

They were wrong about the sun.  
It does not go down into  
the underworld at night.  
The sun leaves merely  
and the underworld emerges.  
It can happen at any moment.

Margaret Atwood, *Morning in the Burned House*

## Chapter 3: NP-Raising and Presentational Focus <sup>1</sup>

### 3.0 Introduction

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

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

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

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

- (1) a. A cumpărat Ion inelul / un inel.  
 AUX.3SG bought Ion ring-the / a ring  
 ‘Ion bought the ring/a ring.’
- b. A cumpărat inelul / un inel Ion.  
 AUX.3SG bought ring-the/ a ring Ion  
 ‘Ion bought the ring/a ring.’
- c. Inelul l-a cumpărat Ion.  
 ring-the CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG bought Ion  
 ‘Ion bought the ring.’
- d. \* Un inel a cumpărat Ion.  
 a ring AUX.3SG bought Ion  
 ‘Ion bought a ring.’

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>3</sup> Where ‘information packaging’ indicates “how linguistically conveyed information is to be added to a (hearer’s mental model of the) context or discourse, given the speaker’s assumptions about it.” (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998:81).

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

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

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

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<sup>4</sup> Recall that semantically constrained object raising in Romanian is restricted to OV(S) word order sequences.

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

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

### 3.1 VOS constructions in Romanian

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

- (2)      **V**                      **O**                      **S**
- a.      A                      scris    o \_\_\_\_\_ carte    prietena              mea.  
 AUX.3SG              written a              book    friend-the              my  
 ‘The act of book-writing has been performed by my friend.’
- b.      Au                      luat    notă mare              toți              elevii.  
 AUX.3.PL              taken    mark high              all              students-the  
 ‘All the students have received a good grade.’
- c.      Și-au                      luat    mașină    prietenii              mei.  
 REFL-AUX.3PL taken    car              friends-the              my  
 ‘My friends have bought themselves a car.’
- d.      Ieri                      i-a                      cusut    o rochiță              mama.  
 Yesterday              CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG    sewn    a dress              mother-the  
 ‘My/her mother sewed her a dress yesterday.’
- e.      Mereu    îi                      ceartă                      pe \_\_\_\_\_ copii    amîndoi              părinții.  
 always CL.3PL.ACC              scold.3PL              PE children              both              parents-the  
 ‘It’s always both parents that scold the children.’
- f.      A                      spart    ușa                      hoțul.  
 AUX.3SG              broken door-the              thief-the  
 ‘The thief has broken the door.’
- g.      Le-a                      dat    copiilor              bomboane              mama.  
 CL.DAT.3PL-AUX.3SG given    children.DAT              sweets.ACC              mother-the  
 ‘Mother gave the children sweets.’



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

(3) presentational focus :

Q: Who has come home?

- |    |            |         |            |            |
|----|------------|---------|------------|------------|
| a. | A          | venit   | acasã      | mama.      |
|    | AUX.3SG    | come    | home       | mother-the |
| b. | Mama.      |         |            |            |
|    | mother-the |         |            |            |
| c. | # Mama     | a       | venit      | acasã.     |
|    | mother-the | AUX.3SG | come       | home       |
| d. | # A        | venit   | mama       | acasã.     |
|    | AUX.3SG    | come    | mother-the | home       |
- ‘Mother came home. / Mother did.’

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

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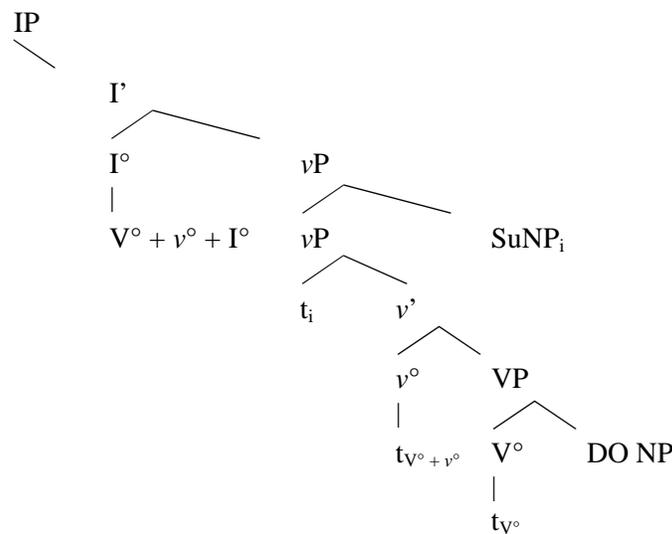
<sup>10</sup> Notice that this is a pragmatic constraint and has nothing to do with the definiteness effect. Old information is understood as D(iscourse)-linking (cf. Pesetsky 1987), not referentiality or definiteness, since definite NPs can reside within the  $\nu$ P. In (3), *mama* ‘mother’ is marked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

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

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

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

(4) Subject right-adjunction:

