

We didn't see the mountains ahead and so we didn't sense the upheavals to come, upheavals that were in fact already in our mist, waiting to burst into flames. We didn't see the chaos growing.

Ben Okri, *Songs of Enchantment*

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Aim

This dissertation investigates acceptable word order strategies employed in Romanian and the dynamics of movement. It focuses on noun phrase movement, with special emphasis on wh-movement, quantifier raising, topicalization, contrastive focus and de-focusing structures.

Romanian is a Romance language spoken in Romania by approximately 22 million people. It is surrounded by other language families, specifically Slavic (Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian) and FinnoUgric (Hungarian), and geographically, is considered part of the Balkan sprachbund. From a syntactic point of view, it shares important properties with both Romance languages and languages of the Balkans.

Our analysis is grounded in the later stages of the generative framework, most notably the Minimalist program as developed by Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998). Prior to summarizing some essential Minimalist concepts in section 1.2., we offer a brief discussion into the scope of our inquiry.

The Chomskyan tradition has it that the identity of arguments is strictly dependent on the verb's capacity (and requirement) to assign them specific semantic roles. Whenever a verb is pulled from the lexicon and inserted into the syntax, it creates its individual argument-structure.

This argument-structure needs to be saturated, so relevant elements (e.g., nouns) are pulled from within the lexicon and inserted into the appropriate argument slots. This is referred to as theta-marking. Theta-licensing of a noun is then based on its individual relationship to a certain lexical predicate in the syntax. However, the nouns thus attracted into the derivation need further licensing; in order for them to be able to play out the semantic roles required by the verb (i.e., the theta-roles), they need Case. In some languages Case-marking is inherent, being granted as a bonus from within the lexicon, but in others, it is assigned structurally, once the NPs have been inserted into the derivation. The assignment of structural Cases, such as Nominative and Accusative, depend on the properties of functional elements present in the derivation. These functional elements lack content but have the important role of ensuring that the verb and nouns inserted in the derivation form a meaningful sentence. The most important functional element in a sentence is 'Inflection' since it tells us whether a sentence is finite or non-finite, it anchors the sentence in time and space, and it gives it meaning. It is also responsible for structural Nominative Case, which licenses the sentence subject. For example, the sentence 'Ion has eaten the apple pie.' would be ungrammatical without the function word 'has', which instantiates the presence of Inflection. Sentences are therefore labelled IP, from 'Inflectional Phrase'. Notice, however, that the above English example would also be ungrammatical if the word order were, '\* Has eaten Ion the apple.' What this means is that word order has a significant role in interpretability and that noun phrases are not licensed randomly. For any given derivation, there is a core basic word order which ensures proper licensing of its elements. For NPs, this refers to the position in which theta roles and Case relations are satisfied.

Unlike English, Romanian is not a rigid word order language, several combinations being possible. For example, the English sentence, 'Ion has eaten the apple pie.' can be rendered in a variety of ways, three of which are illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. VSO:  
 A mîncat Ion plăcintă cu mere.<sup>1</sup>  
 AUX.3SG eaten Ion pie-the with apple
- b. SVO:  
 Ion a mîncat plăcintă cu mere.  
 Ion AUX.3SG eaten pie-the with apple
- c. VOS:  
 A mîncat plăcintă cu mere Ion.  
 AUX.3SG eaten pie-the with apple Ion  
 ‘Ion has eaten the apple pie.’

Pragmatic factors aside, the sentences in (1) all render the same proposition. Given that the generative framework assumes a core basic word order, we need to find a principled way of accounting for any derived combinations. The first task is to define the basic sentence word order for Romanian; namely, the positions in which the elements comprising the sentence build-up are morpho-syntactically licensed. Once this is clarified, we proceed to investigate alternative word order strategies. We are interested primarily in the forces that drive movement and in resulting structural effects, as well as the locus of movement, semantic restrictions and the novel pragmatic interpretations. The analysis challenges important theoretical concepts and highlights the relationship between syntax and other levels of representation, such as semantics and phonology, as well as the less explored sentence-pragmatics.

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<sup>1</sup> Romanian uses the following phonetic symbols not found in IPA: [ã] – a stressed scwaha; [î] – a back unrounded closed vowel; [ș] – a voiceless postalveolar fricative; [ț] – a voiceless alveolar affricate.

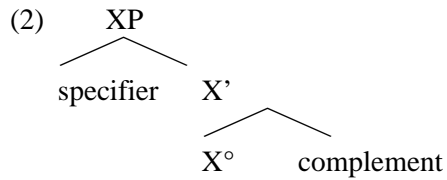
## 1.2 Theoretical assumptions

For any given language, speakers can build an infinite set of sentences out of a finite set of words, while children rapidly acquire the ability to use language and do so without formal instruction. These observations led Chomsky to postulate the innateness hypothesis, whereby human beings are born equipped with a Universal Grammar (UG). The task of the theoretical linguist is to build a theory of UG capable of capturing the universal properties of language (principles) but flexible enough to accommodate language particular idiosyncrasies, captured through parameters. The theory should yield grammars that are at once learnable, explanatory and descriptively adequate. It should make use of a minimal set of theoretical devices, primarily to avoid burden on acquisition. This approach, which is at the basis of Chomsky's generative grammar, with the *Minimalist Program* (1993, 1995, 1998) as its latest development, is consistent with general scientific norms that theories should be as simple as possible while capturing the empirical data.

