

And NUH is the letter I use to spell Nutches
Who live in small caves, known as Nitches, for hutches,
These Nutches have troubles, the biggest of which is
the fact there are many more Nutches than Nitches.
Each Nutch in a Nitch knows that some other Nutch
Would like to move into his Nitch very much.
So each Nutch in a Nitch has to watch that small Nitch
Or Nutches who haven't got Nitches will snitch.
Dr. Seuss, *On Beyond Zebra*

Chapter 5: Contrastive Focus and Preverbal Raising

5.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses several issues related to preverbal noun phrase movement, with special emphasis on movement for contrastive focus in Romanian. It examines the manner in which contrastive focus and other sentence-initial operators are licensed in Romanian and discusses the interaction among preverbal constituents.

Contrastive focus restricts a contextually presupposed closed set to an exhaustive subset for which the predicate actually holds. For example, in (1), 'VICTOR' is contrasted to and identified from all other members of a contextually presupposed set of which the predicate phrase could in principle hold.

- (1) It is VICTOR who plays the trombone.¹

¹ In this chapter, we use upper case letters to mark contrastively focused elements. This serves to indicate that, in Romanian, contrastively focused constituents are also prosodically stressed.

The sentence in (1), both negates and asserts; it negates that the predicate phrase holds of any member of the presupposed set other than 'VICTOR', and asserts that it holds only of 'VICTOR'. Roughly, the equivalent of (1) would be: 'It is not the case that x plays the trombone, but that Victor plays the trombone', where both x and 'Victor' belong to a presupposed (or inferable) set. An implication is contradicted and an alternative is offered. To quote Zubizarreta (1998:102), with contrastive focus, "[...] both the hearer's presupposition is negated [...] and a variable and its associated value are introduced." In propositional logic, where statements have truth values, the role of negation is to reverse the truth value of the sentence with which it combines. Given that contrastive focus contains an inherent negation, it has the effect of changing the truth value of the presupposition implied in the sentence. Consequently, contrastive focus affects the truth conditions of the sentence in which it is present (see also Kiss 1998): (1) is true if and only if the predicate phrase holds exclusively of 'VICTOR'.

Cross-linguistically, contrastive focus (or any operator focus that affects the truth conditions of the sentence) seems to require special licensing conditions. One such licensing condition is syntactic movement into an operator position. Therefore, contrastive focus is assumed to be a quantificational operator which licenses operator-variable chains in a manner similar to *wh*-phrases and quantifiers (e.g. Brody 1995, Chomsky 1971, Kiss 1995b, 1998, Rochemont 1986, Rizzi 1997, Zubizarreta 1998). We propose that in Romanian contrastive focus is licensed by movement into an IP-related operator position. This position is syntactically and semantically distinct from new information, presentational focus which in Romanian we showed to be embedded within the VP (see chapter 3).

We argue that contrastive focus operators obey the same syntactic constraints as *wh*-phrases, polarity items and non-D-linked quantifiers. However, we show there is evidence for challenging the exclusive quantificational nature of contrastive focus and suggest that, in Romanian, contrastive focus involves either a quantificational operator or a non-quantificational, anaphoric operator.

Our account differs from previous analyses for Romanian in that it argues for the following:

- (i) the realization of the [+ focus] feature as a *syntactic non-selectional feature* (FF) on I° and a *phonological selectional feature* (P-feature) on the contrastive element
- (ii) contrastive focus as a syntactic feature (i.e., [+ focus] FF), rather than a syntactic head
- (iii) exclusive IP-related operator checking
- (iv) a syncretic Inflection, capable of hosting non-verbal selectional FFs
- (v) contrastive focus as either a quantificational or an anaphoric operator
- (vi) ‘optionality’ of focus movement as a result of focus representation in phonosyntax.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.1 offers some theoretical background and discusses previous analyses. Section 5.2 introduces contrastive focus in Romanian, illustrates previous assumptions with regards to the Romanian preverbal field, and sums up the problems for discussion. In sections 5.3 - 5.4, we discuss empirical and syntactic properties of the elements involved in the Romanian left-periphery, and in section 5.5 we offer an analysis. Section 5.6 is a conclusion.

5.1 Defining the term and previous analyses

Starting with the early 70s, generative grammar has viewed focus as a syntactic notion. Chomsky (1971) argues that certain aspects of semantic interpretation are determined by surface structure, focus and presupposition being thus established. In his account the focused constituent contains and is marked by the ‘intonation center’, and the presupposition is obtained by replacing the focus with a variable. According to Chomsky (1971), the semantic representation of (2a) and (2b), show ‘John’ is the focus of the sentence, and ‘someone writes poetry’ is the presupposition. In (2c), the presupposition remains the same and the focus changes to ‘Bill’.

- (2) a. is it JOHN who writes poetry?
 b. it isn't JOHN who writes poetry.
 c. no, it is BILL who writes poetry.
 (Chomsky 1971:199)

Chomsky (1976) further suggests that the focus/presupposition partitioning of a sentence can be represented at LF by applying the rule of Quantifier Raising (QR) to the focused constituent. For example, Chomsky explains the English contrasts in (3a-b), to follow from LF raising of the focused element.

- (3) a. * His_i mother loves JOHN_i.
 b. His_i mother loves John_i.

The ungrammaticality in (3a) can only be accounted for provided the focused 'JOHN' is an operator that has to raise at LF leaving behind a variable (i.e., a trace that is illicit when c-commanded by a preceding pronoun).²

Jackendoff (1972:230) agrees that "intuitively, it makes sense to speak of a discourse as 'natural' if successive sentences share presuppositions". The author defines the focus of a sentence as "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer", and the presupposition as "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the speaker" (1972:16). Like Chomsky, Jackendoff agrees that the division into presupposition and focus is part of the semantic representation of the sentence, reflected in its syntactic structure by a syntactic marker F which is associated with a node in the surface structure to indicate focus.

² According to Chomsky's Leftness Condition (see also discussion in previous chapters), a variable cannot be the antecedent for a pronoun to its left. Consequently, quantifiers cannot cross over a coreferential pronoun because this violates the Leftness Condition and induces what is referred to in the literature as a 'weak crossover' effect.

In the same vein, Rochemont (1986) views the focus construction as a bipartite structure comprising a focus and an open proposition. The author argues that this type of focus forms an A-bar chain. Rochemont (1986) assumes the focused constituent moves to a clause-external non-argument position and is construed with a gap in the open proposition. The moved focused constituent acts as an operator binding a variable in the open proposition.

This is the type of focus we are concerned with in this chapter; namely, focus that uniquely delimits (i.e., contrasts or identifies) a member of a presupposed or inferable set. In Romanian, the semantic effect is one of contrast, the syntactic effect yet open to exploration.

In what follows, we offer a brief presentation of some of the more recent analyses on operator focus. For ease of exposition, we limit our discussion to those authors who distinguish between new information/presentational focus and contrastive/operator focus.

5.1.1 Kiss (1995b, 1998)

Kiss (1995b) argues that an operator expressing identification (or contrast) is universally associated with a structural position. This position is associated with a functional projection of its own, FocP, usually found above IP (and within CP) but next to the inflected verb in languages that instantiate it. FocP is assumed to project cross-linguistically whenever there is an element with the feature [+focus] in the sentence. Elements bearing the feature [+ focus] are referred to as ‘contrastive focus’, or ‘identificational focus’, depending on the semantic contribution of this type of focus, which varies cross-linguistically. Elements bearing the feature [+ focus] affect the truth-functional conditions of the sentence and are associated in one way or another to FocP against which they will have to check this feature at some point in the derivation. Languages have been shown to differ as to whether their [+ focus] element is forced to move into the FocP in the visible syntax or later (at Logical Form). Kiss argues that in Hungarian, the [+ focus] element obligatorily raises to FocP in the visible syntax, while in Greek, among others, it does so optionally. According to Kiss, following Chomsky (1976), raising applies in all

languages, even in those that do not raise the [+ focus] element in the overt syntax. In view of the focus operator behaving on a par with quantifiers, Kiss (1995) assumes that FocP is a cross-linguistic ‘quantificational’ projection.³

Kiss (1998), citing Rochemont (1986) among others, argues along the lines of her previous work, where two different types of focus are distinguished. One type of focus expresses a quantification-like operation, the other merely conveys nonpresupposed information.⁴ Quantificational (operator) focus is labelled ‘identificational’ and is defined as representing the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold. Identificational focus is identified as the exhaustive subset for which the predicate phrase actually holds. Semantically, identificational focus represents the value of the variable bound by an abstract operator expressing exhaustive identification. Syntactically, identificational focus itself acts as an operator, moving into a scope position in the specifier of a functional projection and binding a variable. Information (presentational) focus, on the other hand, is not associated with movement. Information focus, being synonymous to non-presupposed material, is present in every sentence, and is devoid of any formal feature. However, not every sentence contains an identificational focus. An identificational focus is only present in derivations assigned a [+ focus] feature. In Hungarian, these two types of focus are never optional interpretational variants but are associated with distinct structural positions. Consider the examples in (4) taken from Kiss (1998).

- (4) a. Tegnap este MARINAK mutattam be Petert.
last night Mary.DAT introduced.I PERF Peter.ACC
‘It was TO MARY that I introduced Peter last night.’

³ This view dates back to Chomsky’s (1976) classical analysis and is shared by other authors (Rizzi 1997, among others). We will show, however, that for Romanian this claim is too strong.

⁴ Focus conveying nonpresupposed information is the equivalent of presentational focus introduced in chapter 3.

- b. Tegnap este be mutattam Petert Marinak.
'Last night I introduced Peter to Mary.'
(Hungarian - Kiss 1998:247)

In (4a), 'TO MARY' represents identificational focus, being the exhaustive subset of which the predicate phrase 'introduced Peter last night' actually holds. In (4b), on the other hand, 'to Mary' is simply perceived as the new information element of the sentence.

Kiss (1998) discusses several significant differences that distinguish between identificational and information focus. Most importantly, identificational focus takes scope, with the complement of F being the part of sentence over which it scopes. Therefore, the element bearing identificational focus is moved to a specifier of a functional projection, from where it can act as an operator. Consequently, identificational focus has to be coextensive with an XP (otherwise, it would not be available for operator movement). Information focus, on the other hand, does not take scope; it simply extends over any sentence part which consists of non-presupposed material. As such, it does not involve movement, being less restricted (both syntactically and semantically).

The author further argues that focus is strictly correlated to wh-phrases (cf. also Chomsky 1976, Zubizarreta 1998, among others). However, a wh-phrase in Hungarian can be answered both by information (presentational) focus and identification (operator) focus, depending on whether the answer is or is not intended to be exhaustive.

To sum up, Kiss argues that operator focus is universally associated with a structural position. The feature [+ focus] heads a functional projection of its own, FocP to which contrastively (or identificationally) focused elements need to raise at some point in the derivation (i.e., overtly or covertly).

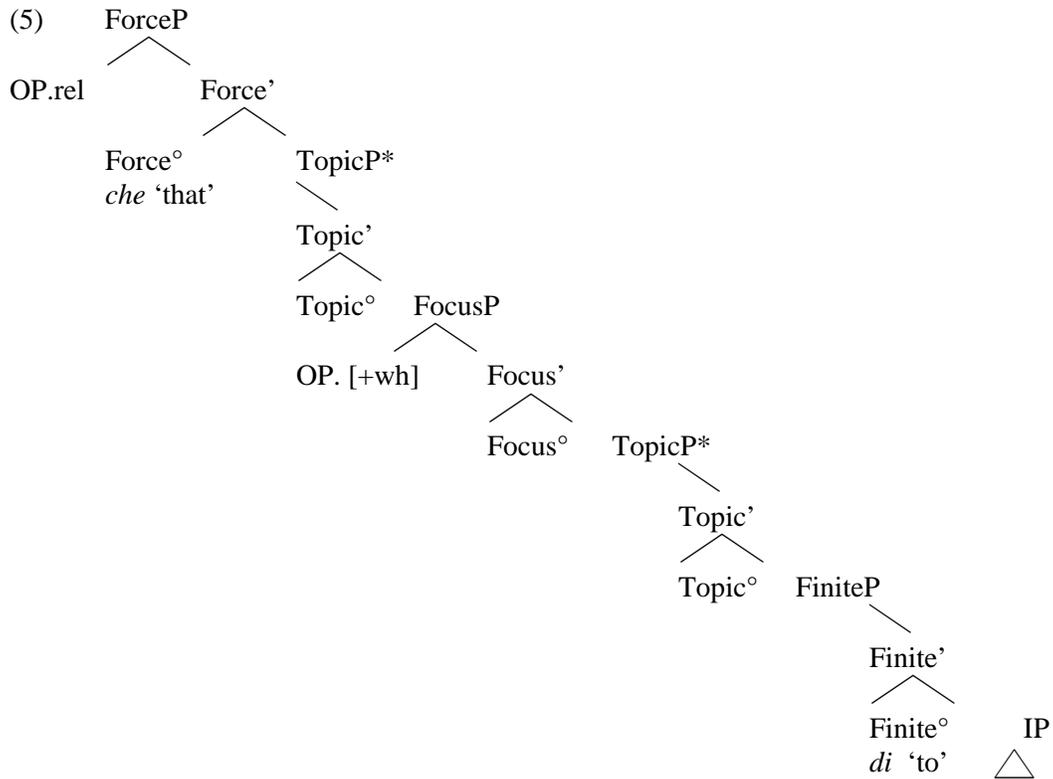
5.1.2 Rizzi (1995/97)

Rizzi (1995/97) starts from the assumption that the structural representation of a clause consists of three kinds of structural layers:

- (i) the lexical layer, headed by the verb, is the layer in which theta assignment takes place;
- (ii) the inflectional layer, headed by functional heads corresponding to concrete or abstract morphological specifications on the verb, is the layer responsible for the licensing of argumental features such as case and agreement;
- (iii) the complementizer layer, typically headed by a free functional morpheme, is the layer responsible for hosting topics and various operator-like elements such as interrogative and relative pronouns, focused elements, and so on.

The complementizer system is viewed as the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and a superordinate structure (a higher clause, or the articulation of discourse). Consequently, Rizzi argues for a C system that expresses information related both to discourse (i.e., ‘the outside’) and the IP (i.e., ‘the inside’).

He discusses the structure of the left periphery of a clause, arguing that the C° head should be ‘exploded’ into ForceP > (TopicP*) > (FocusP) > (TopicP*) > FiniteP, as in (5), partially illustrated with Italian.



The crucial argument for expanding the CP is that a theory involving a unique C head cannot deal with the distributional constraints of different kinds of operators hosted by the C-system (for example, the fact that relative operators must precede interrogative ones in Italian). The specification of Force in (5) constitutes the information looking at the higher structure (i.e., outside). Complementizers express the fact that a sentence is a question, a declarative, an exclamative, a relative, a comparative, an adverbial of a certain kind, and can be selected as such by a higher selector. The specification of Finiteness, on the other hand, reflects the core IP-related characteristics expressed by the complementizer system. ⁵

⁵ Note that languages vary in the extent to which IP information is replicated in the complementizer system: for example, some languages replicate mood distinctions. The languages of the Balkans have special subjunctive complementizers, among which the Romanian subjunctive complementizer *ca* which replicates the IP particle *să*, itself replicating synthetical marking on the verb stem available in the third person singular. Consider the examples in (i), which illustrate mood information in a subjunctive embedded clause (ia) and an indicative one (ib).

Rizzi further argues that the CP system should not be treated as an extended projection of the IP. The C system is fundamentally distinct from the I system in that it is not V-related. Furthermore, the ‘inflectional’ properties of the C system are not encoded in the form of verbal morphology, but expressed on free functional morphemes. While Top^o and Foc^o can be phonetically null (e.g., in Italian), there are languages that pronounce them (the author exemplifies with the focus particle *we* in Gungbe ⁶). The topic-focus field is ‘sandwiched’ in between force and finiteness whenever activated, being related to both the C and I systems. As can be seen in (5), topic can iterate, while focus cannot. Rizzi argues that recursion of FocP is

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- (i) a. Vreau [{ *cã / ca } de luni Mihai
 want.1SG [{ *that-IND / that- SUBJ } from Monday Mihai
 sã nu mai vinã acasã cu autobuzul
 SUBJ not more come- SUBJ.3SG home with bus-the
 școlar].
 school]
 ‘As of Monday, I want Mihai to stop taking the schoolbus home.’
- b. Știu [{ cã / * ca } de luni Mihai
 know.1SG [{ that-IND / * that- SUBJ } from Monday Mihai
 nu mai vine acasã cu autobuzul școlar].
 not more come- IND.3SG home with bus-the school]
 ‘As of Monday, I know Mihai will stop taking the schoolbus home.’

Moreover, the presence of the indicative complementizer *cã* is obligatory in all embedded indicatives, while the presence of the subjunctive complementizer *ca* is contextually dependent (being usually licensed by the presence of topicalized material). The invariable subjunctive particle *sã*, on the other hand, is always compulsory; consider the examples in (ii) which lack topicalized material in the embedded clause.

- (ii) a. Vreau [(* ca) * (sã) nu mai
 want.1SG [(*that-SUBJ) * (SUBJ) not more
 vinã Mihai acasã cu autobuzul școlar].
 come- SUBJ.3SG Mihai home with bus-the school]
 ‘I want Mihai to stop taking the schoolbus home.’
- b. Știu [* (cã) nu mai vine Mihai
 know.1SG [* (that-IND) not more come- IND.3SG Mihai
 acasã cu autobuzul școlar].
 home with bus-the school]
 ‘I know (that) Mihai has stopped taking the schoolbus home.’