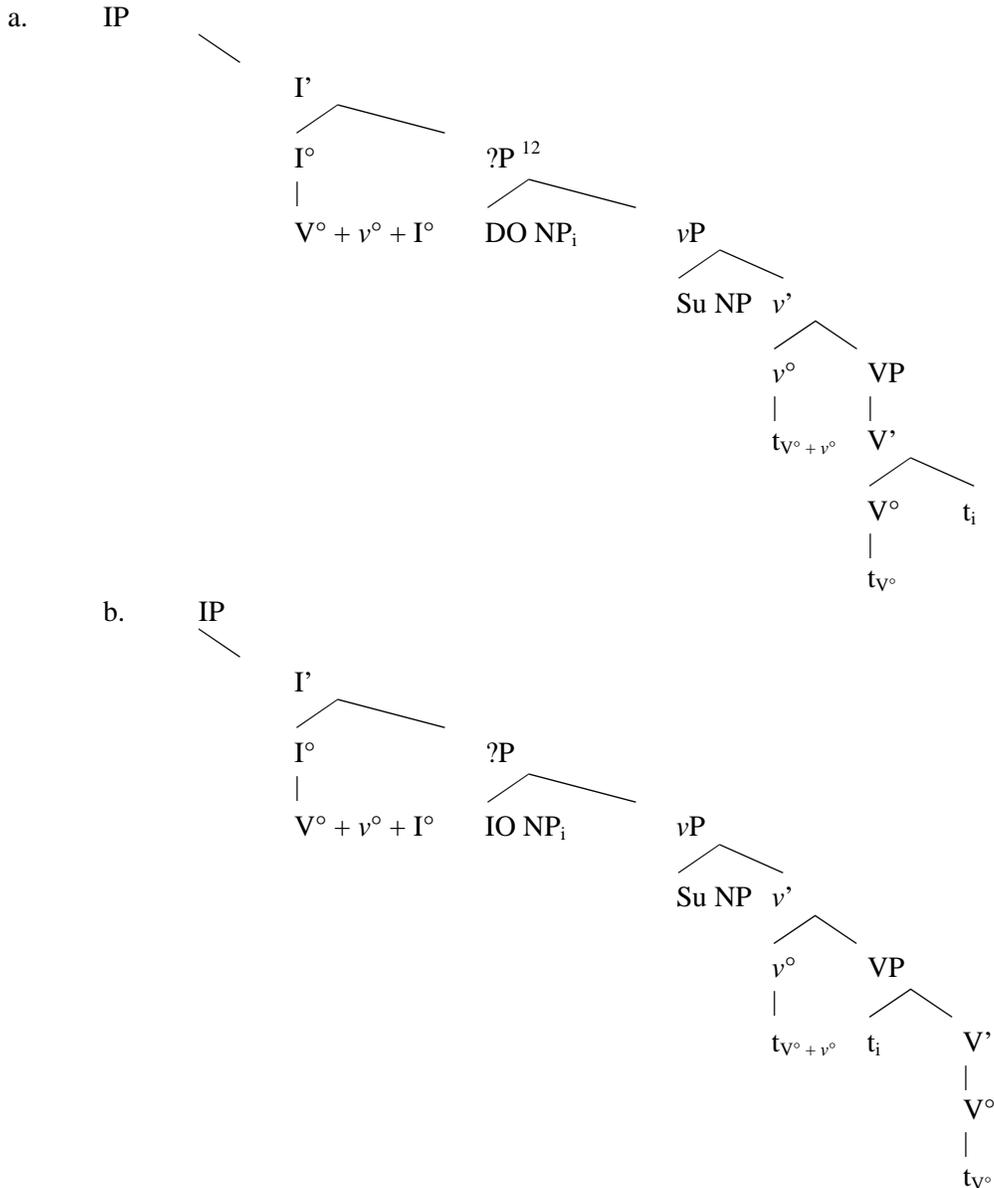


The second logical possibility is to assume that the subject stays in-situ, while the object noun phrase raises above it, to its left.<sup>11</sup> An analysis in which the object has been dislocated,

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

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

(5) Object raising:



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

<sup>12</sup> The landing site of the raised object is left unlabelled for the time being, but see section 3.5.

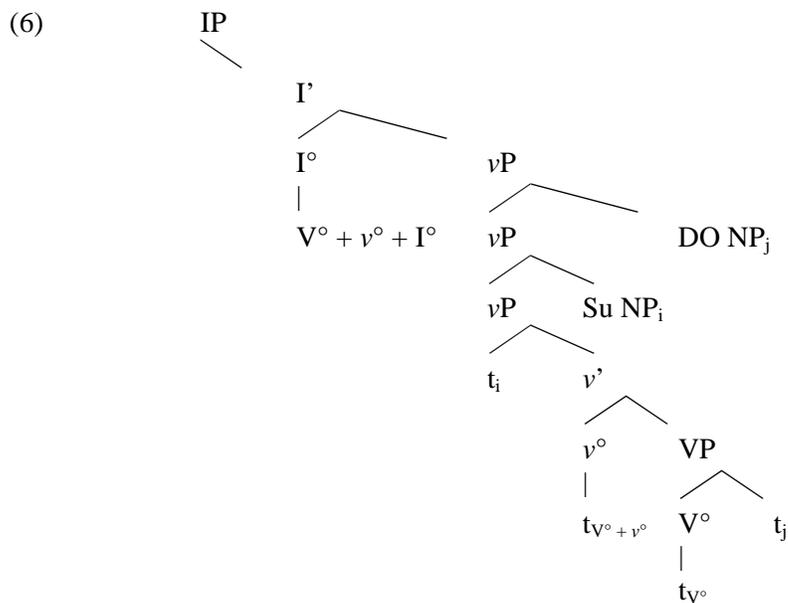
We propose that the only tenable analysis for Romanian VOS constructions is the object raising approach. First, we show that there is no independent evidence for subject right-adjunction in the language. Secondly, we show that prevalent syntactic properties of VOS constructions can only be captured under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

### 3.2 Against subject right-adjunction in Romanian

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

#### 3.2.1 VSO and extraction from clausal objects

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



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

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

- (7) Cu cine<sub>i</sub> ți-a spus Victor [cã vine t<sub>i</sub> Mihai] ?  
 With who<sub>i</sub> CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said Victor [that comes t<sub>i</sub> Mihai]  
 ‘With whom did Victor tell you that Mihai was coming?’