Grammars deal with categories rather than words. Categories are essentially projections of heads and are of two types: lexical (or substantive, e.g. noun, verb, etc.) and functional (or non-substantive, e.g. inflection, determiner, etc.). All categories are combined according to a bottom-up binary branching device, which constitute the invisible 'trees' of generative grammar. A head  $X^{\circ}$  combines with a complement to its right and expands the structure to  $X'$ .  $X'$  combines with a specifier to its left, thus forming  $XP$ , a maximal category. This common phrase structure is illustrated in (2).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The assumption that UG imposes a Specifier-Head-Complement word order has been adopted in Chomsky (1995, 1998), following work by Kayne (1994). Other authors (e.g., Koster 1975) assume languages may differ as to whether they are head-initial, as in (2), or head-final, in which case the complement is selected to the left.



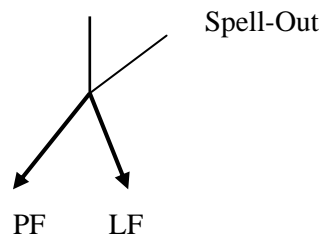
The specifier of XP (Spec,XP) and X' are sisters and so are X° and its complement. XP is the 'mother' of Spec,XP and X', and X' is the mother of X° and its complement. X' is an intermediary level with no effect on computation, therefore often omitted. Under Minimalism (Chomsky 1995, 1998), specifier and complement positions are not automatically present with the insertion of X° into the derivation. In fact, these are absent unless created by additional requirements. For example, a transitive verb will require a complement, but an intransitive verb will not, and I° (Inflection) in English requires a specifier of IP to host the subject of the sentence, but I° in Romanian does not. Maximal categories, on the other hand, are obligatory. In other words, whenever X° is present and does not project, it will simultaneously be an X° and an XP. This means that specifiers and complements are also of the XP type. Consequently, syntactic trees consist of various combinations of NP, VP, IP and so on, arranged according to a set of rules.

The set of rules that (re)arranges syntactic objects is determined by the properties of grammatical categories which enter their build-up. Specifically, these categories constitute sets of grammatical features (i.e., syntactic and morphological features), some of which are intrinsic (e.g., categorial features, such as nominal or verbal), some of which are optional (e.g., number features). These formal features (FFs) are either interpretable or uninterpretable. The distinction is related to semantic content. For example, categorial features have semantic content and are, therefore, interpretable. Case, which is semantically null, is uninterpretable. Before we discuss the role which features play, let us first review the overall organization of a grammar in this framework.

The computational system of a language forms sentence structure. It selects fully inflected lexical items (LIs) from the mental lexicon and combines them (i.e., merges) according

to the principles of X-bar structure. Sentence structure must ultimately be interpreted at two interface (output) levels: the articulatory-perceptual level (i.e. Phonological Form or PF) and the conceptual-intentional level (i.e., Logical Form or LF). PF and LF are interface levels, since this is where grammar connects with systems outside the theory of grammar. The point at which syntactic structures are converted into PF representations is referred to as Spell-Out. Operations which take place prior to Spell-Out are overt, while operations which takes place after Spell-Out (i.e., at LF) are covert. This organization of grammar is represented in (3).

(3) selection and merger



For grammaticality to be obtained, the set of derivations determined by language must converge at both interface levels. Convergence depends on appropriate feature checking. The logic is as follows. Formal features play a role in the computational system of a language, but play no role at interface levels. If features are still ‘visible’ at the interface, the derivation crashes. Therefore, features need to be checked off (or deleted). Furthermore, given that only uninterpretable features are visible, we need not concern ourselves with interpretable features.

Chomsky (1995) proposes that all uninterpretable features must be checked in an appropriate checking configuration within an appropriate checking domain, and that checked uninterpretable features are erased. The appropriate checking configuration is assumed to involve a specifier-head relationship between a functional head  $X^{\circ}$  and an XP with matching features which has moved into its specifier position.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See also Rizzi (1991), Kayne (1998), among others.

Feature-checking takes place at Spell-Out or can be postponed until LF, depending on whether the FF is strong or weak. It is assumed that strong uninterpretable features are visible as illegitimate objects at PF, while weak uninterpretable features are not visible at PF. Therefore only strong FFs are required to check at Spell-Out. It is further assumed that LF checking does not involve movement of the entire lexical item into the appropriate checking configuration. Consequently, LF movement is more economical. Given that Minimalism is concerned with economy conditions, if feature-checking can wait (i.e., Procrastinate) until LF, it should.

