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THE SYNTAX OF AGREEMENT IN ROMANIAN

by

IOANA STEFANESCU

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1997

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Abstract

THE SYNTAX OF AGREEMENT IN ROMANIAN

by

Ioana Stefanescu

Adviser: Professor Richard S. Kayne

This study is concerned with three topics on the syntax of agreement in Romanian: subject verb agreement phenomena with subject phrases that are syntactically complex, agreement phenomena in relative clauses formed on personal pronouns and agreement phenomena with equative a fi (be) sentences.

The discussion centers on the relation between finite verb movement to the highest functional head in the clausal architecture, e.g. AGR^0 , and the licensing of number and person agreement with subject phrases that are partitive phrases, possessive phrases and coordinate NPs. The Thesis explores the possibility that AGR^0 , the highest functional head in the clausal architecture, be "split" into two functional heads: Number and Person, respectively. The suggestion about a "split" AGR^0 is empirically based on the observation that Romanian has a number exponent different from the person exponents. A detailed analysis of the number and person exponents in the synthetic and analytic temporal forms in Romanian is being offered. The agreement pattern in sentences with equative be and relative clauses formed on the subject or on the associate DP of be are analyzed in the last chapter of the Thesis.

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Chapter 1

THE LCA-BASED THEORY OF SYNTAX

1 Introduction

This study is concerned with three topics on the syntax of agreement in Romanian: subject verb agreement phenomena with subject phrases that are syntactically complex, agreement phenomena in relative clauses formed on personal pronouns and agreement phenomena with equative a fi (be) sentences.

The discussion in Chapters 2 and 4 centers on the relation between finite verb movement to the highest functional head in the clausal architecture, e.g. AGR^0 , and the licensing of number and person agreement with subject phrases that are syntactically complex, e.g. partitive phrases, possessive phrases and coordinate NPs. The explanation is geometrical, i.e. number and person agreement on the verb is licensed by the noun phrase that occupies the highest SPEC position within the architecture of the subject phrase irrespective of whether that position is basic or derived.

Chapter 2 assumes the standard model of UG that has LF as a level of representation. Chapter 4 reopens to discussion the data presented in Chapter 2 and suggests an analysis that dispenses with LF movement. A theory of syntax based on

Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom which brings together linear order and hierarchical structure leads naturally to a model of UG that dispenses with the LF level of representation. The Thesis suggests that an LCA-based theory of syntax may involve a model of UG in which the domain of syntax is restricted to the overt, linear structure¹.

Chapter 3 explores the possibility that AGR^0 , the highest functional head in the clausal architecture, be "split" into two functional heads: Number and Person, respectively. The suggestion about a "split" AGR^0 is empirically based on the observation that Romanian has a number exponent different from the person exponents. The chapter contains a detailed analysis of the number and person exponents in the synthetic and analytic temporal forms in Romanian.

Chapter 5 brings into the picture two other types of data: the double agreement possibility existent in relative clauses formed on personal pronouns and the agreement pattern of the equative a fi (be) sentences. At the level of linguistic theory, Chapter 5, section 2 sets the idea of Chapter 3 on its head, i.e. Chapter 3 suggests that movement of the finite verb in Romanian gravitates to AGR^0 . Chapter 5, section 2, discusses data that suggest that the Romanian finite verb

¹ The PSG model of UG entertains the same basic theoretical position.

moves to C⁰ in a Germanic way². The idea will be that Romanian has both an Yiddish-like strategy, i.e. the verb moves to the highest inflectional head (Diesing, 1990) and the Germanic strategy, i.e. movement of the verb to-I⁰-to C⁰ as argued for Italian by Cardinaletti and Roberts (1990) and Moro (1993).

There is a third theoretical idea that the Thesis supports in a strong way³: the fact that the categories that syntax operates with are not "discrete", i.e. either XPs or X⁰s ; often they have "fuzzy" properties that span the gamut between XPs and X⁰s. Chapter 2, section 2, deals with this linguistic fact in an extensive and convincing way⁴.

None of these three ideas are mine; they have existed in the linguistic literature for the past thirty years. This study is paradigm-based research in Kuhn's sense: the paradigm has been introduced by Noam Chomsky's revolution; his epistemological program represents "a new and more rigid definition of the field"⁵ of linguistics. Chomsky's epistemological program is

² This position has been first suggested by Cardinaletti and Roberts (1990), Moro (1993), etc.

³ see Ross (1972), Lakoff (1972), etc. who apply Zadeh's mathematical idea to natural languages.

⁴ Florica Bancila informed me that in Old and Middle English the "fuzzy" character, i.e. XP or X⁰ of linguistic elements, is the rule and not the exception. This is not surprising in view of the fact that natural languages "change" and experience "transition periods".

⁵ see Thomas Kuhn (1996:19).

assumed at each point in this Thesis. Linguistics has been moved from the domain of humanities into the domain of natural sciences for ever; it is a "paradigm change that does cause scientists to see the world of their research - engagement differently. In so far as their only recourse to that world is through what they see and do, we may want to say that after a revolution scientists are responding to a different world."⁶ This Thesis assumes Kayne's LCA-based theory of syntax which falls within the world-view introduced by Noam Chomsky's epistemological program⁷.

2 The LCA-Based Theory of Syntax

Overview

Within the generative research program, the theory of the human language faculty, UG, has undergone significant conceptual shifts evolving into "a simpler theory based on a fairly small number of general principles that must suffice to derive the consequences of elaborate and language-specific rule systems." (Chomsky, 1985:145) Several theoretical proposals about UG co-exist⁸ at the present time. Of the several

⁶ see Thomas Kuhn (1996:111).

⁷ For a discussion on Chomsky's revolution in epistemology see Ilie Pârvu (1974).

⁸ Chomsky (1981:4) writes about this stage in the domain of linguistics noting that: "For the first time, there are several theories of UG that seem to have the right general properties over an interesting domain of fairly complex linguistic phenomena that is expanding as inquiry into those systems proceeds. That is something relatively new and quite important, even though surely no

existent proposals, the present study adopts Kayne's asymmetric theory of UG. Kayne (1993, 1994) proposes a naturalistic⁹ view on the theory of syntax with a parsimonious UG based on an axiom which ensures that the property of antisymmetry that linear ordering has is inherited by hierarchical structure. Asymmetry as a property of (the ontology of) UG connects to the epistemic notion of asymmetry of time as reflected into the linear precedence, i.e. ordering, relation for terminal strings.

2.1 Structural Relations for Phrase Markers

Overview

Phrase markers have been described in terms of a terminal "alphabet" and a non-terminal "alphabet", the elements of these two alphabets being disjoint¹⁰. The terminal and non-terminal alphabets are sets of elements. (a) The set of non-terminal elements is defined by two structural relations: dominance (a notion that defines a certain type of connection among the branches of a tree) and c-command¹¹ (a notion developed in generative linguistics and crucially involved in Trace Theory).

one expects that any of these current proposals are correct as they stand or perhaps even in general conception."

⁹ I intend the term "naturalistic" in its philosophical sense.

¹⁰ see Partee, et al, 1990:437.

¹¹ Langaker, 1969 for command and Reinhart, 1983 for c(ategory)-command.

(b) The set of terminal symbols is characterized by the relation of precedence, i.e. linear precedence. Linear precedence is a particular instance of a linear ordering¹². It is transitive, asymmetric and total, i.e. it covers all the members of the terminal alphabet.

2.1.1 Structural Properties of Non-Terminals

The set of non-terminal elements of a phrase marker is characterized by two structural relations (a) dominance and (b) asymmetric c-command.

Dominance is a structural relation used to define a connected sequence of branches called a path¹³ for a given tree. "We say that a node X dominates a node Y if there is a connected sequence of branches in the tree extending from X to Y."¹⁴ For example, in figure (1) below the node labeled L dominates the node labeled T, since the sequence of branches connecting them is uniformly ascending from the lower node T to the higher node L. The node labeled L does not dominate the node N, since

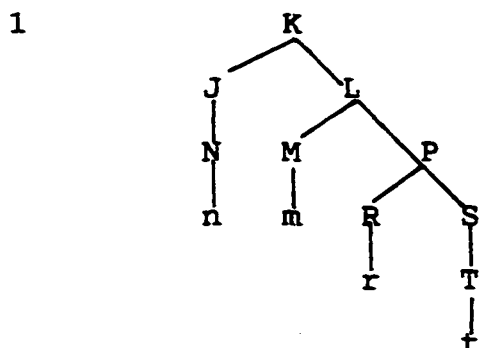
¹² In order to insure that ordering is defined in terms of precedence and not subsequence, Kayne (1994:33) shows that the following holds:

"Let X, Y be non-terminals and x, y terminals such that X dominates x and Y dominates y. Then if X asymmetrically c-commands Y, x precedes y." See section 2.2.2 below for an argument that asymmetric c-command does map to precedence.

¹³ Since a branch connects a node to another node there is a directionality in the connection. Kayne (1981, 1983) does not use the term path, but "g-projection".

¹⁴ The definition is from Partee et al. 1990:440; the entire discussion in the paragraph is based on Partee, et.al 1990:440-445.

the path by which they are joined first ascends from L to K and then descends to J and N as shown in (1):



The ordered pair $\langle X, Y \rangle$ represents the fact that node X dominates node Y. The set of all such ordered pairs for a given tree is said to constitute the dominance relation for that tree. Dominance is (1) transitive: if X is connected to Y by a sequence of ascending branches and Y is similarly connected to Z, then X dominates Z because they are also connected by a sequence of ascending branches, specifically, by the sequence passing through Y¹⁵.

(2) Dominance is antisymmetric¹⁶; the property of being antisymmetric ensures that dominance is a weak partial ordering of the nodes of a tree.

(3) Dominance is locally total, i.e. "it is not total, but it becomes total when restricted to the set of nodes dominating a given node." (Kayne, 1994:4)

¹⁵ From Partee et al, 1990:440.

¹⁶ Mathematicians define dominance as antisymmetric, transitive and reflexive. Reflexivity means that every node dominates itself. If X dominates Y, then Y can dominate X only if $X=Y$, i.e. dominance is antisymmetric. Thus the relation is a weak partial ordering of the nodes of a tree. (see Partee et al, 1990: 440)

Local totality is the property which permits the conversion of a hierarchical relation into a linear relation: "although the dominance relation is not a linear ordering, it is, by virtue of being locally total, a locally linear ordering (in the sense that it becomes linear if one restricts oneself to the local environment of a given node)¹⁷."

Asymmetric c-command

Kayne's notion of c-command is in terms of the "first node up" and he restricts it to categories, i.e. a segment cannot enter into a c-command relation, i.e. "X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y".¹⁸ The following definition of asymmetric c-command is given:

"X asymmetrically c-commands Y iff X c-commands Y and Y does not c-command X". (Kayne, 1994:4, definition (2)).

Asymmetric c-command is (1) transitive, (2) asymmetric and, if restricted to binary branching trees, the relation is (3) locally total and "hence locally linear, in the same sense as the dominance relation. This is so, since in a binary branching tree, if Y asymmetrically c-commands X and Z (distinct from Y) also asymmetrically c-commands X, then either Y asymmetrically c-commands Z or Z asymmetrically c-commands Y." (Kayne, 1994:4-5)

¹⁷ see Kayne, 1994:4.

¹⁸ see Kayne, 1994:16.

2.1.2 Terminal Symbols and Linear Precedence

Linear precedence as defined on the set of terminal symbols has three defining properties (Kayne (1994:4, def.(1)):

- A.1. transitivity, i.e. xLy and yLz implies xLz .
2. antisymmetry, i.e. for any x, y , "not (xLy and yLx)".
3. the ordering is total: it must cover all members of the set, e.g. for all distinct x, y , either xLy or yLx .

2.1.3 The Mapping between Non-Terminals and Terminals

The Linear Correspondence Axiom captures the simple fact that, for a given syntactic phrase, the relation of asymmetric c-command ensures a linear order of its terminal elements, i.e. "any category that cannot be ordered by LCA is barred" (Chomsky, 1995:335). Technically, a function called $d(\text{ominance})$ maps the set of nonterminals onto the set of terminals¹⁹. "The relation d is a many-to-many mapping from nonterminals to terminals. For a given nonterminal X , let us call $d(X)$ the set of terminals that X dominates. $d(X)$ can be said to be the "image" under d of X .

One can speak of the image under d of an ordered pair of non-terminals, e.g. $\langle X, Y \rangle$. "The image under d of $\langle X, Y \rangle$ is the set of ordered pairs $\{ \langle a, b \rangle \}$ such that a is member of $d(X)$ and b is a member of $d(Y)$ ²⁰". The image under d of an ordered pair

¹⁹ Kayne uses small d for the nonterminal-to-terminal dominance in order to distinguish it from the dominance relation that applies to non-terminals and which he labels D . (Kayne, 1994:5)

²⁰ see Kayne, 1994:5.

$\langle X, Y \rangle$ is based on $d(X)$ and $d(Y)$, i.e. the Cartesian product of $d(X)$ and $d(Y)$. Formally, $d\langle X, Y \rangle$ is the set of ordered pairs $\{\langle a, b \rangle\}$ such that a belongs to $d(X)$ and b belongs to $d(Y)$.

"If instead of simply looking at one ordered pair $\langle X, Y \rangle$ and its image, we look at a set of ordered pairs and their images under d , we can introduce the natural notion that the image of a set of ordered pairs is just the set formed by taking the union of images of each ordered pair in the original set. For example, let S be a set of ordered pairs $\{\langle X_i, Y_i \rangle\}$ for $0 < i < n$. Then $d(S) =$ the union for all i , $0 < i < n$ of $d\langle X_i, Y_i \rangle$.²¹"

For a given phrase marker P , the function d ensures that the set of pairs of nonterminals is mapped onto the set of terminals which is ordered by the relation of precedence. That asymmetric c-command is matched to linear order is an axiom of UG. The precise formulation of the axiom, for a given phrase marker P , with A as the maximal set of all ordered pairs of nonterminals, $\langle X_i, Y_i \rangle$, such that the first element, X_i , asymmetrically c-commands the second, e.g. Y_i , and with T as the set of terminals is given below:

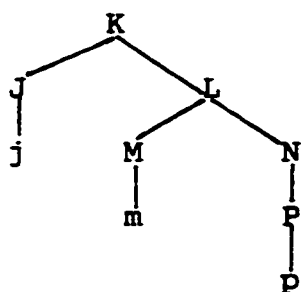
Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA)

$d(A)$ is a linear ordering of T .

In practice, LCA works in the following way; consider (2) below:

²¹ see Kayne, 1994:5.

2



In (2), the set A of pairs of non-terminals contains the ordered pairs $\{ \langle J, M \rangle, \langle J, P \rangle, \langle M, P \rangle \}$. $d(A)$ is the set $\{ \langle j, m \rangle, \langle j, p \rangle, \langle m, p \rangle \}$. These three ordered pairs constitute a linear ordering of the set of terminals $\{j, m, p\}$, given that (a) transitivity holds, (b) antisymmetry is respected, and (c) the ordering is total, i.e. an ordering is specified for every pair of terminals²².

2.2 Some Theoretical Consequences of LCA

2.2.1 Deriving X-Bar Theory

Chapter 2 of Kayne's (1994) monograph undertakes a careful demonstration of the fact that X-Bar Theory is not a primitive part of an UG based on LCA, i.e. the X-Bar theoretic properties of syntactic structure follow from LCA.

The structural properties of X-Bar Theory deduced from LCA are listed below: (1) each phrase must have a head;

(2) a phrase cannot have two heads;

(3) there is one sister complement per head;

(4) the complement is not a bare head;

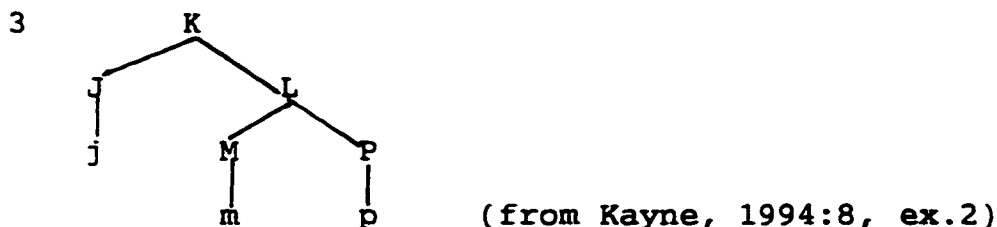
(5) there is one specifier per phrase.

²² see Kayne, 1994:7.

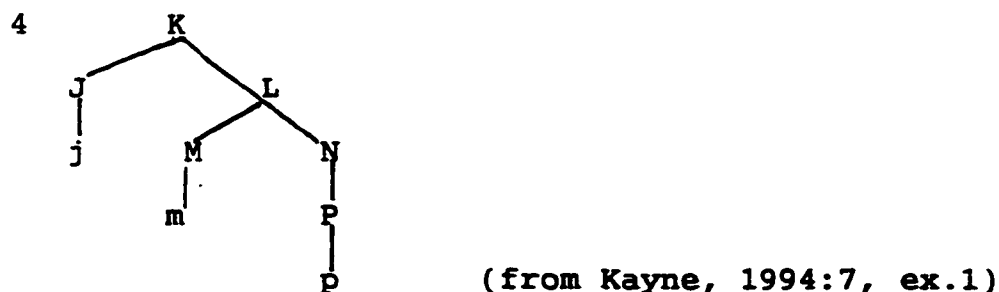
In what follows I will discuss the way properties (1)-(5) can be deduced from LCA.

1. The impossibility for a phrase to have more than one head

Property (2) must not be stipulated, since it follows from LCA. Consider the phrase markers in (3) and (4) below:



In (3) the set A of pairs of non-terminals such that the first asymmetrically c-commands the second contains $\{ \langle J, M \rangle, \langle J, P \rangle \}$. The two non-terminal nodes M and P c-command each other, hence the terminal symbols in their extension, e.g. m and p, respectively may occur in both orders $\langle m, p \rangle$ and $\langle p, m \rangle$. Consequently, $d(A)$ contains the linearly ordered pairs $\{ \langle j, m \rangle, \langle j, p \rangle \}$, while the sequence of symbols m, p is unordered. Since LCA disallows linearly unordered strings, the sub-tree under root L in (3) is an instance of structure that violates LCA and hence excluded by UG. Compare the phrase marker in (3) with the phrase marker in (4).



In (4) the set A of pairs of non-terminals so that the first

asymmetrically c-commands the second contains the following pairs: $\{\langle J, M \rangle, \langle J, P \rangle, \langle M, P \rangle\}$. Consequently, $d(A)$ contains the ordered pairs of terminals $\{\langle j, m \rangle, \langle j, p \rangle, \langle m, p \rangle\}$. These three ordered pairs constitute a linear ordering of the set $\{j, m, p\}$, hence the syntactic structure of (4) obeys LCA.

Kayne (1994:11) defines a head as "a non-terminal that dominates no other non-terminal. "A non-terminal that dominates at least one other non-terminal will be a non-head." These two definitions allow us to reinterpret the well-formedness of phrase marker (4) above in the following way: "if two non-terminals are sisters and one of them is a head and the other a non-head, the phrase marker is admissible", i.e. phrase marker (4). Phrase marker (3) is inadmissible because it contains two non-terminals which are both heads, e.g. M and P. Antisymmetry is violated in phrase marker (3), i.e. (3) fails to be a linear ordering of its terminals. From this argument the structural property of X-Bar Theory concerning the impossibility of a phrase to have more than one head is derived: "a phrase with two heads would look like $[[M P]L$ in (3). LCA excludes the structure." (Kayne, 1994:8).

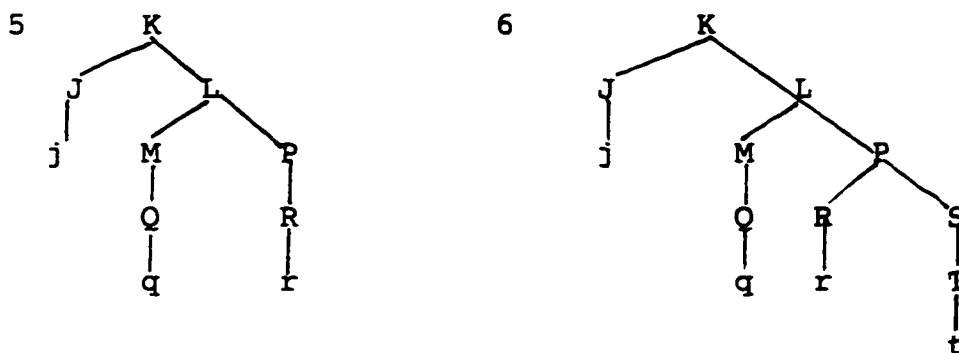
2. A Complement Cannot be a Bare Head

The requirement that a complement not be a bare head is also derived from LCA. A structure having a head whose complement is also a head would be $[M P]_i$ in (3). The configuration is ruled out since it violates antisymmetry. The nodes M and P c-

command each other and are heads by the definition above, i.e. they do not dominate other non-terminals. The terminal string in their extension allows both orderings $\langle m, p \rangle$ and $\langle p, m \rangle$.

3. Every Phrase Has a Head

Syntactic property (1) namely, every phrase should have a head is derived from LCA by the following type of deductive reasoning. Consider phrase markers (5) and (6) below:



(from Kayne, 1994:10-11, ex 6 and ex 7)

In (5) the asymmetric c-command set A contains the following ordered pairs: $\{\langle J, M \rangle, \langle J, Q \rangle, \langle J, P \rangle, \langle J, R \rangle, \langle M, R \rangle, \langle P, Q \rangle\}$. The corresponding $d(A)$ is $\{\langle j, q \rangle, \langle j, r \rangle, \langle q, r \rangle, \langle r, q \rangle, \langle q, r \rangle\}$. Notice that $\langle q, r \rangle$ is in $d(A)$ since $\langle q, r \rangle = d \langle M, R \rangle$; the pair $\langle r, q \rangle$ is also in $d(A)$ since $\langle r, q \rangle = d \langle P, Q \rangle$. Hence LCA excludes (5) on grounds of failure to lead to a linear ordering of all its terminals, e.g. $\{j, q, r\}$. Remark that M and P are sisters and both are non-heads.

Consider (6), more precisely the sub-phrase marker whose root is L . In spite of the added complexity to node P , the nodes M and P remain sister nodes and both are non-terminals. The set

A is formed of the following ordered pairs in which the first asymmetrically c-commands the other: {<M,R>, <M,S>, <M,T>, <R,T>, <P,Q>}. The addition of S and T has not resulted in a well-formed structure. Both <M,R> and <P,Q> are part of A hence both <q,r> and <r,q> exist. "The reason that a phrasal node cannot dominate two maximal projections (and nothing else) is that if it did, there would be a failure of antisymmetry" as discussed for (5) and (6)²³.

LCA prohibits two non-head sisters since they lead to a failure of antisymmetry. From this prohibition imposed by LCA, Kayne derives the necessity that a phrase must be headed. If two non-terminals are sisters and if one of them is a head and the other a non-head, the phrase marker is admissible. If two non-terminals are sisters and both of them are heads, the phrase marker is equally inadmissible.

All failures of asymmetry are cases of absence of linear ordering in the sense of linear precedence. In any phrase marker, the antisymmetry requirement accounts for the fact that (a) the head (H) of a phrase asymmetrically c-commands the subparts of its complement (C); therefore heads always precede complements. (b) Specifiers (S) are adjoined to [H C], and asymmetrically c-command both H and C.

4. The Limitation to One Specifier per Phrase

For Kayne (1994), specifiers are adjuncts; hence Head-

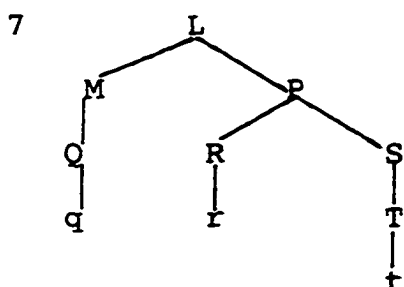
²³ see Kayne, 1994:11.

Complement structures are XPs, i.e. they can be extended exactly once. Chapter 3 of Kayne's (1994) monograph discusses the two defining properties of specifiers which follow from LCA:

- (i) specifiers are adjunction phrases;
- (ii) the limitation of one specifier per phrase.

i. Specifiers are adjoined phrases and asymmetrically c-command both H and C, otherwise a specifier and its sister phrase would be an instance of symmetric structure.

Consider the sub-structure L in (6) above repeated for convenience in (7) below:



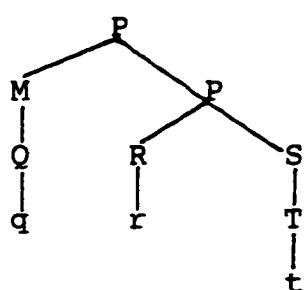
The reasoning is as follows: "The problem arose with respect to both r and t in their relation to q. Let us look just at r. Since M asymmetrically c-commands R, i.e. A contains $\langle M, R \rangle$, it follows that $\bar{d}(A)$ contains $\langle q, r \rangle$. But $\bar{d}(A)$ also contains $\langle r, q \rangle$ by virtue of P asymmetrically c-commanding Q. As a result, $\bar{d}(A)$ violates antisymmetry; that is, it fails to be a linear ordering of the terminals." (Kayne, 1994:15-6)

In order to make (7) compatible to LCA Kayne adopts the distinction between segment and category²⁴ and restricts c-

²⁴ The distinction was introduced by May (1985) and adopted by Chomsky (1986a). (Kayne, 1994:15)

command to category dominance, rather than segment dominance:
 "X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y
 and every category that dominates X dominates Y." (Kayne,
 1994:16, (3)) In light of this restriction, (7) gets repre-
 sented as (8), i.e. L is replaced by P to indicate that it is
 not a full category, but a segment, i.e. an adjunction
 structure.

8



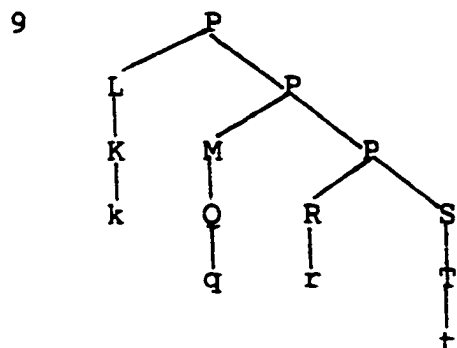
(from Kayne, 1994:16, ex.4)

Since the lower P is a segment, not a category, the lower P
 does not asymmetrically c-command Q; therefore, $\langle r, q \rangle$ does not
 belong to $d(A)$; hence (8) yields a total ordering of its ter-
 minal symbols. $d(A)$ contains $\{\langle q, r \rangle, \langle q, t \rangle, \langle r, t \rangle\}$ which is
 the linear ordering of the set of terminals $\{q, r, t\}$. The set
 A associated to (8) contains the set of ordered pairs of non-
 terminal nodes $\{\langle M, R \rangle, \langle M, S \rangle, \langle M, T \rangle, \langle R, T \rangle\}$. The ordered pair
 $\langle P, Q \rangle$ is not part of A because the lower P is a segment not a
 category and c-command is a relation restricted to categories.
 Kayne suggests that "the segment/category distinction is
 forced upon UG by the need to permit specifiers and adjoined
 phrases." (Kayne, 1994:16)

b. A phrase has one specifier

The limitation that a given phrase has one adjoined phrase

follows from LCA directly. The demonstration is as follows: consider the multiple adjunction structure in (9) below²⁵:



In (9), "the nonhead M has been adjoined to the nonhead P, and the nonhead L has been further adjoined to the two-segment category P that was the output of the first adjunction." In (9), the non-terminal node L asymmetrically c-commands Q and at the same time the nonterminal node M asymmetrically c-commands K. "Thus, $\langle L, Q \rangle$ and $\langle M, K \rangle$ are both in the set A, so that $\langle k, q \rangle$ and $\langle q, k \rangle$ are both in $d(A)$, with a consequent violation of antisymmetry"²⁶, i.e. there is a failure of linear ordering with respect to the terminal nodes k and q.

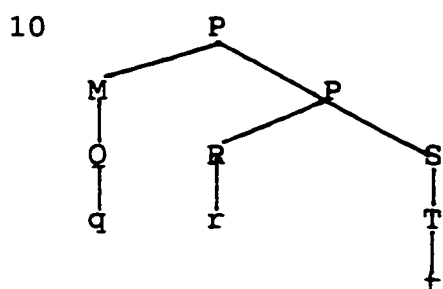
The phrase structure in (9) contains two adjoined non-head phrases, L and M respectively, and it violates LCA; consequently, the adjunction of more than one non-head to a given nonhead is impossible. Since in this theory specifiers are a case of adjunction, we derive the fact (stated in X-bar theory) that a given phrase can have only one specifier." (Kayne, 1994:22)

²⁵ Structure (8) is structure (13) in Kayne, 1994:22.

²⁶ Kayne, 1994:22.

2.2.2 Universal Word Order :Specifier-Head-Complement

Kayne (1994) suggests a re-evaluation of Greenberg's (1966) word order universals from his own LCA-based syntax. Notice that LCA imposes an inflexible structure for phrases, i.e. in any phrase marker, the specifier and complement are on opposite sides of the head. Kayne's demonstration of this strict ordering is simple. Consider phrase marker (10) below²⁷:



" Since M asymmetrically c-commands R (the head) - that is, A contains $\langle M, R \rangle$ - it follows that $d(A)$ contains $\langle q, r \rangle$. Similarly, since R asymmetrically c-commands T, $d(A)$ contains $\langle r, t \rangle$. It therefore follows that with respect to the ordering of terminals, q and t are necessarily on opposite sides of the head r²⁸." (Kayne, 1994:34)

The conclusion that the specifier and the complement must be on opposite sides of the head, leads to two possible arrangements:

- a. S-H-C
- b. C-H-S

²⁷ It is phrase marker (3) in Kayne, 1994:34.

²⁸ Kayne shows that this conclusion stays unchanged no matter whether M and/or S are a more complex phrases (see Kayne, 1994:34 phrase marker (4)).

At the level of the ontology of grammar the order is S-H-C rather than the reverse turns out to be the case. The explanation rests on incorporating the epistemic notion of linear precedence into the ontology of UG.

The needed machinery is as follows: postulate an abstract node A for every phrase marker, with the property that A asymmetrically c-commands every other node. The abstract node A is adjoined to the root node. A should be taken to dominate a terminal element: two possible candidates exist: (i) either an abstract terminal a that has the property of preceding all the other terminals, i.e. an abstract beginning terminal, or (ii) an abstract terminal z that follows all the other terminals. Kayne's (1994:37) demonstration is that the abstract node for asymmetric c-command should be mapped by δ into the abstract beginning terminal a. Here is the demonstration:

Assume that : (i) the string of terminals is associated with a string of time slots;

(ii) what is paired with each time slot is the substring of terminals produced up to that time, i.e. a string of terminals abcdz (with a and z abstract) is mapped into a set of substrings {a, ab, abc, abcd, abcdz}.

It is evident that a precedes every terminal in every string. "If the abstract root node for asymmetric c-command needs to be mapped by δ to a corresponding abstract "root node" for terminals, and if that root node for terminals must be in some

fixed relation to every terminal in every substring, then that abstract terminal must be a and the fixed relation must be precedes."²⁹

The deductive reasoning for the interpretation of $\langle x, y \rangle$ as "x precedes y" is given in the following derivation:

Show : $\langle x, y \rangle$ is interpreted as "x precedes y".

Premise : (i) $d(A)$ for the abstract node A is a.

(ii) $\langle x, y \rangle$ is in $d(A)$.

By hypothesis the abstract node A asymmetrically c-commands Y, for all Y, so that $\langle A, Y \rangle$ is in A, for any phrase marker containing Y.

Since $d(A) = a$, the ordered pair $\langle a, y \rangle$ is in $d(A)$, for all y dominated by Y.

Assume : $\langle x, y \rangle$ is "x follows y", i.e. "a follows y". a is the beginning terminal.

We have a contradiction.

Hence, $\langle x, y \rangle$ must be "x precedes y".

Kayne emphasizes the fact that the interpretation of $\langle x, y \rangle$ as "x precedes y" is ultimately to be understood as capturing notion of "the asymmetry of time"³⁰.

In effect, the fact that UG provides S-H-C order (rather than the reverse) derives from the hypothesis that "what is paired

²⁹ see Kayne, 1994:37.

³⁰ "The S-H-C property of UG... is to be ultimately related to the asymmetry of time." (Kayne, 1994: 38)

with each time slot is not simply the corresponding terminal, but the substring produced up to that time", i.e. that this is the correct way of representing the relation between terminals and time slots.

Kayne argues that "a rapid look at (a small subset of) the world's (presently existing) languages reveals that of the two orders, the S-H-C is a significantly more plausible universal than the C-H-S. Considerations of the relative order of head and complement alone is not sufficient to yield any firm conclusion, since both head-complement and complement head orders are widely attested. On the other hand, the relative order of specifier and head is much more visibly asymmetric, in the following sense: although there may be some categories for which both orders are widespread, there are other categories where specifier-head order strongly predominates. (I know of no categories for which head-specifier is the cross-linguistically predominant order.)"³¹ Kayne discusses CPs as a category whose specifier is visibly initial to an overwhelming degree. Likewise, SPEC, IP is also predominantly initial in its phrase. This is a fact in both SVO and SOV languages, and almost true for VSO languages³². "According to Greenberg (1966:76), the other types, OVS³³, OSV³⁴ and VOS, are

³¹ see Kayne, 1994:35.

³² If we assume that the VSO languages are derived from an SVO basic order and leftward movement of V past the subject phrase.

³³ From this perspective OSV would involve movement of the O past the S to the specifier position of a higher head.

"excessively rare.""

The conclusion is that specifier-head-complement is the only order available to the subcomponents of a phrase.

2.3 Movement is Leftwards

The assumption that UG imposes S-H-C order and the assumption that movement of a phrase is upward to a c-commanding position, i.e. leftward, leads to the position that all word order variation is the result of different combinations of leftward movements; "we must think of word order variation in terms of different combinations of movements. Note first that from the present perspective, any movement of a phrase upward to a c-commanding position must be leftward. This is so, for the simple reason that asymmetric c-command implies precedence." (Kayne, 1994:47)

The fact that UG has inflexible S-H-C order and all word order variation is the result of different combinations of leftward movement, leads to an UG without the Directionality Parameter. "Languages (or subparts of languages) in which some complement precedes the associated head must necessarily have moved the complement leftward past the head into some specifier position." (Kayne, 1994: 47). This is clearly a "parsimonious" view of UG.

³⁴ OVS and VOS do not have S in a final specifier position, but have instead either OV or VO moving as a unit leftward past S, or else V and O moving each separately leftward past S, with the expectation that such languages should show OV SX and V OS X orders. (see Kayne, 1994:36)

2.4 Functional Heads Theory

The assumption that phrases move out of their base position at some point in the derivation is implemented by assuming the functional heads theory, i.e. functional heads provide landing sites for the moved phrases. "Spec-head configurations are used for licensing for a principled reason: there is no other possibility. Given that double adjunction to the same projection is prohibited, there must, for every moved phrase, be a distinct head to whose projection it can adjoin as a specifier."³⁵

It is important to notice that Spec-head licensing can be broken into two parts:

- (i) every maximal projection that is not the complement of some head must be the specifier of some head, i.e. no other adjunction sites are available;
- (ii) the second aspect of Spec-head licensing involves the problem of matching or agreement between the phrase in specifier position and the head.

The second aspect of the specifier-head relation forms the major topic of investigation in this Thesis. Kayne (1994:30) assumed that certain heads, such as Tense or Aspect, are intrinsically contentful and phrases become specifiers of contentful heads. In addition, for Kayne, there are functional

³⁵ see Kayne, 1994:30.

heads without intrinsic content, such as AGR³⁶.

My Thesis will argue against the "content-less" view of AGR. It will turn out that AGR, like Tense or Aspect, is a contentful head with phrases that move to its specifier position. Chapter 3 is devoted to this demonstration.

³⁶ "AGR⁰ is properly thought of as a label for head positions imposed upon phrase markers by the paucity of available adjunction sites, with the paucity following from the present theory." (Kayne, 1994:30)

Chapter 2

SUBJECT VERB AGREEMENT

Overview

The discussion centers on the relation between verb movement to the highest functional head in the clausal architecture, i.e. AGR^0 , and subject-verb agreement phenomena in finite sentences whose subject phrase has a complex syntactic structure.

In many languages belonging to different groups, e.g. Czech, Palestinian Arabic, Modern Hebrew, Belfast English, English, Palaulan, etc., number (and person) agreement is "sensitive to whether or not the verb asymmetrically c-commands the subject DP"¹. A verb can asymmetrically c-command the subject if it moves to a head position above the subject. This chapter discusses subject-verb agreement in the VSX and SVX orders. Three types of subject phrases are analyzed: (i) partitive phrases, (ii) possessive phrases and (iii) coordinate noun phrases. Agreement options in number (SG or PL) and in person {1,2,3} between the finite verb in the AGR^0 head and the subject depend on the syntactic configuration of the subject phrase itself. The agreement facts are settled by the noun phrase which ends up in the highest SPEC position in the architecture of the complex subject noun phrase irrespective of whether that position corresponds to its basic position or

¹ see Kayne, 1994:51.

whether it is a derived position.

The defining geometrical relation for subject-verb agreement phenomena is asymmetric c-command.

Section 1

AGREEMENT WITH SUBJECT PARTITIVE PHRASES

Overview

Partitive phrases are known to combine an indefinite "upstairs" with a definite "downstairs"²; this gives them a somewhat dual character in terms of definiteness. I will show that the partitive phrases have an (i) indefinite and a (ii) definite interpretation. The two interpretations are matched by different contextual properties, i.e. as subjects of sentences partitive phrases have different agreement possibilities with the finite verb. The generalization that emerges is that agreement with the verb is determined either by the matrix indefinite NP when it is interpreted as an existential with wide scope, or by the embedded definite PL NP. There are two basic types of subject-verb agreement possibilities: (1) partitive phrases with a SG, indefinite matrix NP and a definite, PL embedded NP³ as subjects of finite sentences

² See Hoeksema, 1996:12.

³ The discussion shows that Bare Plurals are sometimes interpreted as: (i) definite embedded NPs and then they are part of class (1), or (ii) indefinite embedded NPs and then they are part of class (2) of partitive phrases.

agree in PL number with the verb; (2) there exists a class of partitive phrases that has an indefinite SG matrix NP restricted by explicit linguistic material (adjectives, focus particle or focus stress) and a definite PL embedded NP; as subjects of finite sentences these phrases agree in number with either a SG,3 or PL,3 verb. Indirectly, this section is concerned with the syntactic representation of partitive phrases. Kayne (1994) takes up a suggestion of Juan Uriagereka's that partitive phrases have parallel syntactic representation with possessive phrases. I adopt the suggested parallelism and explore its syntactic implications in sections 1 and 2 below. Chapter 4 of the Thesis will show four different fallacies of such an approach and will suggest a different solution for partitive phrases.

1 Two General Assumptions

1.1 The "Part-Of" Relation

Hoeksema (1996) in his introductory study to a book on Partitives⁴ remarks that the syntactic expression of the "part-of" relations takes a number of different forms.

i. Languages may have overt partitive phrases. For instance, in English, the overt partitive construction takes the form of a frame det. (one) of det. + common noun, e.g. "some of the senators", "none of us", "many of his friends", "not too many of these problems", "every single one of a number of proposals" (Hoeksema, 1996:2).

⁴ ed. Jacob Hoeksema (1996) Partitives, Mouton de Gruyter.

I will adopt the currently accepted terms of matrix NP⁵ to designate det, in the frame above and the term embedded NP to designate the det, + common noun. The restriction that the embedded NP must be definite⁶ has been formulated as the Partitive Constraint⁷ (Jackendoff, 1977, Selkirk, 1977, Keenan and Stavi, 1986, etc).

ii. Often "the part-of" relation is not formally expressed, but understood, as in many compounds:

1. chicken-feet, church-door, mountain-top, bike-steer,
committee-chair, etc.

iii. In other cases, "the part-of" relation is involved in the ambiguities of indefinites, i.e. the difference between

⁵ The variation in descriptive terms, i.e. NP under one description and "det" under another description, is superficial. Semanticians have shown that "quantifying expressions of natural language are typically full NPs, where the noun (CN) and possibly additional relative clauses provide essential restrictions on a quantifier. Not just the determiner or specifier of an NP binds dependent arguments or pronouns, but from a semantic point of view the appropriate scope-defining and binding category is the entire NP" Partee et al. eds (1990:373).

⁶ From a discourse perspective, it has been argued that "the embedded NP and the matrix NP have different discourse functions: the embedded NP must access a discourse group and the matrix NP must evoke a subgroup of that discourse group." (Reed, 1996:149).

⁷ The Partitive Constraint formulated by Jackendoff (1977) stated:

In an of-N''' construction interpreted as a partitive, the N''' must have a demonstrative or a genitive specifier.

In other words, the syntactic expression of the Partitive Constraint would be the presence in the second determiner phrase of the definite article, or a demonstrative or a genitive noun phrase. Bare plurals may occur in some of the partitive phrases that we will discuss; the occurrence of bare plurals in partitive phrases is not surprising given their meaning characteristics as Wilkinson (1996) notes.

stressed and unstressed some (from Hoeksema, 1996:2 quoting Milsark, 1977):

2.a. Some senators were acting strange. (There is a set of strange-acting senators)

b. SOME senators were acting strange. (Part of the senators is acting strange)

The stressed reading of indefinites⁹ is often formally expressed by either a partitive construction or by partitive Case in languages which have partitive case, e.g. Turkish or Finnish.