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

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

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

- b. Cum<sub>i</sub> a spus Ion [cã s-a  
how<sub>i</sub> AUX.3SG said John [that REFL-AUX.3SG  
purtat t<sub>i</sub> Victor] ?  
behaved t<sub>i</sub> Victor]  
‘How did Ion say Victor had behaved?’
- (9) a. Erau capabili [ sã spunã [cã l-au vãzut  
were capable [SUBJ say [that CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3PL seen  
pe Mihai în parc]  
PE Mihai in park ]]  
‘They were capable of saying they had seen Mihai in the park.’
- b. Pe cine<sub>i</sub> erau capabili [ sã spunã [cã au vãzut  
PE who<sub>i</sub> were capable [SUBJ say [that AUX.3PL seen  
t<sub>i</sub> în parc]  
t<sub>i</sub> in park ]]  
‘Whom were they capable of saying they had seen in the park?’
- c. Unde<sub>i</sub> erau capabili [ sã spunã [cã l-au  
Where<sub>i</sub> were capable [SUBJ say [that CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3PL  
vãzut pe Mihai t<sub>i</sub>]  
seen PE Mihai t<sub>i</sub> ]]  
‘Where were they capable of saying they had seen Mihai ?’

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

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

- (10) a. Pășea liniștit băiatul [de câte ori venea acasă ].  
 stepped.3SG calmly boy-the [whenever came.3SG home]  
 ‘The boy would walk calmly whenever he came home.’
- b. \*Unde<sub>i</sub> pășea liniștit băiatul [de câte ori venea t<sub>i</sub> ].  
 where<sub>i</sub> stepped.3SG calmly boy-the [whenever came.3SG t<sub>i</sub> ]  
 ‘\* Where<sub>i</sub> would the boy walk calmly whenever he came t<sub>i</sub> ?’
- (11) a. Erau capabili [să mintă [fără să le  
 were.3PL capable [SUBJ lie [without SUBJ CL.3PL.ACC  
 pese de asta ]].  
 care of this]]  
 ‘They were capable of lying without caring about it.’
- b. \*De ce<sub>i</sub> erau capabili [să mintă [fără să  
 of what<sub>i</sub> were.3PL capable [SUBJ lie [without SUBJ  
 le pese t<sub>i</sub> ]?  
 CL.3PL.ACC care t<sub>i</sub> ]  
 ‘\* About what<sub>i</sub> were they capable of lying without caring t<sub>i</sub> ?’

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

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

### 3.2.2 VOS and sentential objects

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

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

(12) VOS with object NP:

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

‘All the children ate cookies.’

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

a. \* Zic [CP că ai dreptate] eu.  
 say.1SG [that have.2SG truth] I  
 ‘I say that you are right.’

b. \* Întreabă [CP dacă merge Mihai] Victor.  
 asks.3SG. [if goes3SG. Mihai] Victor  
 ‘Victor is asking whether Mihai is coming.’

(14) CP object in ditransitives:

a. VO<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>1</sub>  
 \* I-a spus [CP că Victor întârzie] Mihai Ioanei.  
 CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said [that Victor be late] Mihai Ioanei.DAT  
 ‘Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.’

b. VO<sub>1</sub>O<sub>2</sub>S  
 \* I-a spus Ioanei [CP că Victor întârzie] Mihai.  
 CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said Ioanei.DAT [that Victor be-late.3SG] Mihai  
 ‘Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.’

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<sup>13</sup> See also Zwart (1997) for a similar remark for Dutch.

c. VO<sub>2</sub>O<sub>1</sub>S

\* I-a spus [CP cã Victor întîrzie] Ioanei Mihai.  
CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said [that Victor be-late.3SG] Ioanei.DAT Mihai  
'Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.'

d. (S)V(S)O<sub>2</sub>O<sub>1</sub>

(Mihai) i-a spus (Mihai) Ioanei  
(Mihai) CL3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said (Mihai) Ioanei.DAT  
[CP cã Victor întîrzie].  
[that Victor be-late.3SG]  
'Mihai told Ioana that Victor was going to be late.'

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

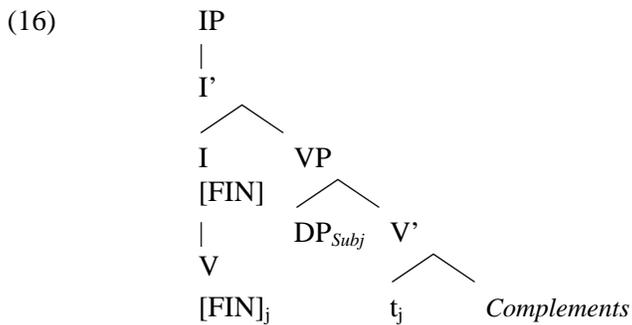
### 3.2.3 VP-ellipsis

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

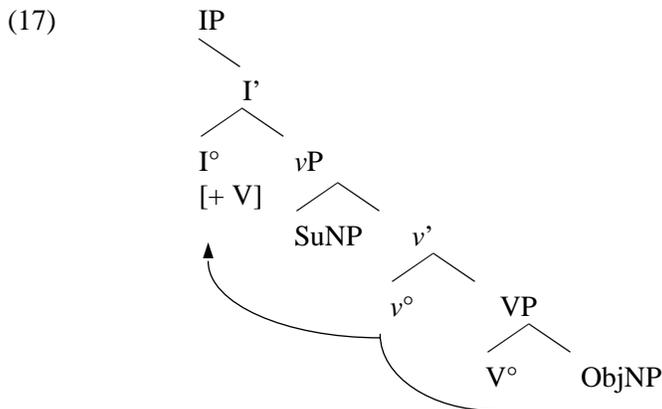
verb raising to Inflection, contrasts with English in that, under the equivalent of VP-ellipsis, the subject must obligatorily elide. Consider (15), from McCloskey (1997:211).

- (15) Ní tháinig muid 'na bhaile anuraidh  
 NEG came we home last-year  
 ach tiocfaidh -- i mbliana.  
 but come.FUT this-year  
 'We didn't come home last year but we will this year.'