While we assume a Spec-Head relationship to be indicative of feature checking, we believe there are other appropriate checking configurations. Notably, we do not assume that all feature-checking involves movement. In this, we follow Chomsky (1998) who allows for two types of checking configurations. Consider the example in (4) discussed in Chomsky (1998:36).

(4) an unpopular candidate T-was elected t

Chomsky assumes three kinds of uninterpretable features in (4): the agreement feature of  $T^\circ$  (i.e., the phi-set), (ii) the EPP feature of  $T^\circ$ ,<sup>4</sup> and (iii) the structural Case feature of *an unpopular candidate*. Of the above features, only (ii) is assumed to require dislocation/"second Merge" (i.e., that something be moved and merged as Spec,TP). (i) identifies  $T^\circ$  as the target of dislocation, (ii) requires dislocation, and (iii) identifies *an unpopular candidate* as a candidate for such merger and dislocation applies (i.e., the subject NP surfaces as Spec,TP). EPP is a selectional feature that seeks an XP to merge with the category it heads. Phi-features and structural Case are uninterpretable features but not selectional features. Which means that, unlike the EPP feature, they never induce movement. In other words, only selectional features induce movement. Chomsky further suggests we consider the phi-features as a 'probe' that seeks a 'goal', namely,

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<sup>4</sup> The EPP feature refers to the Extended Projection Principle which determines positions not forced by the Projection Principle (theta-related); essentially, it refers to features that are uninterpretable and nonsemantic, and that ensure Spec,TP as a surface subject position.

“matching features that establish agreement” (1998:37). For the phi-set of  $T^\circ$  in (4), there is only one choice matching its features: the phi-set of *candidate*. Once it has located its goal, the probe is assumed to erase under matching. Correlatively, the structural Case of *an unpopular candidate* also erases (under matching with the probe). This is the essence of the operation Chomsky terms ‘Agree’, namely, the erasure of uninterpretable features of probe and goal under the structural requirements in (5).

- (5) (i) Matching is feature identity  
(ii)  $D(P)$  is a sister of  $P$   
(iii) Locality reduces to “closest c-command”<sup>5</sup>

Notice that the operation ‘Agree’ is satisfied without movement. However, since the EPP of  $T^\circ$  has to be satisfied, the phrase *an unpopular candidate* pied-pipes and merges as the specifier of  $T^\circ$ . The operation ‘Move’ (composed of ‘Agree’ and ‘Merge’) eliminates all uninterpretable features and the utterance in (4) is grammatical.

Following Chomsky (1998) who, as we have seen, proposes that only selectional features require dislocation, we assume that uninterpretable formal features (FFs) are essentially of two kinds: (i) selectional (or strong) and (ii) non-selectional (or weak), an option parametrized across languages and FF type. Non-selectional features will be defined as features which check/erase in-situ, without dislocation, as a result of the operation Agree, which only requires feature matching (i.e., identity) and closest c-command. Selectional features will be defined as features which can only be checked in a strict locality relationship, which we assume to involve either a Spec-Head

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<sup>5</sup> Where the  $D(P)$  is the c-command domain of  $P$  (defined as in (i)), and a matching feature  $G$  is closest to  $P$  if “there is no  $G'$  in  $D(P)$  matching  $P$  so that  $G$  is in  $D(G')$ ” (Chomsky 1998:38):

- (i) *c-command* (Radford 1997:112)  
A node  $X$  c-commands another node  $Y$  if the mother of  $X$  dominates  $Y$ , and  $X$  and  $Y$  are disconnected ( $X$  and  $Y$  are disconnected if  $X$  is not identical to  $Y$  and neither dominates the other.)



*or* a head-adjunction configuration. By definition, selectional features require agreement (i.e., feature matching) and movement (i.e., ‘second Merge’). Parametric variation across languages will be dependent on the nature of uninterpretable features. These assumptions are consistent with economy conditions since they eliminate movement unless absolutely necessary: movement is not an intrinsic requirement of feature-checking, but a result of parametrized formal feature properties. Moreover, under these assumptions, formal feature-checking will always be overt.<sup>6, 7</sup>

The feature checking theory proposed in Chomsky (1995) is asymmetric. Formal features (FFs) are present on both functional heads and lexical items, but only FFs on functional heads can be strong. Moreover, FFs of lexical items are not required to be checked, so feature checking takes place only when FFs of lexical items are attracted into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head. This is the operation ‘Attract’ (redefined as ‘Agree’ in Chomsky 1998). However, we follow Boškovic (1998), Lasnik (1995, 1999), and Ochi (1998) who assume that feature-checking movement can also be triggered by the requirements of the lexical item bearing uninterpretable FFs. Specifically, we assume FFs of the lexical item can themselves trigger movement into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head, if the nature of these FFs is selectional. Feature-driven movement is an instance of both ‘Agree’ and ‘Move’, which is operative until all selectional FFs have been checked, irrespective of whether the FF belongs to the functional head or to the lexical item.