In Romanian, the "part-of" relation is expressed by the prepositions dintre (from among), din (from, of), de (of). The important linguistic fact is that these different prepositions c-select embedded NPs with different syntactic properties. Dintre (from among) c-selects definite PL embedded NPs, while de (of) c-selects stuff denoting (mass) nouns or bare plurals (with indefinite interpretation). The differences in c-selection will account for some of the syntactic properties of partitive phrases.

1.2 Kayne (1994) on the Structure of Partitives

In footnote 53, Kayne (1994) acknowledges Juan Uriagereka's suggestion that partitive phrases like (a) part of the guests

⁹ It is important to notice that stress on the indefinite determiner has the same effect in Romanian as it has in English, i.e. it induces a "part-of" reading as the example under (i) indicates:

i. UNII copii au plecat.

SOME children have left

(i) may only be interpreted as "a part of the children".

may be syntactically analogous to English possessives like a car of John's or the French possessive la voiture de Jean. Kayne (1994) analyzes possessives like la voiture de Jean / a car of John's (i) as containing an IP that expresses a possessive relation, with the possessor DP in SPEC, IP and the possessed NP in predication position inside IP; (ii) de Jean t and of John's t are not adjoined to voiture/a car; instead they are phrases headed by de/of; de/of is a functional head representing "a prepositional determiner comparable to a prepositional complementizer"⁹ the notation being D/P⁰. (iii) the predication NP voiture/ a car is fronted to SPEC, D/P⁰ as shown in (3)-(4):

3. $la_{[D/PP[NP \text{ voiture}_i]]} [de_{[IP \text{ Jean}[I^0 [e_i]]} \dots$

4. $D^0_{[D/PP[NP \text{ a car}_i]]} [of_{[IP \text{ John} ['s [e_i]]} \dots$

Movement of the predication NP voiture/a car to SPEC, D/P⁰ takes place across the A-position subject DP. Since D/P⁰ has C⁰ properties, its SPEC is a position with A-bar properties (an operator position), hence such movement is licit; the trace left by the movement must be interpreted as a variable. (iv) The D⁰ does not form a constituent with the head of the noun phrase voiture; la has as its complement the entire phrase voiture, de Jean t, i.e. the D/PP is sister constituent to D⁰. In other words, Kayne (1994) suggests that above the possessive IP, there are two functional heads, D/P⁰ and D⁰, which c-command the IP and have C⁰ syntactic properties; their

⁹ from Kayne, 1994:102.

SPECs have A-bar properties, e.g. SPEC, D/P⁰ is occupied by phrases that have focus. Kayne (1994:105) suggests that his analysis can be extended to instances in which the IP contains a subject DP and a predicative NP with the NP fronted as in (5) below:

5. cet imbecile de Jean

that imbecile of Jean

6. cet_[D/PP][_{NP}imbecile_i][de_[I⁰]Jean_[I⁰] [_{e_i}]...

Moreover, both (3) and (4) can be extended to partitive phrases like a part of the students, i.e. the embedded noun phrase the students is the DP subject of the lower IP, i.e. SPEC, IP position; the matrix NP, a part is of syntactic category XP¹⁰; it starts in predication position inside IP and is moved in the overt syntax to SPEC, D/PP, i.e. an A-bar position. The trace left behind by the movement is a variable.

This section adopts Uriagereka's suggestion about the syntactic parallelism between the structure of partitive and possessive phrases which Kayne (1994) takes up. A full understanding of the syntactic reasoning behind the structure of the partitive phrases will emerge at the end of section 2. The analysis shows that Kayne's (1994) solution needs to be modified: the Romanian DP contains IP recursion, i.e. D/P⁰ is

¹⁰ Kayne (1994:86) explicitly states that "I assume numerals like **two**, quantifiers like **every**, **many**, **some**, **any**, and also the article **a(n)** to be generable within the NP/QP". See also Szabolcsi, 1994.

a head with AGR^0 properties rather than C^0 properties; hence, SPEC, D/P^0 is a position with A-properties (for details see section 4.4.5 below). In my analysis, there will be some cases which indicate that SPEC, D^0 has A-bar properties and A-position properties as well.

1.3 Three Syntactic Strategies

In order to pursue the question of what is an adequate structure for partitive phrases three simultaneous syntactic strategies are being used:

(i) one strategy is to look at the syntactic typology of phrases that occur in the matrix NP of partitive phrases, i.e. indefinites, existential indefinites that are restricted by explicit linguistic material (focus particle, restrictive adjective), etc.

(ii) the other strategy is to look at the typology of partitive prepositions and the embedded noun phrases that these prepositions c-select¹¹. Romanian uses the prepositions dintre (from among), din (from among, of), de ("of" is only a partially adequate gloss), a ("of" used in distributive measure phrases). These different prepositions are functional heads that span a range of syntactic properties from C^0 -to- I^0 -to- V^0 . This is superficially unlike English, which uses only the preposition of to indicate "part-whole" relationships; but

¹¹ The idea that prepositions may have different syntactic properties, i.e. be syntactically non-homogeneous, has been hinted at by Kayne (1993) in his CUNY lectures. I am pursuing his idea.

English of has different syntactic properties as well (Kayne, p.c.).

(iii) Orthogonal to these two classificatory strategies are the agreement properties of subject partitive phrases and the verb, and of subject partitive phrases and predicative adjectives. The agreement in number/person between the subject and the verb (or the agreement in number/gender between the subject and the predicative adjective) will be regarded as the third type of information that provides an insight into the architecture of the partitive phrases themselves.

2 Partitive Phrases in Romanian

2.1 Indefinite and Partitive Determiners in the Matrix NP Overview

Partitive phrases like fiecare dintre student-i-i blonz-i (each of the blond students) are complex phrases of category DP headed by indefinite D^0 (phonetically unrealized) which takes a D/PP complement. The D/PP structure headed by "dintre" (from among) contains an IP complement. Dintre is a prepositional complementizer, D/P^0 , parallel to French de. Within the IP, the definite PL DP student-i-i blonz-i (the blond students) occupies SPEC, IP and the indefinite XP fiecare (each) occupies the complement position of the I^0 head. The predication XP is raised to SPEC, D/P^0 which is an operator position (A-bar position). The trace left behind by this A-bar movement is a variable. This syntactic configuration accounts

for SG number, 3 person agreement with the finite verb, i.e. agreement with the matrix NP fiecare. PL number agreement and {1,2,3} person agreement with the finite verb will be agreement with the embedded PL NP which starts in SPEC, IP and moves covertly to SPEC, D⁰, i.e. LF movement to an A-bar position¹².

The Indefinites and Partitives occur with the partitive preposition dintre (from among); dintre (from among) c-selects PL, definite NPs¹³.

2.1.1 The Data

The Indefinites (cîțiva (some), mulți (many), puțini (few), unii (some)) come in pairs for the masculine-feminine gender in Romanian as shown in (7):

7	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
	cîțiva	citeva (several, some)
	mulți	multe (many)
	puțini	puține (few)
	un-i-i	un-e-le (some)
	(one-M, PL-the) (one-F, PL-the)	

As the gloss indicates the morphological structure of Romanian un-i-i, un-e-le is complex: the root is the cardinal numeral unu¹⁴ (one) + the PL inflection (M or F) + the definite ar-

¹² For an alternative analysis see Chapter 4.

¹³ Definite, plural embedded NPs are the syntactician's DP.

¹⁴ The cardinal numeral unu (one) has given rise to the indefinite singular masculine determiner un (English "a" + Masculine). This morphological fact is totally unexceptional given

ticle (M or F) which is enclitic in Romanian.

The Partitive fiecare (Romanian has one linguistic expression for the English pair each-every) is invariant w.r.t. gender, i.e. fiecare băiat (each/every boy) and fiecare fată (each/every girl).

The indefinites listed under (7) and the partitive fiecare occur as matrix noun phrases in partitive constructions with the preposition din(tre)¹⁵ (from among) which c-selects definite, PL embedded noun phrases.

In Romanian, there are three different syntactic types of noun phrases that can be considered definite plural embedded NPs:

(a) definite NPs, whereby definiteness is rendered by a demonstrative determiner, a possessive determiner, the definite article (enclitic position in Romanian) + a restrictive

the frequency in most Indo-European languages of the relation between the cardinal numeral for one and the indefinite article.

¹⁵ The Indefinites and Partitives build also phrases with de and a in case the embedded noun phrase is of the form optzeci de kilograme (eighty de killograms) as (1) and (2) indicate:

1. Fiecare de optzeci de kilograme
each of eighty de kilograms

2. Fiecare a optzeci de kilograme
each of eighty de kilograms

The de and a phrases in (1) and (2) allow the measure phrase to precede the Indefinite or Partitive determiner as (3) and (4) show:

3. De optzeci de kilograme fiecare
of 80 de kilograms each

4. A optzeci de kilograme fiecare
of 80 de kilograms each

I believe that the syntactic structure of the phrases in (1) and (2) is more complex in view of 5:

5. Fiecare de (cîte) optzeci de kilograme
each a
each of (distributive Q) 80 de kilograms

adjective¹⁶;

(b) a tonic plural personal pronoun;

(c) bare PL noun phrases (with a definite interpretation).

Embedded Plural Definite DP

8.a. Cîteiva dintre student-*i-i* no-*i* au sosit.

several from student-PL,M,the new-M,PL have-3PL arrived

"Several of the new students have arrived"

b. Un-*i-i* dintre prieten-*i-i* tãii sunt aici.

one-PL,M-the from friend-PL,M-the your are here

"Some of your friends are here"

Full Plural Personal Pronoun

9.a. Puțini dintre noi a-m / a-u citit romanu-l.

few from we have-PL1/ have-PL,3 read novel-the

"Few of us have read the novel"

b. Un-e-le dintre voi înota-ți /înota-u

one-PL-F,the from you swim-Pres,PL2 / PL,3

"Some of you swim"

Bare Plural DP

10. Puțini dintre student-*i* fac sport.

few from student-M,PL do sports

¹⁶ The presence of a restrictive adjective seems obligatory with noun phrases that have the enclitic definite article, suggesting that the "strength" of the definiteness contained by the Romanian article is weaker than that of its English counterpart; thus (a) is ungrammatical in Romanian, unlike its English counterpart in (b). Only (c) is acceptable in Romanian:

a. *fiecare dintre student-*i-i*
each from student-PL,M-the

b. each of the students

c. fiecare dintre student-*i-i* blonz-*i*
each from student-PL,M-the blond-PL,M

"Few of the students do sports"

The Partitive fiecare (each-every) is partially parallel to the Indefinites in the sense that it occurs as matrix noun phrase in partitive phrases whose embedded noun phrase is either a definite plural NP or a tonic plural personal pronoun or a bare plural NP; consider the illustrative example in (11) below:

- 11.a. Fiecare dintre copi-i-i tăi (PL definite embedded DP)
 each from child-M,PL-the your
- b. Fiecare dintre noi (PL personal pronoun as embedded DP)
 each from us
- c. Fiecare dintre student,-i (Bare Plural embedded DP)
 each from student-M,PL

2.1.2 The Agreement Facts

In subject position partitive phrases formed with the Indefinites (cîțiva (some), mulți (many), puțini (few), unii (some)) show the following agreement possibilities with the verb. Consider the examples in (12) below:

- 12.a. Unii dintre noi {vom (will-PL1) pleca
 one-PL-the from us {vor (will-PL3¹⁷) leave
 {*veți (will-PL2)
- "Some of us will leave"
- b. Mulți dintre voi {veți (will-PL2) pleca.
 many from you,PL {vor (will-PL3) leave
 {*vom (will-PL1)

¹⁷ vor could be also will-PL2&3.

"Many of you will leave"

In (12.a) the verb may show either PL number, 1 Person or PL number, 3 person agreement; in (12.b) the verb shows PL, 2 Person or PL number, 3 Person agreement.

Now consider (13) which contains the Partitive fiecare (each); the verb may show either SG number, 3 Person agreement or PL number, 1 Person agreement:

13. Fiecare dintre noi {vo-m (will-PL1) pleca
 each from us {va (will-SG3) leave
 {*vor (will-PL3)
 {*ve-ti (will-PL2)

"Each of us will leave"

The question is what makes it possible that the verb agrees either in SG or PL number, and either 3 or 1 person. There are two possible candidates for an answer.

(I) One answer would be that the information is coded as part of the lexicon information of the Partitive or the Indefinites themselves. This explanation is tempting in view of the fact that all the Indefinites and Partitives allow SG/PL number agreement and {1,2,3} person agreement with the verb as shown in (14) below:

14.a. Fiecare {va ști ce {are de făcut.
 each (will-SG3) know what has-SG3 Supine do.
 {vo-m {ave-m
 (will-PL1) have-PL1
 {ve-ti {ave-ti

(will-PL2)	have-PL2
{vor	{a-u
(will-PL3)	have-PL3

"Each knew what he¹⁸ had to do"

- b. Unii {citi-ră-m ziarele.
 some (read-PL-1) newspapers
 {citi-ră-ți
 (read-PL-2)
 {citi-ră
 (read-PL-3)¹⁹

If it is fiecare (each) that checks the agreement with the verb, then the ungrammaticality of (15.c) and (15.d) is puzzling, given the agreement properties of fiecare in (14.a):

- 15.a. Fiecare dintre noi {va pleca.
 each from us will-SG3 leave.

¹⁸ It is interesting to notice the difference between English and Romanian. In English the pronoun he is anaphorically linked to the partitive each. My suggestion will be that in Romanian Person agreement marking on the verb performs the function of the pronoun in English. (See the discussion in Chapter 3).

¹⁹ All the indefinites and partitives have this property:.

- c. Putini a-m citit romanul.
 few have-PL1 read novel-the
 a-ți
 have-PL2
 a-u
 have-PL3
- d. Citiva scrie-se-ră-m scrisori.
 some (write-Pst-PL-1) letters
 scrie-se-ră-ți
 (write-Pst-PL-2)
 scrie-se-ră
 (write-Pst-PL3)

- b. {vom (will-PL,1)
- c. {*veti (will-PL-2)
- d. {*vor pleca (will-PL3)

"Each of us will(SG3 or PL1) leave"

Subject partitive phrases like fiecare dintre noi (each of us) license either SG number, 3 person agreement with the verb or PL number, 1 person agreement with the verb. PL, 2 or PL, 3 agreement is ungrammatical as the star in (15.c) and (15.d) indicates. If in (15.a) and (15.b) the agreement with the verb is being licensed by fiecare (each), then the ungrammaticality of PL, 2 and PL, 3 agreement is a mystery given the data in (14.a).

II. Assume a second possibility, i.e. that the embedded definite PL noun phrase noi (we) is the NP which licenses PL,1 agreement with the finite verb. The proposal is easy to test. Let us change noi (we, PL,1) in the embedded noun phrase with voi (you, PL,2). If it is the case that PL, 1 agreement with the verb is agreement with the embedded NP noi (us), changing the PL, 1 personal pronoun with a PL,2 person pronoun ought to bring a difference in the agreement with the verb. This is precisely the case as (16) indicates:

- 16.a. Fiecare dintre noi vo-m / va / *ve-ți pleca.
 each from us will-PL1/-SG3 /*-PL2 leave
- b. Fiecare dintre voi ve-ți / va / *vo-m pleca.
 each from you will-PL2/Sg3/*-PL1 leave

The examples in (16) with personal pronouns as embedded noun

phrases are interesting since they indicate that agreement with the finite verb can be either (1) with the embedded plural personal pronoun (and changes in person information in the personal pronoun determine changes in the person agreement with the finite verb), or (2) agreement can be with the matrix noun phrase fiecare (each). In other words, agreement with the finite verb depends on the syntactic configuration of the subject phrase.

The interesting linguistic fact is that English shows a similar type of phenomenon, i.e. SG or PL agreement²⁰ with partitives phrases built with partitive each:

17.a. Each of us is leaving tomorrow.

b. Each of us are leaving tomorrow.

Although English does not have person agreement expressed by a person exponent (see Chapter 3), the SG and PL agreement possibility with the verb suggests that the phenomenon discussed above is more general than we might think at first glance.

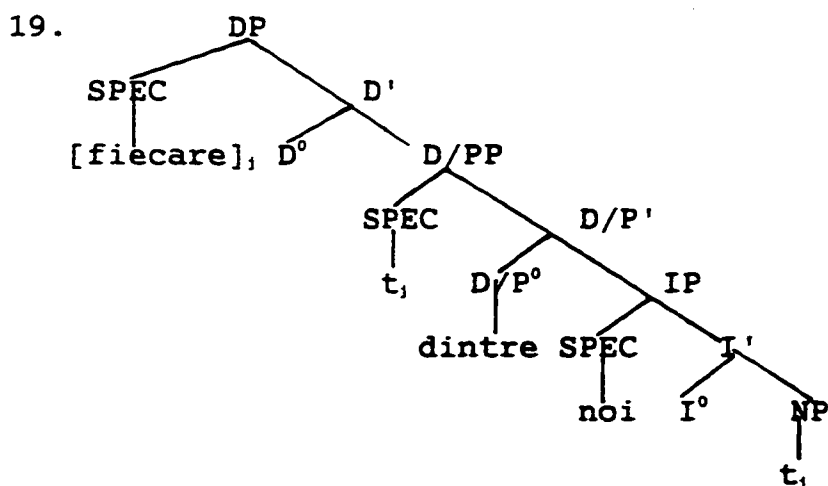
2.1.3 The Syntactic Representation

Let us assume that a partitive phrase like fiecare dintre noi (each of us) is syntactically analogous to possessives like two books of John's. This amounts to assuming that dintre (from among) takes an IP complement. Inside the IP, the definite noun phrase noi (us) is in SPEC, IP and the indefinite fiecare (each) starts inside the QP in predicational position.

²⁰ Thanks to Tim Stowell for the data.

18. $D^0[D/PP[fiecare_1]] [dintre[1, noi [I_0 [e], \dots]$

The predication QP moves in the overt syntax to SPEC, D/P^0 . A-bar movement of a QP over an A-position DP is allowed. Since SPEC, D/P^0 is an A-bar position in Kayne's (1994) analysis, the trace left by such movement is a variable (in Chapter 4 I discuss evidence for extraction of fiecare (each) from SPEC, D/PP to SPEC, D^0 and further up in the overt syntax²¹. The syntactic representation of the partitive phrase with the indefinite fiecare (each) would be as in (19):



Notice that Kayne's (1994) suggestion for the syntactic representation of the structure of partitives permits an elegant explanation of the agreement facts. In (16), SG,3 agreement with the verb will be agreement with fiecare (each) at a point in the syntactic derivation when fiecare has moved to SPEC, D^0 . Since movement of fiecare to SPEC, D^0 takes place

²¹ Section 2 discusses evidence that SPEC, D/PP is an A-position and not an A-bar position. Chapter 4 section 1 shows that fiecare (each) extracts out of SPEC, D/PP to SPEC, D in the overt syntax (see derivations 66 and 68).

in the overt syntax, subject-verb agreement takes place at a point in the syntactic derivation when the verb moves by head-movement to the AGR^0 head and fiicare (each) is in SPEC, D^0 , i.e. the highest SPEC position within the indefinite subject DP at pre-Spell-Out.

On the other hand, PL number agreement and 1 or 2 person agreement with the verb is agreement with the embedded NP, e.g. either noi (us) for PL, 1 or voi (you, PL) for PL, 2 person. I would like to suggest that this latter alternative is an instance of covert, i.e. LF movement of noi (us) to SPEC, D^0 , i.e. configurationally the agreement with the embedded definite NP noi (us) takes place at a point in the syntactic derivation when noi (us) is in the higher SPEC within the partitive phrase. This is a geometric explanation which amounts to saying that the verb of the finite sentence agrees in number and person with the NP which occupies the highest SPEC position inside the complex subject DP. Agreement in number and person with the verb is agreement either with the matrix indefinite NP fiicare (each) or with the definite plural embedded NP noi (us)/ voi (you, PL) at a point in the derivation when the respective NPs are configurationally in the highest SPEC within the subject DP, i.e. when they asymmetrically c-command the rest of the subject phrase. The structure in (19) also predicts why other types of number /person agreement are ungrammatical.

I would like to suggest that phrases like (20) in English are

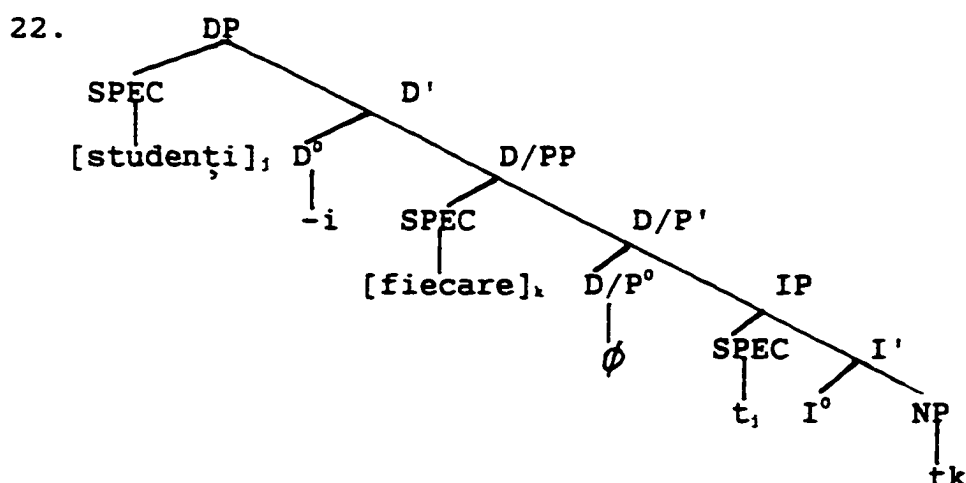
syntactically parallel to the Romanian phrase in (21) below:

20. the students each²²

21. *Studenti-i fiecare au/ *a luat un premiu.*

student-PL each have-PL/*SG taken a prize

The definite subject phrase in (21) has the syntactic representation in (22) below:



The embedded PL NP is topicalized in the overt syntax and occupies SPEC, D°; the entire subject phrase is definite; the agreement is with the PL definite NP student-i-i (the students); SG agreement with fiecare (each) is ungrammatical. Contextually a sentence like (21) is possible only in a conversation in which studentii (the students) are compared to other groups, e.g. the teachers and the sports club members, etc. It is a case when the plural definite NP is subject and contrastive topic. Notice that the structure in (22) differs

²² Chapter 4 will suggest a completely different analysis of this structure, i.e. student-i fiecare (students each) will be considered as the basic structure that exists inside the lower IP. (for details see Chapter 4).

from the structure in (23) in which the entire D/PP is focused and left dislocated; in such a case the verb agrees in SG number, i.e. agreement with fiecare (each). The D/PP constituent is moved to a position occupied by left-dislocated phrases in the clausal architecture.

23. Dintre student_i-i-i no-i, fiecare a/ *au luat un premiu.

from student-PL-the new each have-SG/*PL taken a prize

Sections 2.2-2.4 undertake an analysis of phrases with matrix NPs that are fractionals, o jumătate (a half), indefinite cardinality phrases, e.g. o parte (a part), o multime (a lot, but also a throng) and the preposition din(tre) (from among) that c-selects definite, PL embedded NPs. As subject of finite sentences, all these partitive phrases agree either in PL number, 3 person with the verb or in SG number, 3 person; SG number agreement is possible if and only if the matrix NP is restricted by linguistic material, i.e. focus particle, focus stress or restrictive adjectives. The test of agreement in number and gender with predicative adjectives is used to show that the SG /PL variation in number is due to the syntactic configuration of the subject phrase, i.e. agreement is either with the SG (existential) matrix NP or with the embedded PL NP.

2.2 Partitive Phrases with Fractionals

2.2.1 The Data

In this section I will discuss matrix NPs that are fractional expressions like un sfert (a quarter), o treime (a third), o

jumătate (a half). The fractionals occur with three different prepositions that indicate the part-of relationship:

dintre (from among), din (from) and de (of). Dintre (from among) c-selects PL, definite NPs, i.e. a definite NP²³ with the enclitic definite article + a restrictive adjective as in (24), or (ii) a bare plural as in (25), or (iii) a plural, personal pronoun as in (26):

PL, definite embedded NP:

24. o treime din(tre) student-e-le inteligent-e
 a third from student-F, PL-the intelligent-F, PL

Bare PL embedded NP:

25. o treime din(tre) student-e
 a third from student-F, PL

PL personal pronoun in the embedded NP:

26. o treime din(tre) noi
 a third from us

The preposition din (from/of) c-selects either a definite plural noun phrase as illustrated in (24) or a bare plural as in (25). In this sense, din phrases are parallel to the dintre phrases as the bracketing of din(tre) suggests. Din phrases differ from dintre phrases in allowing a singular referential noun phrase as embedded NP as illustrated in (27) below.

²³ In Romanian the definiteness of an NP cannot be rendered only by the enclitic definite article; the presence of the enclitic definite article and of a restrictive adjective is necessary.

27. Jumătate²⁴ din mătură este intactă.

half of broom is intact

"one-half of the broom is intact"

De (of) c-selects mass nouns²⁵:

28. o jumătate de măr

a half of apple

The discussion in this section will concentrate on phrases with din(tre) (from among). De (of) phrases are discussed in section 2.7 below.

2.2.2 PL,3 and SG,3 Agreement

Partitive phrases with the preposition din(tre) (from among) as subjects of finite sentences agree with a verb in PL number, 3 person as illustrated in (29):

29.a.0 treime din(tre) student_{i-i} tăi sunt angajat-i in
a third from student-PL,M-the your are engaged-M,PL in
acest proiect.

this project

b. O jumătate din(tre) student-e-le blond-e sunt

a half from student-PL,F-the blonde-F,PL are

angajat-e in aceasta lucrare.

engaged-F,PL in this work

²⁴ It is interesting to notice that the embedded singular referential noun phrase selects the Partitive jumătate (half) instead of the partitive o jumătate (a half), i.e. it selects the partitive without the indefinite feminine article o. The corresponding gloss would be "half of the broom".

²⁵ Depending on the larger context, the phrase may be used refer to one (rotten/good) half of the apple right before my eyes or it can receive a generic interpretation.

A second agreement possibility exists in case the fractional expression in the matrix NP is restricted by explicit linguistic material in the form of a restrictive adjective or focus particle (or focus stress); in such a case, agreement in number is with a SG, 3 person verb. Compare the agreement in (29) above to the agreement in (30) below:

Focus Particle or Focus Stress in the Matrix Noun Phrase:

30.a.[Doar o treime] dintre student-i este

[Only a third]F from student-PL,M is

angajat-ă in acest proiect.

engaged-F,SG in this project

b.[Doar o JUMĂTATE] din(tre) student-e este

[only a half]F from student-PL,F is

angajat-ă in aceasta lucrare.

engaged-SG,F in this work

Let us assume that SG agreement with the V indicates agreement with a SG noun phrase and that PL agreement with the V is agreement with a PL noun phrase.

According to this assumption it would follow that in (29), PL number agreement with the V is agreement with a PL noun phrase i.e. the embedded PL, +Def NP; while in (30), SG number agreement with the V is agreement with a SG noun phrase, i.e. the existential indefinite SG NP.

Such an assumption would lead to a view in which agreement in SG or PL number would be a matter of syntactic configuration. Such a conception would be important if one could test its

descriptive adequacy. There is a test for the correctness of the geometric view that is discussed in 2.2.3 below.

2.2.3 Agreement with Predicative Adjectives

In predicative position, Romanian adjectives agree in number and gender with the subject noun phrase. The number and gender agreement of the predicative adjective will be used as direct evidence as to whether the verb agrees with the matrix NP or with the embedded NP. Let us look at the data: in (29.a) the predicative adjective angajat-i (engaged-PL,M) shows PL number and M gender, i.e. it agrees in number and gender with the embedded PL, masculine, + definite NP, e.g. student-i-i (student-PL,M-the). The fact that the agreement in number and gender is with the embedded NP is further demonstrated by the example in (29.b), i.e. the predicative adjective angajat-e (engaged-PL,F) shows PL number and F gender agreement indicating that it is the PL,F embedded NP student-e-le (student-PL-F,the) that decides the agreement facts.

On the other hand, in (30.a), the predicative adjective angajat-ă (engaged-SG,F) shows SG, F agreement, i.e. it is agreement with the matrix SG existential NP, e.g. [doar o treime] (only a third-SG,F); in (30.b) the number and gender agreement shown by the predicative adjective stays like in (30.a). The agreement with the predicative adjective constitutes evidence that in (29) PL agreement with the verb is agreement with the embedded plural NP, while in (30) SG agreement with the verb is agreement with the singular matrix

NP. This result is important since we are testing the hypothesis that subject-verb agreement is a syntactic issue involving syntactic structure and syntactic configuration²⁶.

2.2.4 Syntactic Representation

At this point, it is necessary to consider the syntactic representation of the partitive phrases with fractionals; let us first consider a partitive phrase with focus stress on the matrix NP as in (31):

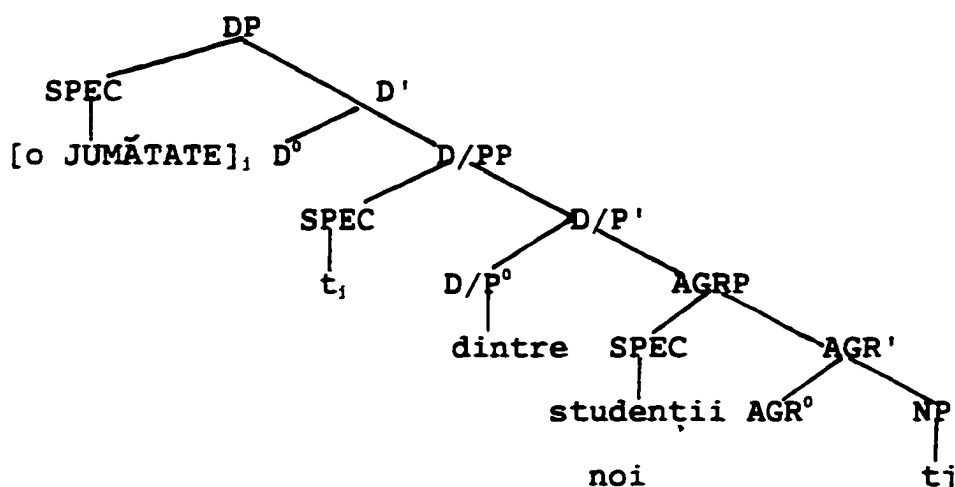
31. o JUMĂTATE dintre student_i-i-i no-i
 a HALF from student-PL,M-the new-PL,M

Let us assume that the embedded definite plural noun phrase is subject of the lower IP; the fractional o jumătate (a half) starts in predicational position inside the lower IP. The predicational NP has focus stress or may be restricted by the focus particle, i.e. it has operator characteristics. Kayne (1994:106) argues that SPEC, D/P⁰ is a position targeted by focus phrases. The movement of the predicational NP to SPEC, D/P⁰ is A-bar movement across an A-position DP; the trace must be interpreted as a variable. The movement takes place in the overt syntax; before Spell-Out, the SG (existential) NP moves to SPEC, D/P⁰ and determines SG number, 3 person agreement with the verb (agreement takes place at a point in the derivation when the V has been moved to the AGR⁰ head and the partitive subject phrase is in SPEC, AGR⁰). The syntactic

²⁶ This syntactic explanation of the agreement facts opposes itself to a lexicalist explanation.

representation of the subject phrase itself in as in (32):

32.



There is reasons to believe that the focused matrix NP targets SPEC, D⁰ in the overt syntax, i.e. it moves out of Spec, D/P⁰ to SPEC, D⁰ (see Chapter 4).

Let us now consider the possible syntactic representation of the partitive phrase with a fractional matrix expression that has no focus stress or any other linguistic material that restricts it. The agreement with the finite verb is always PL in number²⁷. Consider (33):

33. o treime dintre studenți-i-i no-i sunt inteligenți.

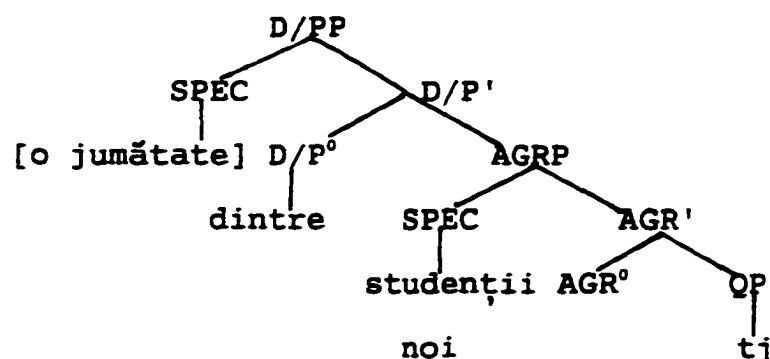
a third from student-PL,M-the new-PL,M are intelligent

Let us assume that the structure of the lower AGRP is identical to the AGRP in (32), i.e. the embedded definite PL noun phrase is subject of the lower AGRP; assume that the fractional o treime is the predication XP, i.e. it starts in

²⁷ The syntactic representation under (32) allows no clear statement of why this should be the case. Chapter 4 suggests a modification of this syntactic representation so that an explanation may be given for the obligatory nature of PL agreement.

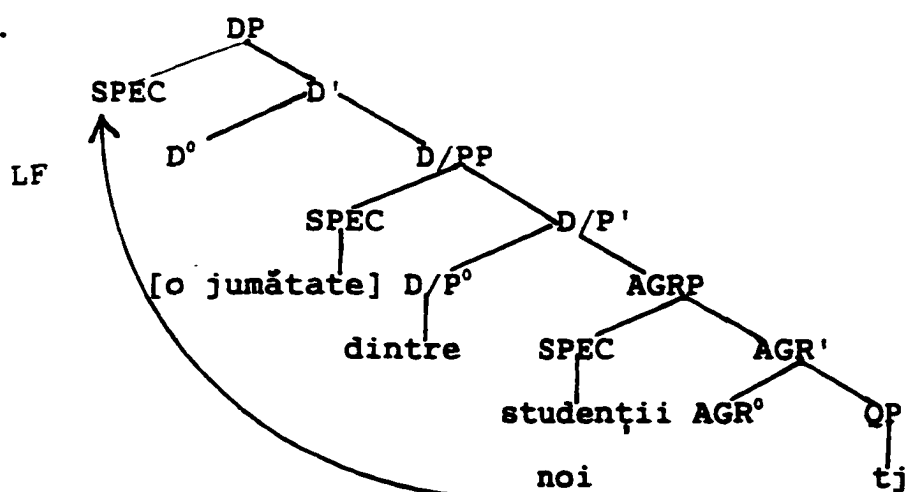
predicational position inside the lower AGRP. The preposition dintre (from among) is a functional head D/P^0 which contains the AGRP as its complement. The derivation is parallel to the derivation of partitive phrases with the indefinites in 2.1. At pre Spell-Out the syntactic derivation is as in (34.a):

34.a



At LF, there is covert movement of the embedded PL NP from SPEC, AGR^0 to SPEC, D^0 as in 34.b; hence, PL number, 3 person agreement with the verb is licensed at LF.

34.b.



One could ask if there is additional LF movement of the head Q^0 of the QP in SPEC, D/P^0 to the D^0 head, i.e. if the head of the QP in SPEC, D/P raises out of D/PP to D^0 covertly. I would

like to suggest that in minimalist terms, this ought not to be the case. Since it is the PL, definite embedded NP that determines the agreement with the verb the issue whether the entire subject phrase could be interpreted as definite is meaningful. If my syntactic suggestion is along correct lines, the LF movement of the PL definite NP to SPEC, D° would correspond to the definite interpretation of such subject phrases²⁸.

2.3 Partive Phrases with "O Parte"

2.3.1 The syntactic properties of o parte (a part) are identical to the properties of fractionals. O parte (a part) occurs as matrix NP in phrases with the prepositions din(tre) (from among) din (from/of) and de (of). In this section I will discuss only din(tre) (from among) phrases which c-select definite, PL embedded noun phrases as illustrated in (30)-(32) below:

Embedded plural, definite NP

35. o parte dintre student-i-i blonz-i²⁹
 a part from student-PL,M-the blond-M,PL

Bare Plural

36. o parte dintre student-i / cărţ-i
 a part from student-M,PL/ book-F,PL

²⁸ In Chapter 4 I suggest an analysis in which there is no LF movement. All movement that takes place is in the overt syntax.

²⁹ The interpretation of such phrases is the following one: the definite plural noun phrase studentii blonzi (the blond students) involves the set of students who are blond students and o parte induces a partition of the domain into a part of it.

Plural Personal Pronoun

37. o parte dintre noi vo-m pleca
 a part from us will-PL1 leave

2.3.2 SG,3 vs PL,3 Agreement with the Verb

In subject position such phrases agree with a PL,3 person verb as the examples under (38)³⁰ illustrate:

- 38.a. O parte dintre copi-i-i blonz-i sunt disciplinat-i
 a part from child-M,PL-the blond-M,PL are diciplined-M,PL

- b. *O parte dintre copi-i-i blonz-i este disciplinat-ă.
 a part,F,SG from child-M,PL-the blond-M,PL is diciplined-F,SG

In (38.a), the predicative adjective disciplinat-i (disciplined-PL,M) agrees in number and gender with the embedded PL,M NP copi-i-i blonz-i (child-PL,M-the blond-PL,M)³¹; hence, the ungrammaticality of (38.b) is due to the fact that the predicative adjective disciplinat-ă (disciplined-SG,F) does not

³⁰ Thanks to Stefan Stoenescu with whom I discussed the data from this section; he seems to share my intuitions about the agreement facts with o parte to be discussed here.

³¹ Notice also predicative adjectives formed from past participles agree in number and gender with the embedded definite plural NP as (A)-(B) indicate:

- A.a. O parte dintre fete au fost anunțat-e.
 a part(SG,F) from girl-PL,F have-PL3 been announced-F,PL
 b. *O parte din(tre) fete a fost anunțat-ă.
 a part(SG,F) from girl-PL,F have-SG3 been announced-F,SG
 B.a. O parte din(tre) băieț-i au fost anunțat-i.
 a part(SG,F) from boy-PL,M have-PL3 been announced-M,PL
 b. b. *O parte din(tre) băieț-i a fost anunțat-ă.
 a part(SG,F) from boy-PL,M have-SG3 been announced-F,SG

The sentences under (A.b) and (B.b) are bad with flat stress on the matrix NP. Focus stress or the presence of the focus particles doar (only) or numai (only) would render the sentences grammatical.

agree in number and gender with the embedded NP which is PL, M; this strengthens the observation that the predicative adjective agrees with the embedded NP in number and gender.

In case explicit linguistic material restricts the matrix NP the agreement is with a SG number, 3 person verb. The data are parallel to the agreement facts with fractionals.

a. Focus "numai", "doar"(only)

If o parte receives either focus stress (39.a) or the focus particle numai, doar (only) as in (39.b), the agreement with the finite verb is SG in number, 3 person indicating that it is the SG existential matrix NP that decides the agreement in number and person with the verb:

39.a. O MICĂ PARTE³² din studenți a dat un răspuns bun.

a small PART of students have-SG3 given an answer good

b. Numai o parte din studenți a dat un răspuns bun.

only a part from students have-SG3 given an answer good

"Only a part of the students gave a good answer, i.e. not all).

b. Restrictive Adjectives

SG number, 3 person agreement is also necessary if an adjective like mare (big), importantă (important-F), etc. restricts o parte indicating that the existential matrix NP decides the agreement in number and person with the verb.

If the predicate contains an adjective, then the adjective shows agreement in number and gender with the matrix noun

³² Capital letters indicate focus stress on parte.

phrase as in (40):

40.a.0 important-ă parte din băieţ-i a fost
 an important part(SG,F)of boy-PL,M have-SG3 been
 deja anunţat-ă.
 already announced-SG,F

b. Numai o PARTE din băieţ-i a fost
 only a part(SG,F)of boy-PL,M have-SG3 been
 deja anunţat-ă.
 already announced-SG,F

2.3.3 The Prepositions "din"

The preposition din c-selects either (i) definite plural noun phrases (bare plurals and plural personal pronouns) or (ii) a singular noun phrase (mass or countable with the zero article) In the first case, din is syntactically parallel to dintre (from among), in the second case it is partially analogous to de (of), see section 2.7.

