I went to find the pot of gold
That's waiting where the rainbow ends.
I searched and searched and searched and searched.
And searched, and searched, and then ⎯
There it was, deep in the grass,
Under an old and twisty bough.
It's mine, it's mine, it's mine at last…
What do I search for now?
Shel Silverstein, *The Search*

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.0   Introduction

In this dissertation, we set out to investigate the dynamics of movement in Romanian. More specifically, we tried to define the forces behind dislocation from base-generated positions and explored the syntactic and interpretational effects of reordering. In this chapter, we offer a summary of the dissertation in section 6.1, while in section 6.2, we highlight and discuss some of the main findings of our investigation.

6.1   Summary of dissertation

The aim of **chapter 1** was to introduce the scope of inquiry, offer some insight into the theoretical framework the analysis is grounded in, as well as to touch on the major claims this dissertation puts forth. Our main working assumption was that *feature-checking is exclusively overt, but that it does not always involve movement*. We proposed two types of formal features which show symmetric behaviour irrespective of whether they are hosted by a lexical item or a functional head: (i) non-selectional features, which check in a less local relationship and do not trigger movement; (ii) selectional features, which check in a strict locality relationship, whereby the strict locality relationship involves a specifier-head configuration or head-adjunction configuration, both of which always trigger movement.

Chapter 2 introduced the relevant word order facts of Romanian and set out to investigate the build-up of the Romanian IP and the manner in which noun phrases are licensed in this language. We suggested that the Romanian IP may consist of various combinations of the following maximal phrases: MoodP > NegP > CliticP* > AgrP > TP > AspectP. All of the aforementioned maximal phrases lack specifiers, consisting exclusively of heads which contain base-generated syntactic clitics or formal features. For example, T° does not host syntactic clitics but will always host a selectional formal feature, namely a V-type EPP feature, which triggers lexical verb raising into the Romanian inflectionl domain. We proposed that the clitic composition together with the absence of IP-internal specifiers situates all verbal heads within the inflectional domain in a local relationship with each other, rendering them symmetrically equidistant. This property was argued to have important consequences for movement: on the one hand, lexical verb raising to the inflectional domain need only target the closest I° head, on the other hand, skipping heads within the Romanian IP would not count as a Head Movement Constraint violation.

Romanian NPs were argued to be Case-licensed in their base-generated position. We looked at various predicate types and concluded Romanian lacks empirical evidence to suggest that NPs move for the purposes of Case checking. Our findings are consistent with theoretical assumptions which view Case as incapable of inducing movement (cf. Bittner and Hale 1996, Chomksy 1998, among many others). We suggested structural Case is a non-selectional feature which checks off in initial Merge positions, and as with all feature-checking, Case-checking takes place overtly. Given that structural Case is viewed as a non-selectional feature, structural Case-checking requires feature-matching between an X° and a lexical item, within a given domain. In view of the fact that T° is responsible for Nominative Case, this Case will be checked off against the closest NP c-commanded by T°. In transitive and unergative structures the closest NP is located in the specifier of *v*P; in unaccusative-like structures (i.e., unaccusatives, passives, impersonals), the closest NP is located within the VP. Depending on the build up of the respective
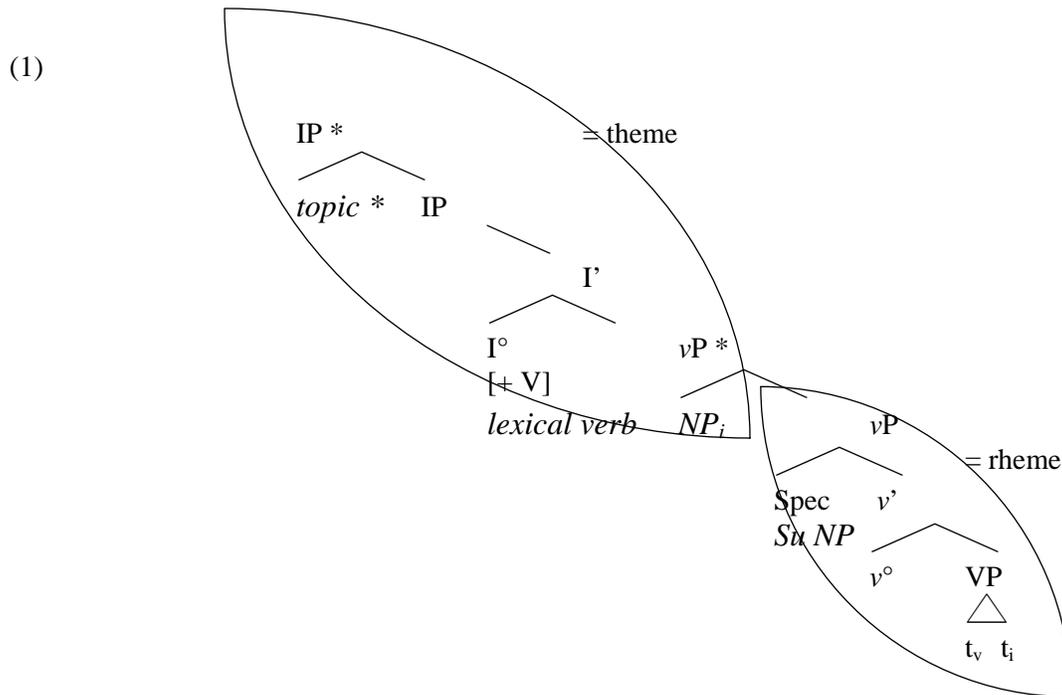
derivation (i.e., whether it contains or lacks a *v*P), we showed that structural Accusative Case may also be assigned. Given that T° is present in all types of predicates, while *v*° is absent in unaccusative-like structures, we concluded that Nominative Case is the default Case in Romanian.