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



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



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

- (18) a. N-am sunat noi acasă anul trecut,  
 not-AUX.1PL called we home year-the last,  
 dar vom suna (\*noi) -- anul acesta.  
 but FUT.1PL. call (\*we) -- year-the this  
 ‘We didn’t call home last year but we will this year.’
- b. N-au dat profesorii note ieri, dar  
 not-AUX.3PL given teachers-the marks yesterday, but  
 vor da (\*profesorii) -- azi.  
 FUT.3PL. give. (\*teachers-the) -- today  
 ‘The teachers didn’t give out marks today, but they will tomorrow.’

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

### 3.2.4 Summing up

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

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

- (ii) Subjects cannot follow clausal direct objects which occupy the canonical complement position. This empirical fact cannot be felicitously captured under a subject right-adjunction analysis;
- (iii) Subjects obligatorily elide with VP-ellipsis. Given that VP-ellipsis elides material contained within VP and not VP-adjuncts, Romanian subjects are contained within VP and not adjoined to VP.

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

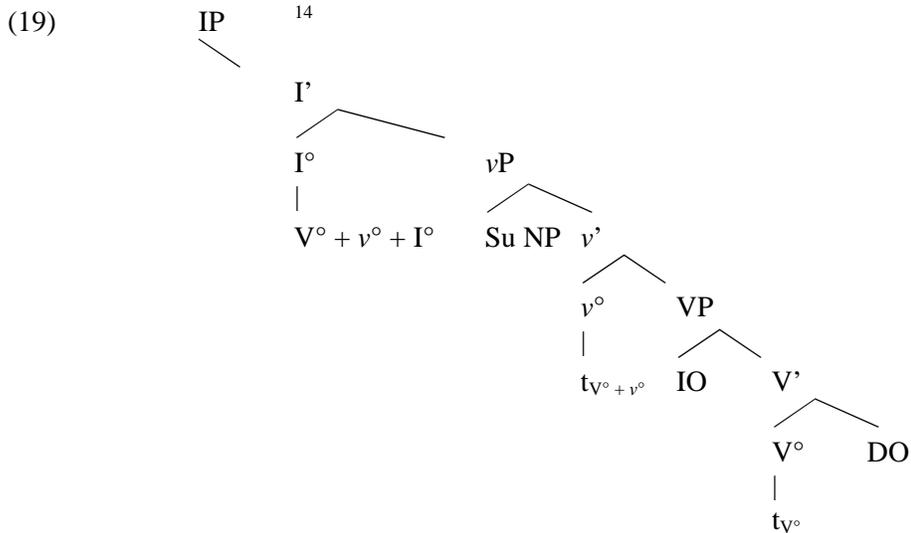
### **3.3 Evidence for Object Raising**

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

#### **3.3.1 The view from Binding**

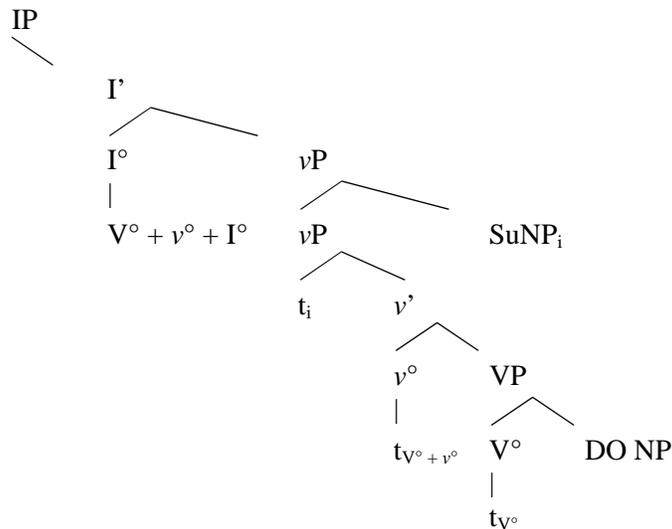
Binding phenomena provide crucial syntactic evidence for the assumption that Romanian VOS constructions are derived by object raising past the subject NP. In the basic VSO word order

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



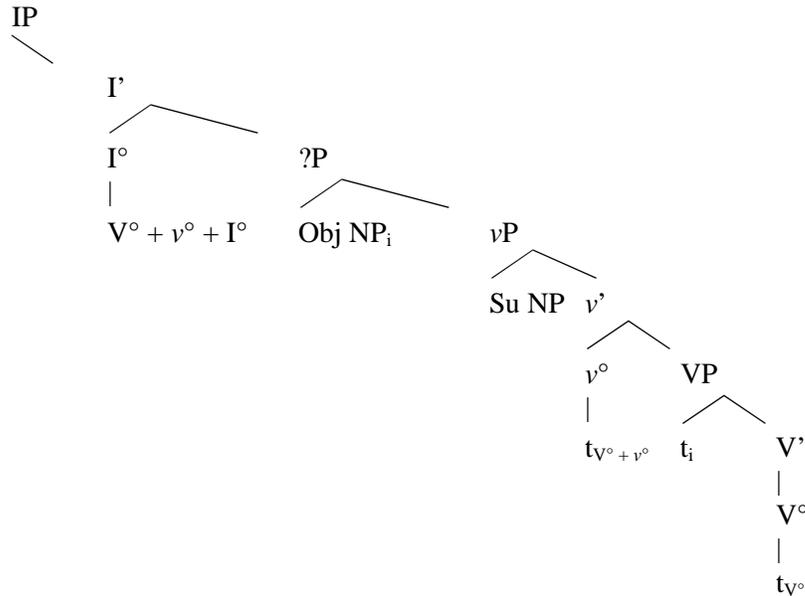
The paramount difference between the subject right-adjunction analysis and the object raising analysis is the shift in c-command relations obtained from VSO to VOS. Consider the structural representations in (20) and (21).