41.a. o parte din copi-i-i inteligent-i (PL, +Def embedded NP)
 a part from child-PL-the intelligent-PL

b. o parte din copi-i (Bare PL)
 a part from child-PL

42.a. o parte din gheaţă. (mass)
 a part of ice "a part of the ice"

b. o parte din casă
 a part of house "a part of the house"

The agreement properties of phrases with the preposition din when it c-selects a definite plural embedded noun phrase are

parallel to the agreement properties of dintre phrases as the examples under (43)-(44) indicate:

43. O parte din copi-i sunt disciplinat-i.

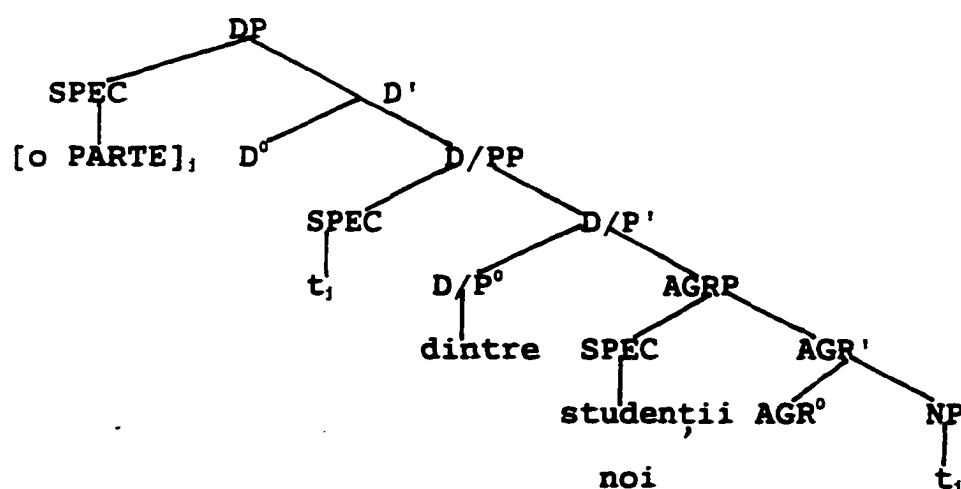
a part of child-M,PL be-P,PL,3 disciplined-M,PL

44. Doar o PARTE din copi-i este disciplinat-ă.

only a part,F,SG of child-M,PL be-P,SG,3 disciplined-F,SG

I will assume that din(tre) (from among, of) phrases are complements to D^0 . D/P din(tre) heads the D/PP which contains an IP structure as its complement. SPEC, IP is occupied by the PL, definite NP; the matrix NP o parte starts in predicational position inside the IP; since o parte has focus stress it moves to SPEC, D/PP , i.e. an operator position, in the overt syntax. The trace left by such movement is a variable. There is reason to believe that o PARTE (a part) may extract out of SPEC, D/PP and move to SPEC, D (see Chapter 4). Consider the syntactic representation in (45):

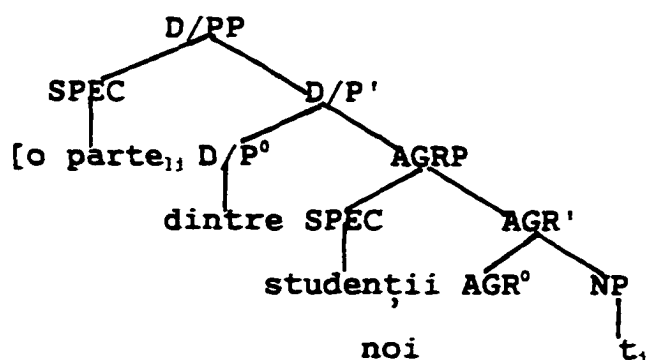
45



When the matrix NP o parte has no focus stress, the agreement is with a PL,3 person verb and predicative adjectives agree in

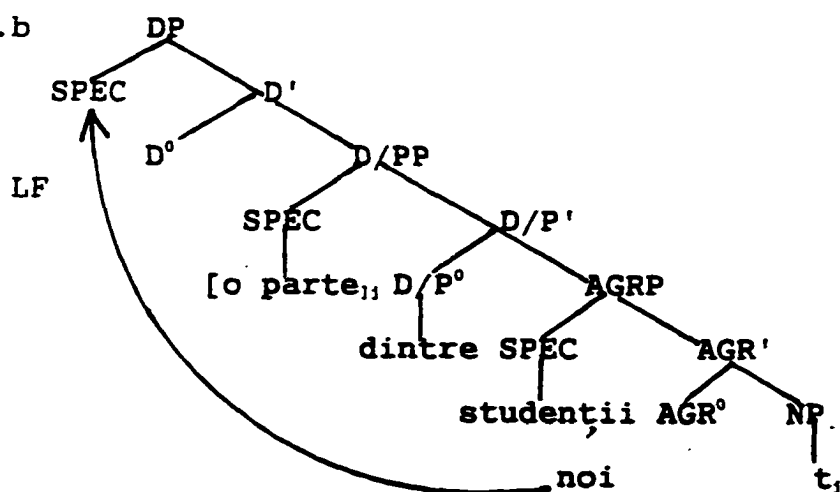
number and gender with the embedded PL, definite NP. The syntactic derivation of such phrases at pre-Spell-Out is as in (46.a) below:

46.a



In order to explain the PL, 3 person agreement with the verb, I will have to assume that the PL, definite embedded NP moves covertly from SPEC, IP to SPEC, D° at LF, i.e. covert movement to the highest SPEC position within the architecture of the subject phrase³³ as in (46.b) below:

46.b



In other words, PL number, 3 person agreement with the finite verb takes place at a point in the syntactic derivation when

³³ This assumption about LF movement of the PL embedded NP is going to be dropped in Chapter 4.

the V raises to the AGR head and the subject DP is in SPEC, AGR. Within the subject DP, it is the embedded PL NP in SPEC, D⁰ which determines the agreement with the finite verb at LF.

2.4 Partitive Phrases with o multime (a multitude), o puzderie (a throng), o serie (a series)

2.4.1 Partitive phrases with the indefinite cardinality quantifiers o multime (a multitude), o puzderie (a throng), etc. receive a parallel syntactic representation to the fractionals and the indefinite o parte (a part). The syntactic parallelism is suggested by the agreement properties that these phrases have as subjects of finite sentences.

O multime (a multitude) builds partitive phrases with the preposition dintre (from among) and with de as shown in (47) and (48):

- 47.a. o multime dintre candidaṭ-i-i inteligent-i
 a multitude from candidate-M,PL-the intelligent-M,PL
- b. o multime dintre student-i
 a multitude from student-M,PL
- c. o multime dintre ei
 a multitude from them
 "a great many of them"
- 48.a. o multime de student-i (destept-i)
 a multitude de student-M,PL (intelligent-M,PL)
- b.*o multime de student-i-i inteligent-i
 a multitude de student-M,PL-the intelligent-M,PL

2.4.2 Two Agreement Facts

The partitive phrases in (47) as subjects of finite sentences agree in number and person with a PL,3 verb as the examples in (49) illustrate:

49.a.0 mulțime dintre studenții noi au dat un răspuns bun.
a multitude from students-the new have-PL3 given a good answer

b.*0 mulțime dintre studenții noi a dat un răspuns bun.
a multitude from students-the new have-SG3 given a good answer

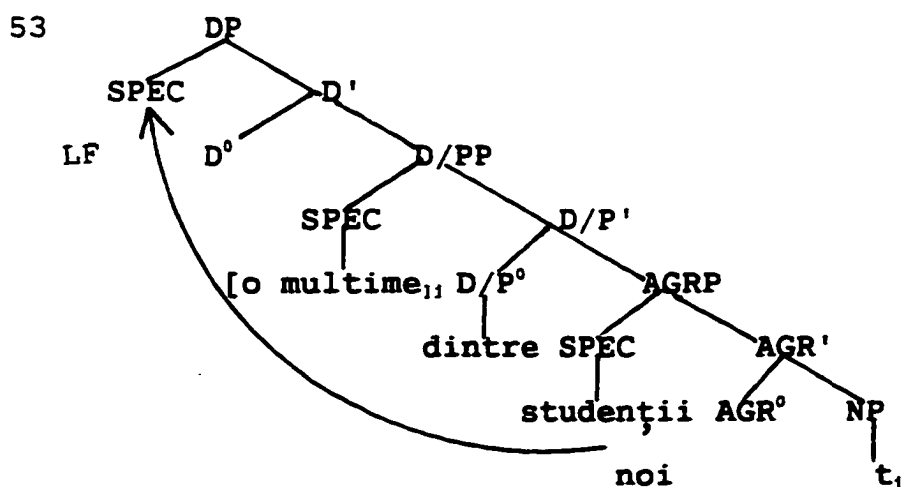
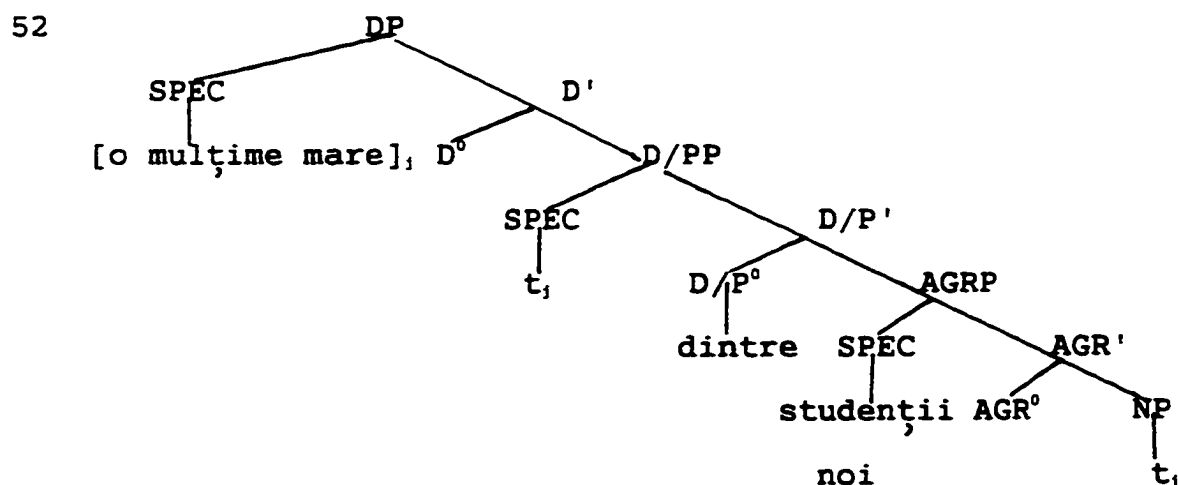
It seems to be the case that the agreement in PL number and 3 person is agreement with the embedded definite, plural NP. In case the matrix noun phrase is restricted by explicit linguistic material in the form of a restrictive adjective or focus particle the agreement with the verb is SG,3,i.e.the verb agrees with the existential indefinite matrix NP:

50. 0 mulțime COVÎRȘITOARE dintre studenți-i noi a
a multitude overwhelming from students-the new have-SG3
dat un răspuns bun.
given a answer good.

The test of predicative adjectives confirms that agreement in number and gender may be either with the embedded definite, plural NP (as in 51.a), or the predicative adjective may agree with the matrix NP if the matrix NP is restricted by an adjective and has an existential interpretation as in (51.b):

- 51.a.O mulțime dintre copi-i sunt disciplinat-i.
 a multitude from child-M,PL be-P,PL,3 disciplined-M,PL
- b.O mulțime covârșitoare din copi-i este
 a multitude,F,SG overwhelming of child-M,PL be-SG,3
 disciplinat-ă.
 disciplined-F,SG

I would like to suggest that the syntactic representation of partitive phrases with mulțime is parallel to the syntactic representations with o parte as shown in (52) and (53):



The syntactic derivation and the explanation of the agreement

facts is identical to the explanation in 2.3.3 above.

2.5 Armata (army)

Overview

The denotation of a noun like armata (army) is "organized body" of soldiers. Subject phrases that contain the collective noun armată form de (of) phrases in Romanian and agree in SG number with the verb. Armata (army) has a second interpretation, i.e. large multitude. In this second interpretation o armată (an army) has the syntactic behaviour of an indefinite cardinality quantifier; a phrase like o armată de furnici (an army of ants) as subject of a finite clause agrees with a SG,3 or PL,3 verb.

I will suggest that a phrase like armat-a de furnici (the army of ants) with armată used as an indefinite cardinality NP is structurally parallel to the partitive phrases discussed above with a single difference that concerns the structure of the embedded IP, i.e. the PL indefinite NP furnici (ants) starts in predicational position inside the IP and the phrase in SPEC, IP is an NP (armată), not a DP. The preposition de (of) is syntactically a D/P⁰ that heads the D/PP phrase, i.e. de (of) is syntactically parallel to dintre (from among). The NP in SPEC, IP (armată (army)) moves overtly to SPEC, D/PP³⁴. In case D⁰ is definite, the NP in SPEC, D/PP raises out of the D/PP to

³⁴ See section of possessive phrases where I argue that SPEC, D/PP is an A-position in Romanian.

SPEC,D°; SPEC, D° is an A-bar position. In such cases agreement is SG, 3 person. The analysis in this section concentrates on the NP armată (army) as an indefinite cardinality NP.

2.5.1 The Data

Subject partitive phrases with the NP armată as an indefinite cardinality quantifier may agree with a SG, 3 person verb or with a PL, 3 person verb as shown below:

54.a.0 armată de muncitor-i, tineri, bătrîni, și femei

an army of worker-s, young-men, old-men, and women

1- au îm-bogățit în cîțiva ani. (DEX)

him have-PL3 made-rich in few years

"An a large number of workers, young-men, old-men, and women have-PL-3 made him rich in few years."

b.0 armată de oameni disciplinați s-a recrutat pentru

an army of people disciplined se-have-SG3 recruited for construcții civile.

constructions urban

55.a.0 armată de furnici cară boabe de grîu.

an army of ants carry-Pres-SG3 grains of corn

b.0 armată de furnici căra-u³⁵ boabe de grîu.

an army of ants carry-Pres-PL3 grains of corn

2.5.2 The Interpretation of the Agreement Facts

The question we need to ask is whether the SG/PL variation in

³⁵ Anca Cristofovici informs me that for her (50.b) is less good than (50.a). For me both sentences are good.

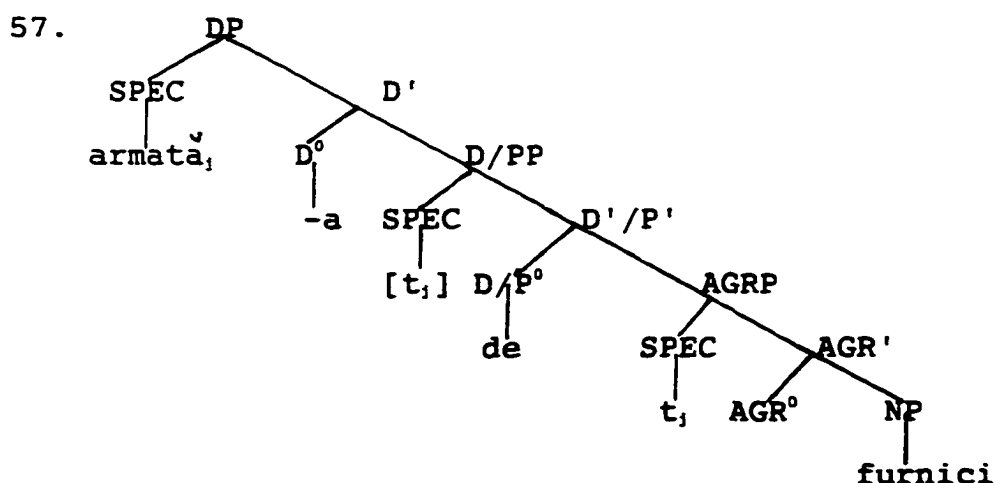
number agreement may be best explained in a lexicalist theory or if it the case that the syntactic configuration of the subject phrase is the relevant factor. A lexicalist account would have to say that the noun armată (army) contains the feature [+/-SG] which can check SG or PL agreement with the verb.

Agreement with predicative adjectives indicates that a syntactic, i.e. configurational solution, is involved in these cases. The predicative adjective may agree in number and gender either with the SG matrix noun phrase or with the PL indefinite embedded NP. In order to make the examples clear I have chosen a { Masculine, Plural} noun phrase for the embedded NP to contrast it with the matrix NP armată (army) which is {F, SG}; consider the following examples (56):

- 56.a.0 armată zgomotoasă de țîțar-i s-a
 an army-SG,F noisy of mosquito-PL,M se have,SG,3
 adunat sub fereastră.
 gathered under window
- b.0 armată de țîțari s-au adunat
 an army-SG,F de mosquito-PL,M se have,PL3 gathered
 sub tei.
 under lime-tree

In (56.a) the auxiliary verb shows SG number and 3 person agreement, i.e. agreement with the matrix NP armată (army, SG). In (56.b), the auxiliary avea (have) agrees in PL number 3 person with the embedded masculine bare plural țîțari (mos-

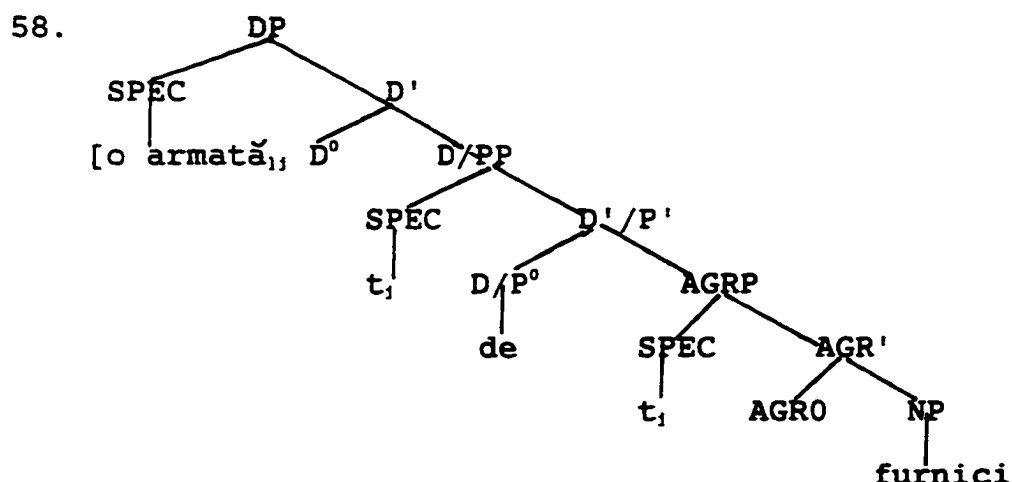
quito-PL,M). The examples indicate that the SG/PL alternation in the agreement with the finite verb is not checked by the lexical features [+/- SG] of the noun armată (army); in fact, number and person agreement with the verb shows that the agreement is either with the embedded NP or the matrix NP; hence, the geometric properties of the subject phrase are the determining factor in the subject-verb agreement facts. Syntactically, I will suggest that (57) is an adequate representation for armat-a de furnici (army-the of ants "the army of ants"):



The NP armată is in SPEC, AGRP and the PL indefinite NP furnic-i (ant-s) is in predication position inside the AGRP. The noun phrase armată (army) raises in the overt syntax to SPEC, D/PP³⁶; in Romanian, if D° is definite, there is further overt movement of the NP in SPEC, D/PP to SPEC, D°. With a definite D° heading the subject phrase only SG agreement with the finite verb is possible, i.e. agreement with the DP in the

³⁶ See footnote 28.

highest SPEC position within the subject phrase. If D^0 is indefinite, PL agreement with the verb is possible. In order for the verb to agree in PL number, there must be covert raising, or LF movement of the PL indefinite NP furnici (ants) to SPEC, DP ; since this is A-bar movement of an NP across another A-position NP^{37} , the movement is allowed. (58) is the syntactic representation of the phrase o armată de furnici (an army of ants):



2.6 De Phrases with un grup (group-M) , o grupă (group-F)³⁸,

2.6.1 I would like to suggest that phrases containing un grup (a group) in the matrix noun phrase of a de (of) phrase that c-

³⁷ In section 2 I will show that SPEC, D/PP is an A-position in Romanian. If the structural parallelism between possessive phrases and partitive phrases is correct, then it may be the case that SPEC, D/PP is an A-position in these phrases.

³⁸ Romanian has two nouns that are translated by the English group. A neuter noun un grup/două grupe (assembly of people or objects), and a feminine noun o grupă/doua grupe (an organized collectivity of people (students, trade union people or class of animals/plants). As the gloss indicates, o grupă has the interpretation of "organized" set of elements.

selects an indefinite PL NP receive a parallel syntactic explanation to the phrases formed with armată (army). The agreement with a finite verb is SG number 3 person or PL number 3 person. Consider the illustrative examples under (59)-(60):

59.a. [Un grup de marinari beți] a facut scandal.

a group of sailors drunken-PL have-SG3 made scandal

b. [Un grup de marinari beți] au facut scandal.

a group of sailors drunken-PL have-PL3 made scandal

60.a. [O grupă mica de elev-i] se iniția

a group small of pupil-M,PL se initiate-Pres-SG3

în tain-e-le astronomiei.

in mystery-PL-the astronomy-Gen

"A small group of pupils initiated itself in the
mysteries of astronomy".

b. [O grupă mica de elev-i] se inițiau

a group small of pupil-M,PL se initiate-Pres-PL3

in tain-e-le astronomiei.

"A small group of pupils initiated themselves in the
mysteries of astronomy".

Suppose that in the (a) examples, SG number 3 Person agreement with the verb is agreement with the singular noun phrase grup or grupă (group); in the (b) examples, PL number 3 Person agreement is agreement with the embedded indefinite plural noun phrase. Could it be the case that such an assumption is false ? Can it be the case that a lexicalist solution is satisfactory in these cases?

2.6.2 The Lexicalist Position

Notice that the noun phrase grup (group) as subject of a finite sentence may agree with both a SG,3 person and a PL,3 person verb as (61) indicates:

61.a. Un grup a plecat.

a group have-SG 3 left

"A group has left."

b. Un grup au plecat³⁹.

a group have-PL3 left

In (61.a) un grup (a group) has as denotatum an assemblage of entities conceived as a unit; in (61.b) the denotatum is the members of the set. The question that arises is whether a feature such as {+/- collective] as part of the FF(group) cannot check the SG,3 / PL,3 agreement with the verb in sentences like (61). The question is whether there is any compelling argument that involves syntactic structure rather than a lexicalist solution.

2.6.3 Subject-Predicative Adjective Agreement

Let us look at the agreement between a subject noun phrase with un grup in the matrix NP and predicative adjectives. Consider the examples in (62):

i. Agreement with the matrix NP:

62.a. Grup(u)l de fete a fost felicitat de decan.

group(SG,N)-the de girl-PL,F has been congratulated-SG,M

³⁹ (61.b) is existent in Romanian. See also Gruita, 1981:61)

by (the) dean.

"The group of girls has been congratulated by the dean"

ii. Agreement with the Embedded NP:

b. Un grup de fet-e au fost felicitat-e de decan.

a group de girl-PL,F have been congratulated-PL,F by dean"

"A group of girls have been congratulated by the dean"

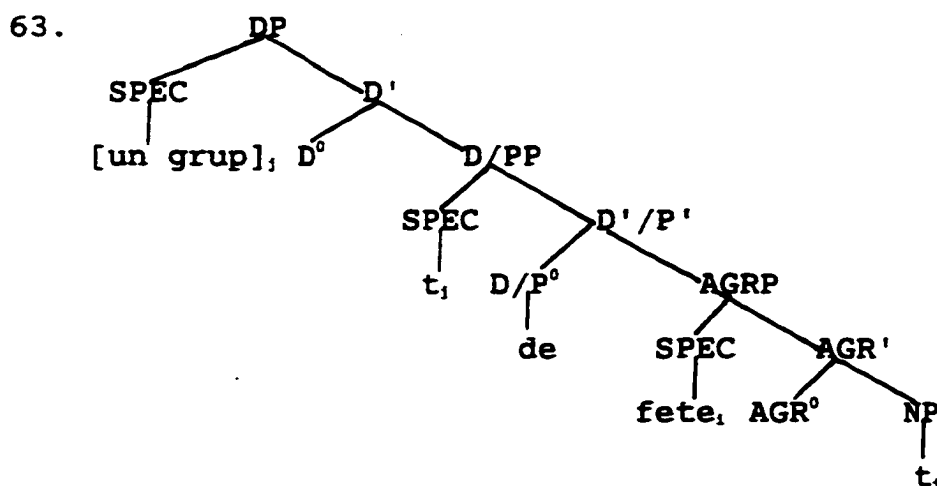
c. Un grup de baiet-i au fost felicitat-i de decan.

a group de boy-PL,M have been congratulated-PL,M by dean"

"A group of boys have been congratulated by the dean"

In (62.a) the past participle form of the verb felicitat (SG,M) agrees in number and gender with the SG,N⁴⁰ matrix NP grup (SG,N); in the (62.b), the past participle form of the verb felicitat-e (PL,F) agrees in number and gender with the PL, F embedded noun phrase fet-e (girl,PL,F); in (62.c), the past participle form of the verb felicitat-i (PL,M) agrees in number and gender with the PL,M embedded NP baiet-i (boy-PL,M). The examples in (62) constitute direct evidence that the agreement is either between the matrix NP and the verb or between the embedded NP and the verb. I will suggest that un grup de fete (a group of girls) is syntactically representable as in (63):

⁴⁰ In the SG, neuter nouns have the masculine inflection.



2.7 Further Observations on "de" Phrases

2.7.1 The Split Partitive

There is an intriguing property that din(tre) (from among) phrases have and which is less clear with de phrases. The split partitive construction is flawless with din(tre) phrases, while split de phrases span a space between a literary register and a clumsy construction. Consider (64)-(65)-(66):

64.a. Dintre student_i-i-i no-i, au venit un sfert.

from student-PL-the new-PL have arrived a quarter

b. Din student_i-i, au venit doar o treime.

of student-PL have arrived only a third

c. Dintre candida_i-i-i inteli_i-i, o mul_itime...

from candidate-PL-the intelligent-PL

d. Dintre student_i, o mul_itime...

from student-PL a multitude...

65. De țîn_ițari, o armată se napusteau asupra trupului lui

of mosquitos an army se rush-PL,3 to body-Gen his

gol⁴¹.

naked

(64) is an acceptable construction across all language registers. (65) is good, but it belongs to the alto, literary style. (66) is conceivable only in a poetic/literary style of recipe writing; otherwise, the construction is not used.

66.a. De făină, o treime, de zahăr un sfert, de apă, o jumătate
 de flour, a third, of sugar a quarter, of water, a half
 b. *De mătură, o jumătate
 de broom, a half

If syntactic rules move constituents only, then there exists a clear difference between the syntactic structures of dintre phrases (dintre candidații inteligenți) and the syntactic structure of de phrases, e.g. de făină (of flour) in (66).

It is interesting to note that the agreement properties of de phrases differ from the agreement properties of din and dintre phrases; compare (67) and (68).

67.a. Un sfert de mare este cenuși-u.
 a quarter(N) de sea(F) is grey-M⁴²
 b. ?Un sfert de mare este cenuși-e.
 a quarter(N) de sea(F) is gray-F
 c. Un sfert din mare este cenuși-e.
 a quater(N) of sea(F) is gray-F

⁴¹ I would like to thank Stefan Stoenescu who provided me with this example.

⁴² Neuter nouns have masculine agreement in the singular and feminine agreement in the plural.

If the matrix noun phrase contains a demonstrative, the agreement facts lead to sharp intuitions, i.e. number and gender agreement with the embedded NP leads to ungrammatical sentences. Consider (68):

68.a. Acest sfert de mare este cenuși-u.

this, M, SG quater(N) de sea(F) is gray-M

b.*Acest sfert de mare este cenuși-e.

this, M, SG quater(N) de sea(F) is gray-F

c.*Acest sfert din mare este cenuși-e.

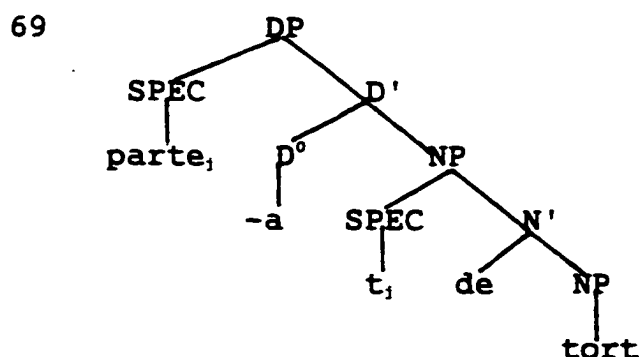
this, M, SG quater(N) of sea(F) is gray-F

The question is what would be the appropriate syntactic representation of such de phrases with the fractionals given that the agreement is always with the matrix NP?

2.7.2 The Syntactic Representation of De Phrases

Partitive phrases with fractionals and with de contain a singular generic NP or a mass noun as "embedded NP". Secondly, the structures with de do not occur in the split partitive construction except in highly literary style, i.e. the freedom of constructing a split partitive with de phrases is limited suggesting that the internal constituency of the phrase might be different. I would like to suggest that such structures are syntactically less complex. A phrase like jumătate-a de tort ("the half of (the) cake") is a definite DP with the definite article occupying the D⁰ head. The phrase jumătate de tort (half cake) is an NP with de as a spell-out of the part-of

relation; I would like to suggest that de is verb-like, i.e. it is not a complementizer, C^0 , head⁴³. de in the above constructions is syntactically parallel to the English of in the picture of John; presumably picture of John is an NP. Consider the syntactic representation in (69):



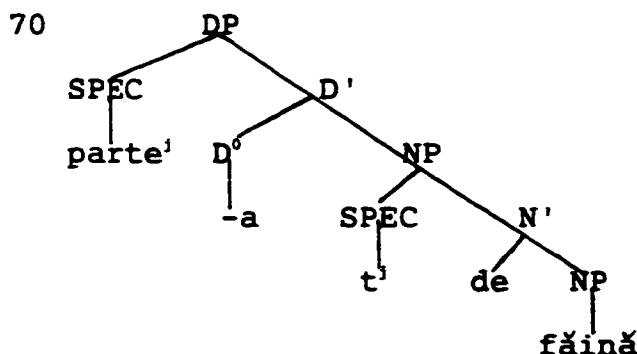
It may be the case that de phrases with mass nouns have a simpler syntactic structure in which de would be V-like not C^0 -like syntactically. Further research is necessary in this area⁴⁴. Strictly speaking such phrases are not syntactically partitive phrases. The Romanian parte-a de făină (the part made of flour) can be syntactically represented as in (70):

⁴³ This distinction is important since Romanian has a de that is an instance of a preposition with complementizer properties. See section.

⁴⁴ De N in compounds, i.e. floare de tei (flower of linden "linden flower") and inima de piatra (heart of stone) seems to behave differently:

- a. * de tei, floarea
of linden flower-the
- b. de piatră, inima
of stone, heart-the

Research is necessary in this area.



Such phrases agree in number with a verb in the SG number.

2.8 Summary of Section 2

The analysis presented in this section suggests that the somewhat dual character in terms of definiteness that partitive phrases have is matched by clear syntactic properties. I have suggested that partitive phrases formed with the Indefinites (unii (some), cîțiva (few), mulți (many), puțini (few)), the Partitives, e.g. fiecare (each/every), and the indefinite cardinality expressions o parte (a part), o multime (a multitude) as matrix NPs and the preposition din(tre) (from among) that c-selects definite PL NPs as embedded NPs are DPs that may have either (i) an indefinite interpretation, i.e. are headed by an indefinite D^0 (phonetically unrealized), or (ii) they may have a definite interpretation; the latter interpretation is syntactically represented by LF movement of the embedded definite PL NP to SPEC, D^0 . D^0 contains a D/PP as complement. The D/PP is headed by the preposition dintre (from among) which has the syntactic properties of a C^0 and contains an AGRP as complement.

The syntactic analysis has been extended to de (of) phrases that contain armată (army) or grup (group) in the matrix NP and a PL indefinite as the embedded NP. I have suggested that the sole difference resides at the level of the constituency of the AGRP, i.e. the PL indefinite starts in predication position inside the AGRP, while the definite PL DP in partitive phrases with the Indefinites starts as subject of the AGRP.

Section 2 discusses possessive phrases and offers a deeper syntactic insight into the analysis proposed in section 1.

Section 2

AGREEMENT WITH POSSESSIVE PHRASES AS SUBJECT

3.1 General Theoretical Assumptions

3.1.0 My analysis of the Romanian possessive constructions is based on specific theoretical assumptions about the existence of a syntactic parallelism between the architecture of possessive noun phrases (DPs) and clauses (CPs)⁴⁵. "The question whether and to what extent there is CP recursion, given Szabolcsi's claim that C⁰ and D⁰ are parallel"⁴⁶ will be relevant. It will turn out that the structure of possessives DPs in Romanian is not an instance of CP recursion (unlike Kayne, 1994 for French and Raposo-Uriagereka, 1996 for European Portuguese); the possessive phrases which are DPs/CPs show AGRP recursion in Romanian.

3.1.1 Kayne's (1994) Analysis of French Possessives

Kayne (1994) analyzes postnominal French possessives like la voiture de Jean (i) as containing an IP that expresses a possessive relation⁴⁷, with the possessor DP Jean in SPEC, IP

⁴⁵ van Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:124) attribute to George and Kornfilt (1981) the idea that there are languages which make a distinction between tensed and nontensed NPs (e.g. Turkish). "They observe that the head noun sometimes agrees with the possessive NP and sometimes it does not, and suggest that there is a close parallelism between NPs with agreement and tensed clauses, on the one hand, and NPs without agreement and infinitivals, on the other hand." (see van Riemsdijk and Williams, 1986:124)

⁴⁶ see Kayne, 1994: footnote 3 page 153.

⁴⁷ In other words, the relation between voiture and Jean is established within the IP.

and the possessed NP voiture in predication position inside IP. (ii) de is a functional head representing "a prepositional determiner comparable to a prepositional complementizer"⁴⁶ the notation being D/P^0 . (iii) The D/PP structure headed by de contains the IP as its complement. (iv) The predication NP voiture is fronted to SPEC, D/P^0 in the overt syntax. This is A-bar movement across the A-position subject DP. Since D/P^0 has C^0 properties, its SPEC counts as an A-bar (operator) position; the trace left by such movement must be interpreted as a variable.

71. $la_{[D/PP[NP\ voiture,]]}[de_{[IP\ Jean[I^0\ [e,]]}...$

(v) The definite determiner la does not form a constituent with the head of the noun phrase voiture; la has as its complement the entire phrase voiture, de Jean t, i.e. the D/PP is sister constituent to D^0 . Given the syntactic analogy between DPs and CPs, SPEC, D^0 is an A-bar position. In other words, above the possessive IP, there are two functional categories, D/P^0 and D^0 , which c-command the IP and have C^0 syntactic properties. (vi) The Case of the possessor DPs varies across languages, e.g. nominative and dative possessors in Hungarian, genitive possessors in Romanian; hence possessive I^0 is (or is not) sufficient to license Case. Hungarian nominative possessors get Case licensed in a SPEC-head configuration within the possessive IP; dative Case possessors must move outside possessive IP to a valid Case-licensing

⁴⁶ from Kayne, 1994:102.

position (see Szabolcsi, 1994). In French, possessive I^0 is not sufficient to license Case, i.e. Case on the possessors DP is licensed by de in an ECM configuration. On the other hand, indefinite D^0 becomes a Case-licenser in English by inserting the preposition of in D^0 and moving the possessed NP/QP into its SPEC as shown in (72) below:

72. [_{SPEC}two pictures], [[_D of][John ['s [e]_i]]]

In other words, Kayne (1994) makes the following very basic assumptions: 1. possessive noun phrases are DPs headed by a determiner, D^0 , which is a functional head with parallel syntactic properties to functional heads that are C^0 . SPEC, D^0 is a position with A-bar properties; 2. the complement of D^0 is a D/PP structure (i.e. a CP) headed by de; de is a prepositional determiner with complementizer properties. SPEC, D/ P^0 is an operator position, i.e. a position with A-bar properties. Constituents that are focused or are intrinsically operators, move to SPEC, D/ P^0 ; 3. the possessive IP starts as complement of D/ P^0 ; possessive I^0 is a Case licenser in some languages, but not in all languages.

The analysis of the Romanian data below will be based on the syntactic assumptions in (1)-(3) above. The analysis of the data will suggest a difference w.r.t. assumption (2); namely, it will turn out that D/ P^0 in Romanian has AGR⁰ properties and not C^0 properties. SPEC, D/P is a position with A-bar properties in Romanian. Hence, inside the possessive DP/CP there is AGR recursion.

3.2 The Typology of Possessive Phrases in Romanian

Overview

Unlike Hungarian and English, Romanian possessors are always postnominal, moreover the possessor DP is always in the genitive Case. In configurational terms this means that possessive ARG⁰ licenses genitive Case to the DP in its SPEC. The possessor is assigned genitive Case in situ; movement of the possessor DP out of the possessive AGRP takes place in emphatic contexts. It will turn out that Romanian has a prepositional determiner a (al, ai, ale, alor) that is syntactically parallel to the French prepositional determiner de with a difference. French de is a prepositional determiner with C⁰ properties. I will show that Romanian a (al, ai, ale, alor) is a prepositional determiner with AGR⁰ properties. SPEC, a has the syntactic properties of an A-position in Romanian (unlike in French or English).

The entire possessive DP may be definite or indefinite. Possessive constructions headed by indefinite D⁰ have indefinite D⁰ spelled out either (1) as de, i.e. the equivalent of English of in Kayne's analysis of two pictures of John's or (2) indefinite D⁰ is phonetically unrealized, like in Hungarian under Szabolcsi's (1994) analysis. In other words, Romanian indefinite possessives have both the Hungarian strategy and the English strategy. Definite possessive phrases will be syntactically parallel to the indefinite possessives except that definite D⁰ is spelled out by the definite article

in Romanian.

The Data

3.2.1 Indefinite Possessive Constructions

There are two different indefinite possessive constructions in Romanian: the "de" construction illustrated in (73) and the construction "without "de" illustrated in (74). The label "construction without "de" seems accurate in view of the fact that the structures in (73) and (74) are identical except for the presence (or absence) of de.

"De" Constructions

- 73.a. un băiat de a-l Nan-ei
 a boy,M of a-the,M,SG Nana-GEN
 "one boy of Nana's"
- b. o fată de a Mari-ei
 a girl,F of a,the,F,SG Maria-GEN
 "one girl of Mary's"
- c. doi băieți-i de a-i Nan-ei
 two boy-PL,M of a-the,M,PL Nana-GEN
 "two boys of Nana's"
- d. două fet-e de a-le Mari-ei
 two girl-PL,F of a-the,F,PL Maria-GEN
 "two girls of Mary's"

The de construction contains obligatorily the a (al, ai, ale) prepositional determiners. The indefinite construction without de is identical to the forms in (73) except that de is not present:

The Construction without "de"

- 74.a. un băiat a-l Nan-ei
 a boy,M a-the,M,SG Nana-GEN
 "one boy of Nana's"
- b. o fată a Mari-ei
 a girl,F a,the,F,SG Maria-GEN
 "one girl of Mary's"
- c. doi băieți-i a-i Nan-ei
 two boy-PL,M a-the,M,PL Nana-GEN
 "two boys of Nana's"
- d. doua fet-e a-le Mari-ei
 two girl-PL,F a-the,F,PL Maria-GEN
 "two girls of Mary's"

3.2.2 Definite Possessive Constructions

The great noticeable difference between definite and indefinite possessive constructions is that the definite possessive constructions do not have either the de forms or the a (ai, ale, alor) forms" as the examples below indicate:

- 75.a. fat -a Mari-ei
 daughter-the Maria-GEN
- b. băiatu-l Nan-ei
 boy-the Nana-GEN
- 76.a.*fat -a a Mari-ei
 daughter-the a Maria-GEN

" This is a rhetorically strong statement that is actually false. Section 4.2. below shows that a (and its variants) may occur with definite possessive phrases in Romanian.

b. *băiatu-1 a-1 Nan-ei
 boy-the a-the,M,SG Nana-GEN

77.a.*fat -a de a Mari-ei
 daughter-the of a Maria-GEN

b. *băiatu-1 de a-1 Nan-ei
 boy-the of a-the,M,SG Nana-GEN

As the ungrammaticality of the examples in (76)-(77) shows, the definite possessives do not occur with de and a. The absence of de is expected given that de is inserted in (indefinite) D⁰. On the other hand, I will show that all the definite possessive constructions have a prepositional determiner a in their syntactic structure. Both synchronic and diachronic evidence will be discussed in favour of this syntactic analysis of definite possessives.

4 The Syntactic Representation of Possessive Phrases

I will start my analysis of possessive constructions in Romanian by looking more closely at the internal structure of lower possessive IP/AGRP (section 4.1); the D/PP constituent is discussed in section (4.2); indefinite D⁰ is discussed in section (4.3).

4.1 The Genitive AGR Phrase

In Romanian, the possessor DP occupies a postnominal position and is always in the genitive Case. AGR⁰ is a Case licenser, i.e. it licenses genitive Case to the possessor DP in its

SPEC. The possessed NP is in the complement position of possessive AGR⁰.

4.1.1 Bound and Free Genitive Morphemes

Romanian has the genitive inflection realized by bound forms {-ei, -lui, -lor} and by the periphrastic form lui for masculine proper names and, in spoken Romanian, feminine proper names, as well. The examples in (78)-(79) illustrate the bound and free genitive morphemes:

78.a. o fată a mam-ei (CN,F) Bound Form -ei (F,SG)

a girl a mother-GEN

b. o fată a Nan-ei (Proper N,F)

a girl a Nana-GEN

c. o soră a băiat-(u)-lui Bound Form -lui (CN,M,SG)

a sister a boy-the-GEN

79.a. o fată a lui Ion (PN,M) Free Form lui (PN,M,SG)

a girl a GEN Ion

b. o fată a lui mam-a (uniquely designating CN,F)

a girl a GEN mother-the

Table (80) below gives a schematic representation of the bound and free genitive morphemes in Romanian.

80. (i) bound morphemes

(1) F, SG, e.g. -ei (Mari-ei "Maria-GEN", fet-ei, "girl-GEN")

(2) M,SG, CN, e.g. -lui (băiat(u)-lui, "boy-the-GEN")

(3) PL,M+F, e.g. -lor (fet-e-lor "girl-Pl-the,GEN"

băieț-i-lor "boy-PL-the,GEN")

(ii) the free morpheme lui for Masculine Proper Names

(4) PN, M: lui Ion, lui Dan

In spoken Romanian F, PN and common names that refer uniquely may occur with lui as in (81) below:

(81) lui Maria "GEN Maria"

lui mam-a "GEN mother-the"

The question that comes to mind is the following one: given that in (78.c) the constituent băiat (boy) is M, SG and given that the definite enclitic article for M, SG is -l, could it be the case that the M, SG, GEN inflection is -(u)-i instead of -lui? It is a known historical fact that the Romanian articles developed from the Latin demonstrative pronouns⁵⁰.