⁶ Note also the [wh]/focus particle *ni* in Yoruba (cf. Déchaine 1998), and the topic particle *wa* in Japanese (cf. Van Valin 1997).

banned by the interpretive clash that would arise. The lower focus would have to simultaneously serve a dual function: as presupposition for Focus1, and as Focus2.

In order to satisfy the Topic/Focus Criteria, an element endowed with topic or focus features must end up in a Spec-Head configuration with the Top or, Foc head, respectively. In essence, focus and topic are seen as structure-dependent functions assigned in some specific structural relation (i.e., an appropriate specifier-head relation). This analysis draws on Rizzi's earlier assumptions (1991) regarding affective operators (i.e., [wh]- and negative operators). Consider the WH-Criterion (Rizzi 1991) introduced in chapter 4 and repeated below as (6).

(6) WH-CRITERION (Rizzi 1991)

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

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

Rizzi's Topic/Focus Criteria are a means of formalizing licensing conditions for Topic, Focus (as well as other affective operators). The entire format is similar to Chomsky's feature checking mechanism.

Rizzi also addresses some of the distinguishing properties between topic and focus and we offer a summary of the most salient differences. In Romance, the topic-comment articulation is typically expressed by the construction that Cinque (1990) has called Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), involving a resumptive clitic coreferential to the topic, as in (7).

(7) Il tuo libro, lo ho letto.

'Your book, I have read it.'

(Italian, Rizzi 1995:5)

The focus-presupposition articulation can be expressed in Italian by preposing the focal element and assigning it special focal stress, as in (8). Rizzi argues that in Italian this structural option is

restricted to contrastive focus (i.e., (8) presupposes that you believe that I have read something different from your book, and corrects this belief).

- (8) IL TUO LIBRO ho letto (, non il suo)
'Your book I read (, not his)
(Italian, Rizzi 1995:5)

Both topic and focus are argued to involve A'- constructions, but whereas topics involve resumptive clitics, focalized constituents disallow them, as illustrated in (9).

- (9) * IL TUO LIBRO lo ho comprato (, non il suo)
'Your book I bought it (, not his)
(Italian, Rizzi 1995:8)

This, coupled with the fact that a topic does not give rise to weak crossover, which is consistently detectable with focus, points to the major conclusion that focus is 'quantificational' while topic is not. Rizzi's (1995/97) analysis for contrastive focus then is very much in line with Kiss' (1995b, 1998).

5.1.3 Zubizarreta (1998)

In a vein reminiscent of Kiss (1995b, 1998), Zubizarreta (1998) equates focus in a statement with that part of statement that substitutes for the *wh*-phrase in the context question (see also Kiss 1998). The author further distinguishes between new information (presentational) focus and contrastive focus. The conclusions with regards to the syntax and semantics of these two types of focus are strikingly similar to those presented in section 5.1.1. and will not be discussed in any detail here. Instead, we briefly outline Zubizarreta's analysis for contrastive focus, since it bears interestingly on the Romanian data.

In this theory, contrastive focus is argued to have two effects. It negates the value assigned to a variable in the context statement (as indicated by the implicit or explicit negative tag

associated with contrastive focus), and at the same time, it introduces an alternative value for such a variable. Consider for illustration the contrastive utterance and its context statement (in square brackets) in (10):

- (10) John is wearing a RED shirt today (not a blue shirt).
[John is wearing a blue shirt today.]
(Zubizarreta 1998:7)

Zubizarreta (1998) further discusses properties of the preverbal field in Spanish and Italian and concludes that the two languages have different structural realizations for focus. For Spanish, the author argues for a “generalized TP analysis”, proposing that “within a view of syntactic structure in which heads consist of features that need to be checked against other heads, languages with a generalized TP may be said to allow a certain amount of feature syncretism.” (Zubizarreta 1998:100). Consequently, Tense is viewed as a syncretic category (in the sense of Giorgi and Pianesi 1996), in which the feature T(ense) may combine with discourse-based functional features, such as topic, focus, or emphasis, yielding the syntactic categories T/topic, T/focus, T/emphasis. Such an analysis is argued to be desirable in view of Chomsky’s (1995) minimalist approach to syntactic structure, since feature syncretism will ensure a minimal structure in a given derivation. In Spanish, different types of constituents may occupy Spec,TP: topics, emphatics, focused phrases (including wh-phrases) and subjects. T is thus seen to play a crucial role in checking nominative Case, as well as discourse-based features that belong to the outer layer of the clausal structure. However, a phrase may not check more than one type of feature in a given specifier-head configuration. In other words, a phrase may not simultaneously check an intrinsically grammatical feature such as Case and a discourse-based feature such as ‘topic’, ‘emphasis’, or ‘focus’. Moreover, while there can be several topics in Spanish, at most one functional ‘focus’ feature is allowed per sentence for focus-checking purposes. For Italian, on the other hand, a different analysis is adopted. It is argued, following Belletti and Shlonsky

(1995), that Spec,TP is occupied exclusively by the subject and that fronted focused phrases, emphatics and topics are left-dislocated (that is, they occupy a position above TP). Several differences between Spanish and Italian support such a dichotomy. For example, in contrast to Spanish, Italian disallows VSO word order and post-verbal subjects are right-dislocated, where right-dislocation is derived from left-dislocation via leftward adjunction (following Kayne 1994). These facts suggest that in Italian, nominative Case must always be checked overtly in Spec,TP. Moreover, in Italian, but not in Spanish, the preverbal focused or emphatic constituent need not be adjacent to the verb. Zubizarreta (1998) cites the examples in (11).

- (11) a. QUESTO Gianni ti dira (non quello che pensavi).
this Gianni to-you will-say (not what (you) thought)
(Italian, Rizzi 1995:48)
- b. Qualcosa, di sicuro, io farò.
something surely I will do
(Italian, Cinque 1990:15)

These facts are taken to suggest that Italian has a Focus or Emphasis projection located between CP and TP (cf. Rizzi 1995/97). In effect, the functional feature T in Italian cannot constitute a syncretic category with the functional feature ‘topic’, ‘focus’ or ‘emphasis’ (as is argued for Spanish).

To sum up, Zubizarreta views focus as a syntactic feature incorporated onto T in generalized TP languages, such as Spanish, while allowing for the projection of a Focus Phrase in languages for which there is enough empirical evidence to support a distinct Focus head (i.e., Italian).

5.1.4 Erteschik-Shir (1997)

Erteschik-Shir (1997) uses the term focus structure (f-structure) to characterize structural descriptions (SDs) annotated for topic and focus constituents. F-structure feeds both PF, since this level provides explicit phonetic intonation, as well as semantics (i.e., it is accessible and visible to both). F-structure theory is a pragmatic theory which is concerned with felicity conditions on the relation between sentences and context. Thus, the function ‘topic’ can only be assigned to constituents which are already in the hearer’s attention. Focus is shown to be of two types. New information/presentational focus (‘plain’ focus in the author’s terminology), which is defined as “the (intension of a) constituent c of S which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer(s) to, by uttering S.” (Erteschik-Shir 1997:11). This type of focus is a discourse property which is assigned to a constituent in a context of conversation. Contrastive focus (operator focus) is argued to be contextually constrained to occur only if a contrast set is available. In (12), for example, if ‘PETER’ is to be interpreted contrastively, {Susan, Peter} must be members of a contextually defined set.

- (12) Speaker A: You saw Susan at the party.
Speaker B: No, I didn’t see SUSAN, I saw PETER.
(Erteschik-Shir 1997:121)

Contrastive foci are by definition metalinguistic, since a previous utterance (possibly implied) is being objected to. Moreover, contrastive focus is assumed to be unique, since one cannot object to more than one implied utterance at a time. Erteschik-Shir (1997:121) further suggests the f-structure in (13b) for the sentence in (13a) with a contrastive interpretation.

- (13) a. A MAN is intelligent.
b. [a man_{FOC}]_{TOP} [is intelligent]_{FOC}
a woman_{TOP}

Under a contrastive interpretation, (13a) means “a man, not a woman, is intelligent.” In (13b), '[is intelligent]_{FOC}' refers to plain (i.e., non-operator), while 'a man _{FOC}' refers to contrastive (i.e., operator) focus and is part of a contextually defined set. The second line of the f-structure indicates the other member of the contrast set – 'the woman' - (which is not overt), without which the sentence is uninterpretable. In other words, if XP is to be interpreted contrastively, XP must be a member of a contextually defined set, which set acts like a topic and is restrictive. Metalinguistic foci then, evoke contrastive sets that provide the topic for the subordinate (metalinguistic) f-structure.

To sum up, Erteschik-Shir (1997) essentially views operator focus as a unique metalinguistic focus. The contrasted element is a member of a topic set and is, consequently, at least impliable to the hearer (i.e., it does not consist of new information, it only pinpoints/identifies a unique element of the old/metalinguistic information).

5.1.5 Some conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn from the analyses presented above point to a distinction between two types of focus at least with respect to function and positioning within the sentence. On the one hand, there is the new information, presentational type of focus, usually deeply embedded within the IP, which coincides with the rhematic/asserted domain of the sentence (see chapter 3). Presentational focus is acquired as a result of specific sentence partitioning, yielding desired information structures in various languages. This type of focus is pragmatically conditioned. Therefore, the lexical items which represent new information in a sentence are not marked for the feature [+ focus] and do not require special licensing conditions. On the other hand, there is the operator focus, which requires special licensing conditions and seems to be a property of several levels of grammar. Cross-linguistically, it is marked in a number of ways: (i) by intonation (i.e., phonology), (ii) by affixation (i.e., morphology), or (iii) by structural position (i.e., syntactic). Some authors accept the possibility of co-existence among the

types of scope-marking mentioned above (Kiss 1995b, 1998, Rizzi 1995/97), others see it solely as a property of phonology (Erteschik-Shir 1997). Déchaine (1998), argues that in-situ focus (intonational, affixal) and focus-movement do not both realize a syntactic [+ focus] feature in one and the same language. Déchaine (1998) proposes that Focus involves the marking of prominence via the application of Move, where Move applies either to syntactic or phonological formal features, but never to both.

Operator focus affects the truth-functional conditions of the sentence and scopes over a proposition. In the cases and languages presented so far, it licenses operator-variable chains. Consequently, it is taken to be quantificational in nature. Furthermore, contrastive focus is *unique*, since one cannot object to more than one implied utterance at a time (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997, Kiss 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, among others). The uniqueness of contrastive focus is semantic in nature.

In terms of material that belongs to the left periphery of the sentence, contrastive focus is to be distinguished from topics, both syntactically and semantically. While topicality represents an ‘aboutness’ relation, referring to constituents the sentence is true of, contrastive focus represents an aboutness relation which is unique. While both topics and contrastive focus seem to raise and scope over the IP they are base-generated in, topics do not seem to require special licensing conditions. A lexical item (LI) can be interpreted as a topic solely as a result of a c-command relationship, usually resolved via scrambling. Contrastively focused LIs, on the other hand, require more than just c-command, being subject to specific licensing conditions. We will see that contrastively focused LIs, in contrast to topics, also cluster together with other quantificational operators (i.e. wh-phrases and bare quantifiers) for a number of syntactic tests.

The question is whether a syntactic feature [+ focus] is present cross-linguistically on all contrastively focused lexical items, irrespective of marking type. In other words, is it the case that when a lexical item is interpreted as contrastive and its prominence is marked phonologically or morphologically, the respective LI also bears a syntactic [+ focus] feature?

contrastively focused element into the preverbal position is not obligatory. Consider the examples in (15), illustrative of argument focus (Lambrecht 1994), in which the contrastively focused element either raises (see 15a), or stays in-situ (see 15b). Prosodical marking (prosodic stress) is obligatory in both cases.

(15) argument-focus (contrastive focus) :

Q: Has dad come home?

- a. MAMA_i a venit t_i acasă (și nu tata).
 mother-the_i AUX.3SG come t home (and not father-the)
 ‘It is mother that has come home.’
- b. A venit MAMA acasă (și nu tata).
 AUX.3SG come mother-the home (and not father-the)
 ‘It is mother that has come home.’

In (15a) and (15b), the presupposition provided by the (implicit or explicit) context that ‘dad has come home’, is corrected via the use of contrastive focus. The constituent that is contrastively focused is the argument *mama* ‘mother’. The truth-functional conditions of the sentence are changed by negating the fact that ‘father’ holds of the predicate phrase, while at the same time asserting the validity of ‘coming home’ to hold only of ‘mother’.⁹

⁹ Constituents that are interpreted contrastively can also be lexically marked. For example, in (i) there is no prosodic stress on *mama* ‘mother’ but a particle denoting uniqueness needs to be used. As (ic) indicates, however, a contrastive reading cannot be obtained in the absence of both prosodic and lexical marking, irrespective of the syntactic positioning of the argument *mama* ‘mother’.

- (i) Q: Has dad come home?
- a. [Doar/Numai mama]_i a venit t_i acasă
 [only/just mother-the]_i AUX.3SG come t_i home
 (și nu tata).
 (and not father-the)
 ‘It is only/just mother that has come home.’
- b. A venit [doar/numai mama] acasă (și nu tata).
 AUX.3SG come [only/just mother-the] home (and not father-the)
 ‘It is only/just mother that has come home.’

Lambrecht (1994) distinguishes between argument-, predicate-, and sentence-focus. Contrastive focus in Romanian is equivalent to Lambrecht's (1994) argument focus kind, while the other two types are instances of presentational focus, as shown in (16).

(16) a. predicate-focus (presentational focus) :

Q: What happened to mother?

Mama_i a venit t_i acasă (# și nu tata).
 mother-the_i AUX.3SG come t_i home (and not father-the)
 ‘# It is mother that has come home.’
 ‘Mother [_{focus} has come home].’

b. sentence-focus (presentational focus) :

Q: What happened?

A venit mama acasă (# și nu tata).
 AUX.3SG come mother-the home (and not father-the)
 ‘# It's mother that has come home.’
 ‘[_{focus} Mother has come home].’

(16a) and (16b) are both instances of presentational focus in Romanian. In (16a), it is the predicate that constitutes new information. The argument *mama* ‘mother’, having previously been introduced in the discourse, acts as a topic, therefore licensing SV, and cannot be interpreted as either presentational or contrastive focus. In (16b), the whole sentence represents new information and all the sentence constituents are part of the presentation/novelty. In this case, the argument *mama* ‘mother’ cannot raise to the preverbal position, but has to stay in situ and the word order is VS. Presentational focus can also be realized as Lambrecht's argument-focus argument. For clarification, consider (17) in which the argument *mama* ‘mother’ represents new

c. # (Mama) a venit (mama) acasă (și nu tata).
 mother-the AUX.3SG come mother-the home (and not father-the)
 ‘It is (only/just) mother that has come home.’

information, acting as a presentational focus. In this case, the word order is VXPS, where XP has scrambled across the subject left in situ (see discussion in chapter 3).

(17) argument-focus (presentational focus) :

Q: Who has come home?

- a. A venit acasã mama.
 AUX.3SG come home mother-the
- b. # Mama a venit acasã.
 mother-the AUX.3SG come home
 'Mother came home / Mother did'

A comparison between (15a/b) and (17) highlights the fact that presentational/new information focus in Romanian does not have the syntax, semantics or phonological/morphological properties of contrastive focus. Elements that represent new information stay in-situ in their base-generated position (within the VP) and do not make statements about the truth or correctness of the presupposition. Furthermore, new information focus is not prosodically stressed.

These focus distinctions are somewhat obscured in English, where (for the most part) a preverbal subject constraint conceals information structure. Contrastive focus, however, does have a syntactic impact (i.e., the cleft construction) even in a language normally referred to as having rigid word order, such as English.¹⁰ A sentence such as, *It is your book that I have read (not his)*, presupposes that you believe that I have read something different from your book and corrects this belief. It could not be felicitously uttered as conveying non-contrastive new information, namely, as an answer to the question 'what did you read?'.

¹⁰ According to Vallduví (1990), English in-situ focus does not force a presupposition, while clefts do.

position. Moreover, Dobrovie-Sorin notices another distinguishing syntactic property between CLLD and ELD constructions in Romanian: the left dislocated element of CLLD, can be of any maximal category and there is no theoretical limit to the number of dislocated elements in this construction. ELDs, on the other hand, essentially allow for left-dislocated NPs only and only one at a time. Dobrovie-Sorin's conclusion is that, while ELDs do not rely on movement, CLLD structures do so.

In her discussion on the Romanian pre-verbal segment, Motapanyane (1994a,b, 1995) argues for a clear hierarchy for topic and focus. The author suggests that constituents preceding the interrogative morpheme *oare*, base-generated within CP (following Rudin 1992), occupy a topic position, whereas those following *oare* hold a focus clause-internal position. In the examples in (19), the constituent in topic, preceding *oare*, bears little stress and carries old information, while the constituent in focus, following *oare*, conveys new information, bears the main sentence stress and renders a contrastive reading.^{11, 12}

- (19) a. Scrisorile, *oare* ieri le-a primit Ion?
 the letters Q yesterday them has received John
 (sau azi)
 (or today)
 ‘As for the letters, was it yesterday that John received them, (or today)?’