(20) Subject right-adjunction:



<sup>14</sup> Recall that the lexical verb undergoes raising to the Inflectional domain ( $V^\circ$ -to- $v^\circ$ -to- $I^\circ$ ), while the noun phrase arguments are licensed (theta-marked and Case marked) in their base-generated initial Merge position.

(21) Object raising:



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

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

- (22) a. V S IO DO:  
 Aseară            au                    promis            [îndrăgostiții]<sub>i</sub>  
 last night        AUX.3PL           promised        [lovers-the]<sub>i</sub>  
 [unul altuia]<sub>i</sub>            luna                de            pe cer.  
 [each other.DAT]<sub>i</sub>        moon-the        from        in sky  
 ‘Last night the sweethearts promised each other the moon in the sky.’
- b. V IO S DO:  
 \* Aseară            au                    promis            [unul altuia]<sub>i</sub>  
 last night        AUX.3PL           promised        [each other.DAT]<sub>i</sub>  
 [îndrăgostiții]<sub>i</sub>            luna                de            pe cer.  
 [lovers-the]<sub>i</sub>        moon-the        from        in sky  
 ‘Last night the sweethearts promised each other the moon in the sky.’
- c. V IO DO S:  
 \* Aseară            au                    promis            [unul altuia]<sub>i</sub>  
 last night        AUX.3PL           promised        [each other.DAT]<sub>i</sub>  
 luna                de            pe cer        [îndrăgostiții]<sub>i</sub>.  
 moon-the        from        in sky        [lovers-the]<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘Last night the sweethearts promised each other the moon in the sky.’

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

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

- (23) a. Mihai<sub>i</sub> was excited and he<sub>i</sub> was happy.  
 b. \* [Every boy]<sub>i</sub> was excited and he<sub>i</sub> was happy.  
 c. [Every boy]<sub>i</sub> thought he<sub>i</sub> was happy.

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

- (24) a. V S (quantified NP) DO  
 I-a chemat [fiecare mamă]<sub>i</sub> [pe copiii ei]<sub>i</sub>  
 CL.3PL.ACC-AUX.3SG called [each mother]<sub>i</sub> [PE children-the her]<sub>i</sub>  
 la masă.  
 at table  
 ‘Each mother<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>i</sub> children to dinner.’
- b. V DO S (quantified NP)  
 \* I-a chemat [pe copiii ei]<sub>i</sub> [fiecare mamă]<sub>i</sub>  
 CL.3PL.ACC-AUX.3SG called [PE children-the her]<sub>i</sub> [each mother]<sub>i</sub>  
 la masă.  
 at table  
 ‘Each mother<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>i</sub> children to dinner.’
- (25) a. V S (quantified NP) IO  
 (Le)-a dat [fiecare mamă]<sub>i</sub> [copiilor ei]<sub>i</sub> ceva.  
 CL.3PL.DAT-AUX.3SG given [each mother]<sub>i</sub> [children.DAT her]<sub>i</sub> something  
 ‘Each mother<sub>i</sub> gave her<sub>i</sub> children something.’



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

(26) a. V DO (quantified NP) S  
 L<sub>i</sub>-a chemat [pe fiecare copil]<sub>i</sub> [mama lui]<sub>i</sub>  
 CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG called [PE each child]<sub>i</sub> [mother-the his]<sub>i</sub>  
 la masă.  
 at table  
 ‘\* His<sub>i</sub> mother called each child<sub>i</sub> to the table.’  
 (notice that in English the sentence is ungrammatical)

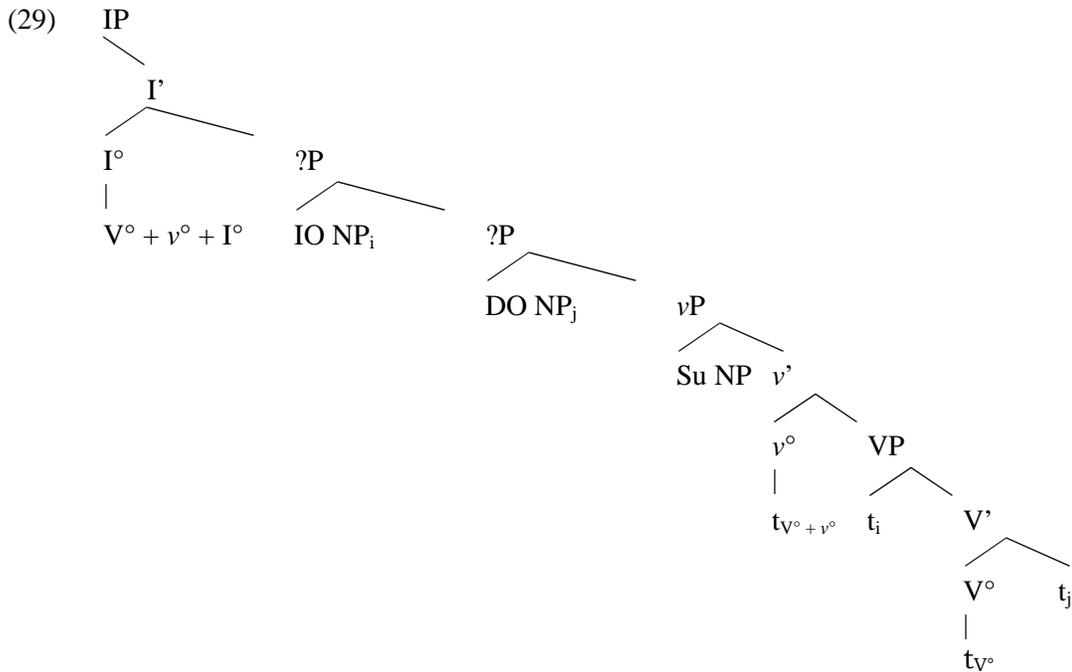
b. V S DO (quantified NP)  
 \* L<sub>i</sub>-a chemat [mama lui]<sub>i</sub> [pe fiecare copil]<sub>i</sub>  
 CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG called [mother-the his]<sub>i</sub> [PE each child]<sub>i</sub>  
 la masă.  
 at table  
 ‘\* His<sub>i</sub> mother called each child<sub>i</sub> to the table.’

