though there are other views currently available (e.g. Bejar and Massam 1999, Ura 2000). Contra to earlier generative assumptions (Chomsky 1981, George and Kornfilt 1981) but in accord with much recent work (Alboiu 2006, Chomsky 2005, 2006, Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, 2004, Sitaridou 2002, inter alia) I take Case valuation to be a property of phasal domains rather than of agreement. So, even if subjunctive T is phi-complete, it will only check and value Case once T is saturated by a phasal C. This entails that embedded subjects in OC constructions remain active beyond the subjunctive clause and can act as Goals for various A-type

Agree operations triggered by matrix Probes. The following sub-section provides empirical support for this theoretical claim. [12]

4.3.1 Nominative as a phasal property: evidence from Romanian emphatics

In Romanian, emphatics cannot be stranded without a pronominal copy. Consider (25).

(25) a. [Mihai *însuşi*] a făcut [$_{vP}$ t_{su} acest desen].
[Mihai.NOM himself] AUX.3SG done [$_{vP}$ t_{su} this drawing]
'Mihai himself made this drawing.'

b. Mihai a făcut [$_{vP}$ [*(el) *însuşi*] acest desen].
Mihai.NOM AUX.3SG done [$_{vP}$ [he.NOM himself] this drawing]
'Mihai made this drawing himself.'

Furthermore, the pronominal copy licensing the emphatic is seen to bear a Nominative value. Nonetheless, it is clear that *Mihai.NOM* and *he.NOM* form a Case-chain, given that both are assigned Case via matrix T.

---

[12] At this point I can clarify why this chapter refers exclusively to subject, as opposed to object, control. Contrary to subject control, object control is irrelevant to the present discussion as the matrix verb selects a non-anaphoric ($C_{HIGH}P$) subjunctive, rather than an anaphoric $C_{LOW}P$. This is shown in (ia) where, furthermore, we can also notice the availability of Nominative Case (bolded pronoun), as expected in view of the phasal status of these subjunctives. Given the pro-drop nature of Romanian, (ib) is equally unsurprising.

(i) a. *L_i-am* *rugat* *pe Ion$_i$* [$_{CHIGHP}$ *ca* *mîine*
CL.3SG.M.ACC$_i$-AUX.1SG asked PE Ion$_i$ [$_{CHIGHP}$ that.SBJ tomorrow
să *plimbe* ***el$_i$*** *cîinele*].
SBJ walk.3SG 3SG.M.NOM$_i$ dog-the]
'I asked John to walk the dog tomorrow.'

b. *L_i-am* *rugat* *pe Ion$_i$* [$_{CHIGHP}$ *să* *plimbe*
CL.3SG.M.ACC$_i$-AUX.1SG asked PE Ion$_i$ [$_{CHIGHP}$ SBJ walk.3SG
pro$_i$ *cîinele*].
pro$_i$ dog-the]
'I asked John to walk the dog.'

In the presence of two CP phasal domains, where Nominative Case is assigned twice independently (i.e., both in the matrix and in the embedded clause), as expected, two distinct subject occurences are permitted *in addition* to the emphatic. This is illustrated below.

(26) a. Mihai$_i$ regretă [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ că Victor$_k$ nu poate
Mihai.NOM regret.PRES.3SG [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ that.IND Victor.NOM NEG can
veni [el$_k$ *însuşi$_k$*]]
come.3SG [he.NOM himself]]
'Mihai regrets that Victor can't himself come.'

b. Mihai$_i$ regretă [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ că ăla $_k$ / el$_i$ nu
Mihai.NOM regret.PRES.3SG [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ that.IND that.one.NOM / he.NOM NEG
poate veni [el$_k$ / el$_i$ *însuşi$_k$*]]
can come.3SG [he.NOM himself]]
'Mihai regrets that that guy / he can't himself come.'

While in (26), there is no Case-chain between main clause and embedded clause subjects, the grammaticality judgements in (27) force us to conclude differently for OC constructions.