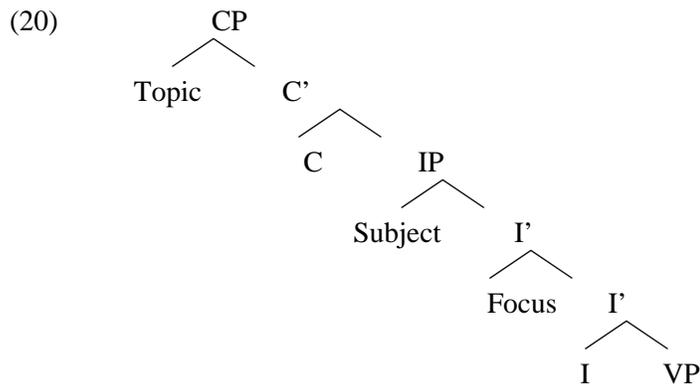
¹¹ Arguments for topic as the leftmost element comes from other areas of study, as well as cross-linguistic evidence; for example, Büring (1998) argues that the only restriction on topic placement in German is that topic has to precede focus (see also Rizzi 1995/97 for Italian). Farkas and Kazazis (1980) notice that, in Romanian, clitics in the pre-verbal field are ordered according to Topicality: the most topical clitic always preceding the less topical clitic.

¹² Note, however, that *oare* can appear in other positions within the clause. The occurrence of *oare* in (i) suggests it might be an insufficient diagnostic for pragmatic clause partitioning.

- (i) (*Oare*) scrisorile, (*oare*) ieri (*oare*) le-a primit
 (Q) the letters (Q) yesterday (Q) them has received
 (*oare*) Ion (*oare*)?
 (Q) John (Q)
 ‘Was it yesterday that John received the letters?’

- b. Ieri oare scrisori a primit Ion? (sau colet)
 yesterday Q letters has received John (or parcel)
 ‘Yesterday, was it letters that John received, (or a parcel)?’
 (Motapanyane 1994b:729)

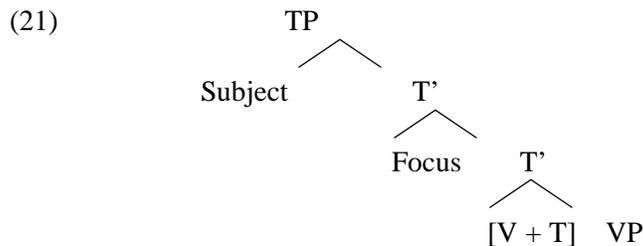
The distinction between the functions of pre-verbal positions is then established in Motapanyane as follows: topicalized elements appear in Spec,CP, a slot which also hosts wh-elements. The subject position is the argumental Spec,IP (in a non-split IP) and the focus position is adjoined to I', immediately below (see (20)).



Motapanyane further assumes that dislocation to topic does not involve movement (cf. Cinque 1990 and in contrast to Dobrovie-Sorin 1990b, 1994a) since topics do not licence parasitic gaps and do not display subjacency violations. Insofar as focus is concerned, specific NPs in focus behave like topics and are, therefore, taken to be base-generated there and not to qualify as structural operators; on the other hand, indefinite NPs and bare quantifiers in focus are shown to create Operator-variable chains.

Motapanyane (2000) reinterprets the analyses of earlier studies in a Minimalist light. The author points out that [+ focus] has an unexpected syntactic impact for a semantic, non-categorical feature and argues that [+ focus] features combine with the semantically related formal features: [+ wh] and [tense]. This hypothesis leads to a parametric approach with two possible settings for

focus: (i) [focus/wh] (as, for example, in English); (ii) [focus/tense] (as in Romanian). Motapanyane further claims that the presence of a [+ focus] feature does not trigger the projection of a functional head in Romanian. Since clauses are Tense projections (following Chomsky 1995), focus will target a position within TP, namely Spec, TP. Following a recent version of Checking theory that allows for projections with multiple Specifiers (Chomsky 1995), the author argues that fronting to focus in Romanian undergoes the derivation in (21).



Motapanyane's (1998) analysis for Romanian is similar in spirit to the one proposed by Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish. However, Motapanyane distinguishes wh-movement from focus-movement in Romanian. Wh-elements check their focus feature against T, but raise further to Spec,CP where they check their [+ wh] features. Focused elements move only as far as Spec,TP.

Cornilescu (1997), following Rizzi (1995/97), argues for the existence of a Topic-Focus articulation in the Romanian declarative sentence. The author assumes that a constituent endowed with topic or focus features must end up in a Spec-Head configuration with Topic or Focus. The respective constituent moves to the pre-verbal 'initial' field so that checking of features can occur. In this analysis, operator focus is taken to be quantificational in contrast to topic.¹³

Göbbel (1996), as cited in Kiss (1998), claims that the Romanian operator focus is [+ exhaustive], [+ contrastive] and argues that it is preposed into Spec-Pol(arity). Göbbel further claims that the use of an operator focus is possible only if the domain of contrast is a closed set of

individuals known to the participants of the discourse. As the following examples demonstrate, the phrase *numai pe Ion* ‘only Ion’ is formulated as a contrastive focus in Spec-PolP when identifying a subset of the set *pe Ion si pe Ioana* ‘Ion and Ioana’, as in (22b).

- (22) a. Am auzit că i-ai invitat pe Ion și pe Ioana.
 AUX.1SG heard that CL-AUX.2SG invited PE Ion and PE Ioana
 ‘I heard you invited Ion and Ioana.’
- b. [_{PolP} NUMAI PE ION I-am [_{VP} invitat]]
 only PE Ion CL-AUX.1SG invited
 ‘It is only Ion I invited.’

However, *numai pe Ion* ‘only Ion’ can only be used as an information focus in-situ when identifying a subset of the set *mulți musafiri* ‘many guests’. This follows since *mulți musafiri* ‘many guests’ does not denote a closed set whose members are known to the participants of the discourse. Consider the examples in (23), where *numai pe Ion* ‘only Ion’ cannot be interpreted as contrastive focus (23b), but only as information focus (23c).

- (23) a. Am auzit că ai invitat mulți musafiri.
 AUX.1SG heard that AUX.2SG invited many guests
 ‘I heard that you invited many guests.’
- b. # [_{PolP} NUMAI PE ION I-am [_{VP} invitat]]
 only PE Ion CL-AUX.1SG invited
 ‘It is only Ion I invited.’
- c. L-am [_{VP} invitat numai pe Ion].
 CL-AUX.1SG invited only PE Ion
 ‘I only invited Ion.’
 (adapted from Göbbel 1996, cited in Kiss 1998:268)

¹³ In Cornilescu (2000), however, the author argues that no FocP is needed in Romanian. The feature [+f], being interpretive, will be checked as a free rider in the A-bar-/A-projections in

5.2.2 Summing up Pandora's box

Several concluding remarks can be made with respect to the analyses illustrated above. The main issues targetted are whether topics involve movement or base-generation, whether [+ focus] as a syntactic feature is licensed in its own functional projection or parasitically, and whether focus is distinct from other quantification-like elements or not. Essentially, all analyses implicitly or explicitly assume a distinction between presentational and contrastive focus, as well as between topic and contrastive focus.

At this point in our discussion, we are clear on the following insofar as contrastive focus in Romanian is concerned:

(i) Contrastive focus is unique, is prosodically marked, undergoes operator movement to the left periphery (appears preverbally), and affects the truth-functional conditions of a sentence. Contrastive focus requires specific licensing conditions. We, therefore, assume that contrastive focus is associated with a [+ focus] formal feature;

(ii) Presentational focus does not involve movement from its base-generated position and does not require special licensing conditions. Consequently, we assume it is a discourse property, not associated with a [+ focus] formal feature.

(i) and (ii) are summed up in the table in (24).

(24)

	Operator (movement)	[+ focus] FF	Uniqueness	Prosodically marked	Affects truth- functional values of S
contrastive focus	+	+	+	+	+
presentational focus	-	-	-	-	-

which the NP finds itself at LF for other semantic or syntactic reasons.

On the other hand, we have introduced a number of issues which we need to further address in the hope of clarifying:

- (i) What is the relationship between focus and other sentence initial operators in Romanian?
 - the relationship between focus and topic;
 - the relationship between focus and quantifiers;
 - the relationship between focus and wh-phrases.
- (ii) What is the nature of the licensing condition for the [+ focus] feature in Romanian?
 - does the [+ focus] formal feature incorporate on an already present non-substantive head (i.e., a functional head), or is there evidence for a distinct Focus head?
 - is the [+focus] feature present as a syntactic feature on the lexical item, or only on the non-substantive head?
 - is the [+ focus] feature selectional or non-selectional?
- (iii) How do we account for optionality of preverbal versus postverbal occurrence in a theory in which movement for the purposes of feature-checking is exclusively overt?

A first step in answering the above queries involves a description of the empirical properties of contrastively focused elements in Romanian.

5.3 Properties of contrastive focus and other sentence-initial elements in Romanian

As discussed in the previous chapters, Romanian is a language with basic VSO and verb movement into Inflection. Therefore, material surfacing in the preverbal field is related to the IP-CP domain. In chapter 4, we argued that wh-phrases target Spec,IP in Romanian, which is a scope position, and that topicalized material appears below C°. Aside from topicalized material and wh-phrases, elements that target the left-periphery (preverbal field) in Romanian include quantifiers and contrastively focused phrases. These are all operators that raise to an A-bar position to scope

over the sentence. In this section, we discuss the interaction between these elements, with emphasis on focus movement.

5.3.1 The verb-adjacency requirement

As with *wh*-phrases, focused elements can only move into a position immediately to the left of the verbal complex, which comprises the raised verb plus any clitic material. This is a characteristic common to both main and embedded clauses, irrespective of the clause type. The verb-adjacency requirement - a term we use as a descriptive generalization - manifested by focus is illustrated in (25).

- (25) a. MAȘINĂ_i vrea Victor t_i, nu casă.
 car_i want.3SG Victor t_i not house
 ‘It’s a car that Victor wants, not a house.’
- b. Am spus că VICTOR_i n-a venit t_i acasă,
 AUX.1SG said that Victor_i not-AUX.3SG come t_i home
 (nu Ion).
 not Ion
 ‘I said it was Victor that hadn’t come home, not Ion.’

The examples in (26), where the presence of material intervening between the fronted focused element and the verbal complex disrupts the required adjacency, result in ungrammaticality in both the main and embedded clauses.

- (26) a. * MAȘINĂ_i Victor_j vrea t_j t_i, nu casă.
 car_i Victor_j want.3SG t_j t_i not house
 ‘It’s a car that Victor wants, not a house.’

- b. *Am spus că VICTOR_i acasă_j n-a venit
 AUX.1SG said that Victor_i home_j not-AUX.3SG come
 t_i t_j (, nu Ion).
 t_i t_j (, not Ion)
 ‘I said it was Victor that hadn’t come home (, not Ion).’

The same adjacency is observed with fronted bare quantifiers (indefinite negatives or affirmatives); consider the examples in (27), in which material intervening between the fronted quantifier and the verbal complex is ruled out.

- (27) a. Negative indefinites:
 Nimic_i (* Petre) nu ştie t_i (Petre).
 nothing_i (* Petre) not know.3SG t_i (Petre)
 ‘Petre doesn’t know anything.’
- b. Affirmative indefinites:
 Cineva_i (* la uşă) să stea t_i de pază (la uşă).
 somebody_i (at door) SUBJ. stay t_i of guard (at door)
 ‘Somebody should guard the door.’

Recall that topicalized material is under no such adjacency restriction in Romanian. Topicalized phrases may precede wh-phrases, fronted bare quantifiers and focused constituents in any order and any (processable) amount. For example, in (28a), the topicalized direct object *pe Victor* ‘Victor’ precedes the fronted wh-phrase, while in (28b), it precedes the bare quantifier *nimeni* ‘nobody’. In (28c), two topics precede the focused NP *CĂRȚI* ‘books’, immediately adjacent to the verbal complex.

- (28) a. Pe Victor_i cine_j-l aşteaptă t_j t_i la aeroport?
 PE Victor_i who_j-CL.3SG.ACC.M wait.3SG t_j t_i at airport
 ‘Who’s going to wait for Victor at the airport?’

- b. Pe Victor_i nimeni_j nu l-a vâzut t_j t_i afară.
 PE Victor_i nobody_jnot CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG seen t_j t_i outside
 ‘Nobody has seen Victor outside.’
- c. Mihai_j Ioanei_k CĂRȚI_i i-a citit t_j t_k t_i,
 Mihai_j Ioana.DAT_k books_i CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG read t_j t_k t_i
 nu ziare.
 not newspapers
 ‘It’s books that Mihai read to Ioana, not newspapers.’

To sum up, fronted focused constituents require adjacency with the verbal complex, a property shared by other indefinites (such as bare quantifiers and *wh*-phrases). Topics, on the other hand, do not manifest this requirement. It could be argued that definiteness is the factor responsible for the adjacency effect. Note, however, that contrastively focused definite NPs show the same adjacency requirement as indefinite focus. This is illustrated in (29);¹⁴

- (29) a. Ieri (lui Mihai) MAMA_i i-a citit
 yesterday (Mihai.DAT) mother-the_i CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG read
 t_i (lui Mihai), nu tata.
 t_i (Mihai.DAT) not dad-the
- b. * Ieri MAMA_i lui Mihai_j i-a citit
 yesterday mother-the_i Mihai.DAT_j CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG read
 t_i t_j, nu tata.
 t_i t_j, not dad-the
 ‘It is mom that read to Mihai yesterday, not dad.’

(29b) is ungrammatical, since the argument *lui Mihai* ‘to Mihai’ interferes between the fronted focused constituent and the verb. We return to this issue in section 5.3.3.

¹⁴ Recall that, in Romanian, definite marking on feminine nouns in the singular is achieved by vowel alternation from *-ă*, a stressed schwa, which marks the bare form, to *-a*, an open rounded back vowel, which marks the definite enclitic.

5.3.2 Complementary distribution

An immediate consequence of the adjacency requirement presented above, is that contrastively focused elements cannot co-occur in the preverbal field alongside wh-phrases and bare quantifiers, since all compete for verb-adjacency. Let us consider the examples in (30).

- (30) a. * Pe cine_j nimeni_i n-a vrut să vadă t_i t_j ?
 PE who_j nobody_inot-AUX.3SG wanted SUBJ. see t_i t_j
 ‘Whom did nobody want to see?’
- b. * Cineva_i pe cine_j vroia să lovească t_i t_j ?
 somebody_i PE who_jwant.3SG.PAST SUBJ. hit t_i t_j
 ‘Who did somebody want to hit?’
- c. * Unde_k MIHAI_ipleacă t_i t_k , (nu Ion)?
 where_k Mihai_k leave.3SG t_i t_k (not Ion)
 ‘* Where is it that it is Mihai that is leaving for (rather than Ion)?’
- d. * VICTOR_i cu nimic_j nu m-a deranjat t_i t_j.
 Victor_j with nothing_j not CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG bothered t_i t_j
 ‘It was Victor that didn’t bother me with anything.’

In (30a), the wh-phrase *pe cine* ‘whom’ cannot co-occur with the negative bare quantifier *nimeni* ‘nobody’ in the preverbal field. In (30b), the affirmative indefinite *cineva* ‘someone’ cannot precede the wh-element. That bare quantifiers can neither precede nor follow wh-phrases in the initial field in Romanian is a direct consequence of the verb-adjacency requirement operative on both types of constituents. (30c-d) illustrate the interaction of wh-elements and bare quantifiers with a preverbal contrastive focus. Since all of these operators compete for a verb-adjacent position, they cannot co-occur in the left periphery of the sentence.

Notice, however, that all of the sentences in (30) become fully grammatical if only one of the operators surfaces preverbally. In other words, the semantics of the sentences in (30) can be saved with the correct structural arrangement. This is illustrated throughout (31).

- (31) a. Pe cine_j vroia să lovească cineva t_j?
 PE who_j wanted SUBJ. hit somebody t_j
 ‘Who did somebody want to hit?’
- b. Unde_k pleacă MIHAI t_k, (nu Ion)?
 where_k leave.3SG Mihai t_k (not Ion)
 ‘Where is it that Mihai is leaving for (rather than Ion)?’
- c. Cu nimic_j nu m-a deranjat VICTOR t_j.
 with nothing_j not CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG bothered Victor t_j
 ‘It was Victor that didn’t bother me with anything.’
- d. VICTOR_i nu m-a deranjat t_i cu nimic.
 Victor_i not CL.1SG.ACC.-AUX.3SG bothered t_i with nothing
 ‘It was Victor that didn’t bother me with anything.’

Recall that we mentioned in our introductory remarks on contrastively focused elements in Romanian, that the focused phrase need not occupy the preverbal field; however, irrespective of whether it surfaces immediately adjacent to the verb or in situ, the contrastively focused constituent is always phonologically marked. This flexibility is also shared by bare quantifiers, wh-phrases being the only operators that require compulsory (visible) movement.¹⁵

We follow Kayne (1998) and suggest that the adjacency requirement manifested by bare quantifiers, wh-phrases, and focused constituents is indicative of a specifier-head relationship between these raised operators and the functional head they target. In chapter 4, we argued that in Romanian the [+wh] feature incorporates onto I^o, making Spec,IP the host for raised wh-phrases. In view of their complementarity of distribution in the preverbal field, we suggest that all operators requiring special licensing conditions, such as a specifier-head relationship with I^o (i.e.,

¹⁵ Romanian does not allow wh-in-situ (see discussion in chapter 4).

the verbal complex) undergo movement to Spec,IP.¹⁶ Questions arise concerning the nature of this movement (A or A-bar), and its optionality in some cases.