Rosetti (1968; 143) notes that lui is related to the Latin dative form illui, while lor is the plural genitive/ dative illorum. In 16 and 17 century Romanian, lor was a free morpheme preceding the noun. Contrast the example in (82.a) from Diaconescu (1970:250) with the contemporary Romanian (CR) form in (82.b):

82.a. 17-th c a lor noștri priiatini⁵¹

a GEN-PL ours friend-PL

b. CR a prieten-i-lor noștri e

a friend-PL-GEN ours

Likewise, ei existed in Romanian from the genitive/dative form

⁵⁰ = Rosetti (1968:143) notes in a footnote that the Latin illo regi corresponds to French li fils le roi. Old Romanian had phrases like i. beserec-a sfântă a ei tale.
church-the holly a GEN your

⁵¹ = priiatini is the Old Romanian form for prieteni.

of Latin illa-ei (e.g. NOM illa). The demonstrative illa is an independent word in Latin; and so is ei in 16 and 17 century Romanian. Contrast the 16-17 century examples of ei as a free GEN morpheme preceding the SG,F noun and the bound F, SG suffix -ei in contemporary Romanian as shown in (83)-(84) below:

83.a. 17th c. a ei noastre credință

a GEN-_r ours faith-_{r,sg}

b. CR a credință_i-ei noastre e_i

a faith-GEN ours

84.a. 17-th c ispitire ale ei voastre credințe

temptation a+le GEN-F yours faith-_{r,sg}

b. CR ispitire-a credință_i-ei voastre e_i

temptation-the,F faith-GEN,F,SG yours

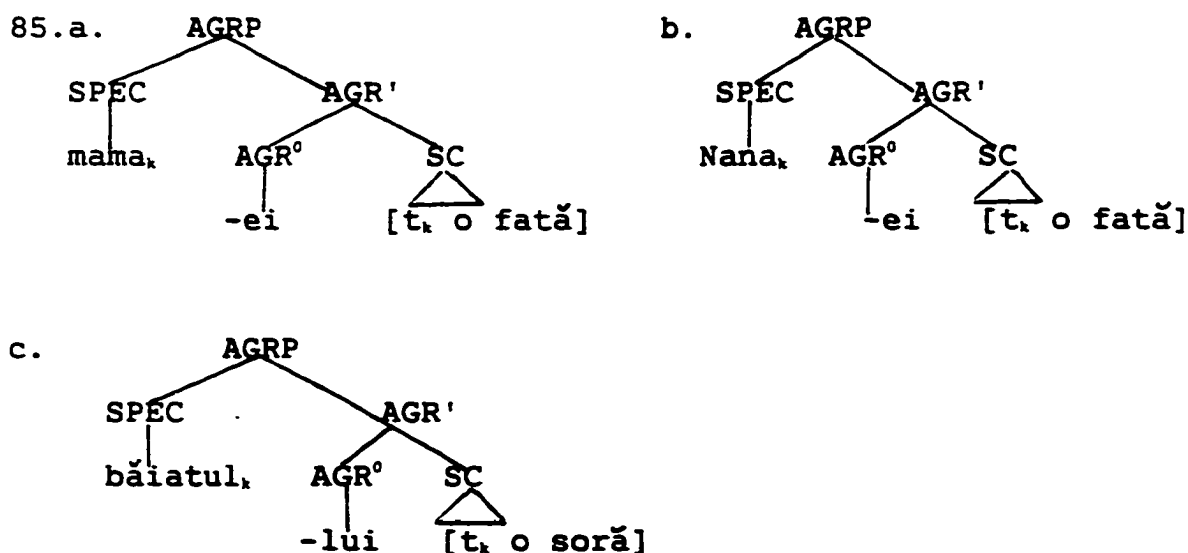
Given that Romanian has no geminates, it is well possible that a morpheme like lui is an instance of the process of morphological fusion of the definite enclitic article -l with the genitive lui, e.g. -l + lui = lui. Whether lui is an instance of the morphological process of fusion applied to the definite article + genitive morpheme cannot be decided here. Further detailed research is necessary for a conclusive answer to this question. The fact that in early Romanian, ei, lui, lor were independent words (as well as bound inflectional morphemes⁵²)

⁵²= Rosetti (1968:143) remarks that in the Megleno-Romanian dialect the genitive can be formed either by the inflection -lui (domnu-lui = sir-GEN) or by periphrastic lu(i)(lu bărbatu = GEN man). In fact, Rosetti follows a long tradition which describes the periphrastic form as "proclitic" and the inflectional form as

indicates that the language had a periphrastic strategy alongside the inflectional strategy for morphologically realizing genitive and dative Case(s). The strengthening of the inflectional Case marking strategy gave rise to N^o-movement or raising of the N to pick up the respective inflections. In contemporary Romanian, only masculine proper names maintained the 16-17 century pattern of treating the genitive inflection as an independent word preceding the PN.

4.1.2 The Syntactic Representation of AGRP

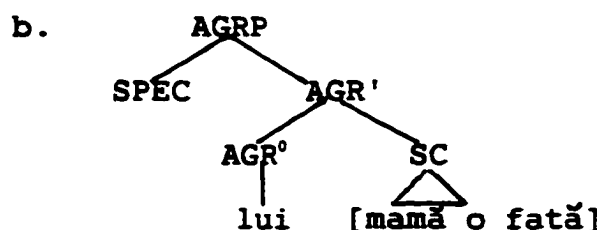
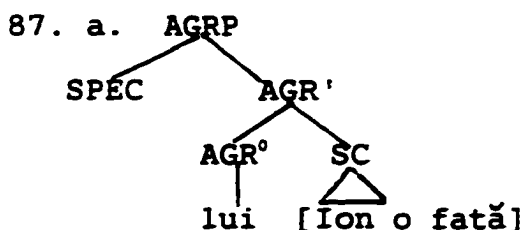
The syntactic representation of the lower AGRP is like in (85) below:



The Independent Head "lui". The syntactic representation for the possessive structures that have lui as a free word preceding the M,SG proper names seem to indicate that these nouns do not move to SPEC, AGR^o as illustrated in (86):

"enclitic" signalling the difference in position with respect to the noun and emphasizing the identity of the genitive form (described as the genitive article).

- 86.a. o fată a lui Ion (PN,M) Free Form lui (M,SG, PN)
a girl a GEN Ion



In (87) the possessor stays in situ, i.e. does not raise. The possessed NP raises to a higher SPEC. The question we have to answer is which SPEC does the possessed NP move into in (86)? I will suggest below that Romanian has a prepositional determiner functional head to whose SPEC the possessed NP raises before Spell-Out.

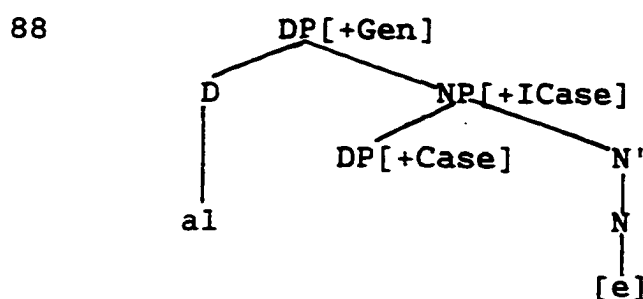
4.2 The Prepositional Determiner "A", "AL", "ALE", "AI"

In this subsection I will suggest that Romanian a (and its variants) is a prepositional determiner that takes possessive AGRP as its complement. The prepositional determiner a (and its variants) has AGR° properties and its SPEC position has A-properties; in this sense, the prepositional determiner a differs from French de which according to Kayne (1994) is analogous to a C°.

4.2.1 Cornilescu (1992)

Cornilescu (1992) offers the most extensive discussion on possessive a (and its variants). Her analysis continues the line opened up by Dobrovie-Sorin (1987), and contrasts with

Grossu (1988). Cornilescu (1992) argues that a is a definite determiner, syntactic category D^0 . Syntactically she analyzes the genitive phrase as an NP complement to the a D^0 element i.e., a assigns genitive Case under government to the DP in SPEC of its complement NP. Case is assigned under government in the canonical left-to-right order as shown in (88) below:



(from Cornilescu, 1992:249)

a1 belongs to the same set of determiners as the definite article and some genitive assigning prepositions that incorporate the definite article like those exemplified in (89) and (90):

- 89.a. fat -a Ana-ei
daughter-the Ana-GEN
- b. băiatu-l mam-ei
boy-the mother-GEN

90. înainte-a Mari-ei
before-the Mary-GEN

In (89), the definite enclitic articles and the prepositions that incorporate the definite enclitic article in (90) are genitive Case assigners of category X^0 . In her own words "generalizing over the data, we may say that in all contexts

it is the definite article which is the real and only genitive assigner." (Cornilescu, 1992:242) In this sense, her analysis comes close to Dobrovie-Sorin (1987) who considers al an inflectional determiner that heads a noun phrase that contains the genitive as its complement. In Cornilescu's analysis al is a D⁰ element different from the preposition a which occurs only with numerals as in (91):

91. tată a trei copii
 father of three children

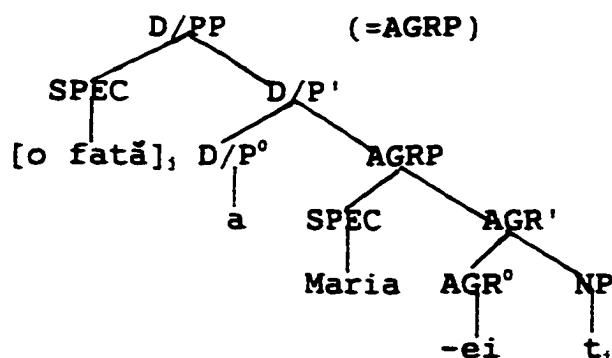
I will suggest a different analysis of a (and its variants) in section 4.2.2 below.

4.2.2 Romanian "A" and French "DE"

I would like to suggest that a (al, ai, ale, alor) in Romanian is a prepositional determiner D/P⁰ (comparable to an AGR head). The prepositional determiner a takes as its complement the AGRP constituent discussed in (4.1). An indefinite possessive phrase like in (92) has the syntactic representation in (93):

92. o fată a Mari-ei
 a girl,F,SG a,F,SG Maria-GEN

93



The fact that the possessed o fată (Nom,F,SG) agrees in Case, Number and Gender with the prepositional determiner a is now easy to explain. The agreement takes place in a SPEC-Head configuration, i.e. at a point in the derivation when the possessed NP moves to SPEC, D/P° and agrees in Case, Number and Gender with the prepositional determiner. The prepositional determiner has four variant forms that realize it: a (Nom,F, SG), a-l (Nom,M,SG), a-i (Nom,M,PL), a-le (Nom,PL,F), a-lor (Dat,PL). The D/P° agrees in Case, Number and Gender with the DP in its SPEC. Consider the illustrative examples in (94):

- 94.a. o studentă a Mari-ei
 a student(F,SG) a(F,SG) Maria-GEN
- b. doi studenți-i a-i Mari-ei
 two students(M,PL) a-M,PL,the Maria-GEN
- c. doua student-e a-le Mari-ei
 two student-FPL a-F,PL-the Maria-GEN

Given that the D/P° in Romanian shows agreement in Case, Number and Gender, I suggest it has AGR° characteristics. Moreover, SPEC, D/P is a position through which the possessed

NP must move successive cyclic (see section 4.2.2). In this respect, Romanian D/P a differs from French de; de is a D/P⁰ which is comparable to the English relative complementizer that, of category C⁰, in the picture that Bill saw. (see Kayne, 1994:103)

Historically, the Romanian D/P constitutes a "merger" of the Old Romanian preposition a and the enclitic definite determiners. Rosetti (1968) shows that the present day Romanian forms represent a merger of the preposition a and the definite articles as shown in table 95 below:

Table 95.

<u>Masculine</u>	Singular	Plural
	<u>a</u> + <u>-l</u> = <u>al</u>	<u>a</u> + <u>-i</u> = <u>ai</u>
<u>Feminine</u>	<u>a</u> + <u>-a</u> = <u>a</u>	<u>a</u> + <u>-le</u> = <u>ale</u>

Rosetti (1968 : 143) speculates that the present day Romanian forms "a", "al", "ale", "ai" go back to the Latin preposition ad plus the demonstrative determiner⁵³. In other words, ascribing a and the other variants to the D/P⁰ category reflects a historical fact.

It is interesting to note that a was a preposition that

⁵³ =Thus Rosetti (1968,143) shows that historically the following connections can be established:

1. ad + illo = al (he remarks that in the A-Romanian dialect, a is combined with the inflectional -lui yielding forms like " a ausatic-lui"; in the Megleno-Romanian dialect it seems that the oldest form was " a lu" which later became "al");

2. ad + illi = ai;

3. ad + illaei = a ei (which was the usual form in 16-th century Romanian); for illustration see the examples under (22)-25) in the text;

4. ad + illae = ale

indicated genitive Case in Old Romanian; (96) offers an illustration of this archaic use of a:

96. înainte a domni și împărați (from Diaconescu, 1970:256)
before of kings and emperors

As (96) indicates the bare use of the preposition a was the sole marker of genitive or oblique Case. Present day Romanian does not have this "pure" prepositional strategy anymore. Contemporary Romanian preserves the bare preposition a only before cardinal numerals as illustrated in (97):

97.a. tată a cinci copii
father of five child-PL
b. mamă a cinci copii
mother of five children

4.3 Romanian "DE" and English "OF" Possessive Constructions

We can explain now the de indefinite possessive constructions in Romanian. Let us look at the data once again. Consider the examples in (98)-(101) and contrast them to the forms without de discussed in section 4.2.2 above:

I. "De" Constructions

i. Singular Possessed NP

a. Masculine Possessed

98. un băiat de a-l Nan-ei
a boy, M of a-the, M, SG Nana-GEN
"one boy of Nana's"

b. Feminine Possessed

99. o fată de a Mari-ei
 a girl,F of a,the,F,SG Maria-GEN
 "one girl of Mary's"

ii. Plural Possessed

a. Masculine Possessed

100. doi băieți de a-i Nan-ei
 two boy-PL,M of a-the,M,PL Nana-GEN
 "two boys of Nana's"

b. Feminine Possessed

101. două fet-e de a-le Mari-ei
 two girl-PL,F of a-the,F,PL Maria-GEN
 "two girls of Mary's"

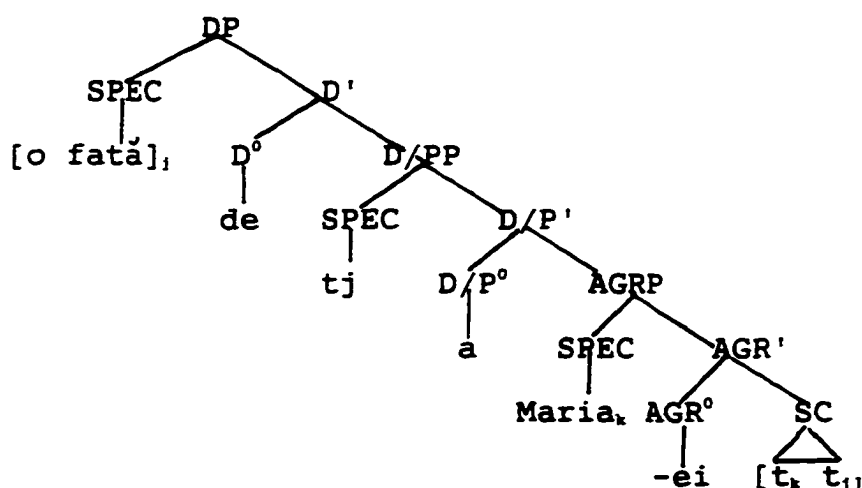
The meaning of the forms with "de" and the forms without "de" is the same. I would like to suggest that Romanian de is parallel to English of in two pictures of John's. Kayne (1993:5) suggests that in case D^0 is indefinite, English inserts the preposition of under DO in order to be able to Case license the possessor DP. Remember that in Kayne's analysis, indefinite D^0 is not a Case licenser, and possessive AGR^0 , e.g. 's is not sufficient to license Case. Hence, the insertion of the preposition of under D^0 "rescues" the structure, i.e. Case is being licensed for the possessor in an ECM configuration. Before Spell-Out, QP/NP moves to SPEC, D^0 in three sisters of John's.

I would like to suggest that Romanian de in (98)-(101) is inserted under D^0 , when D^0 is indefinite; English of and

Romanian de differ in one major respect, i.e. of is a Case licenser, while in Romanian, since a is a Case licenser, de insertion is optional. SPEC, de is an A-bar position in Romanian.

I suggest that the syntactic representation of the indefinite possessive o fată de a Mari-ei (a girl of a Maria-GEN) is as in (102) below:

102

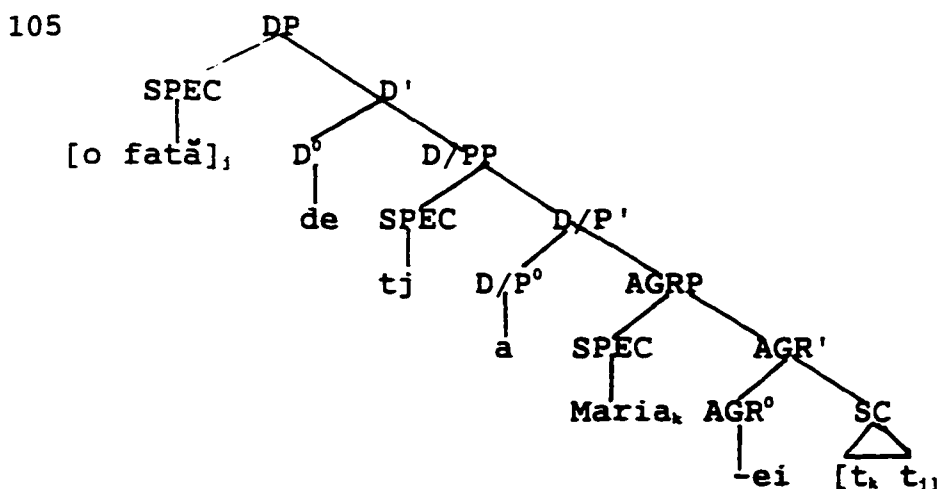


The possessed NP moves successive cyclic from its predicational position in the lower AGRP through SPEC, D/P° to reach SPEC, D°. The fact that movement to SPEC, de is not in one swoop, but successive cyclic is easy to test. Notice that a shows case, number and gender agreement with the NP in SPEC, de; hence, it must be the case that the respective NP passes through SPEC, D/P and then moves to SPEC, de. The syntactic difference between the structures with de and the structures without de in Romanian is the height of the SPEC to which the predicational NP raises, i.e. SPEC, D° in de phrases and SPEC, D/P° in the phrases without de. I have suggested that Romanian

de is parallel to English of in indefinite possessives like two books of John's. Of is a "rescuing" mechanism for Case licensing on the possessor John; hence its insertion under D^0 is obligatory. Romanian de is not obligatory, but D/P a is obligatory. Only a licenses Case (number and gender) to the NP in its SPEC.

I suggest that indefinite possessive phrases like (103) are syntactically represented as (104):

104. o fată (de) a Mari-ei
 o girl of a Maria-Gen



I have suggested that Romanian has both the Hungarian strategy for indefinite possessive, i.e. a phonetically null indefinite D^0 , and the English strategy of inserting de in indefinite D^0 . The fact that de is optional in Romanian has been analyzed as indicating that it is not a Case licenser. Case, number and gender are licensed by the D/P⁰ a head to the possessed NP in its SPEC. SPEC, D/P⁰ is an A-position in Romanian.

Let us turn our attention to definite possessive phrases.

4.4 Definite Possessives

4.4.1 The Data

Possessives constructions headed by the definite article, D⁰, show an interesting double pattern: (A) if the possessive phrase contains the possessed NP in phrase initial position and the possessor DP is in phrase second position, then the P/D a (and its variants) may not occur in the possessive phrase as illustrated in (105):

105. fat-a mam-ei
girl-the mother-the, Gen

106.*fat-a a mam-ei
girl-the a mother-the, Gen

(B) The prepositional determiner a (and its variants) is obligatory if: (1) there is an intervening constituent, i.e. an adjective, between the possessed NP and the possessor DP:

107.a. glasu-l cristalin a-l tau
voice-the clear a-M, SG, the yours
"your clear voice"

b.* glasu-l cristalin tău
voice-the clear your

(2) Possessive phrases in which the NP initial position is occupied by (i) an ADJ (and consequently the adjective has the definite enclitic D⁰) or (ii) by the demonstrative D⁰ determiner e.g., acest (this, M, SG). aceasta (this, F, SG), etc. The D/P a is overtly realized as illustrated in (108) and (109) below:

108. mare-a majoritate a student_i-lor
 large-the majority a student-PL-GEN

109. această carte a mea *această carte mea
 this book of mine this book mine

(3) In emphatic constructions the possessor precedes the possessed and the a construction is obligatory as shown in (110) below; the examples in (110) belong to the "alto", literary style:

110. cu a-l meu senin ⁵⁴	a VOASTRE vieți ^{55, 56}
with a-the, M mine clarity	a yours lives
"with that clarity of mine"	"YOUR lives"

4.4.2 Coordinate Possessive Phrases

The data in 4.4.1 raise the question whether the definite possessive structures in (105) contain a D/PP headed by D/P a in their syntactic representation. Let us consider coordinate definite possessive phrases. The syntactic facts involving DP-subdeletion in coordinate structures indicate that phrases like (105) contain more structure than meets the eye; consider the coordination in (111):

⁵⁴ = The entire quotation is: "Ca în camera ta să vin/ Să te privesc de-aproape/ Am coborât cu al meu senin/ Și m-am născut din ape." (Eminescu: Luceafărul).

⁵⁵ There is focus stress on a voastre.

⁵⁶ = The entire quotation is "A voastre vieți cu toate / Sînt ca undele ce curg." (Eminescu)

111.a. Viat₁ -a noastră și [e] a voastră.

life-the ours and of yours

"Our life and yours"

b.*Viat₁-a noastră și voastră

life-the ours and yours

Example (111.a) is a coordinate noun phrase whose first and second conjunct are definite possessive phrases; the possessed NP of the second conjunct is deleted and, as the example shows, the D/P a is obligatory; (111.b) without the D/P a is ungrammatical. The fact that under deletion the D/P a is obligatory may be interpreted as an indicating that the D/P is present in the syntactic representation of definite possessive phrases like those in (105). Consider also examples of IP coordinate structures in which there is deletion of the possessed NP and of the VP in the second conjunct; again, the D/P a must be present for the structure to be grammatical; the examples are given in (112):

112.a. Carte-a MEA a dispărut și ej_{NPposs} a lui ev_{VP}.

book-the mine has disappeared and of his.

b.* Carte -a MEA a dispărut și lui.

book-the mine has disappeared and his.

The structure under (112.a) is well formed, the second conjunct obligatorily showing the prepositional determiner a; I interpret this as indicating that the VP deletion and the subdeletion of the possessed phrase leaves behind a phrase of category D/PP as shown in (113) :

113. [_{D/PP} [e] [_{D/PO} a [_{AGRP} meu [AGR⁰ e e]]]]

4.4.3 Predicative Possessive Phrases

In predicational position to the copula a fi (be) the possessive adjective mea / ta / sa, etc., is always preceded by the prepositional determiner a as the examples under (114) indicate:

114.a. Cuțitu-l este a-l me-u⁵⁷ /a-l tă-u / a-l să-u.

knife-the,N is of-the,M,SG mine-SG/ of yours/ of his

b.* Cuțitu-l este meu / tău / său.

knife-the is mine / yours/ his

The obligatory occurrence of the D/P⁰ a+D in the a fi (be) construction is predicted by the theory. Kayne (1994:102)

⁵⁷ Notice that the possessive elements that correspond to English my have a complex structure in Romanian:

1. fat-a me - a
girl-the,SG,F poss-the,SG,F
"my girl"
2. băiatu-l me - u
boy-the,SG,M poss-the,SG,M
"my boy"
3. fet -e -le me -le
girl-PL-the,F,PL poss-the,F,PL
"my girls"
4. băieți-i-i me - i
boy-PL-the,M,PL poss-the,M,PL
"my boys"

In English my remains invariant for masculine-feminine, singular and plural possessed NPs. Your has the same variants: ta-u, ta, ta-le, ta-i, while his is sa-u, sa, sa-le, sa-i. In Romanian, the possessive determiner is complex, i.e. it contains the possessive as a Root and it takes the definite article which has alternants for gender and number, i.e. syntactically therefore the structure has more complexity to it:

1. a for SG, F
2. u for SG, M
3. le for PL, F
4. i for PL, M

explicitly notes that the D/PP occurring in possessive phrases or de constructions is "parallel to the D/PP that occurs as a sister phrase to the abstract copula in " (115)⁵⁸:

115. BE [_{D/PP} [D/P⁰ [Jean [I⁰ [voiture] ...

4.4.4 Diachronic Evidence

There is diachronic evidence that the prepositional determiner a cooccurs with definite possessives. Paula Diaconescu (1970, 250-251) notes that in Old Romanian definite possessive phrases showed the bare preposition a; consider some examples under (116):

116.a. inim -a a buni creștini (Cr. Moxa, 1640)

heart-the D/P⁰(of) good Christians

b. slav-a a sa (Diaconescu, 1970:240)

glory-the D/P⁰(of) his

c. sfânt-a a noastră viață (Diaconescu, 1970:250)

saintly-the D/P⁰(of) our life

Diachronically the preposition a was used as a genitive Case marker. The inflectional genitive was less frequent in early Romanian. Paula Diaconescu (1970:252) offers one single example of a purely inflected genitival phrase in Old Romanian given here in (117):

117. capu-1 tuturor apelor

head-the all-GEN water-GEN

"the origin of all water"

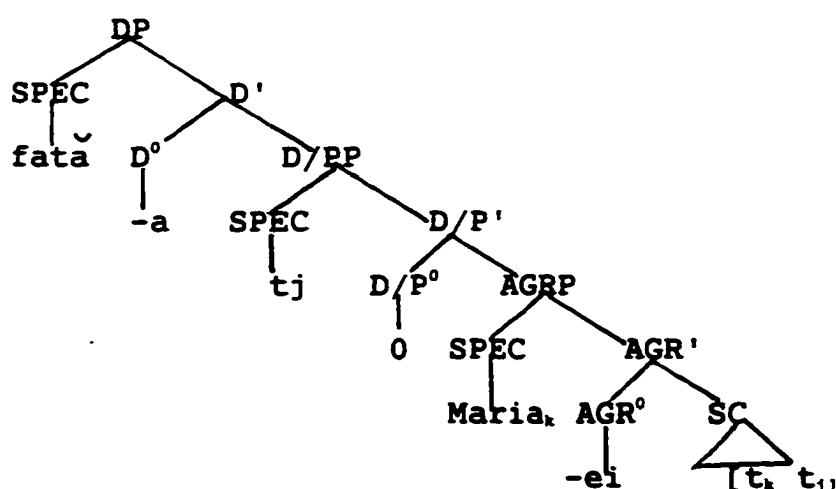
⁵⁸ = Kayne's structure (82).

Diaconescu (1970:254) remarks that Western Romance languages (French, Spanish, Italian) preserved the prepositional system for oblique Case marking, while Romanian has developed alongside the prepositional system an inflectional system of genitive and dative Case marking which is due to Slavic influences.

4.4.5 Syntactic Representation

The data discussed in sections 4.4.1-4.4.4 seem to indicate that definite possessives phrases like viat-a mea (life-the mine) or fat-a Mari-ei (Mary's daughter) contain a D/PP headed by the D/P⁰ a+D (with variation for Case, Number, Gender). The syntactic representation for the definite possessive phrase fat-a Mari-ei (Mary's daughter) is given in (118):

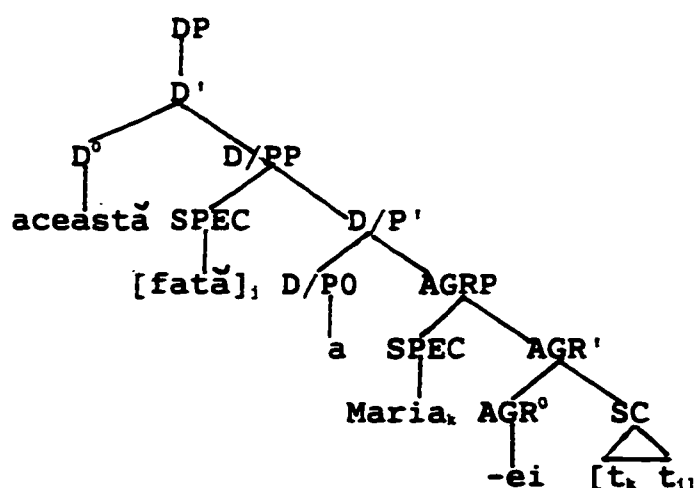
118



The possessed NP fată_✓ (girl) starts in predication position inside the AGRP. The possessor DP Maria is in SPEC, AGR_{poss}. The possessed NP moves from its predication position to SPEC, D/P° where it agrees in Case, Number and Gender with the D/P° a. Movement of an NP to an A-position (non-operator position)

across an A-position DP is allowed. Furthermore, the possessed NP in SPEC, D/P⁰ moves out of the D/PP to SPEC, D⁰; there is agreement in number and gender between the possessed NP in SPEC, D⁰ and the D⁰ head. The existence of number and gender agreement between the NP in SPEC, D and the D⁰ head raises an interesting issue about the syntactic properties of SPEC, D. Kayne (1994), Szabolcsi (1994), Raposo-Uriagereka (1996) have argued that SPEC, D is an A-bar position to which there is movement in "one swoop". In Romanian the possessed NP moves successive cyclic from its basic predicational position to SPEC, D/P⁰ and then to SPEC, D⁰ as the agreement data indicate. The syntactic structure in (118) also explains the obligatory presence of D/P a in definite possessive phrase like această fată a Mari-ei (this girl of Mary's); consider (119) below:

119.



Definite D⁰ is spelled out as demonstrative această. The reasoning is as follows: the predicational NP fată (girl) needs a SPEC position to move into before Spell-Out; hence, the obligatory presence of the D/P⁰ a into whose SPEC the

predicational NP moves. Notice that we have also an explanation for the agreement in Case, Number and Gender that exists between the predicational NP and the prepositional determiner a whose variants (al, ai, ale, alor contain Case, Number and Gender information). At the point in the derivation when the predicational NP moves into SPEC, D/P⁰, the agreement between the head D/P⁰ and the XP in its SPEC takes place.

I have assumed without any explanation that the demonstrative acest (this, M,SG) is a D⁰ element. This syntactic characterization might seem surprising. I would like to suggest that possessive determiners and demonstratives belong to two different syntactic categories in Romanian, XP and X⁰⁵⁹ (see section 4.5 below).

4.4.6 The Subject-Verb Agreement Data

Traditional grammarians have noted that finite verbs show SG number, 3 person agreement with subject possessive phrases like număru-1 acces-e-lor (the number of eruptions). But marginally, the finite verb may show PL number, 3 person agreement as the examples in (120)-(121) indicate:

120.a. Număr(u)-1 acces -e -lor scade , bonavu-1
 number-the convulsion-PL-Gen decrease-SG,3, sick-the
 tușește mai puțin.

⁵⁹ Eric Hamp informed me that Albanian has a parallel syntactic behaviour for the possessives.

caughs a bit less

"The number of convulsions decreases and the sick person caughs less"

b.?Număr(u)-l acces -e -lor scad , bonavu-l
number-the convulsion-PL-Gen decrease-PL,3, sick-the
tuşeşte mai puţin.

caughs a bit less

"The number of convulsions decreases and the sick person caughs less"

(from Hristea, 1984:328)

121.a.Număru-l bacteri-i-lor rezistent-e la antibiotice
number-SG,the bacterium-PL-the resistant-PL,F to antibiotics
creşte oferind alte tablouri clinice.

grow-SG,3 offering modified charts clinical

"The number of bacteria resistant to antibiotics grows..

b.Număru-l bacteri-i-lor rezistent-e la antibiotice
number-SG,the bacterium-PL-the resistant-PL,F to antibiotics
.?cresc oferind alte tablouri clinice.

grow-PL,3 offering modified charts clinical

"The number of bacteria resistant to antibiotics grows..."

122.a.Majoritatea [cuvint-e-lor din fondul nostru principal]
majority-the word-PL-Gen from core-the our main
este de origine latină.⁶⁰

be-Pres-SG3 of origin Latin.

⁶⁰ I seem to prefer (2.b), but Stefan Stoenescu informs me that for him (2.a) is perfect and that (2.b) has a "?" for him.

"The majority of the words from of the core vocabulary are of Latin origin."

b. Majoritatea [cuvint-e-lor din fondul nostru principal]
 majority-the word-PL-Gen from core-the our main
sunt de origine latină.
 be-Pres-PL3 of origin Latin.

"The majority of the words from the core vocabulary are of Latin origin."

All the (a) examples above show SG, 3 person agreement with the finite verb, i.e. agreement with the SG possessed NP in SPEC, D. All the (b) examples above show PL agreement with the verb, i.e. agreement with the PL possessor DP. Although PL agreement is accepted as "good" Romanian, cases of PL agreement are very frequent, both in written and spoken Romanian. I would like to suggest that the existence of the (b) examples is due to the syntactic configuration of the possessive subject phrase; namely, PL, 3 agreement with the finite verb is agreement with the PL possessor DP at a point in the syntactic derivation when the possessed NP is in its predication position inside the AGRP. Since movement of the predication NP out of the AGRP is obligatory, PL agreement with the finite verb is possible, but never encouraged by grammarians. In other words, given that there is a point in the syntactic derivation in which the possessor DP is in a higher SPEC position than the predication NP, PL, 3 person agreement with the finite verb is agreement with the possessor DP.

One can test this suggestion by looking at the agreement between possessive subject phrases and predication adjectives. Consider the examples in (123):

- 123.a. Mare-a majoritate a zidar-i-lor a
 great-the majority-SG,F of masson-PL,M-Gen have-SG3
 fost felicitat-ă.
 been congratulated-SG-F
- b. Majoritate-a zidar-i-lor au
 majority-the,SG,F masson-PL,M-Gen have-PL3
 fost felicitat-i.
 been congratulated-PL,M
- c. Majoritate-a zidăr-i-țe-lor au
 majority-the,SG,F masson-PL,F-Gen have-PL3
 fost felicitat-e.
 been congratulated-PL,F

In (123.a) the SG 3 Person agreement with the verb is agreement with the SG DP mare-a majoritate (great-the,F majority, SG,F). Majoritate (majority) is a noun phrase restricted by the adjective mare (large); the predicative adjective felicitat-ă (SG,F) agrees in number and gender with the NP marea majoritate (the large majority). In (123.b) the V agrees in PL number and 3 Person with the possessor PL,M DP zidar-i-lor (masson-PL,M-GEN); the predicative adjective felicitat-i shows PL,M agreement. In (123.c) the predicative adjective felicitat-e (PL,F) indicates unambiguously that the agreement is with the possessor PL,F DP zidăr-i-țe-lor (masson-

F, PL, GEN).

The agreement facts discussed above support the idea that SG,3 agreement with the finite verb is agreement with the SG NP in SPEC,D, while PL,3 agreement with the finite verb is agreement with the PL possessor DP at a point in the syntactic derivation when the possessor DP is in a higher SPEC position in the architecture of the subject phrase. The obligatory overt movement of the possessed NP to SPEC, D⁰ in Romanian explains the "sub-standard", careless⁶¹ colloquial register that the agreement with the possessor DP has.

The analysis also supports the Kayne's (1994) suggestion about the existence of a syntactic parallelism between the structure of partitive phrases and possessive phrases. Romanian possessive phrases differ from Hungarian and English possessives in having Spec, D/P⁰ as an A-position. Definite possessives indicate that agreement (number and gender agreement) takes place in SPEC, D. The A or A-bar properties of these two SPEC positions need further investigation.

In the next two subsections I will turn my attention to two other syntactic issues that the possessive phrases pose.

4.5 Two Possessive Elements: XP and X⁰

4.5.1 Comparative analyses of Germanic languages (mainly English) on the one hand and Scandinavian and Balkanic languages (Romanian, Greek) on the other hand have pointed

⁶¹ Thanks to Anca Cristofovici for pointing this out to me.

out that Romanian, like Greek, but unlike English, has possessive phrases in which the possessive determiner and the definite article co-occur; consider the contrast in (124)-(125) below:

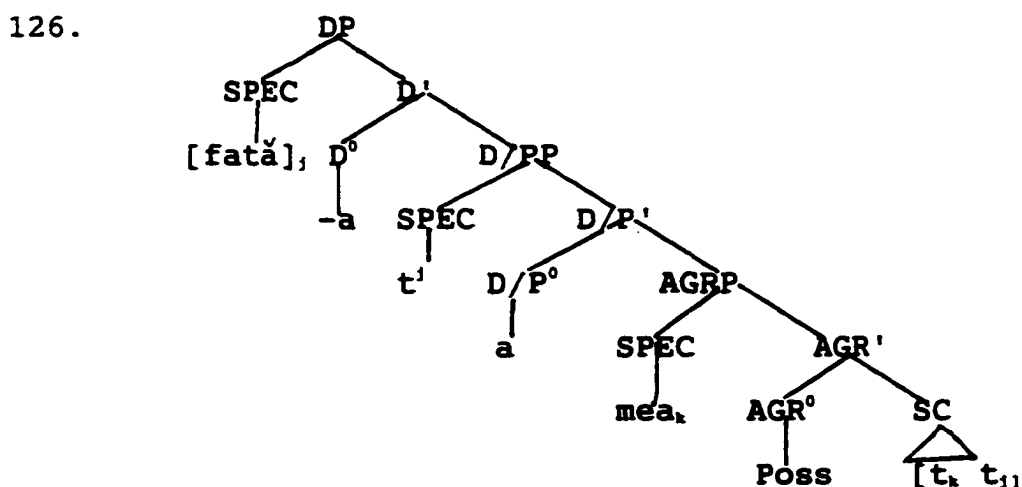
Romanian:

124. fat- a mea
girl-the my

English:

125.a. my girl
b.*the my girl

I have argued in the preceding section that mea is a predicational XP. I would like to suggest that in (124) "mea" is a phrase whose adequate English equivalent is mine not my. I have argued above that the syntactic representation for (124) fat-a mea (daughter-the mine) should be (126):



The adequate English gloss for structure (124) above is girl-the mine and not girl-the my.

It is interesting that the corresponding English phrase is

that friend of mine. In Old English the construction existed as well as indicated in (127)⁶²:

127. that girl of mine

In other words, Romanian structures like (124) are found in English (as shown by (127)).

My analysis aligns itself with Giusti (1992, 1994) in considering mea in (124) a possessive adjective, syntactic category XP. In addition, I would like to suggest that XP mea is to be distinguished from mea that has definite-determiner "enclitic" properties and is an X⁰ element. In other words, the analysis that will be presented here distinguishes between two possessive elements: (i) an adjectival possessive, the possessives are of the XP category (in line with Giusti, 1994); (ii) possessives with determiner characteristics, X⁰ category, with syntactic properties that differ from those of possessive adjectives.

I. Possessive Adjective (syntactic category XP)

128.a. fat-a me-a

girl-the poss-the,SG,F

b. baiatu-l me-u

boy-the,SG,M poss-the,SG,M

c. fet -e -le me-le

girl-PL-the,F,PL poss-the,PL,F

⁶² = Thanks to Ellen Driscoll who pointed out to me the existence of the construction in Old English.

d. băiet-i-i me - i

boy-PL-the, PL, M poss-the, PL, M

II. Enclitic Determiner (syntactic category X^0)

129.a. soră -mea b. mamă -sa c. mă -sa
 sister-my mother-his mo(ther)-his

4.5.2 X^0 Possessive Elements

Romanian has possessive D^0 which are in free variation with the enclitic definite article. The possessives mea, ta, sau, etc., can all be used as X^0 s. In such instances, the possessive NP is morphologically clipped, e.g. tau becomes -to and the reduction can extend to the noun itself, i.e. tata (father) can be clipped to ta (yielding ta-to) and mama (mother) can be clipped to ma- (yielding forms like ma-sa = mother-his); consider such reductions as listed under (130):

130. tat-său (fath(er)-his); tat-so (fath(er)-his;
 mamă-sa (mother-his⁶³); mă-sa (mo(ther)-his;
 soră-ta (sister-your), sor-ta (sis(ter)-yours), etc.
 mamă-mea (mother-my), sor-mea (sis my).