(27)
a. [Victor *însuşi*] încearcă [$_{\text{CLOWP}}$ să facă t_{su} pizza]
[Victor.NOM himself] try.PRES.3SG [$_{\text{CLOWP}}$ SBJ make.3SG t_{su} pizza]
'Victor himself is trying to make pizza.'

b. Victor$_i$ încearcă [$_{\text{CLOWP}}$ să facă [el$_i$ *însuşi$_i$*] pizza]
Victor.NOM try.PRES.3SG [$_{\text{CLOWP}}$ SBJ make.3SG [he.NOM himself] pizza]
'Victor is trying to himself make pizza.'

c. Victor$_i$ încearcă [$_{\text{CLOWP}}$ să facă pizza [el$_i$ *însuşi$_i$*]]
Victor.NOM try.PRES.3SG [$_{\text{CLOWP}}$ SBJ make.3SG pizza [he.NOM himself]]

'Victor is trying to himself make pizza.'

d. * Victor$_i$ încearcă [$_{CLowP}$ să facă ăla $_k$ / el$_i$ pizza [el$_{k\,/\,i}$ *însuşi$_i$*]]

Victor.NOM try.PRES.3SG [$_{CLowP}$ SBJ make.3SG that.one/he.NOM pizza [he.NOM himself]]

'Victor is trying to himself make pizza.'

What (27b,c) show us is that a stranded emphatic copy may surface in the embedded clause in either of the two slots available to subjects in OC subjunctives: to the left and to the right of the DP object. [13, 14] Crucially, however, an independent Nominative pronoun is ruled out, as shown in (27d). This proves that there is a Case-chain established between matrix and embedded subjects in OC subjunctives and confirms the theoretical predication that Nominative is not independently available in these non-phasal subjunctive domains, regardless of phi-specifications. [15]

In the next sub-section, I show that theta-chains also hold across $C_{LOW}P$ domains but not across $C_{HIGH}P$, phasal domains.

4.3.2 Dative subjects in (N)OC and raising

Among other things, Landau (2003) takes issue with control-as-raising on the basis of the behaviour of Dative subjects in Icelandic. As a DP-trace, the controlled position should be Caseless. However, in Icelandic there is a Case mismatch between a floating quantifier and the matrix controller, mismatch which is not observed in raising constructions. This is shown in (28) adapted from Landau (2003:492).

(28) a. Strákarnir$_i$ vonast til [að PRO$_i$ lei ðast ekki öllum$_i$ í skóla].

boys-the.NOM hope for [to PRO.DAT to-be bored not all.DAT in school]

[13] See Section 5 for a discussion of these subject positions.

[14] The same grammaticality judgements obtain with other OC predicates (e.g. *reuşeşte* 'manages') or with a raising predicate like *pare* 'seems'.

[15] Note that this conclusion forces us to renounce *pro* which presupposes independent Nominative valuation (see issue raised in Section 3).

'The boys hope not to be all bored in school.'

b. Strákunum$_i$ virðast [t_i lei ðast ekki öllum$_i$ í skóla].
boys-the.DAT seem [to-be bored not all.DAT in school]
'The boys seem not to be all bored in school.'

Consequently, only in (28b) can the embedded subject be a DP-trace and in (28a) it must be PRO.

Consider (29), on the other hand, which illustrates that in Romanian OC constructions the moved DP subject retains the Dative Case required by the embedded predicate both in the presence of the quantifier and when the quantifier is left floating (to the extent that this yields a felicitous sentence). This is similar to what is observed in Icelandic raising and not Icelandic OC constructions.[16]

(29) a. Tuturor copiilor a reuşit [să le placă
all.DAT.PL kids-the.DAT AUX.3SG managed [SBJ CL.3PL.DAT like
matematica].
mathematics]
'All the kids managed to like math.'

b. Copiilor a reuşit [să le placă (?tuturor)
kids-the.DAT AUX.3SG managed [SBJ CL.3PL.DAT like all.DAT.PL

[16] That 'manage' is a control predicate rather than a raising predicate is evidenced by its properties in (i) and (ii) below. Both examples illustrate thematic restrictions: (i) shows sensitivity to the semantics of the DP argument, while (ii) shows that the passivized complement of the implicative is not truth-conditionally synonymous with its active counterpart. These classical tests make it clear that 'manage' assigns an external theta-role in Romanian.