As previously stated, Minimalism is concerned with keeping the theoretical apparatus at a minimum, a general condition on the derivation of sentences being economy. There are several consequences that fall out from economy. One is that grammatical structure should be kept to a

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<sup>6</sup> Simpson (1999) also argues for the availability of ‘local’ and ‘non-local’ feature checking in languages.

<sup>7</sup> Given that feature-checking is always overt, issues such as LF movement and Procrastinate need to be completely reformulated. Possibly, the LF component is reserved exclusively to Quantifier Raising operations and scope interactions, having no role in feature checking.

minimum. We assume functional categories are not automatically present, and we do not postulate them unless there is ample empirical evidence in their favour.

A second consequence bears on movement. Although movement should be in principle avoided, when it occurs for feature-checking, it should take the shortest route and it should be local. These insights have been around in generative grammar for a long time, but we shall limit ourselves to defining the newer concepts. The shortest route requirement is formalized in Chomsky (1995) as the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) stated in (6).

(6) *The Minimal Link Condition* (Chomsky 1995)

$\alpha$  can raise to target K only if there is no legitimate operation Move- $\beta$  targeting K, where  $\beta$  is closer to K;  
(where ‘closer’ is defined in terms of c-command and equidistance).

Various constraints have been proposed concerning the locality of movement. One such constraint is the Subjacency Condition which requires that movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP (Chomsky 1977). Chomsky also proposes that movement is “successive cyclic”. This constraint has been formalized in a number of ways along the years, and more recently (Chomsky 1998), it is formulated as ‘the phase-impenetrability condition’ (essentially a new version of cyclicity) outlined in (7).

(7) In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , but only H and its edge (Chomsky 1998:22)

When movement does occur, it forms a chain. Specifically, in the process of moving a constituent (usually referred to as Move  $\alpha$ ) from its initial merge position into its second merge position, there will be two occurrences of ‘ $\alpha$ ’, the original occurrence being called a ‘trace’ or ‘copy’ of the new occurrence, and being usually represented as ‘t’. We follow Chomsky (1998) in assuming that the two occurrences of ‘ $\alpha$ ’ constitute copies of each other and that a chain is

defined as a “sequence of identical  $\alpha$ ’s” (Chomsky 1998:29), but nevertheless maintain the ‘trace’ terminology and representation. The relevance of the copy theory of movement becomes apparent in chapter 5.

Another important theoretical assumption is Binding Theory. Among others, speakers use language to refer to things. NPs, however, differ in the ways in which they establish referential relations. For example, certain pronouns must have an antecedent, while other pronouns can only have an antecedent in certain contexts. In (8), the reflexive ‘themselves’ is only licensed if it is preceded by the coindexed NP ‘the boys’; this is illustrated by the contrast in grammaticality between (8a) and (8b).

- (8) a. The boys admired themselves.  
b. \* Themselves admired the boys.

In (9), on the other hand, the personal pronoun ‘them’ is seen to differ in (9a) and (9b) in terms of coreference permissiveness. In (9a) coreference with the preceding NP ‘the boys’ is excluded (this is shown with the aid of indices), while in (9b), it is accepted.

- (9) a. The boys<sub>i</sub> called them <sub>\*i/j</sub>.  
b. The boys<sub>i</sub> said I called them <sub>i/j</sub>.

Such relations of coreference are captured by Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), which defines these relations in terms of c-command, as in (10).

- (10) *Binding* (Culicover 1997:64)  
 $\alpha$  binds  $\beta$  if and only if:  
(i)  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$  and  
(ii)  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are coindexed

Binding Theory is summed up in (11).

- (11) Condition A: an anaphor (e.g., reflexives) is bound in its local domain  
(i.e., it should have an antecedent in its local domain)  
Condition B: a pronoun is free in its local domain  
Condition C: an R-expression (e.g., names) is free everywhere  
(i.e., it should lack a c-commanding antecedent in any category)

Along with overt movement (i.e., at Spell-Out), we assume covert movement (i.e., LF movement) is also possible. At LF certain phrases that have been moved overtly ‘reconstruct’, that is they are interpreted in their base position rather than in the higher, derived position. Given that LF is viewed as the highest level of syntactic representation, we expect Binding Theory to apply here. However, for NPs that do not ‘reconstruct’ at LF, Spell-Out offers an equally correct binding representation.<sup>8</sup>