(27) a. V IO (quantified NP) S  
 I<sub>i</sub>-a dat [fiecărui copil]<sub>i</sub> [mama lui]<sub>i</sub> ceva.  
 CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG given [each.DAT child]<sub>i</sub> [mother his]<sub>i</sub> something  
 ‘\*His<sub>i</sub> mother gave each child something.’  
 (notice that in English the sentence is ungrammatical)

b. V S IO (quantified NP)  
 \* I<sub>i</sub>-a dat [mama lui]<sub>i</sub> [fiecărui copil]<sub>i</sub> ceva.  
 CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG given [mother his]<sub>i</sub> [each.DAT child]<sub>i</sub> something  
 ‘\*His<sub>i</sub> mother gave each child something.’

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





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

<sup>16</sup> Where a 'variable' is roughly defined as a trace assigned a range from an antecedent. For clarification, consider the definition provided in Culicover (1999) for variables in wh-questions. According to this author, wh-questions contain three parts represented in conceptual structure as:  
 (i) OPERATOR, which is the set of entities that the question is about and is expressed by a quantifier or a similar element;  
 (ii) SCOPE, which determines the restriction on this set;  
 (iii) VARIABLE, which determines the semantic role and corresponds to an argument.  
 For example, *Who<sub>i</sub> saw Mary t<sub>i</sub> ?* corresponds to the question 'for which x, Mary saw x', or 'WH some x, Mary saw x'.

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

(30) \* Who<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> mother really love t<sub>i</sub> ?

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.3.2 Condition C effects

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

- (31) a. VSO:
- |                    |          |              |     |                       |                  |         |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|-----|-----------------------|------------------|---------|
| $I_i$ -au          | cumpărat | [părinții    | lui | Victor <sub>i</sub> ] | lui <sub>i</sub> | o casă. |
| CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3PL | bought   | [parents-the | his | Victor <sub>i</sub> ] | him <sub>i</sub> | a house |
- ‘Victor<sub>i</sub>’s parents bought him<sub>i</sub> a house.’
- b. VOS:
- |                    |          |                  |              |     |                       |         |
|--------------------|----------|------------------|--------------|-----|-----------------------|---------|
| * $I_i$ -au        | cumpărat | lui <sub>i</sub> | [părinții    | lui | Victor <sub>i</sub> ] | o casă. |
| CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3PL | bought   | him <sub>i</sub> | [parents-the | his | Victor <sub>i</sub> ] | a house |
- ‘Victor<sub>i</sub>’s parents bought him<sub>i</sub> a house.’

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

### 3.3.3 Quantifier Float phenomena

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

- (32) a. Elevii au luat notă mare<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>SPEC</sub> toți  $t_s$ ]  $t_v$   $t_i$ ].  
 students-the AUX.3PL taken high mark<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>SPEC</sub> all  $t_s$ ]  $t_v$   $t_i$ ]  
 ‘The students have all received a good grade.’
- b. Copiii joacă șah<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>SPEC</sub> amîndoi  $t_s$ ]  $t_v$   $t_i$ ].  
 children-the play.3PL chess<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>SPEC</sub> both  $t_s$ ]  $t_v$   $t_i$ ]  
 ‘The children both play chess.’

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

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

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

### **3.3.4 In sum**

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

## **3.4 Object raising: cross-linguistic evidence**

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

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

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

- (33) a. Icelandic (Collins and Thráinsson, 1993:136)
- |           |                   |   |   |
|-----------|-------------------|---|---|
| I gær     | máluðu strakárinj | * <u>hús<sub>i</sub></u> / <u>husið<sub>i</sub></u> | [ <sub>VP</sub> allir <sub>j</sub> t <sub>v</sub> t <sub>i</sub> rautt ]. |
| yesterday | painted boys-the  | house / house-the                                   | all red   |
- ‘Yesterday all the boys painted the house red.’
- b. Dutch (Zwart, 1997:30)
- |      |       |                          |                          |   |
|------|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Jan  | heeft | <u>Marie<sub>i</sub></u> | [ <sub>VP</sub> gisteren | [ <sub>VP</sub> t <sub>i</sub> gekust]. |
| John | has   | Mary                     | yesterday                | kissed                                  |
- ‘John kissed Mary yesterday.’

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

<sup>19</sup> De Hoop (1996:51) illustrates the following strong readings of indefinite (weak) NPs:

- (i) specific (or referential): ‘A friend of mine is a paleontologist.’;
- (ii) partitive: ‘Two fish are black.’;
- (iii) generic: ‘Fishes are vertebrae.’
- (iv) generic collective: ‘Three fossils are more expensive than two.’.

The author further argues that in Dutch raising an object into the position before an adverb (i.e., clause-medially) triggers all possible strong readings.

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

- (34) German (Vikner, 1992:291)
- |    |      |                                  |               |                            |                       |              |
|----|------|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Er | wird | [ <u>die Bücher</u> <sub>i</sub> | [ohne Zweifel | [ <u>alle</u> <sub>i</sub> | [nicht t <sub>i</sub> | [lesen]]]]]. |
| he | will | the books                        | without doubt | all                        | not                   | read         |
- 'Without a doubt, he will not read all the books.'

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

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

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

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<sup>20</sup> Recall that this requirement holds of preverbal NPs in Romanian.

- (35) The Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing 1992)
- (i) Material from the VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.
  - (ii) Material from the IP is mapped into the restrictive clause.