For wh-phrases we argued that the presence of a selectional [+ wh] feature on both the functional head I° and the wh-phrases engenders feature-checking in a specifier-head relationship and consequently second merge (movement) in Spec,IP. The dichotomy selectional versus non-selectional features (or, strong versus weak, for that matter) works nicely up to the point of ‘optionality’. How is it that a computational system functioning according to economy principles can allow for optionality and, implicitly, obviation of economy? In Chomsky (1995), strong features are checked prior to Spell-Out, while weak features are checked at LF; this follows from the principle of Procrastinate which roughly states that feature-checking can be postponed until LF whenever possible (LF checking being more economical). Optionality of movement, present in a number of languages other than Romanian (for example, Italian, Rizzi 1995/97, Greek, Tsimpli 1995) has to be captured as an underspecification of the strong/weak dichotomy, being viewed as the result of LF raising (for Romanian, see Göbbel 1996, Motapanyane 1998a, 2000). This account, however, violates principles of economy, which require that focus movement should always procrastinate in languages with this option. In any case, LF raising for feature-checking is untenable under our current analysis which assumes all feature-driven movement to be overt (see discussion in chapters 1, 2, and 4).¹⁷ Recall that we assume formal features are either selectional, in which case they require checking in a strict locality relationship (such as, specifier-head for XPs), and trigger movement, or non-selectional, in which case they only require feature-matching, but no movement. Whether a feature is selectional or non-selectional

¹⁶ Notice that for the purposes of our present discussion, we do not distinguish any internal IP projections. In chapter 2 we argued that specifiers are illicit within the Romanian IP, so material lower than the Spec,IP can be treated as a nonsubstantive (i.e., functional) head, even though it might contain distinct functional projections. We refer the reader to our discussion in chapter 2.

¹⁷ Note that we still maintain Quantifier Raising as LF movement. However, we rule out LF movement for morpho-syntactic feature-checking.

has to do with language particular licensing requirements, largely deriving from morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies (such as lack of a D-type EPP feature in Romanian), rather than economy principles. How is optionality to be captured in this case? Before providing an answer (see section 5.5.2), let us explore some other properties of preverbal operators in Romanian.

5.3.3 D-linking and sentence initial operators in Romanian

So far, we have shown that preverbal focused constituents, wh-phrases, and bare quantifiers all require verb-adjacency and, consequently, are in complementary distribution (descriptively speaking). We have also shown that any of the above operators can be preceded by topicalized material. Let us further consider the interaction between verb-adjacent operators and topics, as well as other D(iscourse)-linked material (i.e., material for which a particular set is presupposed by both speaker or hearer, see Pesetsky 1987).

5.3.3.1 What's in a topic?

As previously mentioned, there is no verb-adjacency requirement with topics in Romanian, and no constraint (other than processing requirements) on the number of topics that can appear in the left-periphery of the sentence, as illustrated in (32).¹⁸

- (32) a. Mioarei, Anghel, inelul, la nuntă i
 Mioara.DAT Anghel ring-the at wedding CL.3SG.DAT
 I-a dat.
 CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG given
 ‘Anghel gave Mioara the ring at the wedding.’

¹⁸ Recall that focus is semantically constrained by a uniqueness condition (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997, Rizzi 1995/97, Zubizarreta 1998, among others). Given that one cannot negate more than one implied sentence at a time, this constraint is assumed to be universal, and therefore, also operative in Romanian, as well as English (where one cannot get more than one cleft at a time).

- b. Inelul, Anghel, Mioarei, la nuntă i
ring-the Anghel Mioara.DAT at wedding CL.3SG.DAT
l-a dat.
CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG given
‘Anghel gave Mioara the ring at the wedding.’

All of the preverbal XPs are topicalized in (32). The word order sequence in (32a) is indirect object - subject - direct object - locative, but a reordering among the topicalized elements is also possible, as can be seen in (32b). Notice then that topic iteration does not observe any of the word order constraints discussed in chapter 4 for multiple *wh*-movement sequences. In other words, topicalized XPs can occur in any order in the preverbal field.¹⁹

Given that topicalized XPs are not constrained by ordering, alongside the fact that they differ in pragmatic interpretation from their non-topicalized counterparts, we suggest that topics do not involve feature driven movement. Therefore, we do not entertain the possibility of a Topic Phrase (along the lines of Rizzi 1995/97, Cornilescu 2000) since we assume featureless-driven movement does not engender the creation of additional functional projections. Lack of a Topic Phrase suggests one of two possible analyses: (i) either topicalized elements are base-generated as adjuncts in the Romanian left-periphery (cf. Motapanyane 1994a, 1995), or (ii) topicalized elements involve movement from an IP-internal base-generated position to an IP-external position (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990b, 1994a). We favour analysis (ii) and argue that, in Romanian, topicalization involves scrambling to an IP-adjoined position.

Culicover (1996) proposes that, in English, topicalization involves A-bar movement for two reasons. First, it permits reconstruction, which is a test for A-bar movement. The topicalized NPs in (33a-b) contain an anaphor, which needs to be bound by LF.²⁰ Since the sentences are

¹⁹ There are interpretation differences depending on topic word order, but the basic meaning does not change. Essentially, the leftmost topic is understood as having maximum relevance, presumably because it has highest scope.

²⁰ Recall that anaphors are bound in their local domains (see chapter 1, section 1.2).

grammatical, it follows that the anaphor ‘herself’ is felicitously bound by ‘Mary’, hence the topicalized NPs are interpreted in their base-generated position at LF (i.e., they reconstruct).²¹

- (33) a. Pictures of herself, Mary would never buy t.
b. Herself, Mary would never endanger t.
(Culicover 1996:452)

The second reason Culicover (1996) assumes that topicalization involves A-bar movement stems from the fact that it is not clause-bound (see 34). Given that English requires overt arguments, ‘this book’ in (34a) and ‘herself’ in (34b) have to be interpreted as arguments of the embedded verb in the absence of any other such candidates. Therefore, they cannot be assumed to have been base-generated adjoined to the matrix IP.

- (34) a. This book, I think you should read.
b. Herself, Mary says she would never endanger.
(Culicover 1996:452)

Applying similar tests to Romanian topicalized elements, we derive identical results. In (35a-b), *pe sine* ‘himself’ is an anaphor that needs to be bound in its governing category. The grammaticality of these sentences indicate that, at LF, the topicalized anaphor is interpreted in its base-generated position where it is felicitously bound by *Victor*. In other words, the left-dislocated constituent in (35a) has a copy (or trace) which is properly bound. Moreover, the topicalized anaphor in (35b) is not clause-bound, so we cannot assume it was base-generated in its surface position.

²¹ See section 5.5.1. for a reinterpretation of ‘reconstruction’ under the copy theory of movement, following Chomsky (1995, 1998).

- (35) a. Pe sine_i, Victor nu s_i-ar pune în pericol t_i.
 PE self_i Victor not REFL-AUX.COND.3SG place in danger t_i
 Himself, Victor would not endanger.
- b. Pe sine_i, Victor spune că nu s_i-ar pune
 PE self_i Victor says.3SG that not REFL-AUX.COND.3SG place
 în pericol t_i.
 in danger t_i
 Himself, Victor says he would not endanger.

We consider the examples in (35) to suffice as arguments for a movement analysis insofar as Romanian topics are concerned. Topicalization in Romanian does not involve a base-generated left dislocation analysis (as assumed by Cinque 1990 for Romance in general). As first noticed by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a), there are two types of left-peripheral structures in Romanian, one which is base-generated (ELD) and one which is derived by movement (CLLD) (see discussion in section 5.2.1). In contrast to the structures in (35), which are derived by movement, base-generated left-peripheral constituents, comprising of *cît despre NP* ‘as for NP’ phrases, engender ungrammatical results when they contain an anaphor. Consider the example in (36).

- (36) *Cît despre sine_i, Victor nu s_i-ar pune în pericol.
 as of self_i Victor not REFL-AUX.COND.3SG place in danger
 ‘* As for himself, Victor would not endanger.

The ill-formedness of (36) follows from the assumption that the constituent containing the anaphor is base-generated adjoined to the matrix IP. Consequently, the anaphor contained in *cît despre sine* ‘as for himself’ is left unbound (since there is no trace or copy within IP) and the sentence is ungrammatical.

An argument against topic movement is provided by Motapanyane (1994a, 1995). The author shows there is systematic contrast between wh-movement and dislocation to topic, to

which we fully adhere (at least, insofar as non-D-linked wh-phrases are concerned). Topics do not license parasitic gaps, while wh-phrases do; consider the examples in (37) taken from Motapanyane (1994a:29).

- (37) a. [Ce scrisori_i ai trimis t_i [fără să verifici e_i ?]]
 what letters AUX.2SG sent without SUBJ check
 ‘What letters did you send without checking?’
- b. *Scrisorile_i le-ai trimis t_i [fără să
 letters-the CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.2SG sent without SUBJ
 verifici e_i ?]]
 check
 ‘* You sent the letters without checking.’

Based on distinctions such as (37), Motapanyane concludes that topics do not involve movement, but are base-generated. We propose that the fact that topicalized elements cannot co-occur with parasitic gaps does not tell us whether topics are moved or base-generated in the left-periphery of the clause. It only tells us that the parasitic gap is not licensed. Given that parasitic gaps are licensed by a variable, this suggests that there is no variable to license them in structures involving topics. There are two possible explanations: (i) topics do not involve movement, so there is no trace left behind (perspective adopted by Motapanyane 1994a, following Cinque 1990), or (ii) topics *do* involve movement, but the trace left behind *does not act as a variable*. We propose it is (ii) that holds for Romanian, and not (i).

Romanian has other examples of traces left behind by A-bar movement which fail to act as variables: D-linked focused and wh-phrases also fail to license parasitic gaps. Consider the examples in (38a) and (38b), which involve a D-linked wh-phrase and focused constituent, respectively.

To sum up, we have suggested that topicalization involves A-bar movement in Romanian and that the trace/copy left behind acts as a pronoun rather than a variable. Moreover, since ordering is absent among topics, we proposed scrambling and adjunction to XP, rather than targetting of a Topic Phrase. Since topics are always below C° (see chapter 4), scrambling will be to IP (in a manner similar to English). Furthermore, since topics do not require special licensing conditions (i.e., verb-adjacency), we do not take topic movement to be feature-driven. In effect, movement to topic represents one of Chomsky’s (1995) stylistic operations not captured by the theory of features.

5.3.3.2 Topichood and sentence-initial operators

In this section we distinguish between D-linked and non-D-linked quantifiers and further discuss the interaction among preverbal operators. We show that D-linked quantifiers behave similarly to topics in terms of positioning in the preverbal field, while D-linked wh-phrases and focused elements obey the same word ordering constraints as their non-D-linked counterparts.

As illustrated in section 5.3.2, topicalized elements can co-occur in the left periphery with wh-phrases, contrastive focus, and quantifiers in Romanian, the only requirement being that topics occupy a position above the latter operators. Consider the examples in (39):

- (39) a. (* Cui) Anghel (* cui) inelul (* cui)
 who.DAT Anghel who.DAT ring-the who.DAT
 la nuntă **cui** i l-a dat?
 at wedding who.DAT CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG given
 ‘Whom did Anghel give the ring at the wedding?’

Under these assumptions, only traces bound directly by their copies in A-bar positions count as variables, while traces bound by a coindexed clitic would not be variables.

- b. (* SOȚIEI) Anghel (* SOȚIEI) inelul SOȚIEI
 wife.DAT Anghel wife.DAT ring-the wife.DAT
 i l-a dat.
 CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC.M- AUX.3SG given
 ‘It is to his wife that Mircea gave the ring.’
- c. (* Nimănuī) Anghel (* nimănuī) la nuntă nimănuī
 nobody.DAT Anghel nobody.DAT at wedding nobody.DAT
 n-a dat inelul.
 not-AUX.3SG given ring-the
 ‘Anghel didn’t give anybody the ring at the wedding.’

In all of the examples in (39), topics are licit provided they precede the verb-adjacent wh-phrase, focused constituent, or bare quantifier.

Let us next discuss the behaviour of D-linked quantifiers. While it is beyond our purpose to investigate Romanian quantifiers in any detail, some relevant remarks are necessary. So far, we have seen that bare quantifiers target the sentence-initial operator position adjacent to the verbal complex, on a par with wh-phrases and contrastively focused elements. In chapter 4 (section 4.7.4), we showed that the verb-adjacent operator position is only open to quantifiers which identify without exclusion, namely which are non-unique. However, it is well known that the large variety of quantifiers extant across languages have different properties, which affect scope and interpretation. A significant such property is D(iscourse)-linking. As previously mentioned, Pesetsky (1987) introduces the terms ‘D-linked’ versus ‘non-D-linked’ in relationship to wh-phrases. Wh-phrases for which a particular set is presupposed by both speaker (S) and hearer (H) are D-linked (e.g., *which*-phrases), while wh-phrases for which no set is shared are non-D-linked (e.g., *what*-phrases). Essentially, with D-linked constituents the choice of felicitous answers is narrowed down to a presupposed set.

D-linking should not be equated with topichood or definiteness. In Romanian, the syntactic effects of D-linked phrases are similar to definite phrases (e.g., D-linked phrases require

clitic doubling in the relevant contexts), but are not identical. If D-linking presupposes a set that is known or inferable to S and H, then all contrastively focused elements are D-linked. However, not all focused constituents require clitic doubling in Romanian. Conversely, some quantifiers require clitic doubling, but are never D-linked (e.g. distributive *oricine* ‘anyone’, see example 40).²⁴ We will, therefore, maintain a distinction between the terms D-linked and topicality, as well as limit our use of definiteness to NPs marked as such.

In Romanian, focused constituents and *wh*-phrases always require verb-adjacency, in effect, a special licensing condition, irrespective of their semantic interpretation. With quantifiers, on the other hand, the verb-adjacent position is semantically restricted to non-unique, therefore non-D-linked interpretations (i.e., to quantifiers that identify without exclusion). In Romanian, bare quantifiers are all non-D-linked, even under a distributive reading. For example, the universal quantifier *oricine* ‘anyone’, inherently underspecified for distributivity, requires verb-adjacency in the preverbal field, even if interpreted distributively; this is illustrated in (40).

- (40) Pe *oricine*_i -*i* (* *mama* *lui*_i) *iubește* *mama* *lui*_i.
 PE anyone CL.3SG.ACC.M (* mother-the his) loves mother-the his
 ‘* His_i mother loves anyone_i.’
 (note that this sentence is ungrammatical in English)

The direct object *pe oricine* ‘anyone’ in (40) is interpreted distributively (hence the resumptive clitic), as follows: ‘for any *x*, it is true that *x*’s mother loves *x*’. *x*, however, is infinite and does not belong to any set. A D-linked reading is therefore excluded and so is unique

²⁴ Where a constituent marked for distributivity requires that the property denoted by the predicate holds of each individual. Clitic doubling seems to be related to distributivity, which is dependent on individuality.

identification. Therefore, *oricine* ‘anyone’ identifies without exclusion on a par with other bare quantifiers, being licit in the verb-adjacent operator position.²⁵

Universal quantifiers that are inherently D-linked (in the sense of Pesetsky 1987) behave in a manner similar to topics in terms of word order and operator co-occurrence. Consider the examples in (41) which illustrate the topic-like behaviour of the universal D-linked quantifier *fiecare* ‘each’.

- (41) a. (Pe fiecare elev), cu ocazia olimpiadelor, (pe fiecare
 PE each student with occasion-the contests-the.DAT (PE each
 elev) l-a felicitat profesorul.
 student)CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG. congratulated teacher-the
 ‘The teacher congratulated each student on the contests.’
- b. (* Pe cine) Fiecare copil pe cine-și alege?
 PE who each child PE who-REFL choose
 ‘Whom does each child choose?’
- c. (* ceva) Pentru fiecare elev ceva vei găsi
 something for each student something FUT.2SG find
 de comentat.
 of commenting
 ‘You will find something to point out for each student.’
- d. (* Pe MAMA) Fiecare copil pe MAMA o iubește.
 PE mother-the each child PE mama-the CL.3SG.ACC.F. loves.3SG
 ‘It is his mother that each child loves.’

²⁵ Some existential quantifiers, such as *cineva* ‘someone’ may contextually acquire a unique interpretation, in which case they are excluded from the preverbal position (see chapter 4, section 4.7.4).

- e. (Pentru fiecare elev), fiecare profesor (pentru fiecare elev)
 for each student each teacher for each student
 a pus o vorbă bună.
 AUX.3SG put a saying good
 ‘Each teacher put in a good word for each student.’