We claimed the selectional formal feature present on I° (i.e., the EPP feature) to be verbal in nature and thus require checking in a head-adjunction configuration, satisfied by lexical verb raising into the inflectional domain. We showed there is no NP movement into the Romanian Spec,IP for EPP or Case-related purposes and concluded that Spec,IP is not the canonical subject position in Romanian. NPs in general were argued to be both Case-marked and theta-marked in situ. Consequently, the unmarked word order in Romanian is VSO and any word order sequence which departs from this option needs to be accounted for.

In **chapter 3**, we set out to explore the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of Romanian VOS constructions, which represent derived structures. We argued that Romanian VOS constructions are the result of object raising across the subject left in-situ. Our analysis was supported by a variety of syntactic evidence, such as the reversal of binding interactions, condition C effects, and stranded quantifiers. Since weak crossover effects are absent, we further claimed that object movement forms an A-chain. We showed that dislocated object NPs in Romanian VOS constructions show significant positional flexibility in terms of their interaction with *v*P-adjoined adverbials and concluded that object raising is best analysed as an instance of A-scrambling to a *v*P-adjoined position.

We further showed that object scrambling to *v*P lacks special licensing conditions (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration), and concluded that this type of movement is not driven by formal features, but that it is pragmatically motivated. If left unaccented, the raised object NP is interpreted as part of the presupposition, being in effect, de-focused. At the same time, whatever material is left in-situ in the predicate acquires maximal focus/rhematic prominence as a result of object raising. VOS constructions in Romanian are legitimate as a result of the fact that this
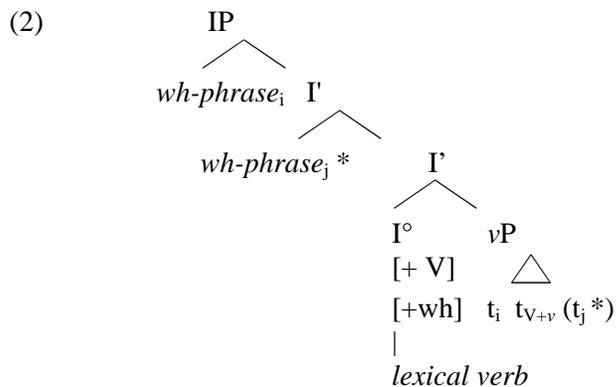
language can tailor its sentences to encode information structure. Material that is accessible to both speaker and hearer, may raise out of its base-generated position and adjoin to the vP, thus entering the presuppositional domain (i.e., the theme) and escaping a rhematic (i.e., presentational focus) interpretation. In contrast to material which occupies the preverbal field in Romanian, vP-adjoined constituents are under no specificity constraint since they are not in and of themselves interpreted as topics. Both topicalization-scrambling (i.e., adjunction to IP) and evacuation-for-focus-scrambling (i.e., adjunction to vP) can be recursive in Romanian, this being a general property of non-feature-driven movement. We discussed the pragmatic domains available in the Romanian clause, which we represent in (1).