The definite enclitic article is being "dropped" and in its stead, the possessive is used enclitically. In such instances the possessives său, -so, tău, -to -mea are determiners and are of category X^0 (they are spell-outs of D^0). I would like to suggest that in (130) the head N of the noun phrase is left

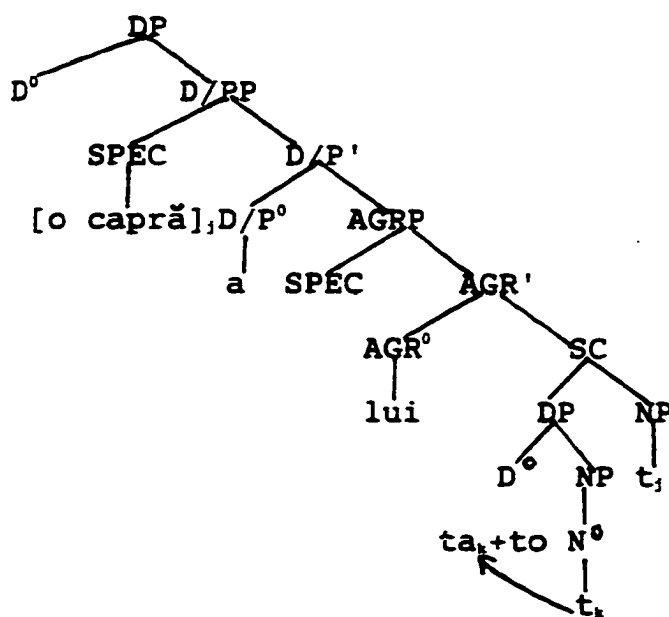
⁶³ As I shall show, the gloss is inadequate. The reduced possessive form is in fact a D-zero element, hence "mă-sa" has as adequate English gloss "mom-the".

adjoined to the D⁰ head. I will discuss three different arguments in favour of syntactic representation (131):

131. o capră a lui ta-to

a goat of GEN fath(er)-you(rs)

132



Three different arguments in support of the analysis of possessive mea, ta, sa as D⁰ elements:

i. The phrases listed under (130) can occur with a possessive XP. Gramatica Academiei (1968, I,158) suggests that "reduced" possessives lose their possessive interpretation and a possessive XP, e.g. lui is added to the structure to make it clear in point of interpretation. Consider the illustrative examples in (133) below:

- 133.a. *îi duce bărbat -su -lui*⁶⁴ *de mâncare*
 to him takes-3SG husband-the-hers of eating
 "She takes food to her husband"
- b. *frate -su-lui*
 brother-the-his
- c. *mă -sa lor*
 mom-the their

The use of the possessive XP -lui indicates that the "clipped" versions of the possessives above are analyzed as enclitic articles, i.e. D⁰ elements; hence their cooccurrence with XP possessives.

ii. It is also the case that the D⁰ possessive elements behaves like the enclitic definite article in showing Case variation. Gramatica Academiei (1968, I; 159) gives two illustrative examples:

- 134.a. *noră -mea noră-mei*
 daughter-in-law-mea-NOM DAT
- b. *mă -sa mă-sii*
 mom-sa-NOM DAT

iii. Thirdly, the test of coordination indicates that there is a difference in the coordination of these phrases as the difference in grammaticality between (135) and (136) illustrates:

⁶⁴ = lui is the 3 Person masculine pronoun which is used instead of său.

135. Cas-a sor-si și mă-si a dispărut de pe
 house-the sis-the and mom-the have-3SG disappeared from
 fața pământului.
 face earth-the-GEN

136.**Cas-a sor-si și a si au disparut de pe
 house-the sis-the and of the have-3PL disappeared from
 fața pământului.
 face earth-the-GEN

The head noun mă (mom) cannot be deleted in the coordinate phrase in (136). mă is not an independent word; and neither is the D° element -si. -si requires phonetic support, i.e. it cannot occur by itself. Moreover, a which is the functional head of the D/PP in XP possessors, may not occur with the X° possessors; a structure like (136) is not only ungrammatical but incomprehensible. To make (136) good, the full adjectival possessive sa (his) must be used.

The arguments under (i)-(iii) suggest that the reduced forms of the possessive are heads with "definite" article properties ,i.e. they are spell-outs of the D° head⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ This conclusion is not surprising in view of the fact that Romanian demonstratives are syntactically D° in (A) and adjectival XPs in (B); I agree with Cornilescu's (1992) analysis and disagree with Giusti (1994) who considers the demonstratives in both (A) and (B) as XPs:

D° Demonstratives:

- A. a. acest băiat (masculine, singular)
 this boy
- b. aceasta fată (feminine, singular)
 this girl
- c. acești băieți (masculine, plural)
 these boys
- d. aceste fete (feminine, plural)

5 Oblique Prepositions in Romanian

5.1 "DE", "A", "LA" in Old Romanian

Paula Diaconescu (1970, 254-255) notices that in Western Romance the synthetic declension disappeared being replaced by a pre-positional system. French de, a, Spanish de, a and Italian di, a are prepositions that can be traced back to the Latin de and ad. In Eastern Romance, as illustrated by Romanian, the Latin system of oblique Case marking exists with the oblique prepositions de, a, la, intru, spre, etc.

The discussion in section 4.2 above established that indefinite possessive constructions with de in Romanian are analogues to English of in indefinite possessive phrases.

Nevertheless, there is a use of de in which de functions in a different syntactic way, i.e. it seems to be the equivalent of the inflectional genitive or dative Case construction. Consider the illustrative examples under (137)-(139); the Old Romanian de construction is listed under (a); the (b) examples are Contemporary Romanian forms:

- 137.a. zbor de zei (16-th century, from Diaconescu, 1970, 254)
flight of gods

-
- these girls
XP Demonstratives
B. a. băiatu-l acesta
boy -the this-a
b. fat-a aceast-a
girl-the this-a
c. băieṭ-i-i aceṣti-a
boy- PL-the these-a
d. fete-le aceste-a
girl-PL-the these-a

b. zboru-l zei-lor (CR)

flight-the gods-GEN

138.a. in vale de plîngere (16-thcentury)

in valley of lament

b. in vale-a plînger-ii (CR)

in valley-the lament-GEN

139.a. brîu de cetate

surrounding-wall of burg

b. brîu-l cetăţ-ii

surrounding-wall burg-GEN

Present day Romanian has preserved both the (a) and (b) forms with a difference in interpretation. The (a) forms are equivalent to nominal compounds in English, i.e. linden flower - floare de tei; the (b) constructions are the usual genitive construction with definite possessors and as such they are referential expressions; the de forms have a more abstract interpretation.

In Old Romanian prepositional phrases like înainte de (before de), dinainte de (before de), înauntru în (inside in), etc. marked the oblique Case by de, or în. In Contemporary Romanian these complex prepositions have developed noun-like properties; the prepositions înainte, dinainte, înauntru take the definite masculine enclitic article and the oblique de is superseded by the genitive inflection on the possessor noun (the (b) examples below):

140.a. înainte de moară

before of mill

b. înainte-a morii

before-the mill+GEN

141.a. dinainte de război

before of war

b. dinainte-a războiului

before-the war+GEN

142.a. înăuntru în casă

inside in house

b. înăuntru-l cas-ei

inside-the house+GEN

The preposition la was used in 16-th century as a dative Case marker as illustrated in (143):

143. zise șarpe-le la muiere

said snake-the to woman

Certain dialects maintain the oblique preposition la as a dative Case marker to the present day.

5.2. The data indicate that Old Romanian used de, la, spre, etc. to mark oblique Case. In the transition period, phrases that contained an oblique preposition and the genitive inflection existed. In present day Romanian the genitive Case is rendered by inflectional affixes; those phrases which are built with de and which also have the genitive construction show a difference in interpretation, i.e. partitive, compound-like properties for the oblique de construction and definite/

referential properties for the genitive inflectional phrase. The preposition a (of) merged the enclitic definite article in present day Romanian, yielding an element that is an instance of D/P⁰. The fact that Romanian has both de and a indicates that Romanian de is different from French de.

Section 3

AGREEMENT WITH COORDINATE SUBJECTS

Overview

Section 3 discusses the relationship between verb movement and agreement in finite sentences whose subject phrase is a coordinate phrase. I assume that the syntactic structure of coordinate phrases obeys Kayne's (1994) LCA, i.e. coordinating conjunctions like and are heads⁶⁶ that bring coordinate structures in line with the antisymmetry requirement. The presence of agreement (number / person agreement) implies that the verb raises to the AGR⁰ head in the overt syntax, i.e. AGR⁰ is the highest functional head in the clausal architecture in Romanian. In the VS order, number and person agreement with subjects that are CoordPs is agreement either (i) with the first conjunct in SPEC, CoordP, or (ii) with the entire CoordP. The agreement possibility in (i) is based on the syntactic asymmetry between the two conjuncts; it is also related to the possibility of extracting out of the first conjunct and to the issue of SPEC positions in general. In section 7 I will suggest an analysis of agreement phenomena with subject coordinate phrases in Romanian that relates verb-movement and agreement in a direct way. Section 8 discusses independent motivation for extractability out of the first conjunct. Sections 9 and 10 discuss data from CoordPs that do

⁶⁶ See sections 9 and 10 below for a discussion of cases which do not fit this theoretical view.

not seem to conform to the analysis in sections 7 and 8.

6.1 The Agreement Data

6.1.1 In Romanian, number/person agreement between subject coordinate⁶⁷ phrases formed of two singular DPs⁶⁸ and the finite verb is as in (i) and (ii):

i. if the coordinate subject precedes the V (SVO order) the agreement with the V is PL in number, 3 Person as illustrated in (138); (but see section 7.5 example (181));

ii. if the verb raises past the coordinate subject, i.e. the V asymmetrically c-commands the coordinate subject, then a second possibility opens up, namely SG,3 agreement (nota bene PL,3 agreement is not excluded) as shown in (145). Consider the examples below:

Subj-V Order and PL 3 Agreement

144.a. Gheața sticlea, și pe luci(u)-l ei [lumin-a lun-ii
ice-the glittered and on shine-the her light-the moon-Gen
și focu-l ste-le-lor] tremur-a-u. (L.Vasiliu, 1966:112)
and fire-the star-PL-Gen shimmer-Imp-PL3

"The ice was glittering and on its shiny surface the light
of the moon and the fire of the stars were shimmering"

b. [Impărat(u)l Verde, fat-a sa, spîn(u)-l și

⁶⁷ = In the discussion that follows I will consider instances of coordination with și (approximately English and).

⁶⁸ This seems to be a frequent case across languages, see for Irish (McCloskey & Hale, 1984), for Belfast Irish (Henry, 1995) for Palauan (Georgopoulos, 1991), Standard Arabic and Modern Hebrew (Shlonsky 1989, Ouhalla, 1994) and section (6.1.2) here.

emperor-the Green daughter-SG-the his red-man-the and
toata curte-a împărăteasca] le ies inainte.
all court-the imperial to them come-PL3 forward

"The Green emperor, his daughter, the red-haired man and
all the imperial court come to meet them"

V-Subj Order and SG,3 or PL,3 Agreement

145.a.Gheață-a sticl-ea, și pe luci(u)-l ei tremur-a/-au

ice-the glittered and on shine-the her tremble-Imp-SG3/PL3
[lumin-a lun-i-i și foc(u)-l ste-le-lor].

light-the moon-Gen and fire-the star-PL-Gen

"The ice was glittering and on its shiny surface was shimmering the light of the moon and the fire of the stars"

b.Le iese/ies înainte împărat(u)-l Verde,

to them come-SG/PL3 forwards emperor-the Green,

fat-a sa, spîn(u)-l și toată curte-a împărătească.
daughter-the his red-man-the and all court-the imperial

"The Green emperor, his daughter, the red-haired man and
all the imperial court came to meet them"

The assumption is that subject-verb agreement takes place at a point in the syntactic derivation when the verb moves to the AGR⁰ head and the subject phrase moves to SPEC, AGR⁰. In the SVO order, the CoordP subject is moved to SPEC, AGR⁰ in the overt syntax, hence PL, 3 agreement is the case; while in the VSO order two agreement possibilities exist: (i) PL, 3, i.e. agreement with the entire subject phrase which moves covertly to SPEC, AGR⁰, or (ii) SG, 3, i.e. agreement with the singular

DP in SPEC, CoordP which moves out of SPEC, T° to SPEC, AGR°¹². The verb moves to the AGR° head in both orders, e.g. SVO and VSO. The data in (144) and (145) seem to suggest that the finite verb raises to the highest functional head, i.e. AGR°, in the overt syntax.

6.1.2 Other Languages

The Romanian data are reminiscent of (a) number agreement variation in VSO sentences in Arabic (from Mohammad, 1989)

146.a. l-?awlaad-u jaa?uu.

the boys-NOM came-PL3M

b. jaa?a l-?awaad-u.

came-SG3M the boys-NOM

(b) In Russian coordinate subjects agree with a PL verb in the SVO order as illustrated in (147). In the VS order, both SG and PL agreement are possible as shown in (148):

147.a. S'em'on-da-zena ne - p'isut. (SVO)

Simon and wife do not write-PL

b. Brigadir i ucitel' prisli.

The brigade-leader and teacher came-PL

148.a. Nap'er'od idut pop i - djakon. (VS -PL)

In front go-PL the priest and the deacon

b. Zaplac'et mat' i - moj ot'ec. (VS-SG)

will cry-SG mother and my father

(from Corbett, 1983: 107-108, ex.2,3,7,9)

(c) English "there" sentences whose associate noun phrase is a CoordP show parallel contrasts. Consider the number

variation between (149) and (150) which seems to suggest that in the VS order number agreement is with the DP in SPEC, CoordP. Consider the following examples pointed out to me by Safir (p.c. about Haiman, 1970).

149.a. There is [a man and a woman] in the room. VS

b.? There are [a man and a woman] in the room.

150.a. There are/ *is [two men and a woman] in the room.

b. There is/ ?are [a man and two women] in the room.

c. There was/? were [a box and a lamp on the table].

(the last example is from Kroch, 1989:242)

SV

151.a. [A man and two women] are /*is in the room.

b. [A box and a lamp] *was/ were on the table.

(the last example is from Kroch, 1989:242)

In section 7 I will suggest an analysis that accounts in a unified way for the data in (144)-(151).

7 The Analysis of the Romanian Data

7.1 Two Theoretical Assumptions

The analysis is based on two major assumptions about syntactic structure. (i) The first assumption is that the two conjuncts are asymmetric. This assumption is rooted in empirical observations about the behaviour of the two conjuncts w.r.t. Binding Theory. Munn (1991) and Moltmann (1992) discuss data like in (152)- (153) below in which the first conjunct may bind a pronoun in the second conjunct, but not vice versa:

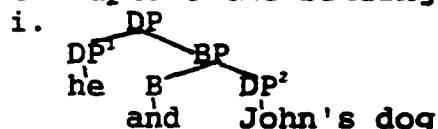
- 152.a. every man and his wife
 b. every man and two of his children
 c. every man and a picture of himself
- 153.a. *his wife and every man
 b. *two of his children and every man
 c. *a picture of himself and every man
- (from Moltmann, 1992:46)

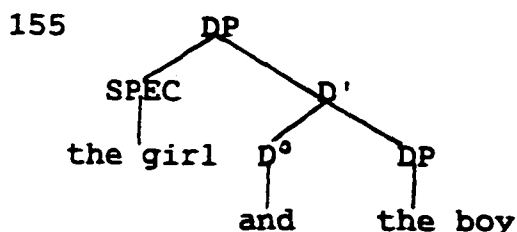
Another case of binding asymmetry mentioned by Munn (1991) is the case of an R-expression in the first conjunct that may be coreferential with a pronoun in the second conjunct, but the inverse situation is impossible as (154.b) indicates:

- 154.a. John's dog and he/him went for a walk.
 b. *He and John's dog went for a walk.

The asymmetry between the two conjuncts is captured in my analysis by the requirement that the syntactic structure of coordinate phrases obeys Kayne's LCA, i.e. "coordinating conjunctions are heads that serve to bring coordinate structures in line with the antisymmetry requirement imposed by LCA." (Kayne, 1994:12). The structural representation for a coordinate phrase like the girl and the boy is as in (155)⁶⁹:

⁶⁹ Munn (1991) suggests a structure of coordination in which the coordinator is the head of a new category BP (Boolean phrase). The second conjunct is the complement of the coordinator and the BP is adjoined to the first conjunct as in (i). His proposal intends to capture the binding asymmetries between the two conjuncts:





(from Kayne, 1994:12)

(ii) Secondly, for an X^0 category to asymmetrically c-command an XP, the X^0 must be moved to another X^0 position above the XP⁷⁰. In other words, for the V to asymmetrically c-command the subject phrase, it must move to a head position above that subject. The reasoning put forth in my analysis follows directly from these two geometric assumptions. Consider the data in (156) below:

VSO

156.a. Pe el îl mînce /mînceau [băutura și Dochita].

Acc him CL_{acc} eat-SG3 / eat-PL3 booze-the and Dochita.

" Drinking and Dochita were destroying him"

SVO

b. [Băutura și Dochita] îl mînceau /*mînce.

booze-the and Dochita him eat-PL3 /*eat-SG3

Sentence (156.a) has XVS order. For the V to asymmetrically c-command the subject it must be the case that it moves to a

In (i), DP¹ asymmetrically c-commands DP². The ungrammaticality of (ii) is derived as a Condition C violation:

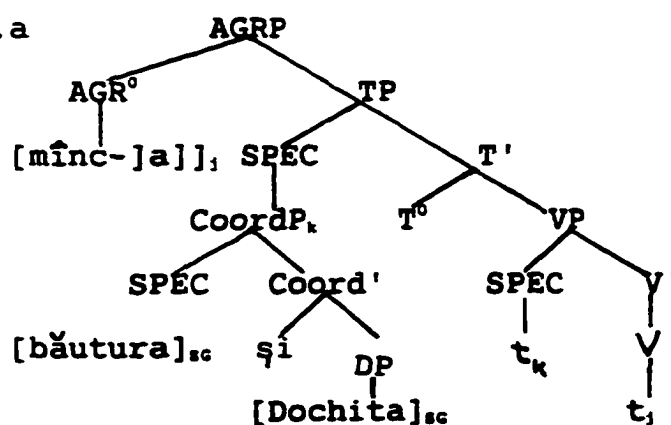
ii. *his wife and every man

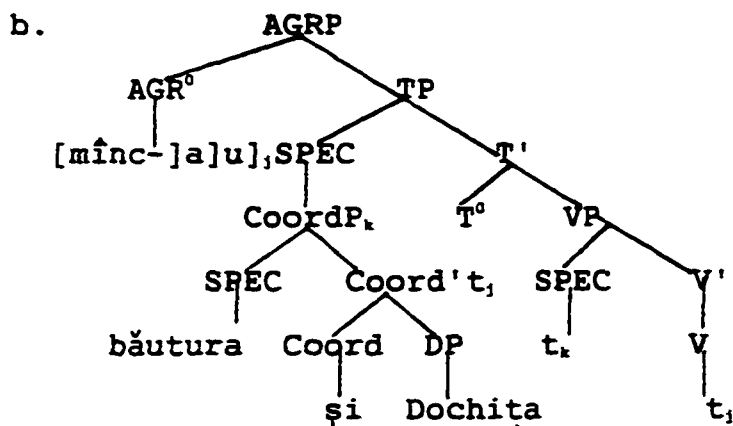
⁷⁰ Kayne states that "a V can asymmetrically c-command a subject only if it moves to a head position above that subject" (Kayne:1994,51).

head position above the subject. Let us assume that successive applications of Head-Movement raise the V out of the VP to the T^0 head and to the Number/Person head, respectively. The coordinate subject DP which originates in SPEC, VP moves overtly to SPEC, T^0 for nominative Case licensing. At pre Spell-Out this gives the VS order. Since agreement takes place in a SPEC-Head configuration, SG number, 3 person agreement with the verb will be agreement between the V raised to the Number/Person head and the singular DP in SPEC, CoordP which raises covertly out of SPEC, T^0 to SPEC, Number /Person⁰ (for LF movement of a DP to the specifier of AGR⁰ see Law, 1991:49, Kayne, 1994:52, Henry, 1995: 25). On the other hand, PL, 3 person agreement in the VS order, will be agreement with the entire CoordP which moves covertly out of SPEC, T^0 to SPEC, Number/Person⁰. The syntactic derivations are as in (157.a/b):

VS Order (SG number, 3 person agreement)

157.a



VS Order (PL number, 3 person agreement)

In (156.b) repeated here for convenience:

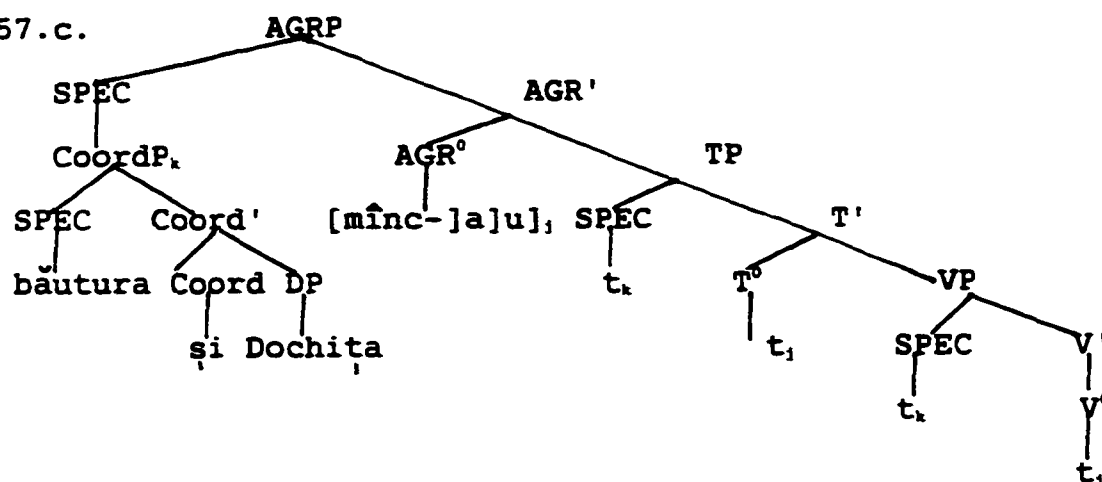
156.b.[Băutura și Dochita] îl mîncău /*mîncă.

booze-the and Dochita him eat-PL3 /*eat-SG3

the order is SVO and the verb agrees in PL number, 3 Person with the preverbal subject. There is no evidence in Romanian that the V is raised to a higher structural head in case it agrees in PL number, 3 person. No adverbs or floating quantifiers can be used as diagnostic tests for the position between the T° and AGR°. The syntactic derivation of the sentence is simple: the V is raised successively by Head-movement to the T° head, and the Number/Person° head; likewise, there is successive movement of the coordinate subject phrase, from SPEC, VP to SPEC, T°, for nominative Case licensing, and to SPEC, Number/Person°, where PL,3 agreement is licensed. Since it is the entire CoordP that moves to SPEC, Number/Person° in the overt syntax, there is an explanation why SG agreement is ungrammatical. The derivation is as in (157.c):

SV Order (PL number, 3 person agreement)

157.c.



7.2 Testing the Proposal

To test the idea that in VS order SG number agreement is agreement with the SG DP in SPEC, CoordP, one should choose a coordinate DP phrase that contains two constituents that differ in number, i.e. DP_{sc} and a DP_{pl}⁷¹ or two constituents that differ in number and person⁷²; if the agreement with the verb varies depending on whether the DP_{sc} or the DP_{pl} is in SPEC, CoordP, then the above proposal has a greater degree of plausibility to it. Consider a coordinate DP phrase like in (158):

158.a. [mam-a sa și suror-i-le sa-le]

DP,SG and DP,PL

mother-the-SG,F poss-the,SG,F and sister-PL-the poss-the,PL,F

"his mother and his sisters"

⁷¹ This test was suggested to me by R. Fiengo.

⁷² This test was suggested to me by K. Safir.

b. [suror-i-le sale și mam-a sa]

DP, PL and DP, SG

sister-PL-the his and mother-the his

"his sisters and his mother"

(158.a) is a coordinate phrase in which the first DP is in the singular and the second DP is in the plural; in (158.b) the order of the two constituents is reversed. If the agreement pattern with the verb is different in case the subject is (158.a) or (158.b), then the above made suggestion becomes stronger. Let us look at the subject-verb in VS order. Contrast the examples in (159):

159.a. Carier-a lui o încurajau [suror-i-le lui și tatăl lui]

PL3_v [PL_{DP} SG_{DP}]_{subject}

Career-the his CL encouraged-PL sisters-the his and father his

"His sisters and his father encouraged his career"

b. *Carier-a lui o încuraja [surorile lui și tatăl lui].

SG3_v [PL_{DP} SG_{DP}]_{Subject}

Career-the his encouraged-SG sisters-the his and father-the his

The difference in grammaticality between (159.a) and (159.b) constitutes a strong piece of evidence as to the plausibility of my suggestion⁷³: in (159.a) the V shows PL agreement, while

⁷³ Consider also the examples in (a) and (b):

a. Cariera lui o încurajau [tatăl lui și surorile lui].

PL3_v [SG_{DP} PL_{DP}]_{PLSubject}

"His father and his sisters encouraged his career."

b. Carier-a lui o încuraja [tatăl lui și suror-i-le lui].

DO SG3_v [SG_{DP} PL_{DP}]_{Subject}

Career-the his CL encourages father-the his and sisters-the his

in (159.b) the V shows SG agreement and the sentence is bad. Under my suggestion, (159.b) is bad since the DP in SPEC, CoordP is a PL DP, hence the V should agree in PL number". Consider the coordination in (160) which involves a conjunct which is a SG,2 person pronoun and another conjunct which is a PL, 3 lexical DP; the agreement with the finite verb is as in (161):

"His father and his sisters encouraged his career."

" Consider also other examples of sentences with transitive verbs:

A.a.Chinurile acestea le cunoștea [vinovat(u)-1 si
SG3_v SG_{DP}

Torment-Pl the these CL knew-SG3 [trespasser-the and
 cei implicați împreuna cu el].
PL_{DP}

those associated together with him].

"The trespasser and his accomplices knew-SG3 these
 torments."

b.Chin-uri-le acestea le cunoșteau [vinovat(u)-1 și
Pst-PL3_v SG_{DP}

Torment-Pl-the these CL knew-PL3 [trespasser-the and
 cei implicați împreuna cu el].
PL_{DP}

those associated together with him].

"The trespasser and his accomplices knew-PL3 these
 torments."

B.a.Chinurile acestea le cunoștea *[cei implicați și

Pst-SG3_v PL_{DP} SG_{DP}
 torments these CL knew-SG3 *[those accomplices and the
 vinovatul/trespasser].

"*The accomplices and the trespasser knew-SG3 these torments."

b.Chinurile acestea le cunoșteau [cei implicați și vinovatul]

Pst-PL3_v PL_{DP} SG_{DP}
 Torments those Cl knew-PL3 [those accomplices and the
 trespasser].

"The accomplices and the trespasser knew-PL3 these torments."

160.a. tu și suror-i-le ta-le
 you and sister-PL-the,PL,F 2poss-the,PL,F
 "you and your sisters"

b. suror-i-le ta-le și tu
 sister-PL-the your and you

161.a. Chinurile acestea le cunoșteai⁷⁵ [tu și surorile tale].
 tormets these CL know-SG2 you and your sisters
 "You and your sisters knew these torments"

b. Chinurile acestea le cunoșteau surorile tale și cu tine.
 torments these CL knew-PL3 sisters your and with you
 "Your sisters and you knew these torments"

c.*Chinurile acestea le cunoșteai surorile tale și cu tine.
 torments these CL knew-SG2 sisters your and with you

As the ungrammaticality of (161.c) indicates, the verb may not agree with SG, 2 person in case the DP in SPEC, CoordP is a PL lexical DP. (161.a) is flawless, the verb shows SG,2 agreement and the DP in SPEC, CoordP is a SG,2 person pronoun. In case the DP in SPEC, CoordP is PL, the verb shows PL,3 agreement as

⁷⁵ There is another agreement possibility for (152.a), i.e. PL,2 as shown in (i) below:

i. Chinurile acestea le cunoșteai [tu și surorile tale].
 tormets these CL know-PL2 you and your sisters
 "You and your sisters knew these torments"

PL number, 2 person agreement with the verb is an instance of what Corbett (1979) called person/number resolution, i.e. in case the CoordP contains a 2 person and a 3 person NP, person "resolution" is in favour of 2 person. My syntactic account given here seems not to be able to account for such cases. See also sections 9 and 10 below. Laura Vasiliu (1966) has a discussion of such cases for Romanian. The data are reported in all types of traditional grammars.

in (161.b) and the sentence is grammatical.

7.3 The English Data

The data listed under (150)-(151) above repeated here under (162)-(164) receive a simple explanation at this point in our discussion.

162.a. There is [a man and a woman] in the room.

b.? There are [a man and a woman] in the room.

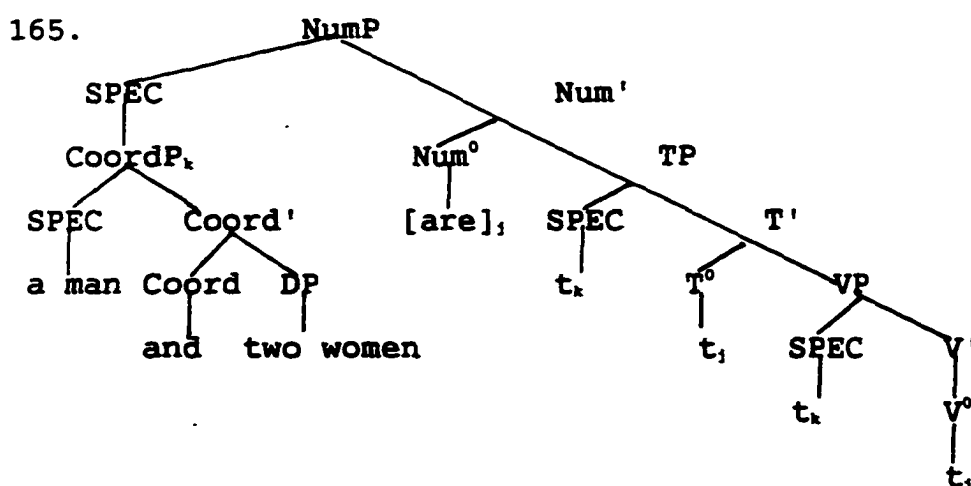
163.a. There are/ *is [two men and a woman] in the room.

b. There is/ ?are [a man and two women] in the room.

164. [A man and two women] are /*is in the room.

The PL, 3 person agreement in (164) indicates that in SVO order, subject-verb agreement is always with the entire PL CoordP. The derivation of (164) is given in (165) which is parallel to (157.c):

SV Order (PL number agreement)

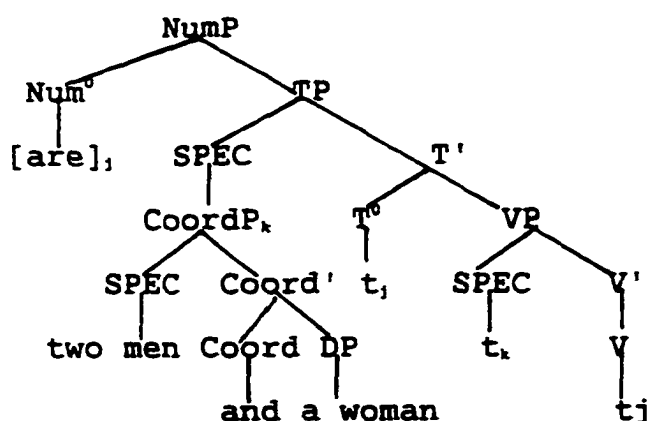


On the other hand, the contrast between (162.b) and (163.a) is interesting since it seems to suggest that in VS order, the

verb be agrees with the DP in SPEC, CoordP of the associate phrase. The fact that (162.b) is less good than (162.a) strengthens the point. In other words, it seems that in English, the DP in SPEC, CoordP is moved leftwards obligatorily. The derivation of (163.a) is given in (166) below which is parallel to (157.a):

VS Order (Number agreement with the DP in SPEC, CoordP)

166.



In the overt computation, the V raises to the Number head and the associate is raised to SPEC, TP for nominative Case licensing. At LF, the plural DP in SPEC, CoordP raises covertly to SPEC, Number in order for plural agreement with the verb to be licensed.

Notice that the discussion above is based on the idea that the DP in SPEC, CoordP can be moved leftward to a SPEC position above SPEC, T°. Let us look at other evidence that should involve leftward movement of the DP in SPEC, CoordP.

7.4 Case Assignment in Coordinate Phrases

7.4.1 It is a known fact about English that pronouns in the accusative Case do not occur as subjects of tensed clauses, unless they appear in coordinate phrases. Consider the contrast in (167)-(168):

167.a.*Me got fired.

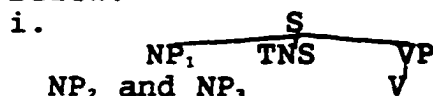
b.*Him got fired.

168.a. Me and John got fired.

(from Parker, Riley, Meyer, 1988: 214, 216)

Two types of explanations have been formulated in the literature for the contrast in (167) and (168):(i) a syntactic explanation: Klima, 1961 (cited in Newmeyer, 1983, 154-55) notes that certain dialects of English use nominative Case in a simple NP serving as subject of a tensed verb, e.g. He left, I left, but allow accusative Case in a coordinate NP that is subject, e.g. Him and me left. Klima's rule is "Assign nominative Case to a pronoun only if it is immediately dominated by S." Parker, Riley and Meyer (1988) reformulate Klima's rule by noting that the NP node dominating the coordinate phrase is an absolute barrier⁷⁶ to Case assignment by T⁰ "...although NP₂ and NP₃ are c-commanded by TNS, they cannot be governed by TNS, because NP₁ is a barrier to

⁷⁶ The syntactic structure they have in mind is given in (i) below:



government. Therefore TNS does not assign nominative Case to NP₂ and NP₃, because NP₁ intervenes between TNS, on the one hand, and NP₂ and NP₃ on the other hand."

(ii) a pragmatic/discourse explanation: Kuno (1987) suggests that the ordering of constituents is sensitive to the empathy value assigned to each NP in a coordinate structure. Kuno (1987:232) postulates a general syntactic prominence principle which essentially states that referents receiving high empathy will also receive syntactic prominence. With respect to coordinate NP's, this principle predicts that the NP with the higher empathy value will appear first in a coordinate structure. Empathy hierarchy sub-principles are offered to explain the data, i.e. the preference for me and John over John and me is formulated as "the speaker cannot emphathize with someone else more than with himself" (Kuno, 1987, 212, i.e. speaker > others), etc.

7.4.2 I would like to offer a syntactic explanation of the asymmetry evinced by the two conjuncts of a CoordP by invoking tree geometry. The data I will consider are from Parker, Riley and Meyer (1988 :224) who report a dialect from the S-E of America (Tennessee); the coordinate phrases in column A are preferred over those in column B by 55-80% of the investigated native speakers.

Choice A

Choice B

169.a. Me and John left. 170.a John and me left.

b. Her and Mary left. b. Mary and her left.

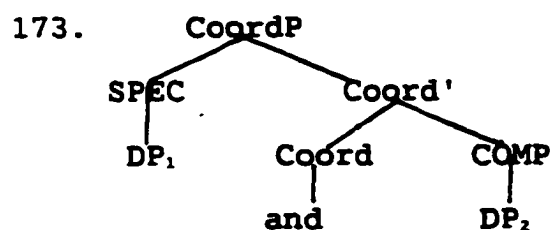
c. Him and John left.	c. John and him left.
d. Me and Mary left.	d. Mary and me left.
e. Her and John left.	e. John and her left.

The data in (169) and (170) differ from the coordinate phrases in (171) and (172) where both conjuncts are in the nominative Case. Choice A is preferred with a majority of 96-75% of the speakers:

Choice AChoice B

171.a. You and John got fired.	172.a. John and you got fired.
b. You and Mary}	b. Mary and you}
c. He and John}	c. John and he}
d. She and John}	d. John and she}

I have assumed in this chapter that nominative Case is licensed in SPEC, T^0 by finite T^0 ; I would like to maintain this theoretical assumption, thus narrowing down the syntactic possibilities of deriving the sentences above. I have also assumed that Subj-verb agreement takes place between the DP in SPEC, AGR^0 and the verb in AGR^0 . Now the examples in (169) are preferred over those in (170); they receive a simple explanation if we adopt Kayne's (1994) syntactic representation for the structure of coordinate noun phrases:



DP₁ in SPEC, CoordP may be moved out of the CoordP to a

position where nominative Case is not assigned, i.e. an A-bar position occupied by Topic phrases. Notice that the movement of me/ him/her out of SPEC, CoordP to SPEC, Top must take place in one swoop at a point in the derivation when the CoordP has not reached SPEC, T, i.e. this is licit movement since Topic is an A-bar position. The pronoun moves from the SPEC CoordP at a point in the syntactic derivation when the entire CoordP is in SPEC, VP. The fact that pronouns are more likely to act as Topics than lexical DPs in a CoordP is due to the fact that "pronouns typically denote old information"⁷⁷. (171) differ syntactically from (169) in having the pronoun in SPEC, CoordP stay in that position at pre Spell-Out, hence the presence of nominative Case. CoordP like in (174) below should be cases in which the entire CoordP acts as Topic phrase:

174.a. Me and him got fired.

b. Me and her left early.

7.4.3 If my suggestion above is along correct lines, then there is an interesting explanation for the Belfast English facts reported in Henry (1995, chapter 2). She notes that plural subject noun phrases may agree with a verb showing the -s ending, i.e. cases of "singular" 3 person agreement, only if

⁷⁷ see Parker, Riley and Meyer, 1988:226-7 " Since pronouns typically denote old information and are thus relatively close to the speaker, while lexical NP's typically denote new information and as such are relatively distant from the speaker, we can infer the following rule" which they call LEXICAL STATUS EMPATHY HIERARCHY RULE (LSEH):
LSEH: Pronoun > lexical NP

the CoordP is in the oblique Case as illustrated in (175)-(176) below:

175.a.[Him and me] is going.

b.[*He and me] is going.

176.a.[You and them] is going.

b.[*You and they] is going.

Henry (1995:23-5) notes that the (b) sentences with nominative Case marking are ungrammatical in singular agreement. Henry (1995) assumes that nominative Case is licensed between the subject phrase in SPEC, AGRsP and AGRs; hence the nonoccurrence of nominative Case with singular agreement constitutes evidence that the subject is not in a position in which nominative Case is licensed, i.e. the subject is in a SPEC position lower than SPEC, AGR, i.e. SPEC, T. One syntactic argument for SPEC, T being the structural position of the subject phrase above is the unavailability of an adverb position between the subject and a raised verb in singular agreement:

177.a.The eggs really are cracked.

b.* The eggs really is cracked.

178.a.The girls probably have left.

b.*The girls probably has left.

As far as Romanian is concerned, no adverbs can occur between the TP projection and the AGRP projection; sentential adverbs can occur at the left edge of a clause, i.e. between the AGRP and the TopP (see Chapter 4 section 2). Since I would like to

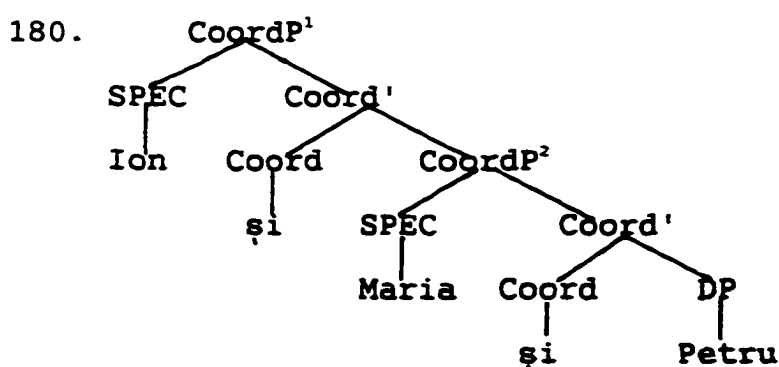
maintain the assumption that SPEC, T is the position where nominative Case is licensed by finite T in a SPEC-head configuration, Henry's (1995) explanation is not available for me.

7.5 More than two Conjuncts

In keeping with LCA, I will assume that CoordPs with three conjuncts as in (179.a) are parallel to the syntactic CoordP in (179.b); the syntactic representation in (180) should apply to both (179.a) and (179.b):

179.a. Ion, Maria și Petru

b. Ion și Maria și Petru



The subject-verb agreement data to be discussed below will indicate two different possibilities: (i) both the DP in SPEC, CoordP¹ and the DP in SPEC, CoordP² are extractable or (ii) only the DP in SPEC, CoordP¹ is extractable. Let us start with the possibility in (i): in SVO order, CoordPs with three conjuncts as subjects of finite sentences may decide agreement either with the entire CoordP or with the last conjunct in the CoordP as the data in (181)-(182) indicate:

181. [Impărat(u)l Verde, fat-a sa și toată
 emperor-the Green daughter-SG-the his and all
 curte-a împărătească] le ies/iese înainte.
 court-the imperial CL come-PL3/SG3 forward
 "The Green emperor, his daughter, and all the imperial
 court come to meet them"

In (181) the agreement with the verb may be either (i) PL,3 ies (come to meet-PL,3) or (ii) SG, 3 iese (come to meet-SG,3). In case the agreement is PL,3, it is agreement with the entire CoordP; SG,3 agreement is agreement with the SG DP toata curtea împărătească (all the imperial court,SG,F). If the DP in complement position of the second CoordP is plural, the verb must show plural agreement as (182) indicates:

182. [Impărat(u)l Verde, toată curte-a împărătească
 emperor-the Green, all court-the imperial
 și fete-le împăratu-lui] le ies/*iese înainte.
 daughter-PL,the emperor-Gen CL come-PL3/*SG3 forward
 "The Green emperor, all the imperial court and the
 emperor's daughters come to meet them"

The ungrammaticality of SG agreement in (182) indicates that the DP in SPEC CoordP¹ and the DP in SPEC CoordP² have parallel syntactic status, i.e. they may be moved out of the CoordP in SPEC, AGR to a SPEC position outside the agreement domain. CoordPs with three conjuncts allow for another syntactic possibility, i.e. cases in which only the DP in SPEC, CoordP¹ is extractable. Consider the illustrative examples under (183-

185):

183.a. Mă dor [capu-1, burt-a și picioare-le]⁷⁸.

me hurt-PL head-the belly-the and feet-the

"My head, belly and feet hurt"

b. Mă doare [capu-1, burt-a și picioare-le].

me hurt-SG head-the belly-the and feet-the

"My head, belly and my feet hurt"

The examples in (183) contain the accusative experiencer verb⁷⁹ durea (hurt) and the postverbal CoordP capul, burta, picioarele (the head, the belly and the feet) is subject of the sentence. The agreement may be PL, i.e. with the entire CoordP, as in (183.a) or SG, i.e. agreement with the singular DP in SPEC, CoordP, e.g. capul (the head). The fact that SG agreement is agreement with the singular DP in SPEC, CoordP¹ can be proved by the agreement data in (184-185) below in which it is the plural DP picioarele (the feet) that occupies SPEC, CoordP¹; in case the DP in SPEC, CoordP¹ is plural, the verb may show only PL agreement:

184. Mă dor [picioare-le, capu-1, burt-a].

me hurt-PL [feet-the, head-the, belly-the

185.* Mă doare [picioare-le, capu-1, burt-a].

me hurt-SG [feet-the, head-the, belly-the

Since SPEC, CoordP¹ is occupied by the plural DP picioarele

⁷⁸ See for a discussion Sextil Pușcariu (1940:158).