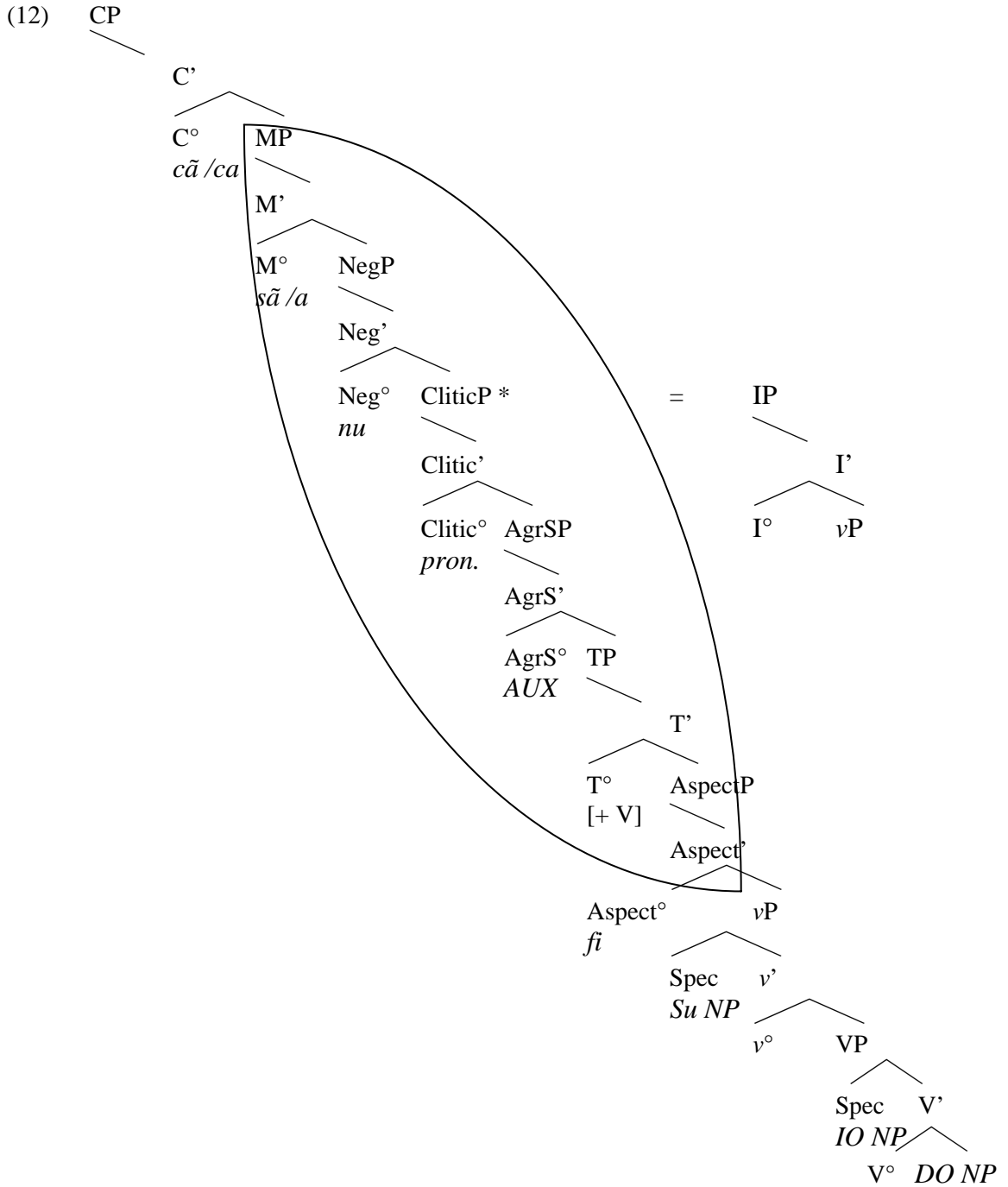
We believe these introductory remarks suffice to provide the background for the discussion in this dissertation. However, as we go along, we will return to some of these assumptions in more detail, as well as introduce some other concepts.

### 1.3 Romanian sentence structure

Landing sites are central to issues that refer to movement and licensing. The analysis in this dissertation suggests that the Romanian clause structure has at its disposal a number of substantive (i.e., lexical) and non-substantive (i.e., functional) projections which may or may not be present in the derivation, depending on the properties of the lexical items inserted from the lexicon, alongside more abstract dimensions, such as tense, aspect, voice, and mood, or point of view. In (12), we illustrate all the projections that we assume could in principle enter into the build-up of a Romanian clause.

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<sup>8</sup> This dichotomy will become relevant in capturing distinct Binding effects for definite versus indefinite NPs, as well as different movement types.