(1)

IP *   = theme

    topic *   IP

                   I'

        I° vP *
        [+ V]
        lexical verb   NP$_i$ vP

                                          = rheme

                            Spec v'
                            Su NP

                                  v°   VP

                                       t$_v$ t$_i$

In a language which does not check its EPP feature in a Spec-Head configuration, Spec,IP is theoretically available as a checking domain to other selectional features which might choose to incorporate onto I°. In chapters 4 and 5, we argued that, in Romanian, Spec,IP acts as a host to operators which undergo feature-driven movement into the left periphery of the clause.
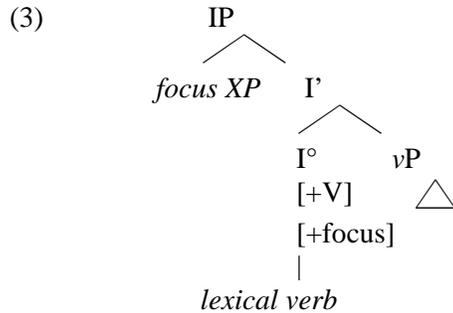
Chapter 4 investigated wh-movement constructions in Romanian. We claimed that both language-internal and cross-linguistic evidence pointed toward an analysis in which the [+wh] formal feature incorporates onto I° in Romanian and wh-phrases are hosted by the IP domain. Several diagnostics for distinguishing IP-absorption from CP-absorption languages were discussed and we concluded by proposing that Romanian is an IP-absorption language.

We claimed that the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature is a selectional feature on both the functional head hosting it and on the wh-phrase. The symmetric selectional nature of the [+wh] FF in Romanian was argued to engender multiple wh-movement in constructions with multiple wh-phrases. Given that selectional features can only get checked in a strict locality relationship, all of the Romanian wh-phrases require a Spec-Head configuration with I° (i.e., the functional head hosting the [+wh] FF) in order to be licensed. We further proposed that, from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective, a subject-first approach is the only acceptable one for Romanian multiple wh-constructions. Following economy conditions, the wh-phrase closest to I° (i.e., the one highest in terms of c-command) merges as the Spec,IP. The remaining wh-phrases tuck in under the newly merged specifier, thereby satisfying the wh-phrase licensing conditions. The result is a multiple-tucking-in-specifier structure which engenders a single IP, as in (2).

(2)

```
                IP
              /    \
    wh-phrase_i    I'
                 /    \
        wh-phrase_j *    I'
                       /    \
                     I°      vP
                    [+ V]    /\
                    [+wh]  t_i  t_{V+v} (t_j *)
                      |
                  lexical verb
```

Chapter 5 addressed issues related to preverbal noun phrase movement. Movement into the preverbal field can result in any of the following word orders in Romanian: OVS, SVO, SOV, OSV. Questions arise concerning the nature of these derived word orders; specifically, whether movement is feature-driven and whether it is in any way semantically or pragmatically constrained. While the chapter discussed several types of preverbal constituents, our discussion centred on movement for contrastive focus in Romanian. We argued that sentence-initial operators, while all involving A-bar movement, 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, including emphatic bare quantifiers) occupy Spec,IP, an operator position in Romanian, and require verb-adjacency (i.e., special licensing conditions, materialized as Spec-Head configurations with I°). In the case of non-feature driven movement (i.e., topicalization-scrambling), preverbal operators (i.e., topics and D-linked quantifiers) scramble to IP, engendering recursive IPs with topic iteration, and do not require adjacency to the verb. Based on the presence versus absence of resumptive pronouns acting as anaphoric operators, we further argued that Spec,IP hosts operators that create either anaphoric or quantificational chains.