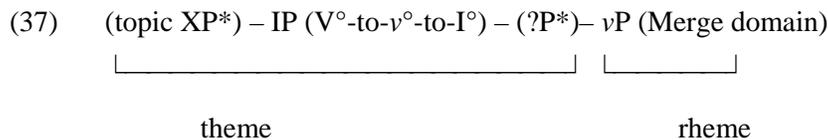
Runner (1994) offers a proposal which is closely related to Diesing's. The author argues that object Agreement phrases (AgrOPs, rephrased as *v*P in the Minimalist theory) correspond to presupposed or specific information, namely material that is linked to the discourse (à la Pesetsky 1987). Object NPs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

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

- (36) (i) WEAK Case = the default structural Case, assigned at D-structure in a specific syntactic configuration and dependent upon verb-adjacency;
- (ii) STRONG Case = the structural Case assigned at S-structure and acquired as a result of movement (i.e., DP raising).

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

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



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

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

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

(38) a. VSO in the embedded clause:

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

b. VOS in the embedded clause:

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

c. OVS in the embedded clause:

\* Mioara nu avea deloc rochițe,  
 Mioara not had at all dresses.DIM,  
 [așa că o rochiță<sub>i</sub> i-a cusut-o<sub>i</sub> mama <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>].  
 [so that a dress.DIM<sub>i</sub> CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG sewn-CL.3SG.ACC.F mother-the <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]  
 ‘Mioara didn’t have any dresses, so mum sewed her a dress.’

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

Consider now the examples in (39).

(39) a. VSO in the embedded clause:

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

b. VOS in the embedded clause:

Mioara avea două rochițe, [așa că  
 Mioara had two dresses.DIM, [so that  
 i-a cusut o rochiță<sub>i</sub> (nouă) mama t<sub>i</sub>].  
 CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG sewn a dress.DIM<sub>i</sub> (new) mother-the t<sub>i</sub>]  
 ‘Mioara had two dresses, so mum sewed her a (new) dress.’

c. OVS in the embedded clause:

Mioara avea două rochițe, [așa că o rochiță;  
 Mioara had two dresses.DIM., [so that a dress.DIM;  
 (\* nouă) i-a cusut-o<sub>i</sub> mama t<sub>i</sub>].  
 (new) CL.3SG.DAT.-AUX.3SG sewn-CL.3SG.ACC.F. mother-the t<sub>i</sub>]  
 ‘Mioara had two dresses, so mum must have sewn one of them.’<sup>22</sup>  
 ‘# Mioara had two dresses, so mum sewed her a (new) dress.’

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

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

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

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

### 3.4.2 Object raising as Noun Incorporation

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

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

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

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

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

- (40) a.      Joacă            mereu            şah<sub>i</sub>    copiii            t<sub>v</sub>        t<sub>i</sub>  
               play.3.PR        always        chess   children-the    t<sub>v</sub>        t<sub>i</sub>  
               ‘The children always play chess.’
- b.      Joacă            şah<sub>i</sub>    mereu    copiii            t<sub>v</sub>        t<sub>i</sub>  
               play.3.PR        chess    always   children-the    t<sub>v</sub>        t<sub>i</sub>  
               ‘The children always play chess.’
- c.      Şi-au            luat    cu împrumut<sub>j</sub>    maşină<sub>i</sub> prietenii        mei        t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>.  
               REFL-AUX.3PL taken    on credit        car    friends-the        my        t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>  
               ‘My friends have bought themselves a car on credit.’
- d.      Şi-au            luat    maşină<sub>i</sub> cu împrumut<sub>j</sub>    prietenii        mei        t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>.  
               REFL-AUX.3PL taken    car    on credit        friends-the        my        t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>  
               ‘My friends have bought themselves a car on credit.’

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

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

### 3.4.3 Summing up

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

## 3.5 Object raising in Romanian: triggers and landing site

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

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<sup>24</sup> Notice that the availability of clause-medial PP raising casts doubt on a Case driven explanation for this movement.

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

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

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

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

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

- (41) a. N-a                    semnat [<sub>?P</sub> contracte    [<sub>VP</sub> niciodată    [<sub>VP</sub> domnul  
not-AUX.3SG   signed [<sub>?P</sub> contracts    [<sub>VP</sub> never            [<sub>VP</sub> mister-the  
director [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
director [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
‘The manager has never signed contracts.’
- b. N-a                    semnat [<sub>VP</sub> niciodată    [<sub>?P</sub> contracte    [<sub>VP</sub> domnul  
not-AUX.3SG   signed [<sub>VP</sub> never            [<sub>?P</sub> contracts    [<sub>VP</sub> mister-the  
director [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
director [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
‘The manager has never signed contracts.’
- (42) a. Nu    le                    dă    [<sub>?P</sub> bomboane    [<sub>VP</sub> deloc  
not    CL.3PL.DAT   gives   [<sub>?P</sub> sweets            [<sub>VP</sub> at all  
[<sub>VP</sub> vecina                    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
[<sub>VP</sub> neighbour-the        [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
‘The neighbour never gives them sweets.’
- b. Nu    le                    dă    [<sub>VP</sub> deloc            [<sub>?P</sub> bomboane  
not    CL.3PL.DAT   gives   [<sub>VP</sub> at all            [<sub>?P</sub> sweets  
[<sub>VP</sub> vecina                    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
[<sub>VP</sub> neighbour-the        [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
‘The neighbour never gives them sweets.’
- (43) a. Și-au                    luat    [<sub>?P</sub> masina        [<sub>VP</sub> precis  
REFL.-AUX.3PL   bought [<sub>?P</sub> car            [<sub>VP</sub> for sure  
[<sub>VP</sub> amicii            mei    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
[<sub>VP</sub> friends-the    my    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
‘My friends have certainly bought a car.’
- b. Și-au                    luat    [<sub>VP</sub> precis            [<sub>?P</sub> masina  
REFL.-AUX.3PL   bought [<sub>VP</sub> for sure        [<sub>?P</sub> car  
[<sub>VP</sub> amicii            mei    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
[<sub>VP</sub> friends-the    my    [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
‘My friends have certainly bought a car.’