Let us clarify the terminology used in (12). CP refers to the projection headed by complementizers roughly equivalent to English ‘that’, which is realized in Romanian as *cã* and *ca* in the indicative and subjunctive, respectively. We assume CP is absent in main clauses and analyse all main clauses as IPs. The IP projection can be expanded to include several projections,

as follows. The Mood Phrase (MP), whose head hosts the subjunctive particle *să*, as well as the infinitive particle *a*;  $M^{\circ}$  also hosts the imperative operator which is present in imperative clauses and has to be lexically realized (see chapter 2). In negative clauses, the inflectional domain contains a Negative Phrase (NegP), headed by the negative element *nu* ‘not’. The Clitic Phrase (CliticP), which hosts pronominal clitics and is recursive, depending on the number of pronominal clitics present in the derivation, is situated immediately below NegP; in affirmative sentences which lack an MP, CliticP will be the highest projection of the IP. The AgrP, headed by auxiliaries marks person and number agreement with the subject. The Tense Phrase (TP), whose head  $T^{\circ}$  hosts a strong verbal feature (i.e., [+ V] or the EPP feature) responsible for attracting lexical verb raising into the inflectional domain in Romanian, is essential to the IP. The Aspect Phrase, which hosts the perfective marker *fi*, may appear below the TP. Moved phrases cannot target positions that are internal to this domain. This restriction on movement is a direct consequence of the fact that the Romanian IP consists exclusively of clitic material. The syntactic clitics comprising the Romanian IP are analysed in chapter 2 as heads projecting maximal phrases without specifiers. Given that for the purposes of NP movement, the inflectional domain constitutes a single phrase, we only use an expanded IP where relevant (e.g., when analysing its build-up, discussing verb movement, or fine-graining an analysis).

We assume that the Romanian IP is minimally a TP. In fact, the Minimalist Program has renounced IP as the sentence label in favour of TP. However, throughout this dissertation, we maintain  $I^{\circ}$  as the umbrella term for the inflectional head and, consequently, IP for the sentence. Our use of  $T^{\circ}$  is limited to refer specifically to the Tense head. This choice is based on the fact that, in Romanian, Tense is not the only relevant inflectional head. As shown in (12), there are other inflectional projections that contribute significantly to the build-up of the Romanian sentence. However, when citing or referring to other authors, we adopt their notations unless otherwise specified.

Consider next material below the IP. The light verb projection ( $\nu$ P) is present in active voice derivations, but absent in passives and unaccusatives; when present, its specifier position hosts the subject of the clause. The VP (or verb phrase) is headed by the lexical verb which may require complement NPs, as illustrated. In all probability, the Romanian noun phrase has an internal structure that is as complex as that illustrated for the IP (see Cornilescu 1995b). For our present purposes, however, the label NP will suffice.

In (12), we also show the formal feature we assume to be present in all Romanian clauses. This is the [+V] (i.e., EPP) FF on  $T^\circ$ , a selectional feature which we assume is checked by head-adjunction and, therefore, triggers overt verb raising into the inflectional domain. Given that, in Romanian clauses, the lexical verb always inhabits  $I^\circ$ , material to the left of  $I^\circ$  will be referred to as preverbal or as inhabiting the sentence left-periphery, while material below  $I^\circ$  will be referred to as postverbal.

Other formal features may also inhabit the Romanian IP. Some of these are non-selectional features and are checked without movement (e.g. [+neg], Case, phi-features), others are selectional features which require a strict locality relationship in order to be checked off and, therefore, trigger movement of the agreeing element. These are the [+wh] feature and the [+focus] feature (with [+emphasis] as a sub-type) discussed in chapters 4 and 5, respectively. We show these to be parasitic non-verbal features which inhabit the highest IP head present in the respective derivation. As a consequence, they engender syncretic heads and a specifier to host their matching lexical item.

The presence of selectional FFs on functional heads or lexical items will require movement in order for feature-checking to apply, a necessary condition for convergent derivations. However, we will show that the dynamics of movement are not conditioned exclusively by the presence of features. Pragmatic forces (see chapters 3-5) may also result in dislocations. In this case, constituents scramble out of their base-generated positions and adjoin to  $\nu$ P or IP, depending on interpretation: de-focused constituents adjoin to  $\nu$ P, while topicalized

constituents adjoin to IP. There are several difference between XP adjunction and specifier-insertion. While, adjunction is in principle unlimited and proceeds against a maximal phrase (i.e., an XP), specifier-insertion is more restricted and proceeds against a head (i.e., an  $X^\circ$ ; recall that  $X'$  is only relevant for architectural purposes). This distinction in positioning (i.e., against an XP, or against an  $X^\circ$ ), which is a direct consequence of the forces behind movement, is in fact crucial: adjunction is optional, while specifier-insertion is obligatory in the presence of the relevant formal features.

#### **1.4 Dissertation outline**

In **chapter 2**, we introduce important aspects of Romanian syntax and discuss basic word order licensing in the Romanian simple clause.