The examples in (41) point toward a topic treatment of D-linked quantifiers in Romanian. In (41a), the quantifier co-occurs with another topicalized element, having the option to precede or follow it. In (41b-d), the quantifier can co-occur with a wh-phrase, a bare quantifier, and a contrastively focused element, respectively, provided it precedes all of the latter elements. In (41e), two D-linked quantifiers co-occur and no ordering is imposed. In sum, with D-linked quantifiers, iteration, as well as co-occurrence with topicalized elements and operators is possible, and no verb-adjacency is required. We therefore conclude that D-linked quantifiers in Romanian are topics, and occupy a position that is distinct from that occupied by fronted bare quantifiers, as well as wh-phrases and contrastively focused elements. In fact, these conclusions are not unexpected. *Fiecare* ‘each’ constituents are inherently D-linked, distributive quantifiers. Semantically speaking, they uniquely identify each member of a known set to have the property denoted by the predicate. Therefore, they are specific and cannot be associated with a syntactic slot (i.e., Spec,IP) which hosts non-unique elements. We suggest it is the combination of distributivity (individuality) and D-linking that qualifies these quantifiers for topichood. From a syntactic point of view, D-linked indefinites have been argued to saturate their quantificational features within the XP they occur in. In other words, they do not project their quantificational features to the respective XP and do not bind variables outside of XP.²⁶

Notice that noun phrases containing a universal quantifier which disallows a D-linked reading, but is nevertheless inherently distributive, such as, *fiece* ‘every’ in Romanian, pattern

²⁶ For a broader discussion see Erteschik-Shir (1997), Pesetsky (1987), and, for D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian see Dobrovie-Sorin (1990b, 1994a).

together with bare quantifiers and cannot be interpreted as topics. This follows under the assumption that topics are semantically restricted by a presupposition constraint, which for quantifiers is manifested as an ‘inferable set’ constraint (i.e., D-linking). Consider a comparison between *fiecare* ‘each’ and *fiece* ‘every’ in (42i) and (42ii) below.

- (42) (i) inherently distributive universal quantifiers with wh-elements:
- a. Fiecare copil pe cine și-alege?
 each child PE whom REFL-chooses
 ‘Whom does each child choose?’
- b. * Fiece copil pe cine și-alege?
 every child PE whom REFL-chooses
 ‘? Whom does every child choose?’
- (ii) inherently distributive universal quantifiers with contrastive focus:
- a. Fiecare părinte_i [pe copilul SĂU_i] îl iubește.
 each parent PE child-the his CL.3SG.ACC.M loves
 ‘Each parent loves his own child.’
- b. * Fiece parinte_i [pe copilul SAU_i] îl iubește.
 every parent PE child-the his CL.3SG.ACC.M loves
 ‘Every parent loves his own child.’

A D-linked quantifier such as *fiecare* ‘each’ is licit in constructions involving both wh-phrases, as in (42ia), as well as contrastively focused elements, as in (42iia). As argued above, this quantifier can function as a topic and, therefore, does not interfere with operators such as [wh] or focus. (42ib) and (42iib), on the other hand, are ungrammatical. The universal quantifier *fiece* ‘every’ behaves on a par with bare quantifiers, acting like an operator that interferes with any other operator in the Romanian preverbal field. In contrast to *fiecare* ‘each’, *fiece* ‘every’ constituents distribute over a potentially infinite set, therefore requiring variable binding outside their own XP. Consequently, this quantifier cannot function as a topic and competes with focus,

yielding ungrammatical results upon co-occurrence. It is non-unique and requires the same licensing conditions as bare quantifiers.²⁷

Given that a distinction needs to be made between D-linked quantifiers (topics) and bare quantifiers (operators) in Romanian, the question arises as to whether a similar distinction is found for *wh*-phrases and contrastively focused constituents.

In Pesetsky (1987), it is argued that D-linked *wh*-phrases are not quantifiers in English (while non-D-linked ones are). Consequently, D-linked *wh*-phrases are not assumed to move at LF and no Superiority effects arise. Consider the English examples in (43).

- (43) a. Who read what?
 b. *What did who read?
 c. Which boy read which of the books?
 d. Which of the books did which boy read?

With indefinite *wh*-phrases, the raising of the subject *wh*-phrase is preferred over the raising of the object *wh*-phrase, as can be seen in (43a-b). With D-linked *wh*-phrases, on the other hand, no such ordering is imposed, (43c-d) being equally grammatical.

In Romanian, however, D-linked *wh*-phrases obey the same word ordering constraints as their non-D-linked counterparts. The examples in (44) show that (Anti)-Superiority effects (as described in chapter 4) are also present with D-linked *wh*-elements in Romanian.

- (44) a. Care băiat_i pe care dintre cărți_j le-a luat t_i t_j ?
 which boy_i PE which of books_j CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG taken t_i t_j
 ‘Which boy took which of the books?’

²⁷ Beghelli and Stowell (1997) propose an analysis in which quantifiers are bound by different operators, such as distributive, generic, negation, existential, depending on specification. In this analysis, Quantifier Raising is seen as feature-driven movement (contra Chomsky 1995, 1998) up to the required scope position (see also Kennedy 1997). Quantifiers that are [+ distributive], [+ universal], such as the ‘each’ type, must be bound by a definite operator and must raise and check features in the Specifier of DistributivePhrase. Though extremely appealing, such an analysis is beyond the scope of our present discussion.

- b. * Pe care dintre cărți_j care băiat_i le-a luat t_i t_j ?
 PE which of books_j which boy_i CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG taken t_i t_j
 ‘Which of the books did which boy take?’

Furthermore, the examples in (45) show D-linked wh-phrases to behave on a par with their indefinite counterparts, in that they require verb-adjacency and cannot co-occur with contrastively focused elements or bare quantifiers, as in (45a), or indefinite wh-phrases (46b). Movement of wh-phrases uniformly targets the same preverbal position in Romanian, which position was argued in chapter 4 to be Spec,IP, an operator position in Romanian.

- (45) a. * Pe care băiat { VICTOR / cineva / nimeni nu }
 PE which boy Victor someone nobody not
 l-a văzut?
 CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG seen
 ‘Which boy did { VICTOR / somebody / nobody } see?’
- b. * Pe care dintre cărți cine a citit-o?
 PE which of books who AUX.3SG read-CL.3SG.ACC.F
 ‘Which of the books did who read?’

Insofar as contrastively focused elements are concerned, both the verb-adjacency requirement and lack of co-occurrence with wh-phrases and bare quantifiers are observed irrespective of the semantic (i.e., indefinite versus definite) nature of the contrastively focused NP. Consider the examples in (46).

- (46) a. (Ieri) CĂRȚI (* ieri / * cineva / * cine)
 (yesterday) books (yesterday/ somebody/ who
 a cumpărat (cineva/ ieri/ * cine),
 AUX.3SG bought (somebody/ yesterday/ who)
 nu dosare.
 not binders
 ‘It was books that somebody bought (yesterday), not binders.’

- b. (Ieri) CĂRȚILE (* ieri / * cineva / * cine)
 yesterday books-the yesterday/ somebody/ who
 le-a cumpărat (cineva/ ieri/ * cine),
 CL.3PL.ACC-AUX.3SG bought (somebody/ yesterday/ who)
 nu dosarele.
 not binders-the
 ‘It was the books that somebody bought (yesterday), not the binders.’

The indefinite focused element in (46a) and the definite focused element in (46b) behave identically in terms of obligatory verb-adjacency and interaction with topical material or other sentence-initial operators.

5.3.4 In sum

To conclude, focused constituents and *wh*-phrases target the same verb-adjacent slot, irrespective of their semantic type. Quantifiers, on the other hand, are either context sensitive (as discussed in chapter 4), or sensitive to their inherent specifications (i.e., dependent on the type of scope relations they can entertain). For example, we have shown D-linked quantifiers to behave like topics, being capable of preceding fronted focused constituents or *wh*-phrases. Non-D-linked quantifiers, on the other hand, behave like other operators which require verb-adjacency. Their interpretation is non-unique and they need to bind variables within the IP over which they scope.

The table in (47) sums up the properties of the sentence-initial elements under discussion. Contrastively focused phrases pattern alongside non-D-linked quantifiers (e.g., bare quantifiers) and *wh*-phrases, and in a manner distinct from topics and D-linked quantifiers.

(47)

	V-adjacency	Complementary distribution with other operators	Unordered co-occurrence
wh-phrases	+	+	-
Focus	+	+	-
Non-D-linked quantifiers	+	+	-
Topics	-	-	+
D-linked quantifiers	-	-	+

5.4 Evidence for A-bar movement

The verb-adjacency and interaction properties summed up in table (47) point toward a uniform treatment of sentence-initial operators in Romanian. Intuitively speaking then, these operators are expected to show parallel properties under a movement analysis. In this section, we discuss shared A-bar properties between focus- and wh-movement, as well as further parallels between contrastive focus and bare quantifiers.

5.4.1 Contrastive focus-movement and wh-movement

It has been argued (cf. Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1990) that there are two ways in which a gap can be related to its antecedent. Non-NPs are ‘identified’ through antecedent government, which is a local relation, while NPs are ‘identified’ by binding, a non-local relation. Non-NPs (i.e., adjuncts) cannot be identified by binding, since binding requires that the antecedent and the bound constituent have the same index. Cinque (1990) has argued that since only NPs can have referential indices, only NPs can be identified via binding. The difference in manner of gap identification has obvious consequences on the length of movement. While long movements of NPs can in principle produce well-formed chains, only local movements are allowed for non-NPs. To theorize this, Cinque (1990) argues the two types of ‘identification’ are subject to different types of barriers, which produce two types of islands (i.e., strong and weak islands). Strong islands affect both NPs and non-NPs, while weak islands exclusively affect non-NPs.

There is evidence in Romanian that focus movement is subject to the same weak and strong island constraints as movement of *wh*-phrases. Let us first consider strong island constraints, which include extraction out of a clause dominated by a noun phrase (CNPC) and extraction out of an adjunct clause, a consequence of conditions on extraction domains (CED).

In (48) through (51), NP and non-NP preverbal focused elements are shown to be subject to both CNPC and CED, in a manner parallel to moved NP and non-NP *wh*-phrases. Let us first consider extraction out of a clause dominated by a noun phrase (see 48-49).

A. STRONG ISLANDS:

(i) CNPC (extraction out of a clause dominated by a noun phrase):

(48) NPs:

a. Am înfîlnit un elev [care a scris
 AUX.1SG met a student [which AUX.3SG written
 o scrisoare foarte îngrijit].
 a letter very carefully]
 ‘I met a student who worded a letter with great care.’

b. *Ce ai înfîlnit un elev [care a scris
 what AUX.2SG met a student [which AUX.3SG written
 t foarte îngrijit]?
 t very carefully]
 ‘* What did you meet a student who had worded very carefully?’

c. Am înfîlnit un elev [care a scris
 AUX.1SG met a student [which AUX.3SG written
 o SCRISOARE foarte îngrijit].
 a letter very carefully]
 ‘*I met a student that a LETTER had written very carefully (as opposed to something else)’

- d. * O SCRISOARE am întâlnit un elev [care
 a letter AUX.1SG met a student [which
 a scris t foarte îngrijit]?
 AUX.3SG written t very carefully]
 ‘I met a student that a LETTER had written very carefully (as opposed to
 something else)’

(49) non-NPs:

- a. Am citit o scrisoare [care era scrisă foarte îngrijit].
 AUX.1SG read a letter [which was written very carefully]
 ‘I read a letter that was written very carefully.’
- b. *Cît de îngrijit ai citit o scrisoare
 how of carefully AUX.2SG read a letter
 [care era scrisă t]?²⁸
 [which was written t]
 ‘* How carefully did you read a letter that was written?’

²⁸ In this sentence Romanian *îngrijit* ‘carefully’ refers exclusively to the manner of writing and cannot be understood to refer to the manner of reading.

- c. Am citit o scrisoare [care (CU GRIJĂ) era
 AUX.1SG read a letter [which (with care) was
 (CU GRIJĂ) scrisă CU GRIJĂ].²⁹
 (with care) written (with care)]
 ‘I read a letter that had been written WITH CARE (, not sloppily).
- d. * CU GRIJĂ am citit o scrisoare [care era scrisă t]
 with care AUX.1SG read a letter [which was written t]
 ‘I read a letter that had been written WITH CARE (, not sloppily).

Given that the *wh*-phrases have been extracted out of a relative clause, which represents a strong island for movement, the examples in (48b) and (49b) are ungrammatical. We assume (48d) and (49d) to be ungrammatical for the same reason. Specifically, moved focus behaves in a parallel manner to moved *wh*-phrases in terms of strong islands. Notice, however, that focused material which does not move out of the strong island (cf. 48c and 49c) does not display any island effects. This follows once we assume strong islands to be inoperative at LF, that is, to be relevant only for overt A-bar movement operations.

²⁹ Notice that *care* ‘which’, while a *wh*-word, does not interfere with focus movement in the embedded clause. *Care* ‘which’, however, is not an interrogative but a relative operator. Consequently, it need not behave on a par with interrogative *wh*-phrases and, indeed in Romanian, it does not (see also Rizzi 1995/97 for a similar discussion of the Italian data). Relative operators in Romanian may allow for intervening topics (this being a function of the specificity or lack thereof of the head noun they modify) and do not require verb-adjacency. This is illustrated in (i) below, in which the topics ‘Mihai’ and the negative indefinite ‘niciodată’/never interfere between the relative operator and the verbal complex.

- (i) Fata [pe care Mihai niciodată n-o va
 girl-the [PE which Mihai never not-CL.3SG.ACC.F FUT.3SG
 lua de nevastă] s-a decis să plece în SUA.
 take of wife] SE-AUX.3SG decided SUBJ leave in USA
 ‘The girl that Mihai will never marry decided to leave for the USA.’

We assume relative *wh*-word to be related to the CP domain since they can precede topics and are in complementary distribution with the complementizer *că* ‘that’. Consequently, they target a position that is distinct from that targeted by focus and *wh*-phrases, a welcome conclusion according to Massam (p.c.), since relative clauses are nominalizations and *wh*-interrogatives scope over propositions and have nothing to do with relativization.

The same observations hold for wh-phrase and focus-extraction out of adjunct clauses, a result on Conditions of Extraction Domains (CED), illustrated in (50-51) below.

A. STRONG ISLANDS:

(ii) CED (extraction out of an adjunct clause):

(50) non-NPs:

a. Am citit [după ce am scris tema
 AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written homework-the
 foarte îngrijit].
 very carefully]

‘I read after having done my homework very carefully.’

b. * Cît de îngrijit ai citit [după ce ai
 how of carefully AUX.2SG read [after AUX.2SG
 scris tema t]?
 written homework-the t]

‘* How carefully did you read after having done your homework?’

c. Am citit [după ce am scris tema
 AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written homework-the
 CU GRIJĂ].
 with care]

‘I read after it was WITH CARE that I did my homework.’

d. * CU GRIJĂ am citit [după ce am scris
 with care AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written
 tema t]
 homework-the t]

‘*It was WITH CARE that I read after having done my homework.’

- (51) NPs:
- a. Am citit [după ce am scris tema
 AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written homework-the
 foarte îngrijit].
 very carefully]
 ‘I read after having done my homework very carefully.’
- b. * Ce am citit [după ce am scris t
 what AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written t
 foarte îngrijit]?
 very carefully]
 ‘*What did I read after having done very carefully?’
- c. Am citit [dupa ce am scris
 AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG written
 TEMA foarte îngrijit]?
 homework-the very carefully].
 ‘I read after I did my HOMEWORK very carefully (, not something else).’
- d. * TEMA am citit [după ce am
 homework-the AUX.1SG read [after AUX.1SG
 scris-o t foarte îngrijit]
 written-CL.3SG.ACC.F t very carefully]
 ‘I read after I did my HOMEWORK very carefully (, not something else).’

Let us now turn our attention to weak islands. Weak islands involve embedded wh-clauses, factive islands, extraposition, and inner islands (to be discussed in the next section).

³⁰ According to Cinque (1990), weak islands are inoperative for NPs, a point we illustrate for Romanian with the example in (52), where the contrastively focused NP is seen to raise out of the embedded factive clause.

³⁰ According to Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970), transitive verbs can be divided into factive (e.g., *(dis)like*, *resent*, *regret*, etc.) and non-factive (e.g., *say*, *tell*, etc.), depending on how they affect the truth value of their embedded CP argument. Factive verbs retain the truth value of their

- (52) SCRISOAREA regret [cã am scris-o t
 letter-the regret.1SG [that AUX.1SG written-CL.3SG.ACC.F t
 foarte neîngrijit, (nu plicul)].
 very sloppily, (not envelope-the)]
 'It is the LETTER that I regret having written very sloppily (not the envelope).'

Given that weak islands are only operative with non-NPs (adjuncts), we do not discuss NPs any further. With non-NP wh-phrases and contrastive focus (which are subject exclusively to local movements), however, we expect to see weak island effects. In (53)-(54), we illustrate with examples from factive islands and embedded interrogatives.

- (53) a. Regret [cã am scris scrisoarea
 regret.1SG [that AUX.1SG written letter-the
 FOARTE NEÎNGRIJIT].
 very sloppily]
 'I regret having written the letter VERY SLOPPILY (, not very carefully).'
- b. * FOARTE NEÎNGRIJIT regret [cã am scris
 very sloppily regret.1SG [that AUX.1SG written
 scrisoarea t]
 letter-the t]
 'I regret having written the letter VERY SLOPPILY (, not very carefully).'
- c. * Cît de neîngrijit regreți [cã ai scris
 how of sloppily regret.2SG [that AUX.2SG written
 scrisoarea t]?
 letter-the t]
 '* How sloppily do you regret that you wrote the letter?'

argument CP, while non-factive verbs can cancel the truth value of the embedded proposition (see also Progovac 1988, among others).

(53a) illustrates a factive island which is seen to allow in-situ contrastive focus. (53b) and (53c) are instances of factive islands out of which an adjunct - a focused and a wh-phrase, respectively - is extracted. Both (53b) and (53c) are equally ungrammatical, which points to the parallel behaviour of both wh-phrases and focused constituents in terms of movement. Similar results obtain with other weak barriers, such as embedded interrogatives illustrated in (54).