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 (3). We concluded this is consistent with theoretical assumptions which favour a minimized structure (Chomsky 1995, et seq., Rizzi 1995/97).

(3)

```
                IP
              /  \
      focus XP     I'
                  /  \
               I°      vP
              [+V]     /\
            [+focus]  /__\
                 |
            lexical verb
```

We used weak crossover effects to show that, in Romanian, movement for focus to Spec,IP is always involved, irrespective of whether the focused constituent is pronounced preverbally or in its base position. Moreover, given that feature-driven movement is always overt, we argued that contrastively focused movement to Spec,IP is never an LF outcome. We assumed that a non-trivial chain obtains with [+ focus] feature-checking, on a par with [+wh] feature-checking and offered an analysis of contrastively focused phrases in Romanian based on the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995, 1998, Richards 1999). We further accounted for the optional presence of contrastively focused phrases in the Romanian preverbal field as a result of lack of instructions received by PF as to which of the two copies to pronounce. We assumed this lack of instructions follows due to the fact that the [+ focus] FF on I° is non-selectional. In contrast to wh-phrases which are marked with the relevant [+wh] feature from within the lexicon, we argued that the contrastively focused constituent acquires a [+ focus] P(honological)-feature at the intersection between syntax and phonology. This feature is selectional in nature and triggers overt movement of the respective phrase into Spec,IP. Under these suggestions, contrastive focus in Romanian is a representational property of phonosyntax. Given our account, the presence of obligatory prosodic stress on contrastive phrases in Romanian is explained and the issue of optionality is conveniently moved outside the domain of feature-checking (where economy considerations should in principle exclude inconsistencies such as optionality).
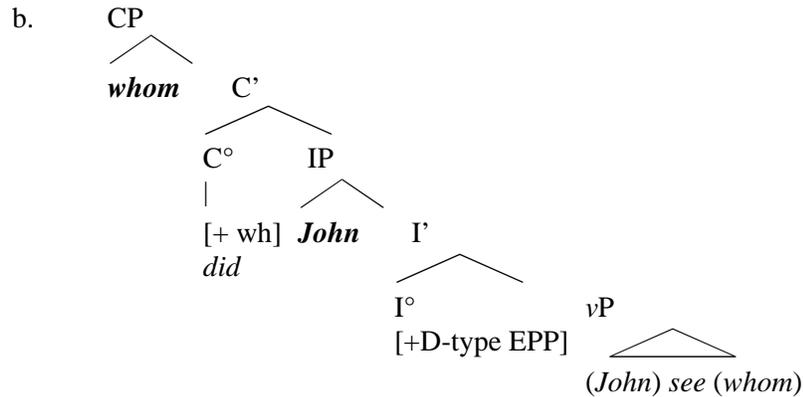
6.2   Open ends

In the course of this dissertation, several interesting results were obtained, some of which raise questions for further study.

Let us first turn to feature checking. A crucial assumption was that all feature-checking is overt, whether movement is or is not involved. Recall that we adopted a feature dichotomy which distinguishes between features that are checked without movement (i.e., non-selectional features) and features that are checked by movement into an appropriate configuration (i.e., selectional features). Given our proposal that the appropriate configuration required by selectional features involves either a Spec-Head *or* a head-adjunction relationship, it is in principle possible to have selectional features checked in either of the two configurations, depending on feature specification (e.g., D-type or V-type EPP feature). As previously mentioned, in a language such as Romanian, in which the EPP feature is checked as an instance of head-adjunction, we predicted that I° may in principle host other features, provided they can be checked in a Spec-Head configuration, or without movement. In fact, several formal features have the option of parasitically inhabiting I°, yielding a *syncretic* Romanian I°, in which syntactic features such as [+ wh] and [+ focus] combine with genuine inflectional features such as phi-features, the EPP, and Case, among others.