(i) a. Victor a reuşit să plece.
Victor AUX.3SG managed SBJ leave.3
'Victor managed to leave.'
b. *Apa a reuşit să fiarbă.
water AUX.3SG managed SBJ boil.3
'*The water managed to boil.'

(ii) a. Victor a reuşit să-l ajute pe Mihai.
Victor AUX.3SG managed SBJ-CL.SG.M.ACC help.3 PE Mihai
'Victor managed to help Mihai
b. Mihai a reuşit să fie ajutat de Victor.
Mihai AUX.3SG managed SBJ be.SBJ.3 helped by Victor
'Mihai managed to be helped by Victor.'
Where, (iia) is ≠ from (iib).

matematica].

mathematics]

'The kids managed to all like math.'

In conclusion, as evidenced by its Case properties, the shared argument could not have been merged in the main clause domain, so a theta-chain between the matrix and the embedded subject positions seems appropriate.

Moreover, further investigation into the behaviour of Dative subjects reveals an asymmetry not between raising and OC constructions but between these and NOC environments. This behaviour only strengthens the claim that the controlled position is part of an A-chain, in this case a theta-chain, as the readings will show.

Let us consider first the raising and OC data in (30) and (31), respectively.

(30) a. Lui Mihai / *Mihai pare [$_{CLowP}$ să-i placă şcoala].

Mihai.DAT / *NOM seem.PRES.SG [$_{CLowP}$ SBJ-CL.3SG.DAT like school.NOM]

'Mihai seems to like school.'

b. Lui Mihai / *Mihai par [$_{CLowP}$ să-i placă fetele].

Mihai.DAT / *NOM seem.PRES.PL [$_{CLowP}$ SBJ-CL.3SG.DAT like girl.PL-the.NOM]

'Mihai seems to like girls.'

(31) a. Lui (Mihai) au reuşit [$_{CLowP}$ să-i placă

3SG.M (Mihai).DAT AUX.3PL managed [$_{CLowP}$ SBJ-CL.3SG.DAT like

toți copiii din clasă].

all kids.NOM in class]

b. *El au / a reuşit [$_{CLowP}$ să-i placă

3SG.M.NOM AUX.3PL / AUX.3SG managed [$_{CLowP}$ SBJ-CL.3SG.DAT like

toți copiii din clasă].

all kids.NOM in class]

(i) 'He / Mihai managed to like all the kids in his class.'

(ii) and *not* 'All the kids in the class managed for Mihai to like them.'

On a par with the raising predicate in (30), the implicative in (31) rules out Nominative on its DP argument, requiring instead that the Dative Case be retained. In both cases, matrix clause T agrees with the phi-features of the embedded Nominative DP. Nonetheless, in (31), it is the quirky argument (i.e., the logical subject of *liking*[17]) and not the Nominative that controls. This means that the quirky argument enters an A-chain with the matrix clause subject theta-domain, even if not with the matrix clause T domain.

Now look at (32), with a NOC predicate:

(32) a. Eu sper [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ să-mi priască excursia].

1SG.NOM hope.PRES.1SG [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ SBJ-CL.1SG.DAT enjoy trip-the.NOM]

'I hope to enjoy the trip.'

b. Mie sper [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ să-mi priască excursia].

1SG.DAT hope.PRES.1SG [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ SBJ-CL.1SG.DAT enjoy trip-the.NOM]

'Insofar as I am concerned, I hope to enjoy the trip.'

c. Mie speră Ion [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ să-mi priască

1SG.DAT hope.PRES.3SG Ion [$_{\text{CHIGHP}}$ SBJ-CL.1SG.DAT enjoy

lecturile astea].

readings-the.NOM these]

'Insofar as I am concerned, Ion hopes that I'll be enjoying these readings.'

[17] Note that this particular subjunctive predicate does not itself inflect for agreement.

In (32b&c) but not (32a), the DP argument with idiosyncratic Dative Case dislocates to the main clause left-peripheral domain. That this is dislocation to a Topic position is evidenced both by the semantics, as well as by the phi-values on the main clause desiderative: T agrees with a matrix clause DP and never with the Nominative DP embedded in the subjunctive. In these cases, the Dative DP does not control. Rather, there is an independent external argument within the main clause: *eu* 'I' (in 32a), 1SG *pro* (in 32b - as evidenced by agreement on the desiderative), and *Ion* (in 32c). This is the outcome of there being two independent CP, phasal, domains: the main clause CP and the embedded clause CP. These facts suggest the absence of thematic A-chains across $C_{HIGH}P$ domains.