⁷⁹ See Ioana Stefanescu (1995) for a discussion of Romanian Experiencer verbs.

(the feet), the agreement with the verb cannot be singular as the ungrammaticality of (185) indicates.

8 Further Facts about Coordination

Romanian și (and) may coordinate two nominative Case marked DPs or a nominative and an oblique as the examples under (186) indicate. Traditional grammarians note that Romanian has also coordinate noun phrases with și.....și as illustrated in (187):

A. Coordination by "SI"

186.a. [Eu și tu] știm adevăr(u)l.

NOM NOM

I and you know-3PL truth-the

"You and I know the truth"⁸⁰

b. [Eu și cu tine] știm adevăr(u)l.

NOM OBLIQUE

I and with you know-3PL truth-the

"Both you and I know the truth"⁸¹

⁸⁰ = It is remarkable to note that in English the coordinated pronouns can occur only in the following order: "You and I" "She and you", "He and you", the reverse ordering being apparently ill-formed: (i) *I and you know the truth. (ii)* You and she know the truth. It is interesting to note that Romanian allows the ordering that English bans: (i) Eu și tu știm adevărul. (ii) Tu și ea știți adevărul. (for an ampler discussion see the section on Relative Clauses).

⁸¹ = As the glosses will indicate the "word-by-word" translation is misleading; in fact the structures are in need of a different syntactic explanation as this section will demonstrate.

B. "ȘI...ȘI" Phrases

187.a. [Și eu și tu] știm adevăr(u)l.

NOM NOM

and I and you know-3PL truth-the

" I as much as you know the truth"²

b.* [Și eu și cu tine] știm adevăr(u)l.

NOM OBLIQUE

and I and with you know-3PL truth-the

In what follows I will build a syntactic argument to show that the și....și phrases in (187) represent a syntactically different type of constituency and a different type of coordinate structure than the one under (186). I will first look more closely at the syntactic properties of the structures in (187). At first blush the coordinate structures in (187) seem parallel to the French structures discussed by Kayne (1994:58) who suggests that "The pattern and DP and DP occurs only in languages whose heads normally or largely precede their complements";:

188. Jean connait et Paul et Michel.

"Jean knew both Paul and Michel"

Kayne suggests that (188) should be represented as (189):

189. [et [Paul[et Michel]]]

"in which the first et takes as its complement the phrase

²= The gloss tries to indicate that the coordinate structure does not contain two DPs, rather as I shall try to show the coordination is between two QPs. See the ensuing syntactic discussion.

headed by the second et."(Kayne, 1994:58, example 5).

In other words, there are two coordinate phrases involving two coordinate conjunctions et. Kayne's analysis intends to bring the "et...et" phrases in line with the coordinating "et". I will show that Kayne's analysis of the French data cannot be extended to Romanian. Consider first the ungrammaticality of (190):

190. *Și eu și cu tine știm adevărul.

and I and with you know-3PL truth-the

If "și...și" would be a structure in which the coordinating conjunction și is being simply repeated in front of each conjunct the ungrammaticality of (190) is rather striking given that și may coordinate DPs with different cases as shown in (191):

191.a. Poate să asculte [[oricine] și [de oriunde]].

may Subj. listen anyone and from anywhere

"It is possible for anyone and from anywhere to hear it"

b. Joacă cărți [[cu oricine] și [oriunde]].

play-SG,3 cards with anyone and anywhere

"He plays cards anywhere and with anyone"

c. Eu și cu tine știm adevărul.

I and with you know-PL,1 truth-the

I will suggest that the coordinate structure with și...și have a phonetically unrealized coordinating conjunction și (and). Evidence that this is so is given in (192) and (193) which contain și...și and the overt coordinating conjunction și

(and) or dar (but) between the two și phrases:

192.a. [Și eu] și [și tu] știm adevărul.

și I and și you know-3PL truth-the

b. Era bun [și [la carte]] și [și [la joacă]].

was good și at book and și at play

193.a. [Și eu] dar [și tu] știm adevărul. (adversative)

și I but și you know-3PL truth-the³

b. Era bun [și [la carte] dar [și[la joacă]]].

was-3SG good și at book but și at play

"He was good și at learning but și at playing

In view of the data in (192) and (193) I will argue that the coordinate structure in (186) is a structure in which the coordinating conjunction (și or dar) is phonetically zero; și can overtly surface as shown in (192) or (193).

I would like to suggest that the și that precedes the coordinate phrases in (187, 188, 189) is not a coordinate conjunction; rather it is the case that și...și functions as a degree word in Romanian. Abney (1987), van Os (1989), Stefanescu (1992) agree to the fact that such degree words are a kind of quantificational structures that take noun phrases as their complements. The și...și phrasal structure is a type of structure that contains two degree words that are distributionally similar to the as...as English type of Deg.P.

³ = An appropriate translation for și...și will be given soon. For the moment I will assume the reader is familiar with what has been said up to this point for greater caution in reading the examples.

Consider the distributional class given under (194):

194.a. Și Ion și și Maria știu asta.

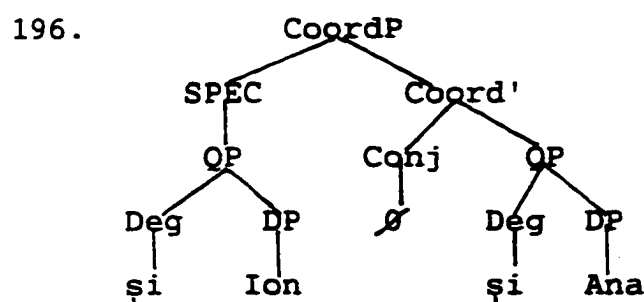
și Ion and și Maria know this

b. Atît Ion cît și Maria știu asta.

as Ion much as Maria know this

"Ion as much as Maria know this"

Traditional grammarians (Carabulea, 1966:244) assign și...și to the category of Adverbs; in fact they are Degree Words forming QPs out of simple DPs. The syntactic representation for the structure in (187) is (196) below:



The degree word și indicates equal measure; in English, as...as could be a possible translation for the și...și.

A straightforward explanation is now available for the ungrammaticality of (190). The și preceding the preposition cu (with) is a Degree word and not a coordinating conjunction so the structure is ungrammatical on multiple syntactic grounds one of them being that Degree Words do not modify PPs, if present, Degree Words are inside PPs.

8.2 Back to the Agreement Facts

The theory of coordinate structures developed this far allows a simple explanation for the examples in (197):

197.a. Nică și cu Toader a-u trecut pe aici

Nică and with Toader have-3PL passed locative here

b.*Nică și cu Toader a trecut pe aici

have-3GG

c. A trecut Nică și cu Toader pe aici.

have-3SG passed Nică and with Toader

(197.c) is straightforward: the verb moves past the coordinate subject phrase to a syntactic position above the subject, i.e. a position from which it asymmetrically c-commands the subject. The agreement is with the singular DP in the SPEC, Coord.P, e.g. Nică. If the coordinate subject precedes the verb, SVO order, the agreement is always PL,3 as the data indicate. Thus it seems that the analysis suggested in this last section of Chapter 2 has a great degree of plausibility to it.

9 Cases of Coordination that do not Conform to the Analysis

9.1 In the SVO order, a CoordP subject phrase agrees with a PL verb. This state of affairs is exceptionless. Nevertheless, I have come across one case of SVO order in which both PL agreement and SG are accepted. SG agreement with the verb is possible if focus/emphasis phrases like mai ales (especially), mai cu seamă (especially), în special (especially), mai întâi (foremost), în primul rând (first and foremost) restrict the DP_{sc} in the complement position of și (and). Consider the following illustrative example under (198):

198. [Cunoaştere-a şi mai ales interpretare-a fapt-e-lor
 knowledge-the and especially interpretation-the fact-PL-the
 sintactice] nu va putea fi decît aproximativă. (Gruita:95)
 syntactic not will-SG3 can be only approximate
 "The knowledge and especially the interpretation of the
 syntactic facts will be only approximate."

9.2 Beyond Syntax⁴⁴

I have encountered two major departures from the syntactic rule discussed above. One has to do with existential BE with a CoordP subject the constituents of which are mass terms; the second case has to do with CoordP whose DPs that are contextually treated as synonyms.

Mass and Count Terms

Consider the contrast in number agreement between (199) and on

⁴⁴ A Borderline Case - Lexicon and Syntax Interface

There is an interesting case of agreement pattern displayed by verbs formed by the prefix co- {coexistă (coexist), coopera (cooperate), cointeresa (interest by giving benefit), conlucra (work with), colabora (collaborate), etc.,}. Since co# has a plural sense to it, the verb shows only PL 3 person agreement in the VS order as shown in (a):

a. Au conlucrat în mod fericit aici [puterea de ordonare
 have-PL3 co-worked in way happy here efficacy-the of ordering
 a matematicianului şi imaginaţia creatoare a poetului]. of
 mathematician-Gen and imagination-the creative of poet-Gen
 (Gruita, 1981:102)

"The ordering efficacy of the mathematician and the creative imagination of the poet have associated themselves."

The syntactic derivation of the sentence raises no special problems; the verb is raised successive cyclic by Head-Movement to the AGR head; the CoordP subject moves successive cyclic to SPEC, TP in the overt syntax; at LF, the entire CoordP is moved to SPEC, AGR.

the one hand and (200) on the other hand:

199.a. Era [aur și argint].

be-Pst-SG3 [gold and silver]_{PL3}.

"There was gold and silver."

b.*Erau [aur și argint].

be-Pst-PL3 [gold and silver]_{PL3}.

"There was gold and silver."

200.a.Erau [aur(u)-l și argint(u)-l din Munții Apuseni].

be-Pst-PL3 gold-the and silver-the from Mountains Western

b.Era [aur(u)-l și argint(u)-l din Munții Apuseni].

be-Pst-SG3 gold-the and silver-the from Mountains Western

In (199) the order is VS and the agreement with the verb is SG 3 Person. One could explain the ungrammaticality of (199.b) as an instance of agreement with the DP in SPEC,CoordP, but the explanation is irrelevant for this case. It is the mass feature on both the DPs that are constituents of the coordinate subject that account for SG agreement. (200) is interesting since the syntactic agreement rule discussed above seems to be relevant. If Quine (1960), Pelletier (1979) are right about the recategorization of mass terms into sortals by the use of the definite article, then we have a piece of evidence that the syntactic rule discussed above applies to the domain of sortals only.

The syntactic rule described in 7 above holds for all situations in which the semantic value of the two constituent

DPs of the CoordP identify different individuals⁵⁵. The rule is suspended when the referent of the CoordP has as semantic value one single individual, i.e. contextually the denotatum of the two DPs constitutes the same individual or the two DPs are alternative descriptions of a unique referent. In case the context yields the same referent or semantic value for the two coordinate DPs, the verb shows singular agreement⁵⁶:

201. [Judecătorul și calăul meu] este mulțumit.
 judge-the and hang-man mine be-Prst-SG3 pleased
 "My judge and my hangman(contextually "my reader") is pleased.

Idiomatic expressions that have the form of a coordinate phrase and whose semantic value identifies a unique entity require singular agreement with the verb as illustrated in 202 below:

⁵⁵ This observation which is correct is interesting and allows us to formulate a clear position concerning the place of syntax within the language faculty. See for discussion).

⁵⁶ Consider also the examples in (a) and (b):

a.[Poetul și autorul dramatic] folosește un limbaj personal
 poet-the and playwright-the use-SG 3 a language personal

"The poet and playwright (contextually it refers to one writer) uses a personal form of expression."

b.[Poetul "Doinelor și Lăcrămioarelor", culegătorul cântecelor
 poet-the "D&L" collector-the songs-GEN

populare] păru-se a-și fi terminat chemarea literară.
 popular seem-PST-SG3 to have exhausted his literary talent

"The poet of "D&L", the collector of popular songs (contextually the poet Alecsandri) seemed to have exhausted his literary talent

202.a.[Nimeni și nimic]⁸⁷ nu aminteste ca aici a fost
 no one and nothing not recall-PrstSG3 that here has been
 loc(u)-1 de reculegere cel mai iubit al scriitorului.
 place-the of withdrawal most loved of writer-Gen
 "Nothing reminds us that here has been the most beloved
 meditation place of the writer."

⁸⁷ It is a known fact that talk about the denotata is fraught with difficulty given the existence of nonreferential DPs; the first idiom of my examples depicts such a nonreferential DP.

CHAPTER 3

"SPLIT" AGR: NUMBER AND PERSON AGREEMENT

Overview

Chapter 3 begins by suggesting a "split" theory of AGR¹. Romanian is a language which has person and number morpheme exponents in the synthetic and some of the analytic tenses. In certain dialects, the analytic tense forms show person exponents on the AUX and number exponents on the lexical verb. I will suggest that in the synthetic tenses the lexical verb raises to the highest functional head in the clausal architecture, i.e. the Person head.

In the analytic temporal forms, I will suggest that the AUX is base generated in the Number head and it raises to the Person head to pick up person inflection; the non-finite lexical verb raises to the T head, but there is some evidence from old Romanian and some contemporary dialects that the non-finite verb may raise to the Number head and thus "pick up" the number inflection.

Chapter 3 ends on a disquieting note: the discussion in section 5 on AUX-V inversion in Romanian indicates that the non-finite lexical verb may raise and left adjoin (i) either to the Clitic head which is a functional head above the Person head, or (ii) the raising is to C⁰ in a Germanic way as

¹ Section 2.3.1 example 22 suggests that AGRoP may be split into Number and Person, too. The discussion in Chapter 3 deals only with AGRsP.

claimed by Lema-Rivero (1990).

Chapter 5, section 2 discusses equative a fi (be) sentences for which the possibility that C^0 is the head to which the verb may raise becomes pretty clear.

Chapters 3 and 5 will suggest that Romanian is a language in which the finite verb raises to the Person head in a successive cyclic fashion. In the AUX-V inverted structures the non-finite form of the lexical verb may raise and left adjoin to the Clitic head, or it may raise to the C^0 head. In other words, Romanian presents the Germanic strategy as well². The idea is that the finite verb raises to the Person head, but a fi (be) may raise to C^0 , while non-finite verbs in the analytic tenses tend to raise to the C^0 head.

In line with Baker (1988) and Pollock (1989), I show that verbal affixation processes are amenable to (i) a syntactic treatment in terms of Head-to-Head Movement as selected substitution³; (ii) in case the phonological bracketing of an inflected verb form does not show a one-to-one mapping with the syntactic bracketing, i.e. cases in which the phonological form is "simpler" than the syntactic bracketing, the existence of an interpretive component that realizes syntactic representations phonologically is assumed in line with Halle and

² see Cardinaletti and Roberts (1990), Moro (1993).

³ The lexical verb raises to T^0 to pick up the tense morpheme, or $[V^0]+T^0$ moves to Number AGR^0 to pick up the number morpheme, or $[[[V^0]+T^0]+Num^0]$ raises to Person AGR^0 to pick up the person morpheme.

Marantz, 1993.

1 The Level of Morphological Structure

1.1 An Outline

In line with Pollock (1989), Belletti (1990), Motapanyane (1995), I assume that UG has (i) syntactic positions for Aspect, Tense, AGR⁴, etc. and that these functional heads are ordered in an implicational hierarchy⁵. (ii) The V moves by Head Movement to the respective positions. Two typological differences are expected under such assumptions: 1. languages may differ among themselves w.r.t. the height of the structural position targeted by the verb, e.g. Hebrew (see Shlonsky, 1989) vs. Romanian⁶; 2. in languages in which the Aspect, Tense, Mood morphemes precede the verb, the verb remains in situ or does not have overt movement (e.g. Haitian, De Graff (1993)). In languages in which the morphemes for Aspect, Tense, Agreement, etc., follow the V, there is raising of the V to the respective functional positions (e.g. French, Pollock (1989), Italian, Belletti (1990), Spanish,

⁴ = The requirement that UG has syntactic positions for Tense, AGR is independent of the typological distinction into agglutinative versus fusional types of languages.

⁵ = For Pollock (1989), Kayne (1994) the implicational hierarchy is universal. Speas (1991:401-2) remarks that "the order of inflectional morphemes shows surprising consistency from language to language. Aspect is nearly always closer to verb stem than Tense is and, object agreement is closer to verb stem than subject agreement is." Same observation is made by Laka (1990) about Basque dialects. Researchers like Ouhalla, 1990: 114 seem to suggest that the implicational hierarchy is valid for language groups: Romance, Arabic languages, etc.

⁶ see Chapter 2, section 2.

Ordóñez (1994))⁷.

Kayne (1994) assumes that the structure of complex words, i.e. the hierarchical location of affixes, is determined by the syntax and not by subcategorization frames. Kayne's view on the structure of complex words can be (partially) matched to a particular view of the relation between syntax and phonology known as Distributed Morphology (DM) in Halle and Marantz's (1993) proposal.

Kayne (1994) and DM assume a theoretical separation of the terminal elements involved in the syntax from the phonological realization of these elements⁸. This theoretical assumption is based on two empirical observations: (i) in many cases, the hierarchical structure of affixes recapitulates the hierarchical organization of functional morphemes in syntax, i.e.

⁷ Under such theoretical assumptions, for Pollock (1989) word-order in a simple finite clause is the surface reflex of one single syntactic phenomenon, i.e. namely the existence or non-existence of overt verb movement to the different syntactic heads. Thus the typological differences in sentence structure between English and French in (1)-(4) below are interpreted as indicating that French has overt verb movement (past adverbs (1), negation (2), overt V-fronting in interrogatives (3), and quantifier stranding (4)) of a sort that English lexical verbs lack:

- 1.a. Jean embrasse souvent Marie.
 b.*John kisses often Marie.
 c. John often kisses Marie.
 d.*Jean souvent embrasse Marie.
- 2.a. Jean n'aime pas Marie.
 b.*John likes not Marie.
- 3.a. Aim-t-il Marie?
 b.*Likes he Marie?
- 4.a. Mes amis aiment tous Marie.
 b.*My friends love all Marie.
 c. My friends all love Marie.
 d.*Mes amis tous aiment Marie.

⁸ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:111.

there is a one-to-one correspondence between the terminal elements in syntax and their phonological realization⁹; (ii) in many other instances, there seems to be no one-to-one relation between terminal elements in the syntax and phonological elements (pieces), nor does the organization and bracketing of the phonological pieces directly reflect the syntactic bracketing¹⁰. Halle and Marantz take the view that at the syntactic levels of LF, D-Structure and S-structure, terminal nodes lack phonological features. They suggest the existence of a level of Morphological Structure (MS)¹¹ which acts as an interpretive component that realizes syntactic representations phonologically¹². I will assume the existence of MS, a level with principles and properties of its own. My assumptions of MS are both similar and different from the assumptions of Halle and Marantz (1993).

From Halle and Marantz I will adopt the following theoretical postulates: 1. both stems and affixes are vocabulary entries that connect morphosyntactic properties with phonological properties. The assignment of phonological features takes place after syntax and does not create or determine the

⁹ This would be a situation for which Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle would give an accurate description.

¹⁰ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:114-5.

¹¹ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:112.

¹² see Halle and Marantz, 1993:114.

terminal elements manipulated by the syntax¹³. Vocabulary insertion takes place at MS. 2. Word formation - the creation of complex syntactic heads - may take place at any level of grammar through such processes as head movement qua selected substitution or as adjunction (left adjunction) to another head and/or merger of structurally or linearly adjacent heads¹⁴¹⁵.

I will differ from Halle and Marantz (1993:115) w.r.t. two important issues: 1. they assume that the left-to-right order among the morphemes is established in the MS, i.e. in LF, SS and DS there is only hierarchical nesting of constituents (i.e. an affix's status as prefix, suffix or infix is in principle independent of its syntactic role¹⁶). Since I assume that UG has LCA operating at all levels of syntactic description, the representations yield linear ordering¹⁷; hence, there is left to right ordering of morphemes. 2. Secondly, Halle and Marantz assume that morphemes may be inserted at MS to meet universal or language specific well-formedness conditions. For example,

¹³ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:113.

¹⁴ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:112.

¹⁵ For a typology of Head Movement see Belletti and Rizzi, 1996:5-6.

¹⁶ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:115.

¹⁷ Above I have mentioned that in languages in which the Tense, Aspect, Mood, Agreement morphemes precede the verb, the verb remains in situ or does not have overt movement. In languages in which the morphemes for Aspect, Tense, Agreement, etc., follow the V, there is overt V movement.

subject verb agreement is implemented as a language specific characteristic by adjoining Agr to Tns at MS (features of the Subject are then copied onto the Agr node). Case-number-gender concord in DPs is implemented in a similar fashion by supplying case-number suffixes to Adjective and Det nodes and copying features associated with the head noun of the DP onto them¹⁸. In Chapter 2, I have demonstrated that Subject-Verb agreement phenomena are a matter of syntactic configuration. Hence AGR is not a morpheme inserted at MS, but a syntactic functional head. I will assume that in MS, for Romanian, there are two rules that apply in order to derive verbal inflection: merger and fusion¹⁹.

1.2 Merger and Fusion

Syntactic operations combine terminal nodes to create words prior to Vocabulary Insertion, i.e. the theory predicts that the structure of words - the hierarchical location of affixes - is determined by the syntax, and not by subcategorization frames carried by each affix²⁰.

In Romanian, the finite forms of a verb display (i) a one-to-one relation between the terminal elements in the syntax and the phonological pieces, i.e. a type of agglutinative form in which the syntactic bracketing corresponds one-to-one to the

¹⁸ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:115.

¹⁹ Romanian has no fission rule (for a definition of fission rules see Halle and Marantz, 1993:116-121).

²⁰ see Halle and Marantz, 1993:113.

phonological bracketing; (ii) there is a two-to-one relation between the syntactic bracketing and the phonological bracketing. In order to account for these two types of instances, the operations of merger and fusion are necessary at MS.

1.2.1 Merger

Head-to-Head Movement yields a syntactic bracketing that enters the MS level for Vocabulary Insertion. In case the inflectional morphemes of the verb are affixed to the stem without any type of modification of the stem or of the inflectional affix, i.e. there is a simple agglutinative process in which the inflectional morphemes line up in the order of syntactic derivation, the morphological operation merger applies. It forms a new word from heads of independent phrases and these independent heads remain separate morphemes within the newly derived word (see Halle and Marantz, 1993: 116). In other words, Vocabulary Insertion places two separate vocabulary items under the derived head, one for each of the merged terminal nodes.

Consider the examples under (1) which represent the past perfect forms of the verbs a cînta (sing) a verb of the first conjugation, a zice (say) a verb of the third conjugation, and a coborî (descend) a verb of the fourth conjugation. In each of the three examples the root of the verb is followed by the aspect, tense, number, person inflections which constitute linearly ordered bound morphemes that have their own phonological shape. The syntactic bracketing and the phonological

bracketing are in a one-to-one correspondence.

1.a. cînt - a²¹ - se - ră -m

[[[[[Root] ASP] TNS] NUM] Person]

sing-ASP- Past-PL-1

"we had sung"

b. zi - se²² - se - ră- ți

[[[[[Root] ASP] TNS] NUM] PERS]

say -ASP- BEF- PL- 2

"you (PL) had said"

c. cobor- î²³ - se - ră - ți

[[[[[Root] ASP] TNS] NUM] PERS]

descend-ASP-BEF-PL-2

"You(PL) had descended"

In (1) above there is an idiosyncrasy that syntax cannot capture, i.e. the ASP/TNS morpheme may be either (i) the Thematic vowel (for 1-st and 4-th class of conjugation) or (ii) se for the Latinate, 3-rd class of verb conjugation. This type of information must be encoded in the lexicon. The Appendix at the end of the Dissertation provides a detailed illustration of the finite tense forms of the Romanian verb (the reader is encouraged to consult Appendix 1).

²¹ It seems that the so called "Thematic Vowel" has an Aspectual value.

²² The verbs of the 3 conjugation take se is a marker of Perfective Aspect in keeping with the Latin muster.

²³ See footnote 18.

1.2.2 Fusion

In Romanian, the inflected verb may present "cumulative" or "portmanteau" morphemes, i.e. one single suffix cumulates information about two different syntactic functional heads. In such a case, the MS operation is fusion. At MS, fusion takes "two terminal nodes that are sisters under one category node and fuses them into a single terminal node." Halle and Marantz offer a simple example of morpheme fusion in the "single affix signalling number and case encountered in many Indo-European languages; such affixes realize a terminal node that is the result of the fusion of independent Case and Number nodes. In contrast, number and case constitute separate phonological pieces in Turkish, indicating that fusion has not applied to the Number and Case nodes here." (Halle and Marantz, 1993:116) Fusion is extremely frequent in the verbal paradigm in Romanian. In (2.a), the left hand side of the arrow indicates the syntactic bracketing; the right hand side of the arrow represents the output of the application of fusion. Consider the simple cases in (2) below:

2.a. [[[[[Root] ASP] TNS] NUM] PERS] - [[Root] ASP/TNS] NUM/P]

e.g. cînt - a - m

sing-Imperf-SG,1

"I was singing"

b. [[[[[Root] ASP] TNS] NUM] PERS] - [[Root] ASP/TNS] NUM/P]

e.g. zi - se - țî

say -Past-PL,2

"you (PL) said"

The syntactic bracketing in (2) indicates that ASP, TNS, NUMBER and PERSON are heads through which the verb passes in a successive cyclic fashion. At MS, the syntactic heads for ASP and TNS, on the one hand, and NUMBER and PERSON, on the other hand, are fused. As an example of an inflected form to which the MS rule of fusion applied consider (2.a): cîntam - the root of the verb a cînta (sing) is followed by the morpheme a which is the marker of both Imperfective Aspect and Past Tense; the morpheme -m is the first person exponent and number information is the "zero" exponent, i.e. the two are fused together, i.e. cînt-a-m can be either SG, 1 or PL, 1.

In (2.b), another example of the application of fusion is given, namely the form zi-se-ți: the root of the verb a zice (say) is followed by se, i.e. the fused exponent of perfective aspect and past tense, and -ți which is the fused exponent for PL number and 2 person.

In section 2 below, I will suggest that the syntactic head AGR can be identified through two different morphemes: a number morpheme and a person morpheme; this will lead to a "split" AGR theory to be discussed in section 3 below.

2 Number and Person Exponents in Synthetic Tense Forms

2.0 Romanian has synthetic and analytic tense forms (the analytic forms are also called periphrastic); the periphrastic tense forms make use of the auxiliary system, i.e. free ele-

ments that precede the verb to indicate tense distinctions (see section 2.2); the AUX verbs carry Number and Person information. The synthetic tense forms use bound morphemes to indicate number and person distinctions.

2.1 Plural Number Exponet

Romanian has a specific Number exponent **-ra-** (Plural Number) which occurs in the Simple Past tense and the Past Perfect Indicative tense²⁴ as shown below:

Simple Past Tense (Indicative)

SG.1 cînt -a²⁵ -i "I was singing"

sing-A/T-SG/1

2 cînt -a -și "you were singing"

sing-A/T-SG/2

3 cînt -a -0 "he/she was singing"

sing-A/T-SG/3

²⁴ It is interesting to note that **ră** cannot be attached to the infinitive form of the verb (to the best of my knowledge). But **ră** can be attached to the past participle form of the verb in dialectal Romanian, e.g. "vor fi cîntat(a)-ra" (will-PL1 be sung-PL "they might have sung") is the Conditional Optative Perfect form. In standard Romanian the corresponding form is without **ră**, e.g. "vor fi cîntat".

²⁵ In Romanian **a** is the morpheme for the fused Aspect/ Tense syntactic heads. This is why I am using a slash notation in the gloss A(spect)/T(ense). In Daco-Romanian, the simple past is confined to narrative discourse and has the value of the (Greek) aorist (hence my gloss); it is a temporal form that is used to "background" events. It is contrasted to the Passe Compose which expresses a "perfected" past event. In the Valachian dialect, (South-Eastern Romania) the Simple Past cumulates also the value of the Passe Compose (see Rosetti, 1968 : 173-4 for a comparison with similar phenomena in the Italian spoken in Mid-Calabria).

- PL.1 cînt-a -ră -m "we were singing"
sing-A/T-PL-1
- 2 cînt -a -ră -ți "you were singing"
sing-A/T-PL-2
- 3 cînt -a -ră -0 "they were singing"
sing-A/T -PL-3

Past Perfect (Indicative)

- Sg.1 cînta-a -se²⁶ -m "I had sung"
sing-A/T-Bef²⁷-SG/1
- 2 cînt -a -se -și "you had sung"
sing-A/T-Bef-SG/2
- 3 cînt -a -se -0 "he/she had sung"
sing-A/T-Bef-SG/3
- Pl.1 cînt -a -se -ră-m "we had sung"
sing-A/T-Bef-PL-1
- 2 cînt -a -se-ră-ți "you had sung"
sing-A/T-Bef-PL-2
- 3 cînt -a -se -ră-0 "they had sung"

²⁶ The synthetic form of the "pluperfect" derives from the Latin pluperfect subjunctives: dixissem. Rosetti, 1968:386 notes that in 16 century Romanian the pluperfect se form is practically inexistent, except for 4-5 verbs. Instead a periphrastic form existed which survives only in certain dialects especially in Moldavia (North-Eastern Romania), e.g. noi ce am fost muriți (we who had been died-Past Part, PL "we who had died"), și au fost grăit (and had been spoken "and it had been uttered/said"), puțini Tătari au fostu veniți (few Tartars had been come "few Tartars had come") from Rosetti, 1968:548.

²⁷ I am assuming a Reichenbach (1947) ATR: se is actually a marker of the BEFORE vector on the Past Tense axis. "BEF" in the gloss intends to render precisely this notion.

sing-A/T-Bef-PL-3

Ra is the PL number exponent and I assume that 0 is the SG number exponent. Gramatica Academiei (1968,I:260) notes that the plural marker -ră was initially used for the PL,3 Simple Past tense forms and it got generalized to the PL,1 and PL,2 Persons (for many speakers the 1 and 2 Plural forms may be used without ră²⁸). On the other hand, in substandard Romanian there is a tendency to generalize -ră to tenses where the standard language lacks -ră. Thus ră is found in:

- i. the Passé Composé forms: a -m văzut- (ă)- ră
 have-1 see,PastPerf-V- PL
 a- m cântat - (ă)-ră
 have-1 sing,PastPerf(V)-PL
- ii. the Simple Present tense: ei cânta-ră
 they sing -PL

The forms listed in (i) and (ii) are dialectal and inexistent in the standard language. The reason I quote them here is that they represent a generalization of -ră as a plural exponent in the verb conjugation²⁹. Since (i) and (ii) represent possible verb forms, they will constitute evidence that, in the periphrastic tense forms that contain an auxiliary verb and a non-finite form of the lexical verb, the lexical verb raises to the Number head in Romanian (see section 3 below).

²⁸ I can use the forms without ră alternating with the forms with ră.

²⁹ Gramatica Academiei (1968,I:260) declares such forms "mistaken"

2.2 Person Exponents

Throughout the conjugation of Romanian verbs there are two types of "behaviour" for Person exponents, i.e. (i) Person exponents insensitive to context, i.e. a single exponent for the entire conjugation and (ii) Person markers sensitive to context, i.e. several exponents for one and the same information, depending on context.

2.2.1 I use the term insensitive to context markers to designate Person endings that have the same form in all tenses and moods. The 1 Person and the 2 Person³⁰ are constant across the entire Romanian verbal paradigm irrespective of whether the tense form is synthetic or periphrastic (see Appendix 1 and 2 at the end of the Dissertation).

1 Person

- m

Present Indic.	cîntă-m	"We sing"
Present Subj.	să cîntă-m	"Subj. we sing"
Imperfect. Indic.	cînt-a-m	"We were singing" or "I was singing"
Simple Past Indic.	cînt-a-ră-m	"We sang"
Past Perf. Indic.	cînt-a-se-ră-m	"we had sung"

³⁰ m is the 1 Person exponent. Number (Plural or Singular) is "zero" in the examples.

2 Person Plural

- ți³¹

Present Indic.	cînt-a- <u>ți</u> "you (PL) sing"
Present Subj.	să cînt-a- <u>ți</u> "Subj.you (PL) sing"
Imperfect.Indic.	cînt-a- <u>ți</u> "you were singing"
Simple Past Indic.	cînt-a-ră- <u>ți</u> "you (PL) sang"
Past Perf.Indic.	cînt-a-se-ră- <u>ți</u> "you(PL) had sung"

In other words, the 1 Person and 2 Person Plural have invariant forms through the entire verb conjugation, -ă, -ți, respectively, i.e. they are invariant exponents.

2.2.2 The sensitive to context Person inflections are those exponents that have two or more forms depending on their context of occurrence.

2 Person Singular: { -i, -și }

-i³² (except for Simple Past and Past Perfect Indic.)

Present Indic.	cînt- <u>i</u> "you (SG) sing"
Present Subj.	să cînt- <u>i</u> "Subj.you (SG) sing"
Imperf.Indic.	cînt-a- <u>i</u> "you (SG) were singing"

-și

Simple Past Indic.	cînt-a- <u>și</u> "you (SG) sang/were singing"
Past Perf. Indic.	cînt-a-se- <u>și</u> "you (SG) had sung"

³¹ The actual morpheme ți fuses 2 Person and PL number information.

³² The morphological form i fuses 2 person and number (SG) information.

1 Person (Singular): { 0, -i }

Present Indic. cînt-0 "I sing"

Present Subj. să cînt-0 "Subj.I sing"

Simple Past Indic. cînt-a-i "I sang/was singing"

3 Person (Singular): { ă/e³³, e/a, 0 }

Present Indic. cîntă / doarme "he sings/sleeps"

Present Subj. să cînte / să doarmă "Subj he sings/sleeps"

Imperf. Indic. cînt-a-0 "he was singing"

Simple Past Indic. cînt-a-0 "he sang/was singing"

Past Perf.Indic. cînt-a-se-0 "he had sung"

3 Person (Plural): { ă, e, u, 0 }

Present Indic. cînt-ă "they sang"

Present Subj. să cînt-e "they Subj.sang"

Imperf. Indic. cînt-a-u "they were singing"

Simple Past Indic. cînt-a-ră-0 "they sang/were singing"

past Perf.Indic. cînt-a-se-ră-0 "they had sung"

2.3 "Weak" Verbs

It is in the "weak" type of verb conjugation that one can see the tendency to have characteristic, unambiguous exponents for Person. The "weak" conjugation is the productive conjugation in Present Day Romanian. The "weak" verbs form the 1, 2, 3

³³ For the alternations between a/e see Appendix 2 at the end of this Chapter.

Person Singular and 3 Person Plural of the Present Indicative and the Present Subjunctive with the suffix -ez-³⁴, or -esc- or -ăsc-. The "weak" conjugation is the only productive conjugation in Contemporary Romanian³⁵. Consider weak verbs³⁶ of the I and IV conjugation in the Present Indicative:

Present Tense Indicative

Sg.1	lucr-ez-0 ³⁷	povest-esc-0	hotăr-ăsc-0
2	lucr-ez-i	povest-eșt-i	hotăr-ășt-i
3	lucr-eaz-ă	povest-eșt-e	hotăr-eșt-e
Pl.1	lucr-ă-m	povest-i-m	hotăr-î-m
2	lucr-a-ți	povest-i-ți	hotăr-î-ți
3	lucr-eaz-ă	povest-esc-0	hotăr-ăsc-0

The productive conjugation distinguishes 1 Person Singular from 3 Plural (unlike the "strong" conjugation verbs for which the 1 Person Singular and 3 Person Plural forms are homonymous). Since the weak conjugation is productive, it seems that

³⁴ Rosetti, 1968:544 notes that 16 century Romanian did not have these suffixes. The presence of the vowel e or a in these suffixes has to do with the application of Vowel Harmony at the level of the entire phonological word (see Appendix (footnote 13, for the Present Subjunctive forms).

³⁵ If one were to coin a new verb it would always show the "weak" conjugation suffixes; so, if Romanian would have a verb like a ganda (meaning "to act in a happy way") then its Simple Present tense conjugation would be "eu gandez, tu gandezi, el gandeaza". Similarly, if there existed a verb like a bifini (meaning "to walk lightly") its Simple Present tense conjugation would be "eu bifinesc, tu bifinesti, el bifineste."

³⁶ = The I and IV conjugation are productive. The II and III conjugations are not productive; see Appendix 2.

³⁷ a lucra "to work", a povesti "to narrate/tell", a hotărî "to decide". The paradigm is for Simple Present tense.

the language tends to differentiate 1 Person Singular as having an "insensitive" to context exponent, -ez+0 different from 3 person Plural (eaz-ă). In the "weak" conjugation, it is the 3 Person Singular (and Plural) that have homonymous forms. As far as 3 Person Singular is concerned, Romanian does not constitute an exception. In fact, all researchers agree that 3 Person has a different status from 1 and 2 Person³⁸.

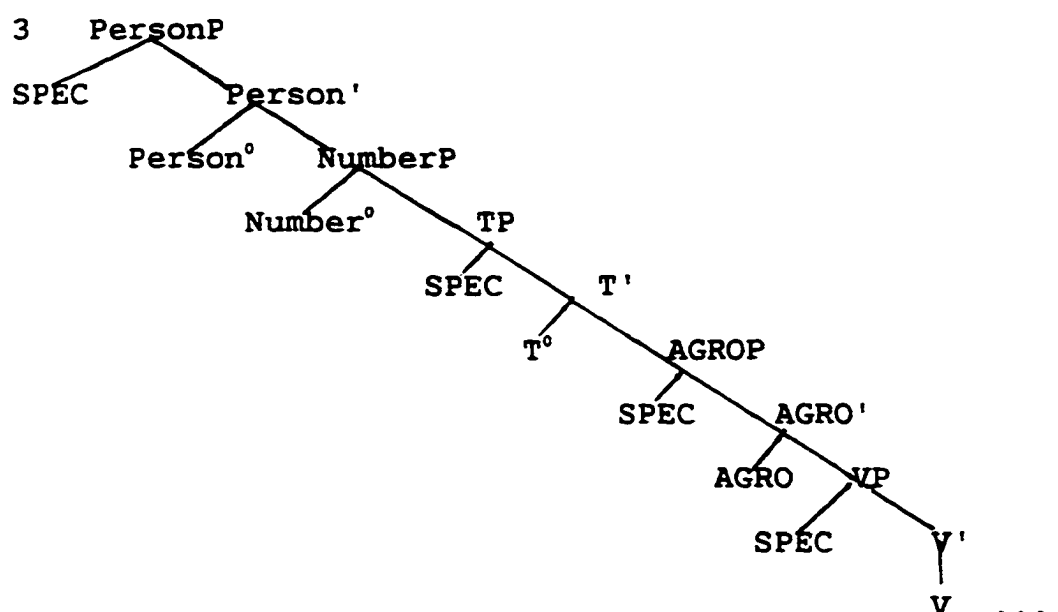
3 Split AGR in Romanian

Overview

In this subsection of Chapter 3 I will suggest that the syntactic head AGRs can be split into Number AGR and Person AGR, each functional head projecting a phrasal category of its own.

³⁸ According to Benveniste (1966) the fact that 3 Person is generally unmarked is the rule across languages. He gives a cogent argument that brings in morphological and syntactic observations about the special status of the 3 Person. He starts from the observation that in the greatest majority of languages, there is no marking for 3 person. "En sémitique, la 3-e sg. du parfait n'a pas de désinence. En turc, d'une manière générale, la 3-e sg. a la marque zéro, en face de la 1-re sg. -m et de la 2-e sg. -n.. En finno-ougrien, la 3-e sg. représente la theme nu: ostiak 1. eutlem, 2. eutlen, 3. eutl ; dans la conjugation subjective de "écrire" en hongrois : 1. ír-ok, 2. ír-sz, 3. ír. En géorgien, dans la conjugation subjective (la seule où intervienne exclusivement la considération de la personne comme sujet), les deux premières personnes, outre leurs désinences, sont caractérisées par des préfixes: 1. v- , 2. h- , mais la 3-e sg. n'a que la désinence... Le dravidien emploie pour la 3-e sg. - à la différence des deux premières - une forme nominale de nom d'agent." (Benveniste, 1966:228-9),. This type of information seems to me to point out to the fact that 3 person in almost all languages is different in status from 1 person and 2 person. (see also Forchheimer, 1951, Ritter, 1994). "Zero" marking for 3 person is thus a common phenomenon in many languages.