- (54) a. Te întrebai [ce citesc FOARTE REPEDE
REFL asked.2SG [what read.1SG very quickly
(nu foarte atent)].
not very carefully
‘You were asking yourself what I was reading VERY QUICKLY,
(and not very carefully).’
- b. * FOARTE REPEDE te întrebai [ce citesc t]
very quickly REFL asked.2SG [what read.1SG t]
‘You were asking yourself what I was reading VERY QUICKLY,
(and not very carefully).’
- c. * Cum te întrebai [ce citesc t]?
How REFL asked.2SG [what read.1SG t]
‘* How were you asking yourself what I’m reading?’

In (54a), the focused adverbial is in situ and the sentence is grammatical. In (54b), the focused adverbial moves into a preverbal position, across a weak barrier and ungrammaticality results. The same ungrammaticality is obtained with the extracted wh-adjunct in (54c).

To sum up, we can conclude that evidence from both strong and weak barriers points towards adopting an A-bar movement analysis of preverbal wh-phrases and contrastively focused elements. Furthermore, in situ focus does not display any island effects, while moved focused constituents display both weak and strong island effects. This is desirable, in view of the clear connection between the semantics of focus and that of questions.

5.4.2 Affective operators

Klima (1964) first noticed that interrogatives, existential quantifiers, negative words, conditionals, and degree words in English share a common grammatico-syntactic feature, which he referred to as ‘affective’. Syntactically speaking, these ‘affective constituents/operators’ (e.g., *nobody, if, too*) can only occur in negative, interrogative, conditional, and degree structures, but never in declaratives (see 55). Given that they must fall within the scope of an affective constituent, the expressions restricted as such are also referred to as ‘polarity expressions’. Consider (55a-e), in which we illustrate this structural requirement for the existential quantifier ‘any’.

- (55) a. Nobody will say anything.
b. I doubt whether anyone will say anything.
c. If anyone should ask for me, say I’ve gone to lunch.
d. He was too lazy to do anything.
e. * He has found anything interesting.

(Radford 1997:111)

According to Rizzi (1990), affective operators produce inner island effects. According to Ross (1983), inner islands are weak islands created by phrases in A-bar positions which block extraction of other phrases to A-bar positions within the same clause. Since inner islands are a subpart of weak islands, they will only affect non-NP movement (i.e., movement of adjuncts). Consider the English examples in (56).

- (56) a. How strongly does Jamie hate everyone / * no one?
b. How strongly does everyone / * no one dislike Jamie?
c. With how much difficulty did Jamie read everything / * nothing?
d. With how much difficulty did everyone / * no one read that book?

The examples in (56) all show that negative indefinites, such as the bare weak quantifiers 'no one' and 'nothing', induce inner island effects with moved wh-adjuncts. Rizzi argues that inner island effects follow from the fact that, at LF, affective operators raise to A-bar positions creating chains that interfere with the operator-variable chains formed by the moved wh-adjunct. On the other hand, strong (i.e., D-linked) quantifiers, such as 'everyone' and 'everything', are not seen to induce these effects. This seems puzzling since under the rule of Quantifier Raising (cf. May 1995), whereby that all quantifiers raise and take scope at LF, one wouldn't expect the dichotomy in (56). A possible solution would be to explain the puzzle along the lines of Kiss' (1992) Specificity Filter, which we reproduce in (57).

(57) SPECIFICITY FILTER (Kiss 1992, in Szabolcsi and Zwarts 1997:229):

If Op_i is an operator which has scope over Op_j and binds a variable in the scope of Op_j , then Op_i must be specific.

D-linked quantifiers are specific operators and under (57) are allowed to bind the variable of weak (i.e., non-D-linked) operators over which they scope. Consequently, they will not interfere with raising of any semantically weaker operator, such as the wh-adjuncts of (56). Weak quantifiers, such as the negative polarity items in (56), are not D-linked and will yield ungrammatical results whenever they bind the variable of another operator (alongside their own). Another possible explanation resumes our discussion of Romanian topics (section 5.3.3.1), in which we argued that the gap left behind in topic movement is pronominal in nature. Therefore, it could be assumed that topical material (whether quantificational or not) leaves behind a pronominal gap, rather than a variable.³¹ Under such an analysis, no chain interference is predicted between the chain formed by weak operators and that formed by strong operators, since the chains are of a distinct nature.

³¹ This view is also consistent with the assumption that D-linked quantifiers (topics) need not bind variables outside their XP (see discussion in section 5.3.3.2).

Whatever theoretical approach we adopt in explaining the dichotomy between the (non)-emergence of islands effects depending on quantifier-type, what is crucial to our discussion is that non-D-linked/bare quantifiers induce inner islands, while D-linked quantifiers do not. The question is whether focused elements, which otherwise behave on a par with bare quantifiers in Romanian, also induce inner island effects, as described in (56). Consider the examples in (58).

- (58) a. Cît de ușor a citit Victor cartea?
 how of easy AUX.3SG read Victor book-the
 ‘How easily did Victor read the book?’
- b. Cît de ușor a citit fiecare elev cartea?
 how of easy AUX.3SG read each student book-the
 ‘How easily did each student read the book?’
- c. * Cît de ușor n-a citit nimeni cartea?
 how of easy not-AUX.3SG read nobody book-the
 ‘* How easily didn’t anyone read the book?’
- d. * Cît de ușor a citit cineva cartea?
 how of easy AUX.3SG read someone book-the
 ‘? How easily did someone read the book?’
- e. * Cît de ușor a citit MIHAI (, nu Ion) cartea?
 how of easy AUX.3SG read Mihai (,not Ion) book-the
 ‘? How easily did MIHAI (,not Ion) read the book?’

We notice that both (58a-b) are grammatical, while (58c-e) are not. In (58a), the topic *Victor* does not interfere with movement of the adverbial wh-phrase and neither does the strong (topical) quantifier *fiecare elev* ‘each student’ in (58b). On the other hand, the negative indefinite in (58c), the affirmative indefinite in (58d), and the contrastively focused element in (58e) all induce inner

island effects. This then suggests that focused phrases in Romanian undergo LF movement to an A-bar/operator position, on a par with other bare quantifiers, leaving behind a variable and behaving similarly to affective constituents in the language.

That the semantics of the quantifier is crucial is further supported by the ambiguity versus non-ambiguity of the following examples.

- (59) a. De ce a picat toată lumea?
of why AUX.3SG failed all people-the
‘Why did everyone fail?’
i. They all failed because they hadn’t studied.
ii. Jane failed because she hadn’t studied and John failed because he didn’t attend the exam.’
- b. De ce n-a picat nimeni?
of why not-AUX.3SG failed nobody
‘Why did nobody fail?’
i. Nobody failed because the exam was easy.’
ii. * Jane didn’t fail because she had studied, and John didn’t fail because he was lucky.’

(59a) allows for two types of answers: an answer as in (i), in which *toată lumea* ‘everybody’ is interpreted as collective, and an answer as in (ii), in which the quantifier is interpreted as topical (i.e., D-linked and distributive), licensing a ‘pair-list’ reading, to borrow a term from Beghelli (1997). Consequently, (59a) is ambiguous. (59b), on the other hand, is unambiguous, since the bare quantifier *nimeni* ‘nobody’ can only allow for a collective, lower construal reading. In other words, *nimeni* ‘nobody’ is inherently non-unique, non-distributive and non-D-linked. In effect, the semantics of the quantifier is crucial both to the interpretation of the sentence, and to the position the quantifier can occupy within the clause.

In sum, in this section we have shown that in Romanian contrastively focused elements induce similar island effects to those triggered by bare quantifiers (i.e., non-topical). Bare

quantifiers behave differently from their strong counterparts and pattern together with the focus operator with regards to weak island effects.

So far, we have seen that focus-movement obeys island constraints in a parallel manner to bare quantifiers and wh-phrases. Moreover this seems to be a universal constraint, at least to a certain degree. Rooth (1996:284) suggests that “there is a connection between the semantics of focus and the semantics of questions. [...]”, and that, consequently we should not be satisfied “with a theory that treats focus as *sui generis*.” Focus is seen as an operator belonging to a larger “family of operators which uses restricted variables to name families of propositions, open propositions, and/or their existential closures.” Our discussion so far fully supports the view proposed in Rooth (1996). As yet, there is no evidence for postulating a distinct Focus head, which projects a Focus Phrase in the Romanian syntactic tree. The [+ focus] formal feature is presumably licensed in a manner similar to the [+ wh] formal feature, which incorporates onto the highest verbal nonsubstantive head.

5.4.3 Weak crossover

The last shared A-bar property we are going to discuss concerning contrastive focus in Romanian is weak crossover. Recall from our discussions in chapters 3 and 4 that weak crossover effects arise whenever a pronoun is coindexed with a variable to its right. Chomsky (1976) first observed that, like wh-movement, focus triggers weak crossover effects, whether it has moved or is in situ. Consider the examples in (60) which illustrate weak crossover effects for both the in-situ focus in (60a) and the focus in the clefted construction in (60b).³²

³² Kayne (1994) assumes English clefts involve overt movement to the Specifier of ‘that’, as in (i).

- (60) a. * His_i mother loves JOHN_i.
 b. * [It is John_i] that his_i mother loves.
 c. His_i mother loves John_i.

The ill-formedness of (60a-b) contrasts with the grammatical utterance in (60c), in which ‘John’ is not contrastively focused. The contrasts in (60a) and (60c) have been explained, starting with Chomsky (1976), as a result of LF raising of the focused element, thereby creating an operator-variable chain, as in (61), in which the possessive pronoun is coindexed with a variable to its right.

- (61) LF: JOHN_i, his_i mother loves t_i.

Contrastively focused elements in Romanian also induce weak crossover effects, whether moved or in situ (for exceptions see discussion in the next section). Consider the examples in (62).

- (62) a. * Cui_i a dat mama lui_i bomboane t_i?
 whom.DAT_i AUX.3SG given mother-the his_i sweets t_i
 ‘* To whom_i did his_i mother give sweets?’
- b. * Mama lui_i a dat bomboane COPILULUI_i.
 mother-the his_i AUX.3SG given sweets child-the.DAT_i
 ‘* It is to the child_i that his_i mother gave sweets.’
- c. * Mama lui_i COPILULUI_i a dat bomboane t_i.
 mother-the his_i child-the.DAT_i AUX.3SG given sweets t_i
 ‘* It is to the child_i that his_i mother gave sweets.’
- d. Mama lui_i a dat bomboane copilului_i.
 mother-the his_i AUX.3SG given sweets child-the.DAT_i
 ‘His_i mother gave the child_i sweets.’

(i) [_{CP} It is a bike_i [_C (that) [_{IP} Victor wants t_i]]

(62a) is ungrammatical since the trace left behind by the raised wh-phrase is a variable which is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, thus triggering WCO. The same result obtains in both (62b-c), which indicates that the focused phrases *COPILULUI* ‘to-the-child’, undergoes A-bar movement, leaving behind a variable. (62d), however, is grammatical, since the indirect object is left unfocused and, consequently, does not raise at LF, does not create an operator-variable chain and does not induce a weak crossover violation.

5.4.4 Is focus quantificational in Romanian?

In the preceding section, we saw that focused phrases in Romanian trigger weak crossover whether they have undergone overt movement or whether they are in situ. This property is also shared by indefinite wh-phrases in Romanian. However, recall from our discussion in chapter 4 that D-linked wh-phrases fail to trigger weak crossover effects. For an illustration see (63).

- (63) **Pe care băiat_i** nu-l_i iubește mama lui_i t_i ?
 PE which boy_i not-CL.3SG.ACC_i loves.3SG.PRES mother-the his_i t_i
 ‘Which of the boys does his mother not love?’

Lasnik and Stowell (1991) argue that weak crossover (WCO) is a distinctive characteristic of A-bar relations involving genuine quantification. For example, in English, wh-raising involves quantification. Consider the English pair in (64).

- (64) a. What_i did you say t_i?
 b. * Who_i does his_i mother really love t_i?

(64a) is perfectly grammatical in view of the fact that the variable left behind by the raised wh-phrase is properly bound and is not coindexed to any pronoun. (64b), on the other hand, is

ungrammatical since the trace of the wh-phrase, namely a variable, is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, triggering a WCO effect. The grammaticality of (63) thus implies D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian do not involve genuine quantification.³³

The question we address here is whether contrastively focused elements in Romanian always form quantificational chains, thus behaving in a manner similar to operator focus cross-linguistically (cf. Chomsky 1967, Kiss 1995, 1998, Rizzi 1995/97, among others), or whether the type of chain formed in movement is sensitive to the inherent semantic properties of the focused constituent, in a manner similar to Romanian wh-phrases. In view of pervasive similarities between wh-phrases and focus in Romanian, we predict that focused elements will behave in a manner consistent with Romanian wh-phrases, reflecting language-particular idiosyncrasies, rather than teaming with operator focus in other languages. We will show this prediction to be borne out, a further indication that focus in Romanian is semantically and syntactically similar to wh-phrases.

As stated in the introductory sections, operator focus has been argued to involve quantification. In Spanish and Italian, for example, resumptive pronouns are disallowed with preverbal focus (i.e., contrastive focus that has raised for scope-taking), since they would induce a weak crossover effect. Consider the examples in (65).³⁴

³³ For a detailed analysis, see Dobrovie-Sorin (1990b, 1994a). The author argues that discourse-linked wh-elements of the *care* ‘which’ type are ‘restricted quantifiers’, in the sense that the domain of quantification is limited to the NP to which the wh-element belongs. Therefore, wh-phrases in Romanian differ with respect to their inherent properties in that, when moving to a scope position, some of them form operator-variable chains, while others form chains with clitic pronouns.

³⁴ Recall that these two languages require resumptive pronouns with topicalized material (see section 5.4.2). We repeat example (7) in (i) below, in which the clitic is bolded.

- (i) Il tuo libro, **lo** ho letto.
‘Your book, I have read it.’
(Italian, Rizzi 1995/97:5)

- (65) a. IL TUO LIBRO (* lo) ho letto (, non il suo)
 ‘Your book I read (, not his)
 (Italian, Rizzi 1995/97:8)
- b. Las ESPINACAS (* la) detesta Pedro (y no las papas).
 ‘Pedro hates spinach, not potatoes.’
 (Spanish, Zubizarreta 1998:190)

Recall that in Romanian both definite and indefinite preverbal contrastively focused elements undergo A-bar movement. To further illustrate this, consider the examples in (66).

- (66) a. * Arhitecții ORAȘELE_i [nu știau [cum să
 architects-the cities-the_i [not knew.3PL [how SUBJ
 le_i proiecteze t_i] (nu casele).
 CL.3PL.ACC design t_i] (not house-the)
 ‘It was the cities that the architects had trouble designing (not the houses).’
- b. * Victor CĂRȚI_i [nu știa [cum să-și cumpere t_i].
 Victor books_i [not knew.3SG [how SUBJ-REFL buy t_i]
 ‘It was books Victor had trouble buying.’

The examples in (66) are both ungrammatical, irrespective of whether the fronted focused element is definite, as in (66a), or indefinite, as in (66b). The ill-formedness follows as a result of a Subjacency violation, which is a constraint applying on movement to an A-bar position.³⁵

In Romanian, contrastively focused definite object NPs require coindexation with a resumptive pronoun (i.e., a syntactic clitic) whenever overt movement occurs. This contrasts with the situation in Spanish and Italian, but is not unheard of cross-linguistically.³⁶ Consider (67a-b).

³⁵ Subjacency effects arise whenever an A-bar moved constituent crosses more than two bounding nodes (i.e., IP or NP), since the dependency between the initial position and the landing site is broken.

³⁶ Déchaine (1998) argues that argument-focus (i.e., contrastive focus) in Yoruba leaves a gap or a resumptive pronoun.

- (67) a. CĂRȚI_i (*le_i)-a cumpărat Victor t_i (,nu dosare).
 books_i CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.3SG bought Victor t_i (,not binders)
 ‘It is books that Victor bought (not binders).’
- b. CĂRȚILE_i *(le_i)-a cumpărat Victor t_i
 books-the_i CL.3PL.ACC.-AUX.3SG bought Victor t_i
 (,nu dosarele).
 (,not binders-the)
 ‘It is the books that Victor bought (rather than the binders).’

In (67a), a resumptive pronoun is ungrammatical, since the focused element is not definite. (67b), on the other hand, would be ungrammatical without the coindexed resumptive pronoun. In effect, contrastively focused elements on a definite reading do not observe weak crossover. Consequently, according to Lasnik and Stowell (1991), definite focus does not seem to involve genuine quantification in Romanian.³⁷

Another frequently used test for determining whether A-bar movement is of a quantificational nature, is the parasitic gap test. In (68), we use the parasitic gap test on contrastively focused elements in Romanian.

- (68) a. DRAGOSTE_i am avut t_i fără să dau e_i.
 love AUX.1SG had t_i without SUBJ. give e_i
 ‘It’s LOVE that I had without giving.’
- b. * DRAGOSTEA_i am avut-**o**_i t_i
 love-the AUX.1SG had- CL.3SG.ACC.F t_i
 fără să dau e_i.
 without SUBJ. give e_i
 ‘* It’s the LOVE that I had without giving.’

³⁷ These properties of fronting to focus in Romanian have been independently argued for in Motapanyane (1998a, in press).