To sum up, in these two sub-sections, I have shown evidence for: (i) Case as a phasal property and (ii) theta-chains across non-phasal ($C_{LOW}P$) but not phasal ($C_{HIGH}P$) boundaries. The first finding argues against Nominative valuation by subjunctive T in OC constructions, regardless of agreement inflection. Consequently, on a par with raising constructions, the DP embedded subject is not only available but greedily so to subsequent matrix A-relationships, in the absence of which the derivation would crash as this D would not get a Case value. Given this availability, it should not surprise us that thematic A-chains can also be established. That this is indeed the case is supported by the second finding which, in effect validates the claim that OC in Romanian *is* raising. It now remains to illustrate how the various features are checked in OC, how the derivations converge without displacements and how we can account for PF copy preference, which is what I embark on in the next section of this chapter.

5 Feature checking and information packaging in Romanian OC constructions

In this section, I will argue for DP displacement as a semantico-pragmatic consequence, independent of morpho-syntactic requirements for satisfying OC. In the first sub-section, I provide an

account of how the various uninterpretable features are catered to as far as OC is concerned and in the last sub-section, I tease apart the various PF instantiations of the shared subject.

5.1 Catering to OC features

Having shown that OC subjunctives cannot satisfy the Case requirements of the embedded DP subject and that this subject DP cannot be perceived as either *pro* or PRO, let us see how this subject is licensed. As previously mentioned, nothing should prevent an active DP from entering as many Agree operations as there are Probes probing. In principle, this can go on until the active DP becomes inactive; specifically, until its uninterpretable Case feature is valued by an interpretable counterpart. Note that I am not claiming that the creation of A-chains is synonymous to movement. In fact, the Romanian data indicate this not to be the case. I take the creation of chains to be synonymous to the instantiation of an Agree operation, with dislocation only triggered by certain special circumstances to be discussed in the next sub-section. So, let us see how these A-chains are formed and how the various uninterpretable features are catered to in OC subjunctives.

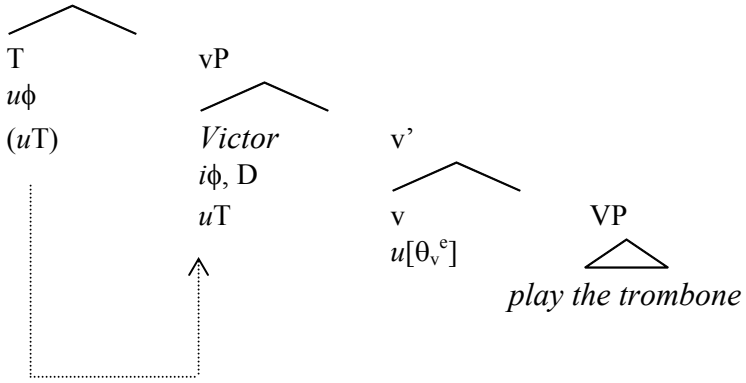
The sample derivation to be discussed is (33) which shows the shared DP subject *Victor* in-situ.

(33) [Încearcă [$_{\text{CLowP}}$ să cînte [$_{\text{vP}}$ Victor < cînte > la trombon]]].
[try.PRES.3SG [$_{\text{CLowP}}$ SBJ sing.3SG [$_{\text{vP}}$ Victor at trombone]]]
'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

Before we proceed a clarification is in order. I formalize anaphoric tense as a *u*T feature on T; independent tense, on the other hand, is formalized as *i*T on T and is only available in the presence of phasal C heads (i.e., when T is selected by C_{HIGH}). Let us suppose, following Pesetsky and Torrego's view (2001, 2004), that Case is construed as *u*T on D arguments. This seems to be supported by the fact that non-phasal domains lack *both* Case and deictic tense properties, as argued in Section 4.

At stage α in the derivation, extract DP *Victor* from the Numeration and merge with v *cînte la trombon* 'play the trombone' to satisfy the external theta-role of the embedded predicate (i.e., $u[\theta_v^e]$ [18]). Next insert T which is phi-complete, having uninterpretable person and number. See (34).