I will follow Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) in assuming that not all functional heads project a SPEC position. Given Kayne's (1994) assumption that SPECs are adjoined positions, the following representation will be assumed:



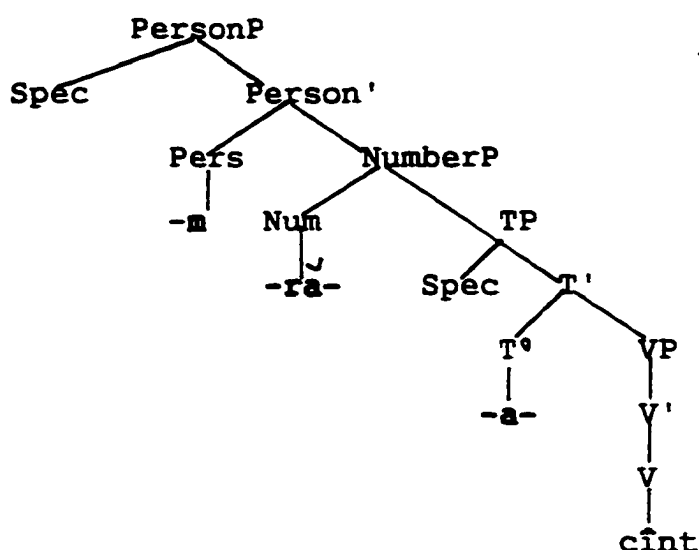
One dialectal periphrastic tense form will raise an interesting issue concerning the possibility of AGRO being "split" into AGRO and Number³⁹. The suggestion concerning split AGR is empirically based on the observation that Romanian has a number exponent different from the person exponents. In the syntax, the synthetic tense forms of the verb are derived by Head-to-Head movement which raises the lexical verb successive cyclic through the T⁰, Number⁰, Person⁰ heads. (4) is the output of syntax.

³⁹ This dialectal form was pointed out to me by Richard Kayne. It is the Perfect Conditional Optative vor fi cîntată-ră (they will have sung-PL). The form exists in the South-Eastern dialect spoken in Galati, Braila, etc.

4. [[[[V⁰] T⁰] NUM⁰] Pers⁰]

At MS, Vocabulary insertion takes place and the operation merger applies to (4); the structural representation is given in (5) below:

5.



If the phonological bracketing does not correspond in a one-to-one way to the syntactic bracketing, we assume that fusion has applied at MS in order to "fuse" together two independent syntactic heads (see section 1.2.2 above).

The "split" AGR theory will allow a new analysis of the analytic temporal forms. Motapanyane (1995) analyzed the analytic temporal forms as involving the movement of the lexical verb to the T⁰ head and the AUX being base generated in the AGR⁰ head. I will suggest that the AUX is base generated in the Number head and raised further on to the Person head to pick up person inflection; the lexical verb raises to the Number head where it is left adjoined to the trace of AUX. From Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), I will adopt the suggestion that

some functional heads do not project a SPEC position, i.e. the Number head. Since SPEC is an adjunction position, there is no technical difficulty in implementing her proposal.

3.1 The Syntactic Analysis of the Analytic Temporal Forms

Overview

Contemporary Romanian uses the AUX verb a avea (have) and the participle form of the lexical verb to build the Passe Compose tense, and the AUX verb a vrea (want) and the infinitive form of the lexical verb to construct the future and conditional optative paradims (Appendix 2 at the end of the Disseratation offers examples of analytic temporal forms).

Two syntactic questions need to be answered. The first question addresses the problem of the syntactic position of the AUX itself. The second question addresses the problem of the syntactic position of the past participle and infinitive forms of the lexical verb in the periphrastic temporal forms. The two questions are related stringently in Romanian since no lexical material, i.e. adverbs or a DP_{SU} may occur between the AUX and the lexical verb (Dobrovie (1994) and Motapanyane (1995)). Moreover, in Romanian, there is no real SU-AUX inversion (see 7)) of the type that German, English or French have as shown in (6) below:

6. German: a. Ist er gekommen? (AUX-SU)

b. Kommt er? (Lexical V-SU)

French: c. L'as-tu mangé? (AUX-SU)

d. Le verra-t-il? (Lexical V-SU)

English: e. Will John come? (AUX-SU)

7. Romanian: *Va/ ar Ion pleca mîine? (*AUX-SU)

will/would Ion leave tomorrow

*A Ion/el plecat ieri? (*AUX-SU)

has Ion/he left yesterday

(from Dobrovie, 1994:12)

Secondly, floated quantifiers and adverbs cannot intervene between the verb and the auxiliary as shown in the examples under (8)-(9) below:

8.a. Am (*adesea) văzut (adesea) filme (adesea).

(I)have (*frequently) seen (frequently) film

(frequently).

b. Aş(*des) merge (des) la cinema (des).

I would (*often) go (often) to movies (often).

c. Elevii mei au(*toţi) citit (toţi) un poem de Verlaine.

My pupils have(*all) read (all) a poem by V.

(from Dobrovie, 1994:8, ex.20)

Auxiliary-Subjunctive:

9.a. Ion are (*adesea) să cînte (adesea) la pian.

Ion has (*often) sa play (often) piano.

"John will often play piano"

b. Copiii au (*toţi) să cînte(toţi) la pian.

child-PL-the have (*all) sa play (all)the piano.

"The children will all play the piano"

(from Dobrovie, 94:14, ex.34)

Any analysis of the Romanian AUX must capture these solid data facts. My proposal will be that (i) the AUX is base generated in the Number head and it moves to the Person head to pick up person inflection and (ii) that the past participle or the infinitive form of the lexical verb raises up to the Number head to which it is left adjoined (as we shall see the picture is more nuanced). (iii) The Number head does not project a SPEC. Before introducing my analysis I would like to look more closely at two former analyses of the Romanian AUX on which my analysis relies.

3.1.1 Carmen Dobrovie (1994)

Dobrovie (1994) assumes that the highest functional node in the clausal structure is Infl, i.e. T. AGR is not a functional head; it is a nominal affix⁴⁰ base adjoined to Tense⁴¹. In order to account for the absence of SU-AUX inversion, Dobrovie

⁴⁰= "If we assume that each inflectional morpheme is generated in a distinct syntactic position, we may add an AGR position to the (IP structure). However, Romanian presents no clear evidence in favour of the idea that AGRP and TenseP are two distinct maximal projections (see Pollock (1989)). We may even question the idea that AGR is a syntactic head that projects a functional projection; AGR may instead be viewed as an affix that is nominal in nature, on a par with pronominal clitics. I take AGR to adjoin to Tense." (Dobrovie, 1994:8)

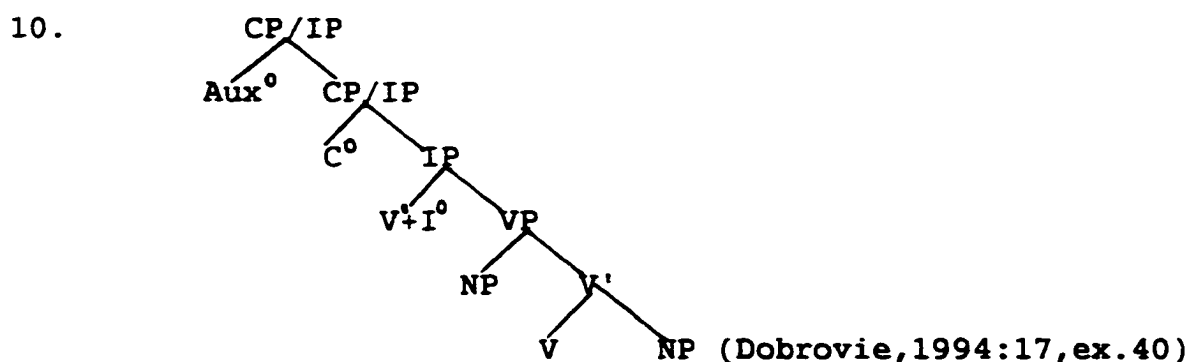
⁴¹ The proposed structure is given under (B):

```

      NEG
      /
    Tense P
      /  \
    Tense  VP
    /  \
  AGR   Tense
        /
      Aux
      {past/present}
  (from Dobrovie, 1994:8, structure 19)

```

(1994) suggests that the Romanian auxiliaries are X-zero categories not affected by movement, i.e. the Romanian AUX does not raise to Infl, unlike in English or German. Presumably the AUX is retrieved as a fully inflected form from the lexicon (unlike main verbs which raise to Infl). AUX is (i) an X^0 category that does not head a projection of its own; (ii) it selects a CP/IP complement headed by (V)+Infl; (iii) it is adjoined to the CP/IP⁴², i.e. cliticized to CP/IP. The proposed clausal structure is given in (10) below:



Dobrovie's proposal is set up against a background of specific theoretical assumptions that need to be spelled out:

- (i) Not all functional projections have subject positions⁴³.
- (ii) The Infl node in Romanian incorporates AGR, negation and some adverbs, i.e. there is an incorporation process giving rise to an X-zero constituent labelled Infl: [_{infl}Neg-

⁴² The CP/IP category defines the subjunctive or infinitival or participial V construction with which auxiliaries construct periphrastic tenses.

⁴³ " Even if we do not have at our disposal an explicit theory of subject positions, I would like to preserve the natural idea that sentential constituents have just one subject position." (op. cit.:7)

V+Tense+AGR]⁴⁴.

Dobrovie's demonstration that Romanian AUX does not raise to Infl is based on two types of data:

(1) the Past Perfect forms are synthetic forms built with the bound morpheme -se, e.g. sosi-se⁴⁵ (arrive-Past Perf, SG3) i.e. it is not the AUX a avea (have) that gets the past tense affix as it is the case in English, e.g. has / had arrived.

(2) Secondly, the Romanian AUX is unable to carry Tense information as shown in (11). Dobrovie claims that (11) with a avea (have) in the past tense is ungrammatical⁴⁶:

11. *Aveam să-l conduc la gară

(I) had sa-CL take to the station

"I was to see him to the station (some time later)"

(11) is a literary form and as such not much used, but it is a grammatical temporal form, i.e. the Romanian future in the past used in narratives: [[RT bf ST] and [ET af RT]]. In other words, Dobrovie's first argument is valid, the second one is not. From Dobrovie's (1994) analysis I will retain the interesting syntactic suggestion that not all functional projections have subject positions, i.e. SPEC positions.

⁴⁴ Correlatively, the projection of this element would be IP, and the subject would occupy the (Spec, IP) position." (from Dobrovie, 1994:7).

⁴⁵ See also footnote 9.

⁴⁶ In footnote (14 page 20) she admits the structure is grammatical but not with a future meaning.

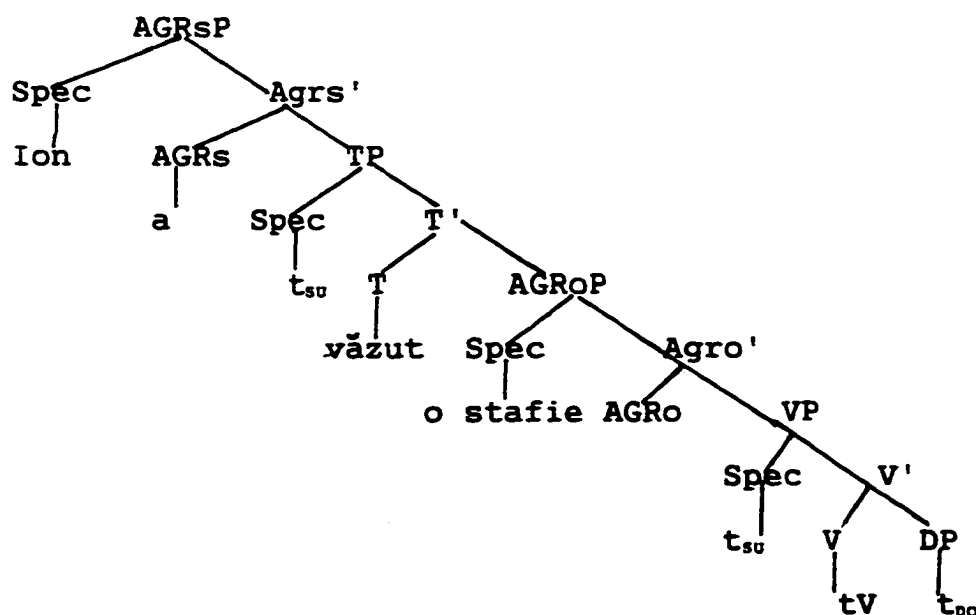
3.1.2 Virginia Motapanyane (1995)

Motapanyane (1995) assumes the "exploded-I" node of Pollock (1989) and argues that in Romanian AGR, T and M(ood) are all syntactic heads. AGR is the highest functional head in the Romanian clausal architecture. She suggests that the AGR head hosts the auxiliary verbs and the T head hosts the lexical verbs, i.e. AUX originates in the AGR head and the past participle or infinitive form of the lexical V raises to T. The syntactic derivation of a sentence like in (12) is given in (13):

12. Ion a văzut o stafie.

John has seen a ghost

13.



My analysis is close in spirit to Motapanyane (1995) with the difference that I will suggest that AGR is split into Number and Person. I will retain Dobrovie's (1994) suggestion that not all functional heads have SPECS.

3.2 A New Analysis

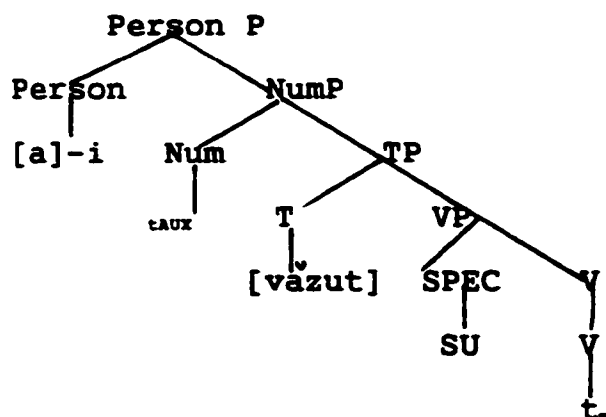
Overview

I will start the discussion with the *Passe Compose* forms, the simple future forms and the conditional forms. My proposal is that (i) AUX in Romanian is an X^0 category that originates in the Number head and raise further to the Person head; (ii) the past participle or the infinitive form of the lexical V raises to the Number head where it is left adjoined to the trace of AUX; (iii) the Number head does not project a SPEC position; (iv) the invariant *o* in the periphrastic future tense forms is a phonologically reduced form of the full AUX (see section 4).

3.2.1 Passé Composé, Simple Future and the Conditional

The AUX is base generated in the Number head and raised to the Person head by Head-to-Head movement as selected substitution; the lexical V is raised to the Number head where it is left adjoined to the trace of the AUX; the Number head does not project a SPEC position as shown in (14) below which is the representation for data like in (15).

14.



- 15.a. A-i vǎzut. (Passe Compose)
 have-SG,2 seen "you have seen"
- b. A-u vǎzut. (Passe Compose)
 have-PL,3 seen "they have seen"
- c. Vo-m pleca. (Simple Future)
 will-PL,1 leave "we will leave"
- d. Ar pleca. (Present Conditional)
 would-SG3 leave "he/she would leave"

The crucial data which indicates that the above suggestion about the syntactic positions of AUX and of the lexical verb is correct has to do with dialectal and old Romanian forms as those listed in (16):

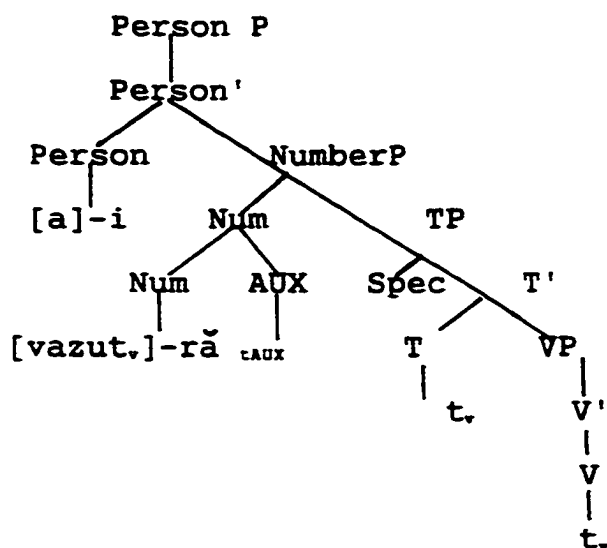
- 16.a. A-i vǎzut(a)-**ra**.⁴⁷
 have-SG2 seen -V -PL "you have seen"
- b. N -a -m declarat(a)-**ră**.
 NEG-have-SG1 declared-V- PL "I haven't declared (it)"
- c. N -a -m plătit(**ă**)-**ră**.
 Neg-have-SG1 paid -V - PL "I haven't paid (it)"

In (16), the plural morpheme **ră** is affixed to the lexical verb indicating unambiguously that the V has raised to the Number head. Since no lexical DP or ADV, or QP may occur between the AUX and the lexical V, it follows that (i) the AUX must occupy the immediately higher functional head in the overt syntax and (ii) that the Number head does not project a SPEC, i.e. this

⁴⁷ The vowel **-ă-** is an infixed vowel for phonological reasons having to do with syllable structure in Romanian. See also the data under (12).

assumption is necessary in order to exclude the possibility of intervening phrasal material in the SPEC of Number P. The derivation of (16.a) is given below in (17):

17.



In (17) the AUX avea (have) is base generated in the Number head and it is raised to the Person head to pick up the person inflection; the lexical V is raised successive cyclic from its VP internal position to the Number head where it is left adjoined to the PL morpheme ră; the Number head does not project a SPEC.

This derivation accounts for the fact that (i) the Number morpheme ră is affixed to the lexical verb; (ii) the AUX a-i has number (SG) and person (2 person) information that distinguishes it from a form like a-u văzută-ră (they have seen-PL) or a-ti văzută-ră (you (PL) have seen-PL). (iii) no phrasal material can appear between the AUX and the lexical verb. The simple future forms in (18) and the conditional forms in (19) are generated in a parallel syntactic way.

Simple Future

18. Vo -m pleca.

will-PL-1 leave "WE shall leave"

Present Conditional

19. Ar pleca.

Cond,SG3 leave

"he/she would leave"

The future perfect in (20.a) and the conditional perfect in (20.b) have a parallel syntactic derivation, except that the T head is realized by the AUX fi (be) as represented in (21):

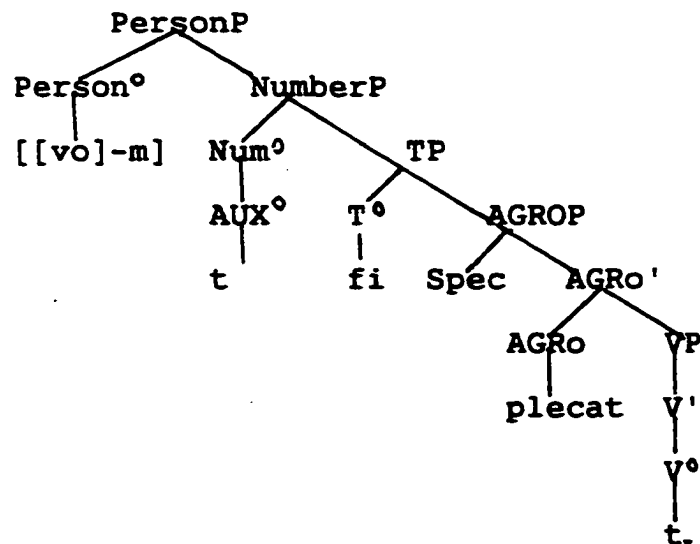
20.a. Vo-m fi plecat.

will-PL1 be left "they will have left"

b. Ar fi plecat.

Cond,SG3 be left "he/she would have left"

21.



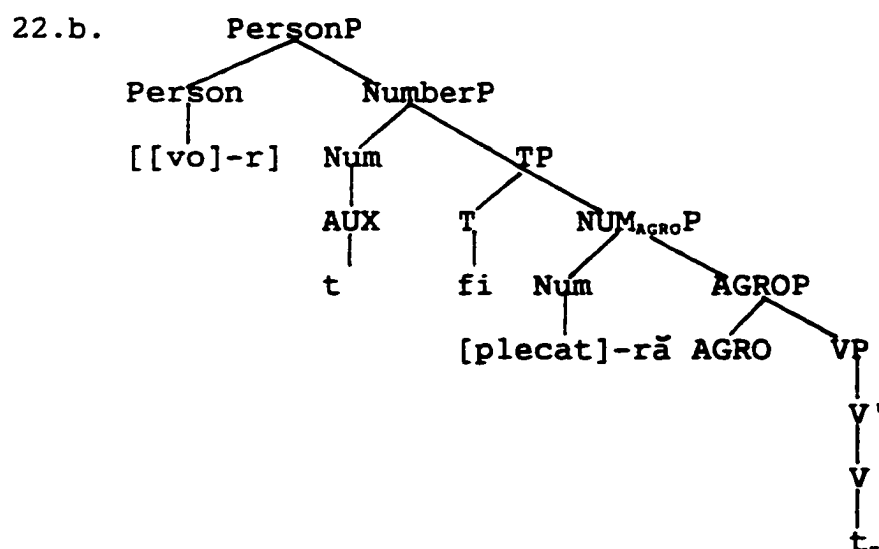
In (21) there is a functional head between TP and VP for the lexical V to raise to in order to account for the position w.r.t. adverbs and floated quantifiers. The respective

functional head could be AGROP (or AspectP). I adopt the suggestion that it is AGROP from Motapanyane (1995:74).

An interesting dialectal type of data suggests that AGROP could also "split" into AGROP and Number. Consider the perfect form of the Conditional Optative in (22.a)⁴⁸:

22.a. vo-r fi plecată-ră
 will-PL-3 be gone-PL
 "they will have gone"

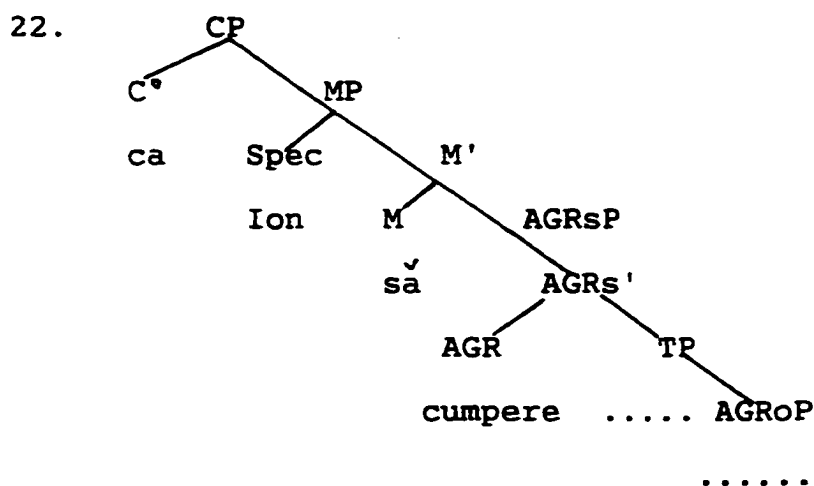
The representation of (22.a) could be (22.b):



3.2.2 The AUX in periphrastic future forms built with the subjunctive form of the verb may be either (i) the invariant form o (will) or (ii) the full AUX that has the fused number and person inflectional affixes. Let us first look at the syn-

⁴⁸ It was Richard Kayne who drew my attention to this type of data.

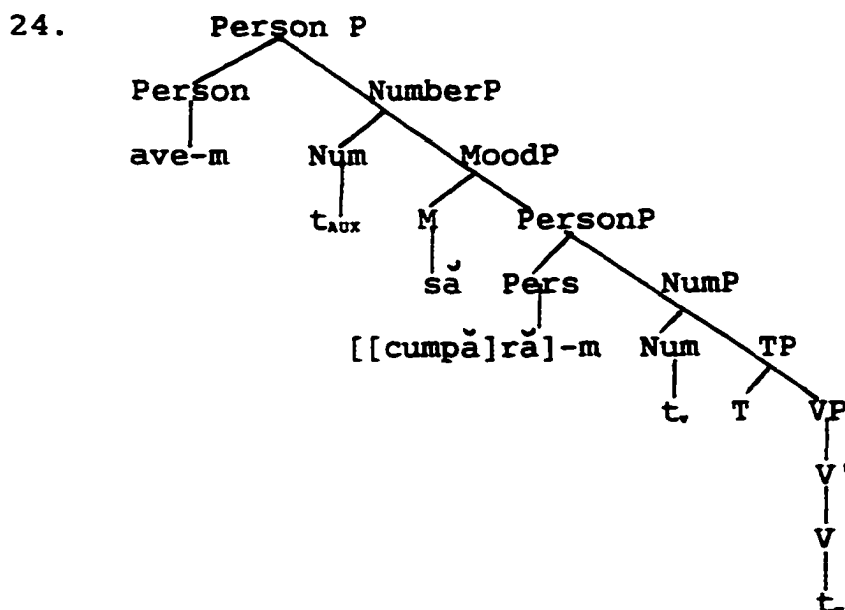
tactic representation of a subjunctive clause. I will adopt Virginia Motapanyane's (1995) suggestion that sa subjunctive is the spell-out of a M(ood) functional head. A clause like ca Ion să cumpere mere (ca Ion sa buy apple, "that-Subj"⁹ Ion should buy the apples") is represented like in (22) below:



The derivation of a periphrastic future form like in (23) is straightforward as indicated in (24):

23. ave -**m** să cîntă-**m**
 have-PL1 Subj.sing-PL1 "we shall sing"
 ave -**ți** să cînta-**ți**
 have-PL2 Subj.sing-PL2 "you will sing"

⁹ ca occurs with the Subjunctive Mood, while că is the C° of the Indicative Mood in Romanian.



The derivation in (24) captures the fact that in (23) both the AUX and the subjunctive have number and person exponents. The forms under (23) are literary forms and belong to the "alto" style (see Appendix 2 at the end of the Dissertation).

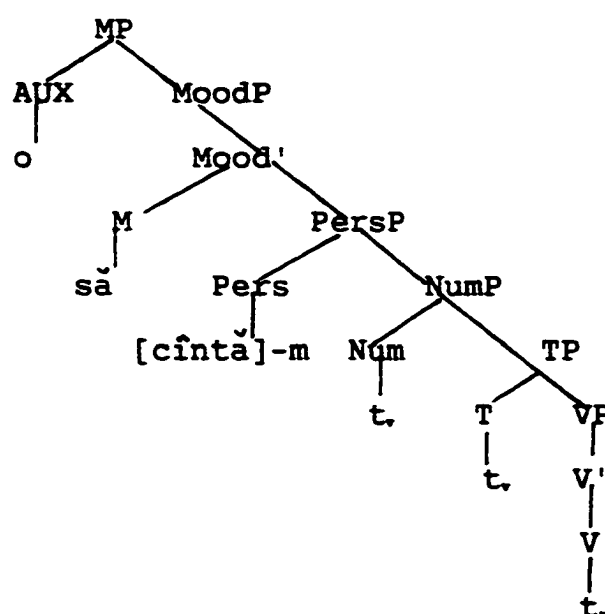
In colloquial speech, there is a future tense form built with the invariant form *o* instead of the inflected AUX; consider the paradigm in (25):

25. *o să cînt-0* (will Subj. sing-SG1) "I will sing"
o să cînt-1 (will Subj. sing-SG2) "you will sing"
o să cînt-e (will Subj. sing-SG3) "he/she will sing"
o să cîntă-m (will Subj. sing-PL1) "we will sing"
o să cînta-ți (will Subj. sing-PL2) "you will sing"
o să cînt-e (will Subj. sing-PL3) "they will sing"

Dovrovie (1994) suggested that the AUXs in Romanian are X^0

heads adjoined to the CP/IP subjunctive structure. In my⁵⁰ analysis of subjunctive structures as MPs, the question is whether the invariant form of the AUX in Romanian is really an instance of syntactic adjunction to the MP as shown in (26) below, or if another type of syntactic structure is more adequate. In the discussion that follows it will turn out that the second possibility is more adequate for Romanian.

26.



I will show in section 4.2 that the reduced AUX in Romanian is an instance of phonological reduction and not an instance of syntactic reduction as it is the case in English. In order to demonstrate that reduced AUX in Romanian involves a phonological process and not a syntactic one, it is necessary to look at the typology of arguments for the syntactic status of reduced AUXs in English.

⁵⁰ As shown above I adopt this interpretation from Motapanyane (1995).

4 Kayne (1996) on Reduced AUX in English

4.1 Full, Syllabic and Consonantal Auxiliaries

The auxiliary verbs in English comprise be, have⁵¹, do, and the modal verbs. Kayne argues that the orthographic two ways distinction between full and reduced auxiliaries given in (A) below is syntactically a three ways distinction.

A. full forms: will would am are is did

reduced forms: 'll 'd 'm 're 's 'd .

The difference between the full and reduced forms is not a matter of phonological reduction of one basic form. The distinction is prior to phonology, i.e. it involves different lexical items with different syntactic properties. Kayne (1996.b) suggests four standard tests in order to set up the distinction: adverbs, negation, VP-deletion and SU-AUX inversion.

1. Adverbs

Pollock (1989) has argued that the modal verbs in English originate in T⁰, while BE and HAVE originate in the VP and raise to T⁰. Kayne (1996) pursues the inquiry into the optionality of BE raising in (27) and (28) below:

27.a. John is [probably] a good dancer.

b. John [probably] is a good dancer.

28.a. Mary is [probably] happy.

b. Mary [probably] IS happy. (with stress on is)

⁵¹ = The auxiliary verb HAVE that forms the perfect tenses as different from "possessive" and "causative" verbs HAVE.

His reasoning is along the following lines: if BE raising were optional, then syntax contained optional movement rules, counter to Chomsky's (1994) prediction that there are no optional movement rules in syntax. Kayne suggests that Chomsky's (1994) prediction is correct, i.e. that movement is not optional. He notices that reduced auxiliaries behave differently from non-reduced auxiliaries w.r.t. to adverbs like probably, never. In (29), the unstressed auxiliary 's occurs more naturally to the left of probably:

29.a. John's [probably] here.

b.?John PROBABLY 's here.

c.*John SELDOM's here.

Sentence (29.b) gets better with stress on probably. The same difference between the full auxiliary and the reduced auxiliary can be seen in (30):

30.a. John [never] WILL understand this. (stress on WILL, full form)

b. John will [never] understand this. (reduced will)

Full auxiliaries behave in a different syntactic way than the reduced auxiliaries w.r.t. to adverbs as summarized in (B) below:

B. a. ADV AUX (full) (as in (30.a)).

1 2

b. AUX (reduced) ADV (as in (30.b))

1 2

Kayne (1996.b) suggests that (i) reduced AUXs in English have

different movement properties, i.e. they raise in a French way; (ii) the non-reduced AUXs behave like all lexical verbs in English, i.e. they remain "in situ". In other words, the full forms of the auxiliaries and the reduced forms have different properties w.r.t. movement. Non-reduced auxiliaries don't raise at all, while reduced auxiliaries raise obligatorily.

2. VP-Deletion

The faint intuition about reduced and non-reduced auxiliaries becomes sharper in the case of VP-deletion, i.e. non-reduced auxiliaries behave differently from reduced auxiliaries w.r.t. the test of VP-deletion. Consider the following contrasts between full and contracted auxiliaries in (31)-(32) below:

Full Auxiliary

31.a. Bill didn't apply for the job, but Joan did (apply).

b. Bill isn't here now, but Joan is.

c. Mary will not sign the contract, but Bill will.

but I will.

In these two contexts the contracted auxiliary is impossible as the ungrammaticality of the sentences under (32) indicates:

32.a. John isn't cold, *but Bill's.

b. Mary will not sign the contract, *but Bill'll.

*but I'll.

Notice also the contrasts shown in (33) below in which will does not raise, unlike BE in (31.b) above:

33.a. Mary will understand this, but John never will. (full form)

b. Mary will understand this, *but John'll never. (reduced form)

c. *but John will never
(unstressed)

Reduced forms are incompatible with stress. The VP deletion test reveals the existence of a sharp difference between full versus reduced auxiliaries, as illustrated in (32) and (33) above. There seems to be a difference between lexical verbs and full auxiliaries in English as (34) indicates:

34.a. Mary should go to school and Bill should, too.

b. *Mary put flowers on the table and John put, too.

It seems that lexical verbs raise in English to some functional head. The test of VP-deletion involves some complicated issues for sequences of auxiliaries longer than two members; consider the curious difference between (35) where only two auxiliaries are involved and (36) where three auxiliaries are involved:

35.a. John should be working and Mary should be, too.

b. John should be working and Mary should, too.

36.a. *Mary should have been working and John should, too.

b. Mary should have been working and John should have been, too.

The ungrammaticality of (36.a) clearly indicates that auxiliary BE must raise as in (36.b).

3. SU-AUX Inversion

A puzzling fact is offered by structures like in (37) in which BE stays "down":

37. John might be/have.

The test of inversion indicates the lower structural, i.e. inside VP position for BE as shown in the contrast between (38.a) and (38.b):

38.a. Should I be careful?

b.*Should be I careful?

4. Negation

Moreover, BE occurs to the right of negation in (39), indicating that, if NEG is between the T and the V heads, then BE is located lower than NEG, i.e. BE is in its in situ position:

39. I should not be angry.

BE behaves like a full verb with respect to inversion and negation; but the VP deletion structure in (36) indicate that BE must raise. So we are confronted with a "contradiction". Kayne suggests that there is in fact no contradiction. Notice that the perfect auxiliary HAVE behaves like BE w.r.t. inversion, i.e. it occurs lower than the modal should as (40) shows:

40.a. Should I have left?

b.*Should have I left?

There is a sharp difference between the full auxiliary HAVE and the reduced auxiliary 've with respect to their structural positions. The reduced form 've behaves differently from the

full auxiliary HAVE in SU-AUX inversion contexts; in (41) 've raises past the subject as part of the auxiliary constituent that "inverts", unlike full HAVE which is not part of the inversion rule; contrast (40) with (41) below:

41.a. Should've he done that⁵²?

b.*Should he've done it ?

The syntactic difference seems to be one of height of structural position in the tree. In contexts involving negation, the reduced auxiliary 've raises past NEG as shown in (42); contrast (42) with (43):

42. He should've not done it.

43.a. He should not have done it⁵³.

b.*He should have not done it.

4.2 Two Types of Reduced AUX in English; Consonantal and Syllabic AUX

In English the reduced auxiliaries have different syntactic properties than the full, unreduced auxiliaries. Kayne's (1996.b) argument is that the difference in syntactic properties w.r.t. to the four tests above is captured by the syntactic position that the reduced and non-reduced AUXs

⁵² "Should've he done that?" is dialectal and the sentence is from Kyle Johnson (R.Kayne, personal communication). Moreover, as R.Kayne pointed out to me "Should he've done that" is fine with a schwa before the /v/, and impossible if the 've is pronounced as a pure consonant." See the discussion between syllabic and consonantal AUX in section 4.2.

⁵³ The sentence is good with stress on not, e.g. He shouldn't have NOT done it. (see Kayne, to appear "The English Complementizer 'of'".)

occupy in the tree. There are two different syntactic kinds of reduced auxiliaries in English, the syllabic and the consonantal auxiliaries. The consonantal auxiliary has the higher structural position in the tree as the sentential adverb test indicates:

44.a. John's probably happy. John'll⁵⁴ probably leave.

b. John probably IS happy. John probably WILL leave.

The consonantal auxiliaries are clitic like; they occur with subject pronouns and expletive there and who:

45.a. He's here. (is)

b. He's left. (has)

c. He'll leave. (will)

d. They've left. (have)

e. He'd go. (would)

46.a. There'll be another war.

b. There'd be a solution.

The subject pronouns and the expletives are different from phrasal constituents like in (47) which cannot occur with the consonantal auxiliaries:

47.a. What city did he go to ?

In (47), did can be reduced, but not to a pure consonant (R. Kayne, personal communication); this indicates that there is no cliticization to a phrase, as expected. Kayne (1996.b) suggests that the ungrammaticality of (48.c):

48.a. John's never here when we need him.

⁵⁴ here 'll is syllabic, not consonantal.

b. John never is here when we need him.

c. *John never's here.

has to do with the syntactic height of the position of consonantal auxiliaries, i.e. the consonantal auxiliaries occupy the higher functional head, i.e. Num AGRO; the full, non-reduced auxiliaries are in T0.

4.3 Full and Reduced/Invariant AUX in Romanian

Let us see whether the reduced AUX o in Romanian has syntactic properties that are different from the full, non-reduced AUX. As will become immediately apparent, the structural height of the syntactic position occupied by the reduced and non-reduced AUXs in Romanian stays unchanged under tests 1-4. Hence, the difference between reduced and non-reduced AUX is phonological and not syntactic for Romanian.

1. Adverbs

In Romanian, both the invariant (fore and back clipped) AUX and the non-reduced AUX occupy the same syntactic position w.r.t. adverbs. Only two possibilities exist as diagrammed in (49) below:

49.a. ADV AUX + V

b. AUX + V ADV

c.* AUX ADV V

Consider the illustrative examples under (50) and (51) below:

Non-Reduced AUX

50.a. Ion adesea are să cînte (adesea) la pian.

Ion often will să play (often) piano.

"John will often play piano"

b.*Ion are adesea să cînte la pian.

Ion has often să play at piano.

"John will often play piano"

Reduced AUX

51.a. Copi-i-i probabil o să cînte (probabil) la pian.

child-PL-the probably will să play (ADV) at piano.

"The children will all play the piano"

b. *Copi-i-i o probabil să cînte la pian.

child-PL-the will probably sa play at piano.

"The children will all play the piano"

The non-reduced AUX in (50) and the reduced AUX in (51) show parallel syntactic positions w.r.t. to adverbs like adesea (seldom) or probabil (probably). The examples in (50)-(51) differ from their English counterparts in (26-29) above in clear ways.

2. VP-Deletion

The test of VP-deletion seems to indicate in English that reduced and non-reduced AUXs occupy syntactic positions that differ in their structural height. No such indication exists for Romanian as the examples under (52)-(53) show:

Reduced AUX

52.a. Ion o să reușească la examen și și Maria [o să reușească]

Ion will SA succeed in exam and also Maria [will succeed]

b.**Ion o să reușească la examen și și Maria o.

Ion will SA succeed in exam and also Maria will.

Non-Reduced AUX

53.a.Ion are să reușească la examen și Maria[are să reușească]

Ion will SA succeed in exam and Maria [will succeed]

b.**Ion are să reușească la examen și și Maria are.

Ion will SA succeed in exam and also Maria will.

If we contrast the Romanian examples under (52) and (53) with their English counterparts in (32) and (33) above, we notice immediately that in Romanian both the reduced and the non-reduced AUX behave in a parallel way w.r.t. VP-deletion. Since VP-deletion is a test for the height of the structural position targeted by the AUX, it follows that in Romanian both the reduced and non-reduced AUX occupy the same structural position. In English, the non-reduced AUX seems to stay "in situ", while the reduced AUX seems to occupy a higher structural position.

3. SU-AUX Inversion

Romanian has no SU-AUX Inversion. There is only free inversion with the subject DP postposed to the AUX+V sequence; Free Inversion structures are illustrated in (54) below:

54.a. Are să vină [Ion]?

will SA come John

b. O să vină [Ion]?

will SA come Ion

4. Negation

The NEG constituent nu can precede the AUX (reduced and non-reduced) forms alike. No other position of the NEG is grammatical in Romanian:

55.a. N(u) are să vină.

NEG will-SG3 SA come

"He will not come"

b. N-o să vină.

NEG will SA come " (He/she) will not come"

The above four tests that discriminate between two types of syntactic behaviour among the English AUXs, do not distinguish two types of syntactic behaviour for the Romanian AUX. I will conclude from this that the invariant form o of the AUX in the future forms is the result of the application of a phonological rule in the phonological component. Syntactically, AUX in Romanian is located in the Number Head and it is not an instance of a "clitic-like" element adjoined to CP/IP, counter to Dobrovie's (1994) analysis. My analysis supports Motapanyane's (1995) analysis. I differ from Motapanyane (1995) in suggesting that AGR should be split into Number agreement and Person agreement.

5 AUX-Verb Inversion

5.1 The Data

Old Romanian had a construction called the "inverted" form which is present in literary, poetic language to this day. The "inverted" form has the lexical (infinitive or participle

form) of the V precede the AUX in all the analytic tenses.
Consider some illustrative examples in (56) below:

56.a. Auzit-a-i de unul Bîrzof. (Ghica, GA,I:269)

heard-have,SG2 of one Bîrzof

"You have heard of someone called B"

b. Trecut-a-u anii ca nori lungi.(Eminescu, GA,I:269)

passed-have,PL3 years as clouds long

"The years have passed by like long clouds"

c. Adormi-vo-m în curînd.

sleep-will,PL1 soon

"We shall fall asleep soon"

d. Auzi-vo-m cîntec.

hear-will,PL1 song

"We shall hear a song"

Any analysis of data like in (56) needs to account for two solid facts that characterize the AUX-verb inversion, i.e. (i) no inverted structures can be embedded under negation, as illustrated in (57); (ii) the accusative clitic occurs between the inverted verb and the AUX as shown in (58):

57. *Nu auzi-vo-m cîntece.

Not hear-will-PL,1 songs

58. Vedea-l-aş acasă mai repede.

see-CL-would home sooner

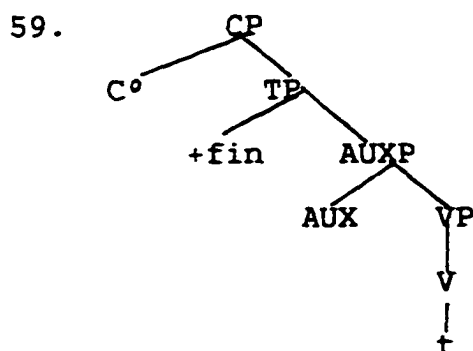
"I would like to see him home sooner"

Section 5.2 discusses Lema and Rivero's (1990) analysis of "AUX-V" inverted structures like in (56) above. My proposal

will not differ in an essential way from Lema and Rivero (1990).

5.2 Lema and Rivero (1990) on LHM

Lema and Rivero (1990) propose that inverted structures like in (56) are derived by "long" movement of the non-finite V to C⁰ "skipping over" the AUX. For instance, (56.a) is syntactically represented as in (59):



(Lema and Rivero, 1990:338).