The parasitic gap in the embedded clauses in (68a-b) is coindexed with the focus operator through interpretive rules, and not via movement. However, the parasitic gap is only licensed in (68a), with an indefinite focus. In this case then, focus-movement leaves behind a variable which is indispensable in licensing the parasitic gap. (68b), with definite focus movement, is ungrammatical, which points to the fact that the trace left behind in definite focus-movement cannot license parasitic gaps. The results with definite focus are similar to the ones found in topic movement (section 5.3.3.1). Following Safir (1999), we suggested that the trace/copy left behind by operators which form chains with resumptive pronouns are not variables, but pronouns. The same analysis applies to contrastive focus.

To distinguish between the two types of chains involved in focus-movement, and with Romanian scope-taking elements more generally, we introduce a proposal made by Rizzi (1995/97). Following Lasnik and Saito (1991), Rizzi (1995/97) assumes WCO to be a distinctive characteristic of A-bar relations involving genuine quantification. In order to distinguish between focus and topic movement in Italian, the author splits A-bar dependencies into those involving a quantifier which binds a variable and those that involve non-quantificational A-bar binding. The latter case is argued to involve binding of a null constant by an anaphoric operator. This distinction is rooted in the English dichotomy exemplified in (69).

- (69) a. ?? This is the boy_i [which_i his_i mother really loves t_i].
 b. John_i, who_i his_i mother really loves t_i, is in big trouble.

In the restrictive relative clause in (69a), weak crossover is observed, pointing to the fact that the trace left behind by the wh-phrase is a variable. In the appositive relative clause in (69b), there is no weak crossover effect and, consequently, the trace cannot be analysed as a variable. Rather, the trace is assumed to be a null constant licensed by an anaphoric operator (cf. Rizzi 1995/97). The anaphoric operator is an element inherently characterized as an operator but different from

quantificational operators in that it does not assign a range to its bindee, but seeks for an antecedent to which it connects its bindee. In (69b), the antecedent is ‘John’. Turning to Italian, Rizzi (1995/97) shows that focus is quantificational, while topic is not.

Under this analysis, fronted indefinite focused phrases and *wh*-elements in Romanian create (quantificational) operator-variable chains, while fronted definite focused and *wh*-phrases create (anaphoric) operator-null constant chains, in which the resumptive pronoun/clitic acts as the anaphoric operator.

The same remarks obtain for fronted bare quantifiers in Romanian. An inherently non-distributive bare quantifier, such as *nimeni* ‘nobody’, will never allow for a resumptive pronoun and, consequently, will form a quantificational chain, as illustrated in (70a). A bare operator, such as *oricine* ‘anyone’, which in Romanian allows for a distributive reading and, consequently requires the insertion of a resumptive pronoun, will form an anaphoric chain; see (70b).

- (70) a. * Pe nimeni_i nu (*-l_i) iubește mama lui_i.
 PE nobody not CL.3SG.ACC.M loves mother-the his
 ‘* His_i mother loves nobody_i.’
- b. Pe oricine_i -l_i iubește mama lui_i.
 PE anywho CL.3SG.ACC.M loves mother-the his
 ‘* His_i mother loves anyone_i.’
 (note that this sentence is ungrammatical in English)

To sum up, evidence from both parasitic gaps and weak crossover in Romanian point toward an analysis of definite focused elements as non-quantificational operators, on a par with definite *wh*-phrases. This is a desirable conclusion in view of the semantic and syntactic similarities between the two types of operators.

5.4.5 Summing up

In the sections throughout 5.3 - 5.4, we focused on the interaction among the elements present in the Romanian preverbal field. We saw that bare quantifiers, *wh*-phrases and focused phrases behave alike in terms of A-bar movement properties. We showed that co-occurrence among these operators is illicit in the preverbal field, a constraint directly following from the verb-adjacency requirement, which is a specific licensing condition on these operators. These requirements were seen to be distinct from those involved in topicalization or D-linked quantifier movement, which do not require verb-adjacency or special ordering. We therefore conclude that verb-adjacent constituents target Spec,IP, while topics (including D-linked quantifiers) scramble and adjoin to IP.

We further discussed the types of chains involved in operator movement and concluded that a distinction needs to be made between quantificational chains, which prohibit clitic doubling, and anaphoric chains, which require clitic doubling. Specifically, A-bar movement into the left-periphery will involve quantificational chains when the moved element lacks a coindexed clitic (i.e., with non-D-linked or non-distributive constituents), and anaphoric chains when the moved element requires a coindexed clitic (i.e., is D-linked or distributive). Under this analysis, topics (including D-linked quantifiers) form anaphoric chains in Romanian, given that they require clitic doubling. Our findings are summed up in table (71).

(71)

	V-adjacency	Complementary distribution with other operators	A-bar mvt. to Spec,IP	A-bar mvt. as scrambling to IP	Presence of clitic doubling
indefinite wh-phrase (e.g. <i>cine</i> 'who')	+	+	+	-	-
D-linked wh-phrases (e.g. <i>care</i> 'which')	+	+	+	-	+
indefinite Focus (e.g. <i>DRAGOSTE</i> 'love')	+	+	+	-	-
definite Focus (e.g. <i>DRAGOSTEA</i> 'the love')	+	+	+	-	+
non-D-linked (indefinite) non-distributive quantifier (e.g., BQ: <i>nimeni</i> 'nobody', <i>cineva</i> 'someone')	+	+	+	-	-
non-D-linked (indefinite) distributive quantifier (e.g., <i>oricine</i> 'anyone', <i>fiecare</i> 'every')	+	+	+	-	+
Topic (e.g. <i>dragostea</i> 'the love')	-	-	-	+	+
D-linked distributive quantifier (e.g., <i>fiecare</i> 'each')	-	-	-	+	+

The properties summed up in table (71) point toward a uniform analysis of verb-adjacent operators in terms of licensing conditions. We suggest that the major distinction involved in preverbal operators in Romanian can be related to the presence versus absence of feature-driven movement. Topic movement is not feature-driven, while verb-adjacent operator movement is.

5.5 Analysis

In section 5.3.2, we suggested (following Kayne 1998) that the adjacency requirement manifested by bare quantifiers, *wh*-phrases, and focused constituents is indicative of a specifier-head relationship between these raised operators and the functional head sharing their formal feature. Given that the verb only raises to I° in Romanian, we argued in chapter 4 that the [+ *wh*] feature incorporates onto I° , making Spec,IP the host for raised *wh*-phrases.³⁸ We also proposed that Spec,IP serves as an operator position for raised bare quantifiers and concluded that Spec,IP is a polarity oriented category in Romanian which hosts both quantificational and anaphoric chains.

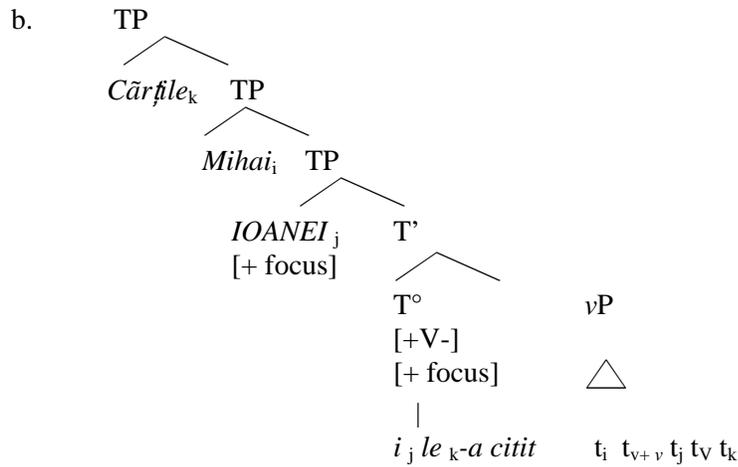
The verb-adjacency requirement, together with the overt complementarity of distribution with *wh*-phrases and bare quantifiers, suggests that contrastively focused phrases occupy Spec,IP in the preverbal field. In the presence of contrastive elements, we propose that the formal feature [+ *focus*] incorporates onto I° (see also Motapanyane 1998a), while a [+ *focus*] feature is also present on the constituent denoting contrast. Given that there is evidence for movement from weak crossover effects, irrespective of whether the focused constituent is preverbal or in-situ (see section 5.4.3), we further suggest that the [+ *focus*] feature is a selectional/strong feature, requiring checking in a strict locality configuration (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration). We defer until the next section the question as to whether the selectional [+ *focus*] feature is present on the focused constituent, on I° , or on both. For the time being, it suffices to say that the lexical item bearing the [+ *focus*] feature will undergo second merge in Spec,IP. In a similar vein to the analysis proposed for *wh*-movement in chapter 4, we suggest the [+ *focus*] formal feature incorporates on the highest verbal functional head present in the derivation (i.e., T° , Neg° , M°).³⁹

³⁸ Recall that Spec,IP in Romanian is not obliged to host Nominative subjects (see chapter 2).

³⁹ Such a ‘parasitic’ affiliation of the [+ *focus*] feature on diverse non-substantive categories, including Negation and Tense is also proposed by Horvath (1995) for Hungarian.

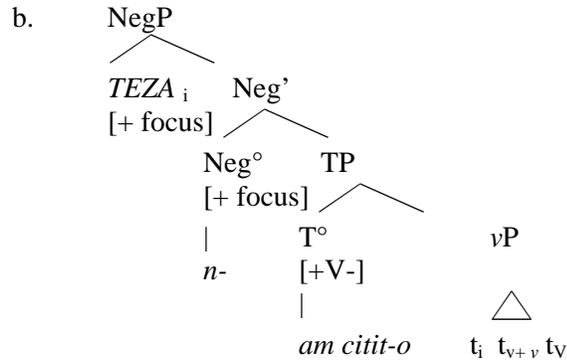
We illustrate this analysis in examples (72) – (74). Consider (72), which represents a derivation with two topicalized constituents and a focused phrase.

- (72) a. TOPIC* – FOCUS - ...
 Cărțile_k Mihai_i IOANEI_j i_j le_{k-a}
 books-the_k Mihai_i Ioana.DAT_j CL.3SG.DAT_i CL.3SG.ACC.M_k-AUX.3SG
 citit [_{vP} t_i t_{v+v} t_j t_V t_k].
 read [_{vP} t_i t_{v+v} t_j t_V t_k].
 ‘It’s to Ioana that Mihai read the books.’



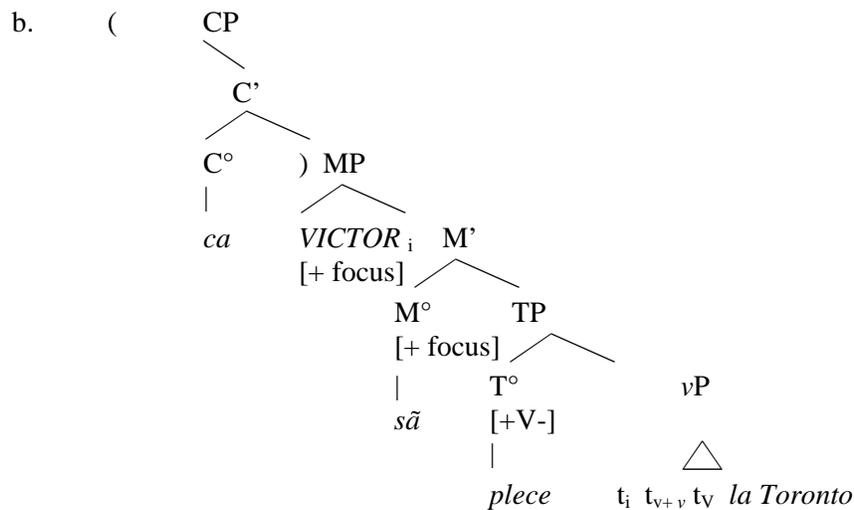
In (73), we assume the [+ focus] feature incorporates onto Neg°:

- (73) a. TEZA_i n-am citit-o [_{vP} t_i t_{v+v} t_V]
 dissertation-the_i not-AUX.1SG read-CL.3SG.ACC.F [_{vP} t_i t_{v+v} t_V]
 (nu articolul).
 not article-the
 ‘It’s the dissertation that I haven’t read (,not the article).’



(74) is an illustration of a subjunctive embedded clause with focus; the [+ focus] feature incorporates onto M°:

- (74) a. Vreau [CP (ca) VICTOR_i sã plece
 want.1SG [CP (that.SUBJ) VICTOR_i SUBJ leave
 [v_P t_i t_{v+v} t_V la Toronto]].⁴⁰
 [v_P t_i t_{v+v} t_V at Toronto]].
 It's Victor that I want to leave for Toronto.'



⁴⁰ While the vowel in the indicative complementizer is a stressed schwa, the vowel in the subjunctive complementizer is an open rounded back vowel. Moreover, note that *ca* is compulsory in subjunctives whenever topics or quantifiers precede *sã*, but is optional in the presence of contrastively focused constituents.

With respect to quantifier movement, we follow Chomsky (1995, 1998) who assumes quantifier raising (QR) is not feature driven.⁴¹ Chomsky (1998:21) argues that QR operations do not interact with the computational system, being probably among the principles of interpretation of LF, hence “post-cyclic”. Nevertheless, we want to maintain a uniform analysis for all verb-adjacent operators and propose that this empirical requirement is indicative of a special licensing condition. Technically speaking, this licensing condition reflects a formal feature driving movement. Cornilescu (1997) has suggested preverbal bare quantifiers are focused and in Spec,FocP. Consequently, we could argue they are marked [+ focus] and undergo feature-driven movement to Spec,IP, whenever verb-adjacent. This approach, however, is not devoid of problems. We have argued that contrastive focus is constrained by a uniqueness condition, yet bare quantifiers can undergo multiple-movement to Spec,IP, as in (75).

- (75) [IP **Nimeni**_i **niciodată** **cu nimic**_j nu te va
 [IP nobody_i never with nothing_j not CL.2SG.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG
 deranja [vP t_i t_v t_j]].
 bother [vP t_i t_v t_j]].
 ‘Nobody will ever be bothering you with anything.’

We suggest that multiple quantifier movement, as in (75), is possible due to the fact that the formal feature behind quantifier verb-adjacent movement is a subtype of the [+ focus] FF, namely [+ emphasis] FF. We follow Zubizarreta (1998:120) who argues that preverbal bare indefinites in Spanish are emphatic elements. The author distinguishes between emphasis and focus as follows: pure emphatics negate or reassert part of the hearer’s presupposition, “but do *not* introduce a variable with *an associated value*.” (Zubizarreta 1998:120). Contrastively focused constituents, on the other hand, introduce a variable, *as well as* its associated value. Such an analysis for

⁴¹ For a different view, see Beghelli and Stowell (1997) and Szabolcsi (1997).

verb-adjacent quantifiers is consistent with the ‘non-uniqueness’ condition associated with quantifiers in this position. Since bare quantifiers identify without exclusion, they cannot introduce an associated value. Given the lack of an associated value, the uniqueness constraint required for focus need not hold for emphatics. Since we take [+ emphasis] to be a subtype of [+ focus], we do not offer a separate analysis.⁴²

We conclude that Romanian allows for a certain amount of feature syncretism (along the lines of Giorgi and Pianesi 1996, Horvath 1995, Zubizarreta 1998), in that syntactic features such as [+wh], and [+ focus] combine with Inflectional features such as T(ense), M(ood), and Neg(ation), engendering second merge (i.e., dislocation) of a constituent with matching features in the specifier of the respective functional head. Given that under our analysis, the [+ focus] formal feature incorporates on an already present non-substantive head, we do not postulate a distinct Focus Phrase in Romanian.⁴³

⁴² Negative indefinites (i.e., *nimeni* ‘nobody’) are only licensed by a [+ Neg] / I° in Romanian. Consider (i).

- (i) *(N)-a plecat nimeni.
 *(NEG.)-AUX.3SG left nobody
 Nobody left.

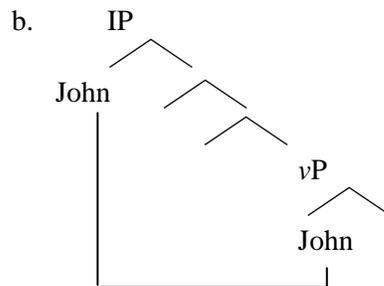
Given the facts in (i), we assume negative indefinites to be involved in feature checking, independently of the [+ emphasis] FF. We suggest negative indefinites enter the derivation with a [+ Neg] FF which is erased once checking occurs against a compatible functional head (i.e., [+ Neg] / I°). However, we assume that the [+ Neg] FF is a non-selectional feature, checked as a result of feature-matching only (i.e., the operation Agree). Checking of the [+ Neg] FF does not involve constituent movement. Under this analysis all preverbal negatives undergo movement as a result of the [+ emphasis] FF; this is consistent with the empirical facts which show an emphatic interpretation of preverbal indefinites.

⁴³ This approach is consistent with general Minimalist requirements, which argue against structure proliferation, as well as Rizzi’s (1995/97) ‘Avoid Structure Principle’ which predicts that the option of expressing features on a single head wins over the option of selecting two heads.

5.5.1 The copy theory of movement

Under the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 1998, *inter alia*), movement operations are not assumed to involve traces. Rather, a copy theory of movement is introduced, primarily because it can better account for the need to maintain trace visibility in interpretation and computation. In the MP98, a ‘chain’ is defined as “a sequence of identical α s; more accurately, a sequence of occurrences of a single α .” (Chomsky 1998:29). For example, subject movement to Spec,IP in English involves the creation of a non-trivial chain which contains two instances of the subject: the lower copy in Spec,vP (the subject’s initial merge position), and the upper copy in Spec,IP (the subject’s second merge position). For the sentence in (76a), the non-trivial chain formed by subject-movement is represented in (76b).