In the first part of the chapter, the investigation centres on the build-up of the Romanian IP, with special reference to the position of the lexical verb and clitic material. We maintain earlier analyses which show that the lexical verb always raises to  $I^\circ$  in Romanian (e.g., Cornilescu 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Motapanyane 1995, Ștefănescu 1997) and argue that this is due to a strong [+V] feature, later reanalysed as the EPP feature of Romanian. Specifically, given that the EPP feature is universally a selectional feature (cf. Chomsky 1998), it will require checking in a strict locality relationship (i.e., Spec-Head or head-adjunction). We propose that the realization of the EPP feature is open to parametric variation, being realized minimally as a nominal feature (i.e., D-type EPP feature), in languages such as English, or as a verbal feature (i.e., V-type EPP feature), in languages such as Romanian. The V-type EPP feature of Romanian is satisfied by verb raising and head-adjunction onto the inflectional domain. The verb aside, we show that all elements comprising the Romanian IP are syntactic clitics (see also Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a) which we analyse as specifier-less heads. We suggest that some of these specifier-less heads project independently as XP, while others project together with verbal heads.



The second part of chapter two focuses on NP licensing (i.e., theta role and Case). The central assumption is that Romanian NPs check Case in their initial merge positions. Evidence for such an assumption and its corollaries is provided by discussing structural and semantic restrictions for various NPs in different types of predicate structures. We conclude that Romanian lacks a preverbal canonical subject position (i.e., EPP/Nominative Case related), and that NPs do not move for Case-related purposes. Structural Case is not checked as a result of specific configurations, but as a consequence of the presence of specific functional categories in the clausal architecture.

**Chapter 3** commences the investigation of various NP movement configurations present in the language. Its scope is to account for syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of VOS constructions in Romanian. The chapter argues against the classical subject right-adjunction analysis suggested for Romance languages and proposes instead that Romanian VOS constructions are derived as an instance of object raising. Evidence for an object raising analysis is brought from the availability of raising quantified NPs, lack of weak crossover effects, condition C effects, and the reversal of binding phenomena.

We further discuss the implications of an object movement approach for Romanian VOS constructions from a comparative perspective and conclude that this specific type of object movement is an instance of ‘evacuation’ for subject focusing. We analyse object raising as object scrambling (i.e., dislocation and adjunction) to  $vP$  and show that it does not represent feature-driven movement. The effects and availability of VOS constructions in Romanian is taken to be the result of sentence-pragmatics exploiting syntax. While such movement is pragmatically accountable and not feature-driven, object de-focusing takes place in the syntactic component and does not constitute a ‘rearrangement’ at the level of PF. This assumption, which is counter to the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, et seq), is sustained by the presence of various syntactic effects triggered by the VOS structure.

**Chapter 4** investigates wh-movement constructions in Romanian and argues that IP hosts all wh-phrases in this language, thus challenging accepted wisdom. Specifically, it is shown that in Romanian, the [+wh]-feature is a property of  $I^\circ$  and Spec,IP is the scopal position available to Romanian wh-phrases. Given that Romanian lacks a D-type EPP feature, Spec,IP is in principle available to operator material, an option the language chooses to exploit fully. Language internal empirical evidence, such as lack of verb raising to  $C^\circ$  and authentic subject-auxiliary inversion structures, support the theoretical proposals.

The [+wh] formal feature is further argued to be selectional in nature, irrespective of whether it is hosted by the functional head or the lexical items. The consequence of this parametric option is that, Romanian, although a Romance language, shows compulsory multiple wh-movement, a property shared with other languages of the Balkans. We analyse movement in multiple checking instances and conclude that movement involves crossing paths and that it proceeds according to economy conditions. Specifically, the first wh-phrase to raise and merge as Spec,IP is the one closest to  $I^\circ$  (i.e., the functional head hosting the [+wh] formal feature), with the remaining wh-phrases tucking in under Spec,IP in an unordered manner. Ordering of moved wh-phrases (or lack thereof) and cross-linguistic implications are also discussed.

The second part of the chapter focuses on comparative diagnostics for the landing site of Romanian wh-phrases. Following work by Rudin (1988) and Richards (1997) who compile a cluster of distinct properties for languages in which wh-phrases target the CP domain (i.e., ‘CP-absorption’ languages) from those in which wh-phrases target the IP domain (i.e., ‘IP-absorption’ languages), we show that Romanian shares significant properties with IP-absorption languages. We therefore conclude there is also cross-linguistic evidence to support the claim that IP serves as the host for wh-movement in Romanian.

We suggest that the selectional interrogative FF merges onto the highest functional verbal head within the Romanian IP, engendering a syncretic Inflection. In chapter 5 we show that this property is shared by other selectional features in the language.

**Chapter 5** addresses preverbal noun phrase movement, with special emphasis on movement for contrastive focus. Following work by Kiss (1995b, 1998), Rizzi (1995/97), and Zubizarreta (1998), we examine preverbal operator licensing and the forces behind movement into the left-periphery of the Romanian clause. We distinguish between presentational (rhematic) focus and contrastive focus in Romanian and explore the relationship between contrastive focus and other sentence-initial operators, such as quantifiers, wh-phrases, and topics. We investigate various syntactic properties typical of preverbal NPs and conclude that contrastively focused elements obey the same syntactic constraints as wh-phrases, polarity items and non-D-linked quantifiers. Our analysis is fine-grained to accommodate the semantics of preverbal operators in the language, and we claim that preverbal NP-movement whose semantics require resumptive clitics forms anaphoric chains, while preverbal movement without resumptive clitics forms quantificational chains.