In languages in which the EPP feature is checked exclusively in a Spec-Head relationship and the subject NP (or an expletive) obligatorily merges as Spec,IP, other selectional features requiring a Spec-Head licensing condition may not incorporate onto I°. Consequently, they look for other, higher, functional heads to incorporate on, or they engender the creation of new functional heads to serve as their host. The latter view has been argued for the [+ focus] formal feature by Kiss (1998) and Rizzi (1995/97), for Hungarian and Italian, respectively. In English, the [+wh] formal feature incorportates onto C°, the functional head immediately above IP. Consider for illustration the English example in (4a) and its syntactic representations in (4b) (pronounced copies are in bold, while copies not pronounced are in brackets).

(4)   a.   Whom did John see?

b.

```
              CP
             /  \
        whom      C'
                 /  \
               C°    IP
               |    /  \
             [+ wh]  John   I'
              did        /  \
                       I°      vP
                   [+D-type EPP]  /\
                            (John) see (whom)
```

Parametrization across languages is then dependent on feature specification. For Romanian, we have shown that I° may host a variety of non-selectional features, but only one selectional feature per functional head for each of the two locality relationships it can entertain (i.e., Spec-Head and head-adjunction). More specifically, we discussed the following formal features which incorporate on the Romanian I°:

(5)   a.   *non-selectional FFs on I°*:
         - Case (on T°);
         - phi- (on Agr°);
         - [+ neg] (on Neg°);
         - [+ focus], with [+ emphasis] as its sub-type,
          (on the highest I° head available in the derivation);

b.   *selectional FFs on I° checked as an instance of head-adjunction*:
         - [+ V-type EPP] (on T°);
         - [+imp] (on M°)

c.   *selectional FFs on I° checked as an instance of a Spec-Head configuration*:
         [+wh] (on the highest I° head available in the derivation)

Lexical items against which the FFs in (5) are checked all bear non-selectional features, with the notable exception of wh-phrases and contrastive focus. Romanian wh-phrases are

inserted with a selectional [+wh] FF from within the lexicon, while contrastively focused constituents acquire a selectional [+ focus] P-feature later in the derivation. In view of the fact that selectional features require dislocation, both wh-phrases and contrastively focused constituents move overtly to Spec,IP. However, given that in Romanian the [+wh] FF on I° is selectional, while the [+ focus] FF on I° is non-selectional, PF will only receive instructions to pronounce wh-phrases in Spec,IP. The syntactic component does not instruct PF where to pronounce contrastively focused constituents, these being pronounced either in Spec,IP or in their base position. Nevertheless, we showed that whenever PF is instructed to pronounce wh-phrases in Spec,IP, PF cannot pronounce focused constituents in the same configuration (see chapter 5, section 5.5.2).

The above remarks seem to point toward a *uniqueness constraint imposed on PF by the syntactic component* in the presence of feature-checking movement. Further investigation is required into the cross-linguistic implications and/or validity of such a *uniqueness constraint*.

Second, the dissertation highlights important theoretical issues in terms of NP movement more generally. While NPs have usually been assumed to undergo A-movement for the purposes of Case checking, we have shown that in Romanian, NPs do not move for the purposes of Case assignment, yet A-movement is still employed. For example, object NPs undergo A-movement in VOS constructions in order to escape the domain of presentational focus. Recall that lack of weak crossover effects, alongside the availability to raise quantified objects to a non-scopal position (i.e., *v*P-adjoined) point towards object raising as an instance of A-movement rather than A-bar movement in these constructions. Under these considerations, we need to *divorce A-movement from Case checking*. It is possible that the A-movement effects present with *v*P-scrambling are due to the fact that the *v*P-domain is somewhat L-related. Recall that IP-scrambling (i.e., topicalization) in Romanian is an instance of A-bar movement, again, presumbaly because the IP domain is not L-related. We leave this query open to further investigation.

Finally, *pre-Spell-Out movement*, which according to the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995, et seq.) should only occur for the purposes of checking off strong/selectional morpho-syntactic features and thus ensure that a derivation does not crash, *can also occur for non-feature checking purposes*. Since, in Romanian, de-focusing constructions of the VOS type make their effects felt in the syntactic component, these structures cannot be analysed as stylistic PF rearrangements. Consequently, at least some sentence-pragmatics has to be rooted within the syntactic module. In a theory which embraces economy considerations, the implications are noteworthy and further cross-linguistic research would be welcome.