(34)



Focusing on A-features, in (34), the uninterpretable phi-features in T will probe for a matching Goal and find *Victor*, thus establishing Agree, chain-formation and valuation of the phi-set in T. However, given that T is defective (i.e., it is not selected by C_{HIGH}, so is not temporally deictic and lacks an *i*T feature), valuation of Case on *Victor* is not established and the DP remains active and open to further Agree operations. [19]

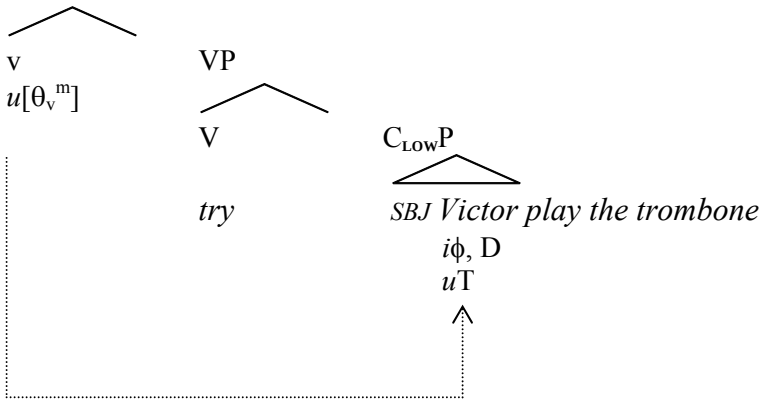
The derivation proceeds to the next step which is insertion of the inflectional subjunctive clitic *să* into the inflectional domain, followed by merge of Fin (C_{LOW}) and subsequent movement of *să*-T into C_{LOW}. C_{LOW}P is projected and selected by the matrix clause predicate *încearcă* 'try'. This new syntactic object (VP) is in turn merged with matrix v which furthermore has an unvalued theta-role to satisfy. Note that this theta-role can only be satisfied structure internally. Merge of a distinct DP from the Numeration would prevent the embedded DP subject from ever checking its Case feature and would thus cause a crash at the interface levels. The main clause v Probe finds *Victor*, an active Goal

[18] This is, of course, a D feature.

[19] Recall that the lexical verb raises to the T domain but I do not show this here as it is irrelevant to our discussion.

in the relevant search space, which, as an inherent D, is capable of satisfying the Probe's thematic requirements. See (35).

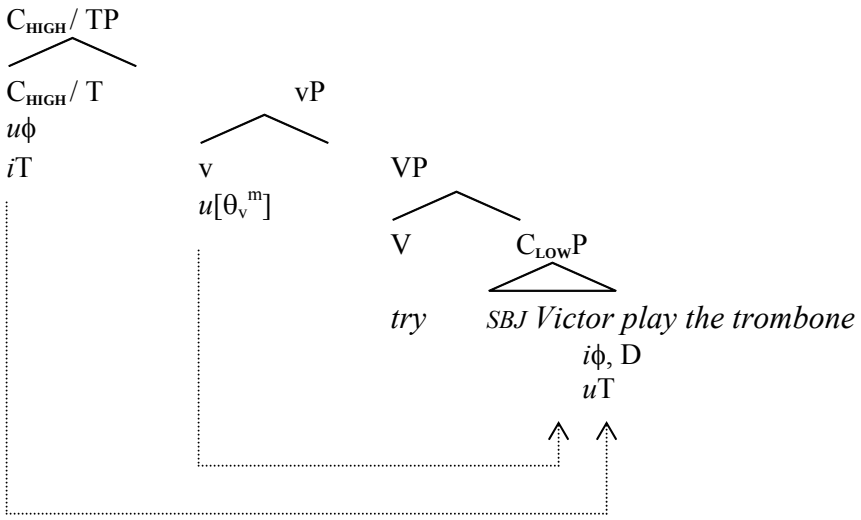
(35)



Crucially, valuation of $u[\theta_v{}^m]$ via the Agree operation in (35) is the necessary and sufficient condition for the OC dependency. In principle, no dislocation should be required to satisfy the matrix predicates external thematic role and, in fact, no dislocation ensues for this purpose.