(76) a. John is reading a book.



An account is, however, needed to explain which of the two copies contained in the chain is to be pronounced. Richards (1999) argues that whether we pronounce the head or the tail of a chain (i.e., the upper or the lower α) is a direct consequence of feature strength. In other words, if a formal feature is strong, PF is given instructions to choose the higher of the two copies, if a formal feature is weak, PF will pronounce the lower copy. Note, however, that feature-strength is the exclusive property of functional heads.

By extrapolation, we assume that a lexical item (LI) will be relevant in its head or its tail position at LF, depending on interpretive requirements (see also Culicover 1999, Fox 1999). For

Focused constituents, on a par with other indefinites, ‘reconstruct’ at LF. This is illustrated by the difference in grammaticality between (78a) and (78b).

- (78) a. [Pe copilul SĂU_i] îl iubește orice părinte_i t_i
 PE child-the his_i CL.3SG.ACC.M loves any parent_i t_i
 ‘It is his own child that any parent loves.’
- b. *[Copilul SĂU_i] îl iubește t_i pe orice părinte_i.
 child-the his_i CL.3SG.ACC.M loves t_i PE any parent
 ‘* It is his own children that loves any parent.’

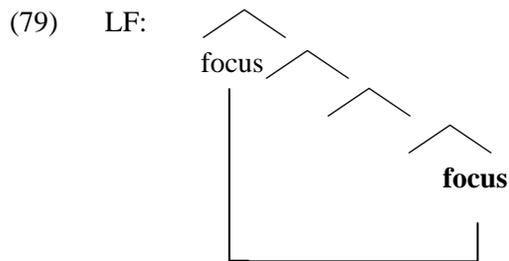
The difference between (78a) and (78b) is that in (78a), the trace of the focused phrase is c-commanded by its appropriate binder, whereas in (78b), SĂU ‘his’ is left unbound, since the trace is not c-commanded by the quantifier NP. Given the grammaticality of (78a), the focused constituent is assumed to ‘reconstruct’ to its base position at LF.⁴⁴ As already mentioned, in a

⁴⁴ Consider also the examples in (i), which further support reconstruction of the focused constituent at LF.

- (i) a. Inculpatul multă vreme n-a vorbit. (Neg > V;
 defendant-the much time not-AUX.3SG spoken * Neg > V + Av)
 ‘For a long time, the defendant did not speak.’
- b. Inculpatul n-a vorbit multă vreme. (Neg > V;
 defendant-the not-AUX.3SG spoken much time Neg > V + Av)
 ‘For a long while, the defendant did not speak.’
 ‘The defendant did not speak at length.’
- c. Inculpatul MULTĂ VREME n-a vorbit. (Neg > V + Av;
 defendant-the much time not-AUX.3SG spoken * Neg > V)
 ‘The defendant did not speak at length.’

In (ia), the only interpretation available is the one in which negation scopes only over the verb; this follows as a result of overt quantifier raising to a scope position. (ib), in which the quantifier is in situ, is ambiguous between a reading in which negation scopes over the verb (the result of QR at LF) and a reading in which negation scopes over the verb and adverbial. (ic), in which the adverbial is contrastively focused, the only available interpretation is the one in which negation scopes over both the verb and the adverbial, even though the adverbial has undergone overt movement to a position above negation. This signifies that, at LF, the focused constituent is interpreted in its base position (i.e., it ‘reconstructs’).

copy theory of movement, we capture reconstruction by saying that it is the lower copy (the tail) that is relevant for the purposes of LF interpretation (again, irrespective of the copy pronounced at PF). This is illustrated in (79), in which the relevant copy is in bold.



We have shown that for the purposes of LF interpretation, the focused constituent is interpreted in its base position, irrespective of where it surfaces. If at LF, it is the lower copy that is relevant, we claim that at Spell-Out, it is always the upper copy that counts. In other words, [+ focus] feature checking involves the upper copy, again, irrespective of whether focus is pronounced preverbally or in its base.

For clarification, let us turn our attention to the optionality of focus movement in Romanian. Recall that contrastively focused constituents in Romanian can surface preverbally or in their base position. Two crucial facts are, however, noteworthy: focused constituents are always prosodically marked and focused constituents always induce WCO. This is illustrated in (80) and (81), respectively.

- (80) a. MAMA a venit t acasă (și nu tata).
 mother-the AUX.3SG come t home (and not father-the)
 ‘It is mother that has come home (and not father).’
- b. A venit MAMA acasă (și nu tata).
 AUX.3SG come mother-the home (and not father-the)
 ‘It is mother that has come home (and not father).’

- (81) a. * Mama lui_i COPILULUI_i a dat bomboane t_i.
 mother-the his_i child-the.DAT_i AUX.3SG given sweets t_i
 ‘* It is to the child_i that his_i mother gave sweets.’
- b. * Mama lui_i a dat bomboane COPILULUI_i.
 mother-the his_i AUX.3SG given sweets child-the.DAT_i
 ‘* It is to the child_i that his_i mother gave sweets.’

Both examples in (81) are ungrammatical. This follows under the assumption that both (81a) and (81b) constitute instances of WCO violations. Specifically, both cases involve a chain with two copies, the lower of which is a variable. Given that the variable is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, ungrammaticality arises, irrespective of whether focus is preverbal (81a) or in its base position (81b).

Examples such as (81a) and (81b) imply that focus movement is always involved in feature-checking. This is a desirable outcome. As discussed in section 5.3.2, optionality related to feature-checking should not, in principle, be possible in a theory driven by economy conditions. According to Chomsky (1995, 1998, et seq.), either features are strong and checking occurs prior to Spell-Out, or features are weak and checking has to wait until LF. Even if it were not for economy considerations, given our analysis, in which all feature-driven movement is overt, the optionality in (80) cannot be captured as an LF outcome. How are we then to capture the fact that both (80a) and (80b) are equally grammatical with contrastive focus on *MAMA* ‘the mother’? We propose that, in fact, there is no optionality involved in terms of feature-checking, and that overt focus movement to Spec,IP is always the norm. The ‘apparent optionality’ with focus movement illustrated in (80a-b) can be felicitously accounted for using the copy theory of movement in conjunction with the particulars of the realization of the [+ focus] feature in Romanian.

5.5.2 Streamlining optionality

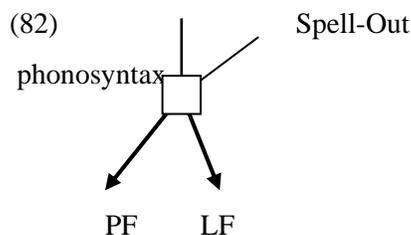
In order for feature-checking to apply, both the lexical items and the functional categories involved in the checking relationship must share the same feature. As with all formal features, whenever a [+ wh] FF is present in the derivation, checking will felicitously occur provided this feature is present on both the functional head (in our case, I°) and on (at least) a lexical item (LI), namely a wh-phrase. We have argued that, in Romanian, the [+ wh] FF is selectional. Therefore when the [+ wh] FF is present in the derivation, movement occurs (with second merge in the specifier of the functional head bearing the respective feature), and, consequently, a non-trivial chain containing a head and a tail is formed.⁴⁵ In this case, the operation Move (cf. Chomsky 1998) applies to the wh-phrase(s) and checking of the [+ wh] FF occurs. Given that the [+wh] FF is selectional on both the functional head (i.e., I°) and the LI, whenever wh-phrases are present in the derivation they can only be realized immediately adjacent to the verbal complex. In other words, it is always the upper copies that are pronounced (wh-in-situ being unavailable in Romanian). This is consistent with Richards' account, which predicts that selectional features on functional heads will instruct PF to pronounce the upper copy.

When the [+ focus] FF is present in the derivation (incorporated on I° , as with the [+ wh] feature), it too will need an LI with which to establish a checking relationship (otherwise the derivation will crash and the utterance will be ungrammatical). The respective LI must share the [+ focus] feature (i.e., must match) in order for checking to occur. However, we have argued that movement to Spec,IP is also involved, irrespective of whether the focused constituent is pronounced preverbally or in its base position. Consequently, we assume that a non-trivial chain obtains with [+ focus] feature-checking, on a par with [+wh]-checking. Nevertheless, in contrast to wh-movement, when the [+ focus] FF is present in the derivation, we have seen there is a choice in pronouncing the upper or the lower copy in Romanian.

⁴⁵ In sentences containing multiple-wh-phrases several such chains are formed.

Recall that according to Richards (1999), whenever a functional feature is strong, pre-Spell-Out movement is involved, a non-trivial chain is formed, and PF is instructed to pronounce the upper copy (i.e., the head of the chain). Given that with wh-movement in Romanian it is always the upper copies that need to be pronounced, while with focus-movement there is a choice, we suggest that while the [+wh] feature on I° is selectional, the [+focus] feature on I° is non-selectional. Since the [+focus] feature on I° is non-selectional, PF will not be instructed as to which of the two copies to pronounce.

In contrast to wh-phrases, which are inserted with a selectional [+wh] feature directly from the lexicon, focused phrases are not inserted marked [+focus] from the lexicon. We assume the [+focus] feature on lexical items is acquired after lexical insertion, via phonology (hence the prosodic stress requirement which identifies an LI as contrastively focused). In other words, we propose that, while the [+focus] feature on I° is a formal feature (FF), the [+focus] feature on the lexical item is a phonological feature (P-feature).⁴⁶ The account proposed here views contrastive focus in Romanian as a representational property of phonosyntax, that is, the intersection between syntax and phonology (see also Büring 1997, Déchaine 1998 and references therein). The [+focus] FF on I° is checked against a lexical item bearing a [+focus] P-feature in phonosyntax, as in (82).



⁴⁶ The term ‘P-feature’ is taken from Déchaine (1998). Notice that the [+focus] feature on I° has to be a grammatical feature (i.e., a FF). If both features were P-features, there would be no impact at LF, since PF does not feed LF.

Given that a non-trivial chain is always formed with contrastive focus, we assume *the* [+ focus] feature on the lexical item to be selectional in nature. As opposed to constructions which involve a non-selectional FF (weak in Richards' terms), in which, even though PF does not receive any instructions, there is a single suitable candidate to be pronounced (since there are no copies), with the [+ focus] FF there are two copies available to PF, but no instruction as to which of the two copies to pronounce. Given that the [+ focus] FF on I° is non-selectional, and does not itself trigger Attraction, the syntactic component will send no instructions to PF as to which of the two copies to be pronounced. Since economy considerations do not apply at PF, for the purposes of PF it will not matter which copy is uttered.

Notice, however, that in derivations with both [+ wh] and [+ focus] features, it will always be the lower copy of the contrastive element that is pronounced. Consider (83).

- (83) Ce_i (*COPI LULUI) a spus el COPILULUI t_i
 what_i (*child-the.DAT) AUX.3SG said he child-the.DAT t_i
 (, nu vecinei)?
 (not, friend.DAT)
 'What is it that it is to the child that he said (, not to the neighbour)?'

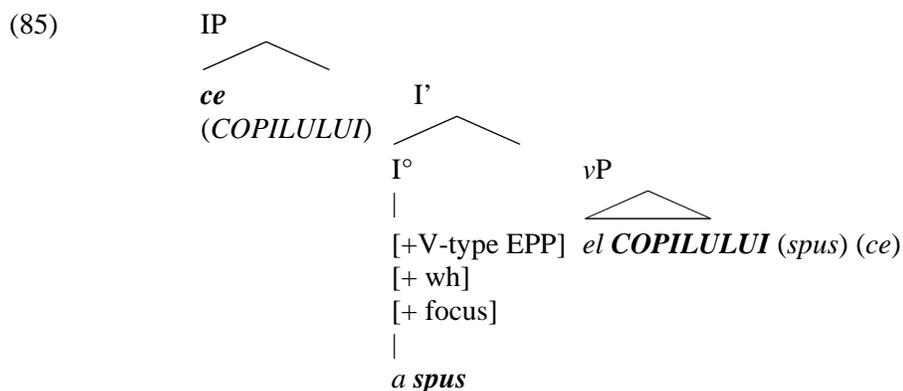
Despite the impossibility of simultaneous pronunciation in the preverbal field, there is evidence that even in the presence of wh-phrases, focus raising still applies. Consider the examples in (84).

- (84) a. Ce_i a spus mama lui_j copilului_j t_i
 what_i AUX.3SG said mother his_j child-the.DAT_j t_i
 (, nu vecinei)?
 (not, friend.DAT)
 'What did his_i mother say to the child_i (, not the neighbour)?'

- b. *Ce_i a spus mama lui_j COPILULUI_j t_i
 what_i AUX.3SG said mother his_j child-the.DAT_j t_i
 (, nu vecinei)?
 (not, friend.DAT)
 '*What is it that his_i mother said to the child_j (, not the neighbour)?'

(84a) is grammatical, in view of the fact that *copilului* 'to the child', which is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, does not move and implicitly, does not leave behind a variable engendering WCO. On the other hand, (84b) in which the indirect object *COPILULUI* 'to the child' is contrastively focused, is ungrammatical. In this case then, we are witnessing a WCO effect, captured under the assumption that the contrastively focused element undergoes A-bar movement to Spec,IP, forming a chain with two copies, whereby the lower copy is a variable illicitly coindexed with a pronoun to its left.

We assume the representation in (83) to be as in (85), in which the copies that are pronounced are represented in bold, while the silent copies are in brackets. Given that PF has received instructions to pronounce the wh-phrases in Spec,IP, it will be the tail of the contrastive focus that is pronounced in these structures.



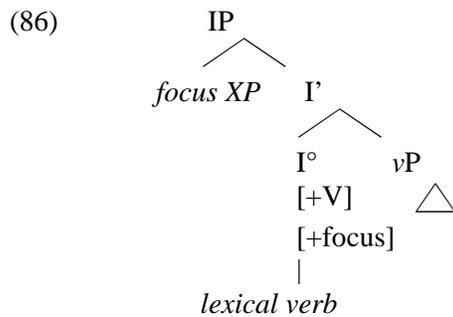
We conclude that in derivations in which the [+ focus] feature is present, the contrastively focused phrase acquires a [+ focus] P-feature which is selectional in nature and which triggers movement of the respective phrase into Spec,IP. Feature-checking will then

proceed against the I° which can accommodate a non-selectional [+ focus] FF in Romanian. Consequently, a non-trivial chain containing two identical focus elements will be formed. Given that the [+ focus] feature on I° is non-selectional, the syntactic component will fail to send instructions to PF as to which of the two copies should be pronounced. In the absence of any relevant instructions, PF will have a choice in pronouncing either the upper or the lower copy, *unless* it has been instructed by the syntactic component to do otherwise. Specifically, unless the presence of a selectional [+wh] feature on I° has already instructed PF to pronounce Spec,IP as interrogative. The advantage of such an analysis is that optionality no longer involves the feature checking mechanism (in which economy considerations do play a role), but the absence of instructions sent to the PF interface.

5.6 Conclusions

In this chapter we discussed sentence-initial operators in Romanian, with special emphasis on contrastive focus. We argued that topicalized constituents, quantifiers, focused elements, and wh-phrases all involve A-bar movement into the left periphery of the clause. However, based on their properties and interaction, we concluded that sentence-initial operators can be grouped into two major classes based on the presence versus absence of feature-driven movement. In the case of feature-driven movement, preverbal operators (i.e., wh-phrases, focused elements, and bare quantifiers) occupy Spec,IP, an operator position in Romanian, and are sensitive to a verb-adjacency requirement (i.e., require special licensing conditions). In the case of non-feature driven movement, preverbal operators (i.e., topics and D-linked quantifiers) scramble to IP, engendering recursive IPs with topic iteration, and are insensitive to any such adjacency requirement. Furthermore, based on the presence versus absence of resumptive pronouns acting as anaphoric operators, we argued that Spec,IP hosts operators that create either anaphoric or quantificational chains (cf. also Rizzi 1995/97).

We proposed that, in Romanian, the grammatical formal feature [+ focus] incorporates onto I° (or, more precisely, on the highest verbal functional head present in I° in the respective derivation). Since it has a parasitic affiliation on diverse non-substantive verbal categories within I° (i.e., T°, Neg°, M°), FF [+ focus] never projects its own Focus Phrase. In other words, it is limited to being a syntactic feature and never a syntactic head in Romanian, as in (86).



We claimed the [+ focus] FF on I° to be non-selectional, while the [+ focus] feature on the lexical item is selectional. We further proposed that the [+ focus] feature on LI is a P-feature, acquired as a selectional feature at the intersection between syntax and phonology. Such an approach has the desirable effect of accounting for the presence of obligatory prosodic stress on contrastive phrases in Romanian, usually left unexplained in syntactic accounts of focus. This P-feature requires checking in a strict locality configuration (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration). Given that feature-driven movement is always overt, contrastively focused movement to Spec,IP is never an instance of LF raising. We offered an analysis of contrastively focused phrases in Romanian based on the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995, 1998, Richards 1999). On a par with the [+ wh] FF in Romanian, movement for focus is always overt and it creates a non-trivial chain containing two copies. We accounted for the optional presence of contrastively focused phrases in the preverbal field due to a lack of instructions received by PF as to which of the two copies to pronounce. This approach has the advantage of moving the issue of optionality outside the domain of morpho-syntactic feature-checking.