We distinguish between preverbal feature-driven movement, which we suggest always targets Spec,IP, and preverbal non-feature driven movement, which never targets Spec,IP and which we take to represent an instance of adjunction to IP. We further propose that, in Romanian, the formal feature [+ focus] incorporates onto  $I^{\circ}$  (more precisely, on the highest verbal functional head present in  $I^{\circ}$  in the respective derivation), similar to the [+ wh] FF. Specifically, the [+ focus] FF is analysed as a parasitic feature, which does not project its own Focus Phrase in Romanian, but engenders a syncretic  $I^{\circ}$ . Furthermore, we claim that the [+ focus] FF is non-selectional on  $I^{\circ}$ , but selectional on the lexical item. A selectional focus feature on the contrastive element will require checking in a strict locality relationship (i.e., a Spec-Head configuration) and trigger movement of the focused constituent into Spec,IP.

Among other things, the analysis adopted in chapter 5 differs from previous proposals in that it argues for uniform IP-related operator checking and a syncretic inflection which hosts non-verbal selectional FFs. Equally important is the novel analysis for contrastive focus as a representational property of phonosyntax. Specifically, we propose that the [+ focus] feature on

the contrastive element is a phonological feature (P-feature). The proposed analysis accounts for the optional presence of contrastively focused elements in the preverbal field without assuming optional movement, while at the same time highlighting the importance of obligatory prosodic marking on Romanian focused constituents.

**Chapter 6** represents a critical summary of the dissertation with the scope of highlighting its major claims and consequences.

## 1.5 Major claims

In this section, we offer a summary of the major claims put forth in this dissertation; some comments and conclusions follow in chapter 6.

Let us first consider theoretical claims of a general nature. We suggest that formal features are of two kinds. (i) Non-selectional FFs, which are checked as an instance of the operation Agree (cf. Chomsky 1998), and for which identity (i.e., feature matching) and closest c-command are necessary and sufficient; in this case, feature-checking does not involve movement and is less local. (ii) Selectional FFs, which are checked as an instance of the operation Move (cf. Chomsky 1988), which presupposes Agree and second Merge; in this case, feature-checking obligatorily involves movement and is strictly local, in that it requires a Spec-Head *or* head-adjunction relationship. Whether FFs are selectional or non-selectional is an option parametrized across languages, with one exception. Following Chomsky (1998), we assume the EPP feature to be universally selectional. However, we recognize some cross-linguistic flexibility and propose that the strict locality configuration in which this selectional feature is checked is parametrized, depending on whether the respective language has a D-type or a V-type EPP FF. Specifically, the EPP FF on I<sup>o</sup> requires checking in a Spec-Head relationship in D-type EPP languages, and a head-adjunction relationship in V-type EPP languages.

Contrary to Minimalist assumptions, we show that not all instances of Spell-Out movement are feature driven. However, we assume all feature-driven movement to be overt and obligatory.

Consider next the claims made for Romanian. The empirical data shows Romanian to be a V-type EPP language; consequently, in this language, Spec,IP is not the canonical subject position, and, in fact, the language lacks a unique subject position. Structural Case is assigned in Merge positions and Romanian NPs need not move from their base-generated position for licensing purposes.

Formal features such as [+ wh] and [+ focus] are realized syncretically (i.e., parasitically) on I<sup>°</sup>, rather than on C<sup>°</sup> or on independent heads projecting their own structure, and XPs attracted for feature-checking will merge as Spec,IP. The operators in Spec,IP either create anaphoric or quantificational chains, depending on the presence or absence of resumptive clitics, respectively. Multiple wh-movement proceeds in a crossing-paths manner with unordered tucking-in under Spec,IP. While contrastive focus is realized as a formal feature on I<sup>°</sup>, it is realized as a phonological feature (P-feature) on the lexical item. More specifically, contrastively focused phrases in Romanian are not marked with a [+ focus] feature from within the lexicon, but marked later with a [+ focus] P-feature (hence the prosodic stress requirement which identifies a constituent as contrastively focused). Given that contrastive focus is a representational property of phonosyntax in Romanian, the focused phrase is optionally pronounced in Spec,IP or in its base-generated position.

Romanian allows for two types of scrambling, both of which are semantically restricted and both of which represent non-feature driven movement: *v*P-scrambling (i.e., de-focusing), which has A-movement properties, and IP-scrambling (i.e., topicalization), which has A-bar movement properties. While scrambling is not obligatory, it is nevertheless indicative of the presence of pragmatic domains in the Romanian clause structure.