Next, matrix T merges with matrix vP, and subsequently phasal C (C_{HIGH}) merges with matrix T (shown here as a syncretic category for ease of exposition), as in (36).

(36)



The phasal head guarantees iT on both main clause and embedded T, as well as Case-licensing of the embedded/matrix DP subject. The uninterpretable phi-features in T will probe for a matching Goal.

Given that Match and Agree is established with the closest active DP in the c-command domain of the Probe, the Goal that meets the required locality conditions turns out to be *Victor*. This DP values the matrix unvalued phi-set while simultaneously valuing it own *u*T, thus becoming inactive. Feature valuation is now complete and the derivation converges as desired *without any DP dislocation*. [20] In the process, the shared DP subject has entered (at least) two A-chains: a thematic chain and a Case chain. [21]

5.2 Accounting for PF copies

Having briefly discussed how the morpho-syntactic uninterpretable features are catered to in Romanian OC, I now address the issue of copy preference. This sub-section discusses the various PF instantiations of the shared argument and shows that pronounced copies are dependent on the presence of relevant semantico-pragmatic triggers for displacement (e.g, focus, de-rhematization, etc.).

I have argued in previous work (Alboiu 1999, 2002, 2004) that Romanian exploits syntactic structure to encode sentence pragmatics. Specifically, independent of formal feature checking, phrases may dislocate for novel interpretive effects related to the encoding of the Theme-Rheme partitioning within the sentence. In current theoretical terms (Chomsky 2001b), this displacement is formalizable as an OCC feature optionally present in the derivation. [22] For Romanian, see the schema in (37).

(37) (Topic XP*) - (Kontrast XP) - $C/T_{(OCC)}$ - [$_{vP}$ (OShift) - [$_{vP}$ ... $v_{(OCC)}$ ...]]

Theme Rheme

While the discussion in this section is by no means exhaustive, a closer look at the various instantiation of DP copies in OC contexts does show that the pronunciation site is intrinsically linked to the

[20] Recall that Romanian lacks movement to Spec,TP for EPP-type purposes (see Section 3.4).

[21] The 'at least' specifications stems from the fact that, arguably, the embedded phi-feature chain is also an A-chain. However, given that this chain is irrelevant to the DP, I do not focus on it.

[22] Where, following (Chomsky 2001b), OCC is a requirement that a phrase must be an occurrence (i.e., sister) of some probe and that this sisterhood relationship must license novel interpretations.

encoding of information structure, which in turn explains the apparent ubiquitous behaviour of the shared argument.

In the absence of any OCC feature in the derivation, the shared argument fails to undergo dislocation and is pronounced in-situ, in the Spec,vP of the subjunctive predicate, as illustrated in (33) in the previous sub-section. While from a syntactic viewpoint, the effect is that of backward control, pragmatically speaking, the DP is part of the presentational, rhematic focus of the embedded sentence, as illustrated by the dialogue in (38).

(38) Embedded clause-Rheme:

a. Ce e gălăgia asta?
what is noise-the this
'What's all this noise?'

b. Încearcă [să cînte [$_{vP}$ Victor / cineva t_{v+V} la trombon]].
try.PRES.3SG [SBJ sing.3SG [$_{vP}$ Victor / someone t_{v+V} at trombone]]
'Victor / Someone is trying to play the trombone.'

In (38b), the embedded vP is interpreted as new information, there is no DP displacement and, consequently, no OCC feature present in the derivation. That the DP subject occupies an A-position is indicated by the fact that bare quantifiers like *cineva* 'someone' are also licensed in this slot. [23, 24]

The shared argument can also be instantiated as part of the rhematic domain of the matrix clause. In this case, displacement occurs to the matrix Spec,vP, which - under the current approach - would be due to the presence of an OCC feature on the higher v predicate. Such an OCC feature

[23] Cinque (1991) argues that these quantifiers cannot occupy A-bar positions. Consequently, I take their occurrence throughout to indicate A-domains.

[24] Note that I only show movement of the lexical verb to T (via traces) where this movement is relevant for the interpretation of the shared DP argument. Specifically, in (38b) and (40b), this is indicated for the embedded lexical verb but not for the main clause verb, while in (39b) and (41b), it is indicated in both cases and in (42b), it is not indicated at all.

simply spells out the requirement that the shared DP surfaces in an intimate relationship with the matrix v rather than the embedded v. Linearization in (39b) is appropriate to (39a).