- (44) a. Le-a citit [<sub>VP</sub> o poezie [<sub>VP</sub> adesea  
 CL.3PL.DAT read [<sub>VP</sub> a poem [<sub>VP</sub> often  
 [<sub>VP</sub> însuși profesorul lor [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
 [<sub>VP</sub> EMPHATIC teacher-the their [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
 ‘Their professor himself has often read them a poem.’
- b. Le-a citit [<sub>VP</sub> adesea [<sub>VP</sub> o poezie  
 CL.3PL.DAT read [<sub>VP</sub> often [<sub>VP</sub> a poem  
 [<sub>VP</sub> însuși profesorul lor [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
 [<sub>VP</sub> EMPHATIC teacher-the their [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>O</sub> ]]].  
 ‘Their professor himself has often read them a poem.’

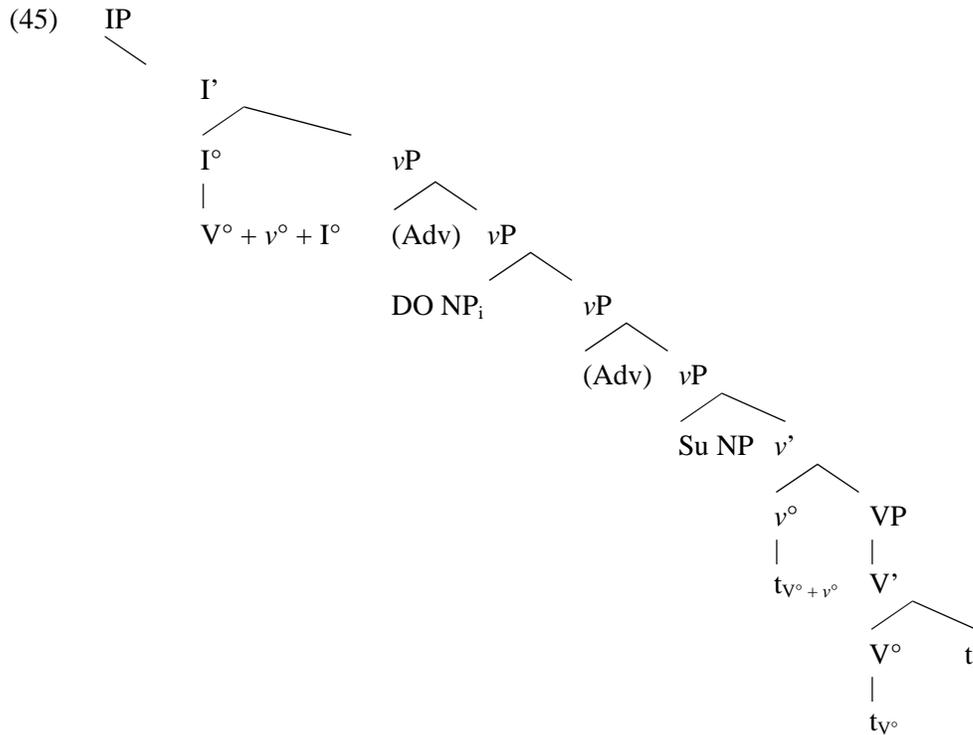
The examples in (41)-(44) show that negative and *v*/VP-adverbials can both precede and follow the raised object.<sup>27</sup> While both pairs of examples are grammatical, the (b) versions with direct object raising below the *v*/VP-adverbial are more natural. The (a) versions, with object raising across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

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

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

- (i) Le-a dat [<sub>VP</sub> (mereu) [<sub>VP</sub> copiilor [<sub>VP</sub> (mereu)  
 CL.DAT.3PL-AUX.3SG given [<sub>VP</sub> (always) [<sub>VP</sub> children.DAT [<sub>VP</sub> (always)  
 [<sub>VP</sub> bomboane [<sub>VP</sub> (mereu) [<sub>VP</sub> mama [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>IO</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>DO</sub> ]]]]]].  
 [<sub>VP</sub> sweets.ACC [<sub>VP</sub> (always) [<sub>VP</sub> mother-the [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>IO</sub> t<sub>V</sub> t<sub>DO</sub> ]]]]]].  
 ‘Mother always gave the children sweets.’

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



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

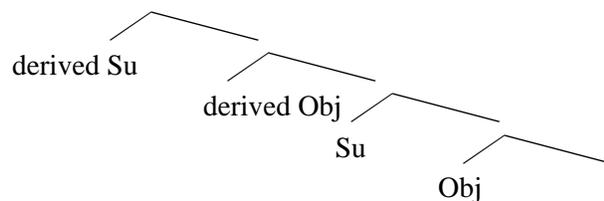
<sup>28</sup> Chomsky (1995) also argues that  $\nu P$ -related positions allow for scrambling with A-position properties, such as binding, and weak crossover obviation. These are precisely the effects found in Romanian VOS evacuation for focus constructions.

scramble multiple objects (and other XPs briefly mentioned here), rule out any type of formal feature checking.<sup>29</sup>

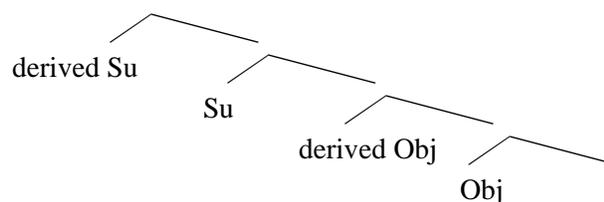
### 3.6 Colophon: ‘leapfrogging’ versus ‘stacking’

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

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



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



<sup>29</sup> Kayne (1998) also suggests feature-driven movement should involve an adjacency requirement. For more on feature-driven movement in Romanian, see chapters 4 and 5.

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

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

### **3.7 Conclusions**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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