(39) Matrix clause-Rheme :

a. Ce se întîmplă?
what SE happens
'What's going on?'

b. Încearcă [$_{vP}$ Victor/ cineva $t_{v+V\,/\,\mathbf{OCC}}$ [să cînte [$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_{v+V}
try.PRES.3SG [$_{vP}$ Victor/ someone $t_{v+V\,/\,OCC}$ [SBJ sing.3SG [$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_{v+V}
la trombon]]].
at trombone]]]
'Victor / Someone is trying to play the trombone.'

When, the shared argument is the exclusive new information, rhematic focus in the sentence, it will appear maximally embedded in the subjunctive predicate. In Alboiu (1999, 2002), I argued that maximal embedding of the subject DP is achieved in-situ, by dislocating (i.e., 'evacuating for focus') any additional vP-internal material. Note that this claim is supported by the availability of a bare quantifier subject. Consequently, in (40b), which is the adequate answer to (40a), the object DP undergoes 'object shift' to the left-edge of vP for pragmatic purposes (i.e., de-rhematization), formalized as an optional OCC feature on subjunctive v (see also discusssion in Alboiu 2004). [25]

(40) Presentational Focus argument (DP subject Rheme) :

a. Cine încearcă [să cînte la trombon]?
who try.PRES.3SG [SBJ sing.3SG at trombone]

[25] Note that other Romance languages also seem to allow for vP-adjoined object raising with specific semantico-pragmatic and syntactic properties: for Catalan, see discussion in Vallduví (1995), for Portuguese, see Costa (1999), and for Spanish, see discussion in Ordóñez (1998). It seems then that the v-related OCC feature is available more consistently within Romance. Alternatively, Belletti (2004, 2005) proposes dislocation to an IP-internal focus position.

'Who is trying to play the trombone?'

b. (Încearcă [să cînte [$_{vP}$ la trombon$_i$) [$_{vP}$ Victor / cineva
try.PRES.3SG [SBJ sing.3SG [$_{vP}$ at trombone$_i$ [$_{vP}$ Victor / cineva
$t_{v+V\,/\,\mathbf{OCC}}$ t_i]]].
$t_{v+V\,/\,OCC}$ t_i]]].

'Victor / Someone is trying to play the trombone.'

In (41), on the other hand, the shared subject argument is known to both speaker and hearer - as indicated by (41a) - and is consequently interpreted as a Topic. If visible, in (41b), it surfaces in the matrix sentence preverbal domain, at the left-edge of the Theme, outside of the main clause predicate Rheme. Given that it is not initially merged in the Topic domain, it is reasonable to assume that dislocation occurs due to an OCC requirement on matrix C/T domain.[26] Given that this is an A-bar Topic position, the bare quantifier is ruled out.

(41) Matrix predicate-Rheme (DP subject Topic):

a. Mihai, ce face Victor?
Mihai what does.3SG Victor
'Mihai, what's Victor doing?'

b. (Victor / *Cineva) încearcă-$T_{\mathbf{OCC}}$ [$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_{v+V} [să cînte
Victor/ * someone) try.PRES.3SG-T_{OCC} [$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_{v+V} [SBJ sing.3SG
[$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_{v+V} la trombon]]].
[$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_{v+V} at trombone]]]
'Victor / * Someone is trying to play the trombone.'

[26] See discussion in Alboiu (2002) against independent Topic and Focus projections in Romanian. Under the cartographic approach, dislocation would proceed to Spec,TopP, with the OCC requirement as a property of the Topic head. Nothing crucial hinges on this distinction.

Last, but not least, the shared argument can be interpreted as contrastively focused (i.e., Kontrast). [27] While there seems to be evidence that contrastively focused constituents trigger operator-variable chains in Romanian (see Alboiu 2003, 2004), dislocation is not crucial, the only requirement being heavy prosodic stress. (42) exemplifies how heavy stress - represented by upper case letters - yields contrastively focused readings in all of the previously mentioned slots.

(42) Contrastive Focus argument (DP subject Kontrast) :

a. Mihai încearcă [să cînte la trombon]?
Mihai try.PRES.3SG [SBJ sing.3SG at trombone]
'Is Mihai trying to play the trombone?'

b. (**VICTOR)** încearcă [$_{vP}$ (**VICTOR)**[să cînte
(VICTOR) try.PRES.3SG [$_{vP}$ (VICTOR) [SBJ sing.3SG
[$_{vP}$ (**VICTOR)** la trombon (**VICTOR)**]]].
[$_{vP}$ (VICTOR) at trombone (VICTOR)]]]
'It's Victor that's trying to play the trombone (not Mihai).'

To sum up then, the shared argument of Romanian OC constructions only 'moves forward' to ensure novel semantico-pragmatic effects. The PF copy instantiation of the subject DP is not

[27] Clarification of concepts is required at this point. New information/presentational/rhematic focus is to be kept distinct from contrastive focus discussed so far. The former category of focus covers material that represents information newly introduced in the discourse and is the opposite of given/old information, realized by the theme. Contrastive focus, on the other side, is presupposed information, part of what is given and consequently, part of the thematic domain. The distinct semantico-pragmatic properties are parallelled by distinct syntactic properties, as shown in Table (i).

Table 1. Contrastive focus versus rhematic focus

	A-bar chain effects	[Foc] formal feature	Prosodic marking	Affects truth-functional values of S
contrastive focus	+	+	+	+
rhematic focus	-	-	-	-

incumbent on morpho-syntactic featural requirements related to OC per se but, rather, is dependent on the interpretation requirements of the shared argument itself in conjunction with the information packaging strategies afforded by the matrix and the embedded clause domains.

6 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed properties of subject OC in Romanian and have argued for a reductionist view of control where the crucial ingredient is a non-phasal clausal complement. This proviso guarantees an active subject Goal which may enter into both thematic and non-thematic checking operations with matrix probes. However, whether dislocation ensues or not seems to be an independent language specific property. For a language like Romanian, where DP linearization strategies are intimately tied in with semantico-pragmatic factors (rather than, for example, the EPP), the shared argument was seen to surface in a number of distinct positions in accord with relevant interpretations.

I proposed that the optimal solution for Romanian OC relies on the construal of theta-roles as features which need not check in a sisterhood relationship but can be valued solely by the operation Agree. Empirical evidence for this comes from the various copy availabilities, which rules out a PRO analysis, and the interpretive requirements of OC structures with Dative controllers. The analysis adopts insights from Hornstein (1999 et seq.) but differs from that approach in at least two ways: first, I claim that theta-roles can be satisfied simply by chain formation without any dislocation, and second, I show that A-chains cannot cross phasal CP boundaries. Arguably, control can only be construed as raising (in the sense of A-chain formation) for mono-clausal domains only (i.e., domains which either lack phasal status or which can obviate their phasal status, as disucssed). I show that for Romanian, the mono-clausal domain is not as reduced as in proposals by Wurmbrand (1998, 2004) or Cinque (2004),

but can expand all the way up to a low, non-phasal C domain (i.e., the Fin of Rizzi, as proposed by Hill 2003).

I also showed that any extant asymmetries group together raising and OC against NOC constructions in Romanian. As would be predicted by an A-chain analysis, this was seen to hold of all relevant properties. Specifically, phasal ($C_{HIGH}P$) versus non-phasal ($C_{LOW}P$) status, temporal deixis, Case valuation properties, A-chain formation, locus of insertion of shared argument, PF occurrence, and subjecthood properties of quirky Datives.

Equally important is the fact that Case valuation is not synonymous to inflected T domains but to phasal domains. Empirical support for this proposal comes from the behaviour of emphatic chains, among other things. The absence of an independent Nominative domain in the subjunctive OC complement not only rules out a referential *pro* subject but explains why these predicates cannot relinquish their OC readings. The Caseless embedded subject will have to associate with matrix v and subsequently, matrix T, or its Case deficiency will never be satisfied, a disastrous outcome. The OC reading is forced by the unfinished business of embedded arguments.

Consequently, there is no escape from control for predicates selecting reduced, non-phasal clausal domains, and cheeky enough to flaunt their own theta-role.

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