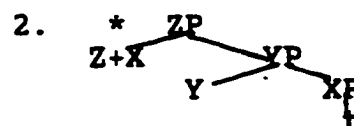
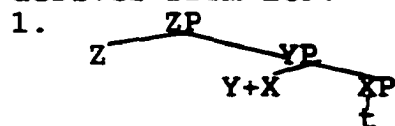
Lema and Rivero (1990) offer an ingenious analysis based on an extension of Germanic movement of the V-to-C to Romanian and other Slavic languages that have "inverted" analytic forms. They assume a clausal architecture in which finite T⁰ is the highest functional head; the temporal auxiliaries head a projection distinct from TP that is sister constituent to T⁰. The temporal auxiliaries, e.g. Conditional ar, Future va and a of the Perfect Tense) move to finite T⁰. "We propose that in Romanian the auxiliaries head a projection different from TP and that movement by AUX to T⁰ is the mechanism by which the variable required by the tense operator is created." A

structure like (56.a) involves "long" movement of the non-finite lexical V to C⁰ skipping the AUX raised to T⁰; when LHM does not apply, the V remains in situ. ECP⁵⁵ is the only condition that X⁰ movement must satisfy. ECP is satisfied in (59) by the formation of a chain of coindexation between the raised V, the intermediate AUX and the trace of the V. Auxiliaries having Tense properties permit the formation of such extended head-chains between the verb in C⁰ and its trace in VP⁵⁶. Lema and Rivero bring two types of arguments in favour of movement of V-to-C for data like in (56); namely, (i) the presence of NEG blocks LHM; (ii) LHM is restricted to root contexts.

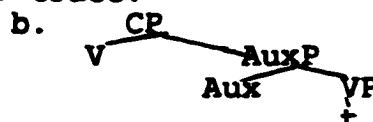
Negation and LHM

The blocking effect of negation on X⁰-movement has been noted

⁵⁵ The HMC proposed by Travis (1984), Baker (1985, 1988), Chomsky (1986) coincide in 2 respects: a. movement of an X⁰ level category must be to the position of the head Y directly above it as shown in (1); hence, movement by X to Z skipping the intervening head Y, as in (2) is not possible. b. HM must satisfy proper government; this leads Baker and Chomsky to propose that the HMC derives from ECP.



⁵⁶ Temporal AUX Tense-mark the X element directly below them (a), coindexing the two immediate heads. When the Tense-marked head moves to C (b), the result is an extended chain of coindexation providing proper government for the V-trace.



by Kayne (1989) in a discussion on Clitic Climbing in Romance, i.e. since clitics are X-elements, Clitic Climbing cannot proceed over an intervening NEG head. LHM does not occur over the NEG head as illustrated in (58) and (60):

60. *Nu pleacat-au toți.

NEG leave-have-PL3 all

Lema and Rivero explain the ungrammaticality of (58) and (60) in the following way: the movement by V to C⁰ cannot result in an extended head-chain because the intervening negation does not share the tense index as shown in (61); hence the structure is ungrammatical.

61. *[CP V[NEGP NEG [AuxP Aux [VP t]]]]

Root contexts

The fact that LHM is restricted to root contexts is generally true. Lema and Rivero suggest that since the examples in (56) have the illocutionary force of an exortative, the clausal architecture of exortative root sentences has C⁰ as the highest functional head.

The problem is that the data in (56) are not restricted to root contexts; inverted verb forms may occur in the embedded clauses headed by the overt complementizer CA (that + Indicative) with bridge verbs as illustrated in (62). Such structures ought to be ungrammatical under the Lema and Rivero (1990) proposal counter to language facts.

62.a. Mi -a povestit că plecat-au zece dar s-au întors doi.

CL_{dat}-has told that left-have-PL3 10 but se-have-PL3

returned two

"He has told me that ten have left but only two have returned"

b. Mi -a relatat că plecat-au zece dar s-au întors doi.
CL_{Dat}-has told that left-have-PL3 10 but se-have- PL3
returned two

"He has told me that ten have left but only two have returned"

In the next sub-section I will suggest another possible analysis of data like in (56).

5.3 My Analysis

I have shown that the AUX is base generated in the Number head and that it moves to the Person head to pick up the person inflection. The non-finite lexical verb has been shown to move successive cyclic to the Number head. The crucial type of data are those under (58) and (63) below and those in (57):

- 63.a. dat(u) - l - am
given-CL-have, SG, 1
"I have given him"
- b. prins(u)-l-am
caught-CL-have, SG1
"I have caught him"
- c. dusu-s-a
went-CL-have, SG3
"He has se gone"

- d. *înturnatu-s-a împaratul*
 returned-se-have,SG3 king-the
 "The king he has returned"

Kayne (1995) suggests that Clitic pronouns like the accusative clitic in (63.a-b) or the *se* in (63.c-d) are heads that asymmetrically c-command the highest functional head in the clausal architecture, in my analysis, the Person head. In line with Kayne's suggestion, the derivation of the structures in (63) would involve either left adjunction of the non-finite verb to the CL head, or movement of the verb to C⁰. Given that the structures in (63) may be embedded under bridge verbs with the overt complementizer *că* (that+indicative), and assuming that there are no stacked CP nodes in Romanian, one would say that the non-finite verb is left adjoined to the CL head which is the functional head above the Person head.

But syntax is not so simple ! Data like in (57) repeated here under (64) indicate that the architecture of the clause might be a bit more complex than I am suggesting here⁵⁷;

64. *Nu auzi-vo-m cîntece.
 not hear-will-PL,1 songs
 "we won't hear songs"

For the time being, I will adopt the Lema-Rivero (1990) suggestion about a possible movement of the non-finite lexical verb to the C⁰ head.

Chapter 5, section 2 will raise the same issue, i.e. that the

⁵⁷ More research is needed in this area.

equative verb a fi (be) might target the C⁰ head.

This would indicate that Romanian is a language that has raising of the V to either the Person head, or to the Clitic head above the Person head and to C⁰. In view of Shlonsky (1989), the fact that the verb may target different functional heads higher up or lower down in the architecture of finite sentences does not come as a surprise.

Chapter 4

A NEW ANALYSIS FOR PARTITIVE PHRASES

Overview

Chapter 4 will suggest a new analysis of partitive phrases which dispenses with the LF movement of the embedded definite NP. Over and above the new analysis of partitive phrases, the chapter will suggest that an LCA-based theory of syntax may be understood as assuming only surface structure as the concern of syntax.

In Chapter 2, I have assumed Kayne's (1994) suggestion, based on an idea of Juan Uriagereka's, to analyze partitive phrases like (a) part_i of the guests t_i as syntactically parallel to the possessive phrases like a car_i of John's t_i as shown in (1) and (2):

1. D^0 [_{D/PP} [_{NP} a part_i]][of [_{IP} the guests [_{I'} [_{e_i}]]...]

2. D^0 [_{D/PP} [_{NP} a car_i]][of [_{IP} John ['s [_{e_i}]]...]

Subject-Verb agreement phenomena with partitive phrases as subjects revealed a double possibility, i.e. (i) the matrix NP of a partitive phrase may license SG agreement with the verb, while (ii) the embedded PL NP licenses PL agreement with the verb. I have shown that there is a direct correlation between V movement to the highest functional head in the clausal architecture and the syntactic configuration of the subject phrase, i.e. the NP in the highest SPEC of the subject phrase licenses the agreement with the finite verb.

Chapter 2 assumed the existence of the LF level of representation, hence the possibility of the LF movement of the PL embedded NP to SPEC subject phrase in order to account for PL agreement with the verb. This chapter takes the view that dispenses the LF level of analysis may be dispensed with.

Five different syntactic problems exist with the solution in Chapter 2. Section 1.1 discusses subject-verb agreement phenomena in a "split" AGR Theory in VSX order and in the SVX order; both cases will indicate that we have to modify our assumptions about the syntactic representation of partitive phrases.

The need to modify the analysis arises independently of the "split" AGR Theory, i.e. four other problems are discussed in section 1.2. Section 2 suggests a new analysis based on the cyclic principle associated with the idea of syntactic domain. Partitive phrases start out as simple IP structures with the PL NP in SPEC, IP (subject phrase) and the indefinite NP in predication position inside the IP. Within the domain of the subject phrase the partitive preposition dintre (from among) comes in and plays a role in the derivation (i) either after the subject phrase passes through the SPECs of the various functional heads that make up the architecture of the sentence, i.e. T^0 and AGR^0 , thus explaining PL number, 3 person agreement with the finite verb; (ii) or the insertion of dintre (from among) comes in before the entire subject phrase

moves successive cyclic into the SPEC positions of the T⁰ and AGR⁰ heads for SG number, 3 person agreement to be licensed. The analysis is extended to the indefinite cardinality NPs; a clearer syntactic explanation of indefinite cardinality expressions with the definite article versus those restricted by linguistic material in the form of restrictive adjectives and focus particles emerges.

1.1 The First Problem: "Split" AGR and Agreement

1.1.1 SVX Order

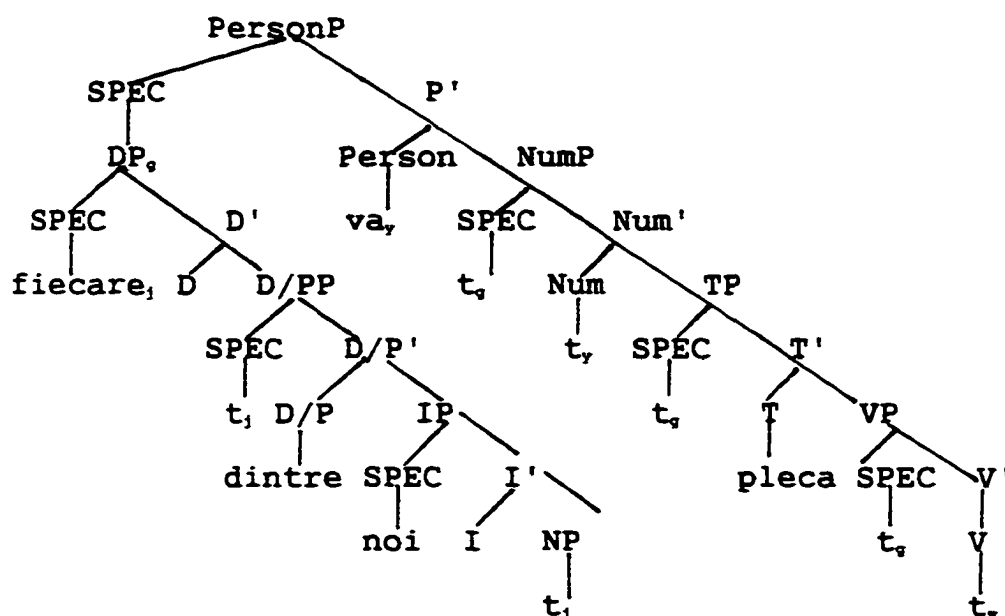
A configurational problem crops up for the SVO order. Let us consider the subject-verb agreement in the examples in (1) below:

- 1.a. Fiecare dintre noi va pleca.
 each from us will-SG,3 leave
- b. Fiecare dintre noi vo-~~m~~ pleca.
 each from us will-PL,1 leave.

In (1.a) the verb shows SG number, 3 person agreement which is licensed by the indefinite matrix NP fiecare (each). Within the subject phrase, the indefinite fiecare (each) moves to SPEC; D/P and then to SPEC, D in the overt syntax. The entire subject phrase originates in SPEC, V and is raised to SPEC, T for nominative Case licensing and then to SPEC, Number where it licenses SG agreement with the AUX verb; when the subject phrase moves to SPEC, Person it licenses 3 person agreement on the AUX verb. The AUX verb moves to the highest functional

head in the clausal architecture, i.e. Person, hence the subject phrase has to raise to SPEC, Person in the overt syntax for SV order. The derivation of (1.a) is given in (2).

2.

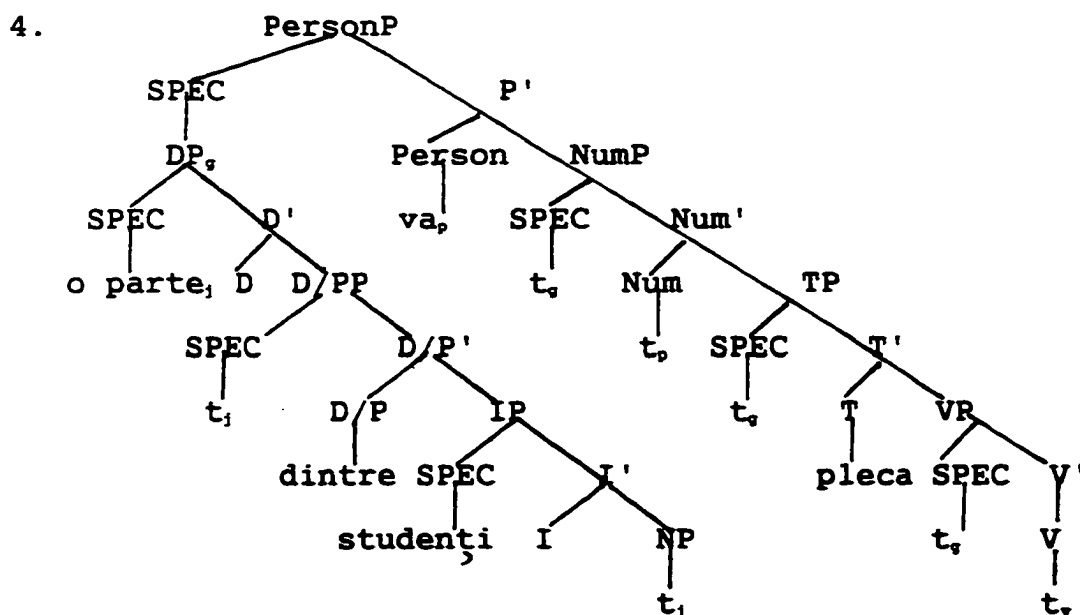


Now, if we apply the same assumptions about the structure of partitive phrases to the derivation of (1.b) a problem emerges. Here is the derivational problem: noi (us) may move to the highest SPEC of the subject DP, i.e. SPEC, D, only at LF. Hence number and person agreement with the verb ought to take place at LF. But under such a derivation, there is no proper configuration to license number agreement, i.e. the subject phrase passes through SPEC, Number before Spell-Out for SV order to be obtained; at that point in the derivation, noi (us) does not occupy the highest SPEC position within the subject phrase architecture. Hence, Number agreement cannot be licensed. An A-chain mechanism could be invoked, but such a solution is, strictly speaking, not a geometrical solution.

It appears that all instances SVO order in which the verb shows PL, 3 person agreement with the embedded PL NP of the subject partitive phrase bring us to this deadlock under the split AGR Theory. Consider the examples in (3):

- 3.a. O treime dintre student_i-i-i tăi a-u plecat.
 a third from student-PL,M-the your have-PL,3 left
- b. O parte din baieti sunt inteligent_i-i.
 a part from boy-Pl be, Pres,PL intelligent-PL,M

If the clausal architecture involves a split AGR and PL, 3 person agreement with the verb is analyzed as agreement with the embedded PL NP at LF, then the same derivational problem crops up. Consider the derivation under (4):



The AUX moves from the Number head to the Person head, hence the subject phrase must reach SPEC, Person before Spell-Out. Within the subject phrase, the embedded PL NP is raised to SPEC, D at LF. If so, PL, 3 person agreement must be

procrastinated until LF. Under these assumptions, there is no proper configuration to license PL number agreement¹.

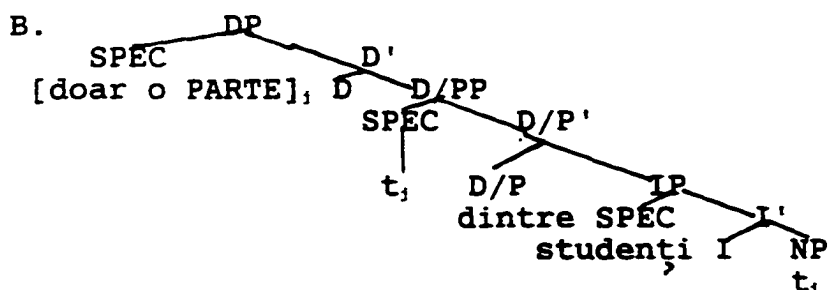
1.1.2 VSX Order

Subject partitive phrases like fiecare dintre voi (each of you -PL) license either SG, 3 person agreement with the verb or PL number, 2 person agreement with the verb. In Chapter 2, I have

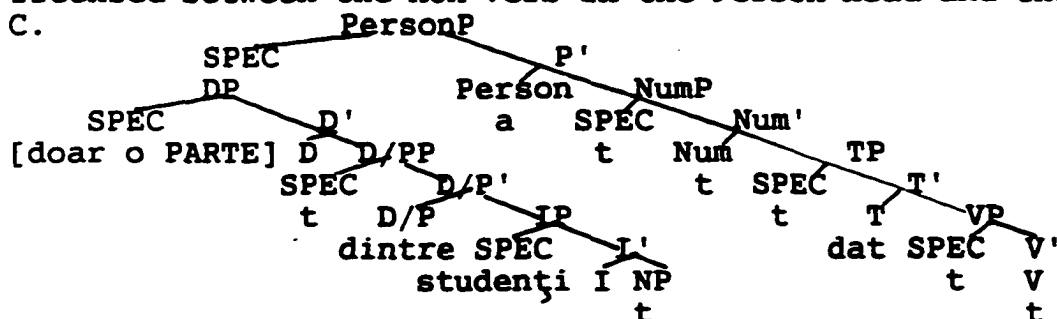
¹ No problems exist for the derivational approach in case the agreement is with the singular matrix NP when restricted by linguistic material (focus particle, focus stress, adjectives); the matrix NP occupies the highest SPEC, i.e. SPEC, D, within the subject phrase architecture in the overt syntax. Consider the illustrative examples in (A):

- A.a. [Doar o PARTE] dintre studenți este angajată aici.
 only a part from students be-SG,3 engaged-SG,F here
 b. O multime COVÎRȘITOARE dintre copii a dat un răspuns bun
 a multitude overwhelming from children have,PL given a good answer

The subject phrase architecture for (A) is as in (B) below:



The entire subject phrase moves to SPEC, Person and 3 person is licensed between the AUX verb in the Person head and the matrix NP.



shown that SG, 3 person agreement with the verb is licensed by the singular matrix NP which occupies the highest SPEC position within the complex subject phrase. PL, 2 person agreement with the verb was analyzed as agreement with the embedded PL NP which occupies the highest SPEC within the subject phrase at LF. In both instances, the V was raised to the AGR head, i.e. the highest functional head in the clausal architecture. Let us assume that the clausal architecture contains a split AGR and let us look at the mechanics of executing subject-verb agreement in VSO order. Consider the sentences under (5):

5.a. Ve-ți pleca fiecare dintre voi.

will-PL2 leave each from you(PL)

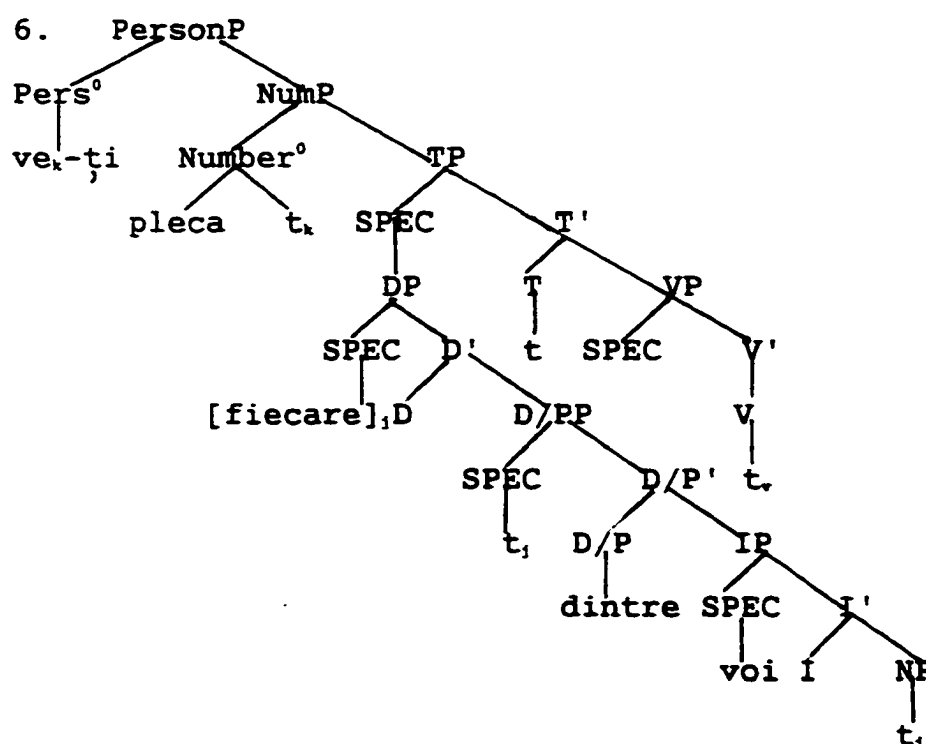
b. Va pleca fiecare dintre voi.

will-SG,3 leave each from you(PL)

In (5.a) the auxiliary verb shows PL, 2 person agreement, i.e. it agrees with the embedded PL pronoun voi (you, PL); in (5.b) the auxiliary verb shows SG, 3 person agreement, i.e. it agrees with the matrix indefinite fiecare (each). Let us assume the split AGR theory. The AUX verb is base generated in the Number head and moves to the Person head to pick up the person inflection. The lexical verb is base generated VP internally and moves successive cyclic to the Tense or Number head². The complex subject phrase originates in SPEC, VP and is raised to SPEC, T for nominative Case licensing in the

² See Chapter 3, section 3 for a discussion on the position of the AUX and of the lexical verb in the analytic temporal forms.

overt syntax. Within the subject phrase, fiecare (each) is in the highest SPEC, i.e. SPEC, D. The problem is that there is no proper configuration for licensing SG number agreement with the AUX verb. PL number agreement and 2 person agreement with the verb is licensed by the embedded PL NP voi (you) which is raised to SPEC, D at LF. The embedded PL NP may extract out of the subject DP in SPEC, T, but there is no proper configuration to license PL number agreement with the AUX verb. The syntactic configuration is given in (6) below:



1.2 Four Other Problems

As we shall see below, the analysis of partitive phrases in Chapter 2 is inadequate, independent of the problems of "split" AGR as discussed in section 1.2 above.

I. A Difference in Agreement Possibilities

If one assumes that partitive phrases are syntactically parallel to possessive phrases, then the following difference w.r.t. agreement possibilities has no straight forward answer³. In subject position, possessive phrases like the friends of John's may license only PL (and 3 person) with the verb as illustrated in (7), while a partitive phrase like each of us may license either SG, 3 person agreement or PL, 1 person agreement with the verb as illustrated in (8):

7.a. The friends of John's that I met yesterday were/*was leaving to Jamaica.

b. Prieten-i-i lui Ion pe care i-am intîlnit ieri pleca-u/
*pleca spre Jamaica.

8.a. Each of us is/are leaving tomorrow.

b. Fiecare dintre noi este/sunte-m ocupat(-i).
each from us is/ are-1 busy(-PL).

If possessive phrases and partitive phrases are syntactically parallel, then there is no straightforward answer for the difference in the agreement pattern illustrated in (7) and (8).

II. "The Agreement with Partitive "Fiecare" (each)

In subject position the partitive NP fiecare (each) licenses SG or PL number agreement and {1, 2, 3} person agreement with

³ This question was raised by R. Fiengo.

b. Fiecare dintre noi vre-m să fi-m frumoş-i.

each from us want-PL,1 Subj. be-PL,1 beautiful-PL,M

In (10)-(11) above, the verb be shows number and person agreement and the predicative adjective shows number and gender agreement with the subject partitive phrase. The discussion in Chapter 2 offered no answer to the problem of adjectival agreement in (10)-(11), i.e. how does number (and gender) agreement get licensed on the predicative adjective? More precisely, the question is how does one account for the fact that in (10.a) the predicative adjective frumoasa (beautiful-SG,F) agrees with the matrix NP fiecare (each), while in (10.b), frumoase (beautiful-PL,F) agrees with the embedded plural personal pronoun noi (us).

A related and somehow more subtle problem is raised the agreement with predicative adjective in (12), i.e. how does the predicative adjective get plural, feminine agreement:

12. Fiecare sunte-m frumoas-e.

each be-Pres,PL1 beautiful-F,PL

"Everyone is beautiful-F,PL"

IV. A Difference in Agreement Possibility

In (11), the subject phrase student-i-i fiecare (student-PL-the,M) licenses PL, 3 person agreement on the verb; SG, 3 person agreement is ungrammatical as illustrated in (13):

13. Student-i-i fiecare a-u /*a luat un premiu.

student-PL-the,M each have-PL,3/*Sg,3 won a prize

On the other hand, in (14), with a split partitive construction the agreement pattern is reversed, i.e. SG, 3 person agreement is grammatical, while PL, 3 person is degraded. Consider the example in (14):

14. Dintre student_i-i-i noi, fiecare a /?*a-u luat un premiu.

from student-PL-the, M each have-SG, 3 /?*PL, 3 won a prize

Chapter 2 offered no explanation for the difference in agreement pattern between (13) and (14).

Given the problems listed under I-IV above, I will suggest a different analysis of partitive phrases that may give an answer to all these problems.

2 A New Analysis

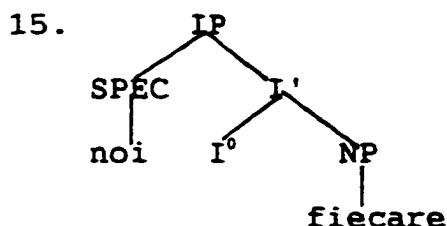
2.1 The Structure of Partitive Phrases

In this section I will suggest a different analysis of the structure of partitive phrases based on an idea of Richard Kayne's (personal communication). The new analysis is purely geometric and it dispenses with the LF raising of the embedded plural NP proposed in Chapter 2.

The new analysis is based on the cyclic principle associated with the notion of syntactic domain (see also McCawley, 1997).

(1) Assume that a partitive phrase like fiecare dintre noi (each of us) starts out as a phrase of category IP [noi[I° fiecare]] ([we [I° each]]) with the PL, definite NP noi (us) in SPEC, IP and the indefinite fiecare (each) in complement position to the I°.

The syntactic representation of the basic structure of the subject phrase is as in (15) below:



(2) Assume that within the syntactic domain of the subject phrase, the prepositional determiner dintre (from among) may play a role (may get inserted) at two different points in the syntactic derivation. The two possibilities are described under (A) and (B) below.

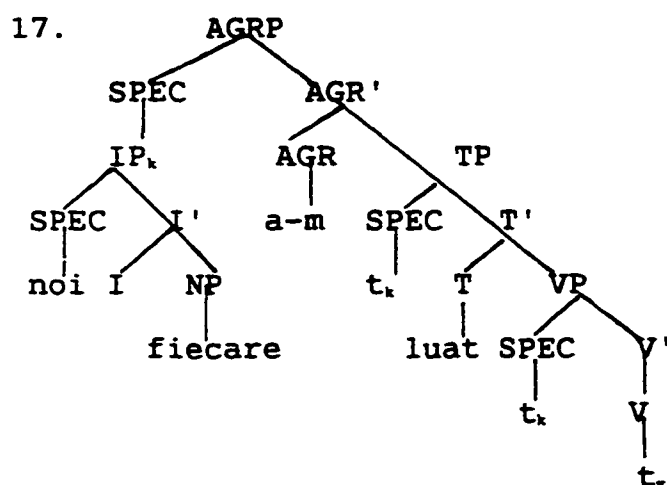
(A) Dintre (from among) may get inserted and play a role after the subject IP in (15) moves through SPEC, T° and SPEC, AGR°, respectively. Geometrically this derivation has the plural NP noi (us) in the highest SPEC position of the subject phrase as shown in (15); this derivation would account for PL number agreement and 1 person agreement with the finite verb. Consider the derivation of subject-verb agreement in a sentence like (16) below:

16. Fiecare dintre noi a-m luat un premiu.

each from us have-PL,1 won a prize

The subject phrase with structure (15) starts in SPEC, VP and passes through the SPECs of the functional heads T° and AGR° before the prepositional determiner dintre is inserted within the domain of the subject phrase. PL number, 1 person agreement with the verb is licensed at a point in the syntactic

derivation when the subject phrase is in SPEC, AGR⁰ and the AUX verb is in the AGR head, i.e. geometrically, the NP in the highest SPEC position of the subject phrase determines the agreement with the finite verb; the S-structure representation of (16) is as in (17):



Within the domain of the subject phrase, the prepositional complementizer dintre (from among) is inserted and plays a syntactic role after the agreement with the verb is licensed. Since D/P⁰ dintre (from among) is a functional head with a maximal projection of its own, the insertion of dintre (from among) creates a SPEC position for fiecare (each) to move into as S-structure.

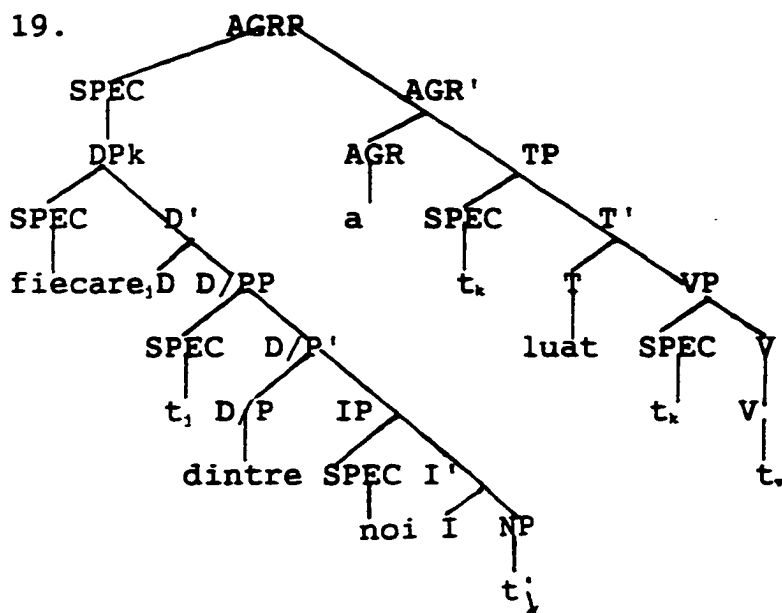
Since PL number, 1 person agreement has already been licensed, the movement of fiecare into a SPEC position that c-commands the embedded PL NP noi (us) does not have consequences for the agreement with the finite verb.

(B) There is a second syntactic possibility regarding the role

of the D/P^o dintre (from among). Within the syntactic domain of the subject phrase, the assumption is that the preposition dintre (from among) gets inserted earlier than the movement of the entire subject phrase through the SPECs of different functional heads, i.e. dintre (from among) is inserted within the domain of the subject phrase at a point in the syntactic derivation when the entire subject phrase is in SPEC, VP. The insertion of dintre (from among) plays a role in creating a SPEC position for the movement of fiicare (each) from its predication position inside the IP to SPEC, D/PP. Geometrically, fiicare (each) is in the highest SPEC position of the subject phrase; hence, it determines SG number, 3 person agreement with the finite verb. Consider the licensing of the subject-verb agreement in (18).

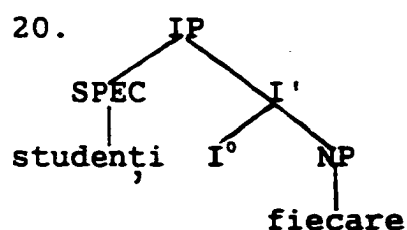
18. Fiicare dintre noi a luat un premiu.
 each from us have-SG,3 won a prize

The derivation of sentence (18) is given in (19) below:



2.2 "The students each"

This syntactic analysis implies that a phrase like studentii fiecare (the students each) is the phonetic string representing the basic IP structure. No partitive preposition needs to be inserted. The syntactic representation is as in (20), which is identical to (15):

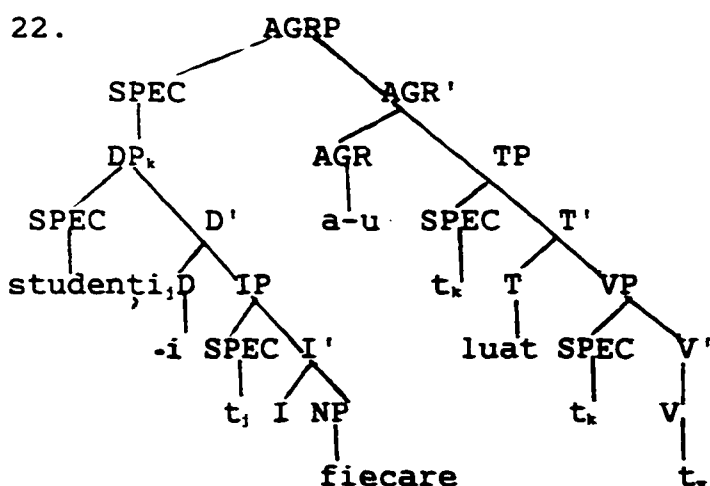


In subject position, such a phrase licenses PL number, 3 person agreement on the finite verb. Consider the subject-verb agreement in (21) below:

21. Studentii-i-i fiecare a-u /*a luat un premiu.

student-PL-the,M each have-PL,3/*Sg,3 won a prize

Assume that the IP subject phrase originates in SPEC, VP and moves successive cyclic to SPEC, T° and SPEC, AGR° in the overt syntax. The PL NP student-i (student-PL) is in SPEC, IP position and the partitive fiecare (each) in predication position inside the IP. PL, 3 person agreement with the verb is licensed by the PL NP student-i which occupies SPEC, IP; from SPEC, IP the NP student_i raises to SPEC, D to agree in number and gender with the D°. The syntactic derivation is given in (22):



The fact that in (21) only PL number, 3 person agreement is grammatical comes for free. I have shown in Chapter 2⁶ that the presence of the definite article in Romanian does not turn an NP into a definite NP of the same "strength" as in English. The PL NP student-i (student-s) in SPEC, IP raises out of IP to SPEC, D in order to get the definite article -i with which it agrees in number and gender (PL, M) after the subject IP

⁶ See section 2.2.1 and footnote 20.

passes through all the functional heads that make up the architectural skeleton of a sentence (see section 2.1 below for a clearer explanation).

In other words, the suggestion is that partitive phrases start out as simple IP structures with the PL definite NP in SPEC, IP (subject phrase) and the indefinite NP in predication position inside the IP. Within the domain of the subject phrase the partitive preposition dintre (from among) comes in and plays a role in the derivation (A) either after the subject phrase passes through the SPECS of the various functional heads that make up the architecture of the sentence, i.e. T^0 and AGR^0 , thus explaining PL number, 3 person agreement with the finite verb, or (B) the insertion of dintre (from among) comes in before the entire subject phrase moves successive cyclic into the SPEC positions of the T^0 and AGR^0 heads, i.e. this second syntactic possibility accounts for SG number, 3 person agreement with the finite verb.

The geometric reasoning in chapters 2 and 4 is the same, i.e.

- (i) the agreement between the subject and the verb is licensed at a point in the syntactic derivation when the subject phrase is in SPEC, AGR^0 and the finite verb is in the AGR head;
- (ii) the agreement is determined by the NP which is in the highest SPEC position within the subject phrase at S-structure.

Moreover, the definite article is inserted into the subject

phrase at a point later in the derivation than the movement of the subject phrase through the various sentential SPEC positions.

2.3 The Agreement with "Fiecare"(each) as Subject

Let us now consider the multiple agreement possibilities of partitive NP fiecare (each) repeated here for convenience under (23).

23.a.Fiecare {va şti ce {are de făcut.

each will-SG3 know what has-SG3 Supine do

b. {vo-m {ave-m

will-PL1 have-PL1

c. {ve-t̥i {ave-t̥i

will-PL2 have-PL2

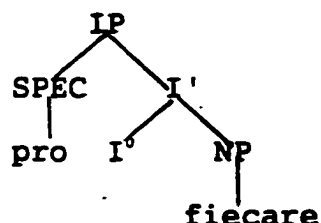
d. {vor - {a-u

will-PL3 have-PL3

"Each knew what he had to do"

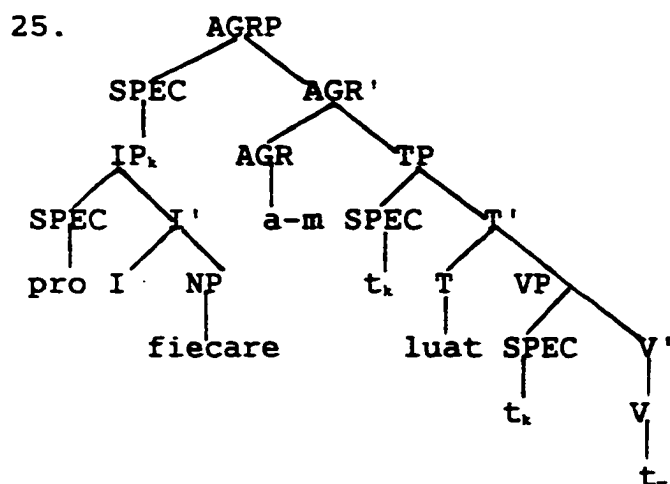
Assume that the partitive NP fiicare (each) is syntactically of category IP with a small pro in SPEC, IP and fiicare (each) in predication position inside the IP, as shown in (24):

24.

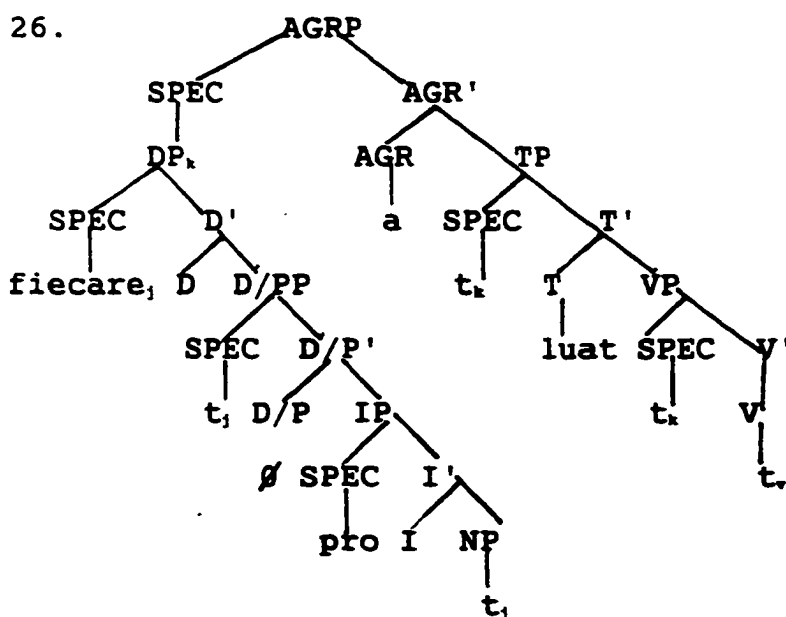


The syntactic derivation for PL, 1 person agreement, PL, 2 person and PL, 3 person agreement is parallel to the deri-

vation in (17) above, i.e. PL agreement is licensed between the small pro in SPEC, IP and the verb raised to the AGR head as in (25):



SG, 3 person agreement with the verb is licensed by fiecare (each) in a configuration like in (26) below in which the NP fiecare (each) has moved to the SPEC position of an empty D/P head.



I will assume that the indefinites cîtiiva (some), multî (many)

unii (some) and the partitive fiecare (each) have parallel syntactic structures, i.e. the indefinite NP unii (some) starts from a complex IP structure as in (27):

27. [pro [I° unii]]

The explanation of the agreement pattern in (28) is syntactically parallel to the explanation of the agreement pattern with partitive fiecare (each) in (23) above.

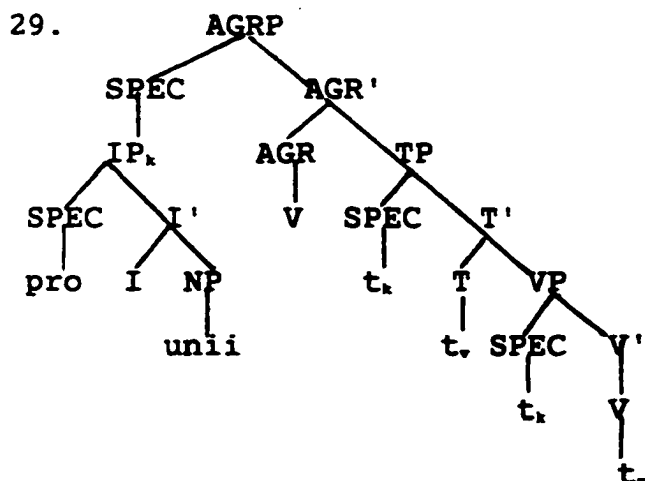
28.a. Unii {citi-ră-m ziarele.
 some read-PL,1 newspapers

b. {citi-ră-ți
 read-PL,2

c. {citi-ră
 read-PL,3

"Some had read the newspapers"

The syntactic derivation for PL, 1 person agreement, PL, 2 person and PL, 3 person agreement is as follows: PL agreement is licensed between the small pro in SPEC, IP and the verb raised to the AGR head as in (29):



The derivation in (29) is based on the assumption that the indefinites have parallel syntactic structures with partitive fiecare (each).

3 Extending the Analysis

3.1 Indefinite Cardinality NPs

The syntactic suggestion that partitive phrases start from a simple IP structure with the PL definite NP in SPEC, IP position permits a simple explanation for two robust facts that we have discussed in Chapter 2; they stayed a mystery under the analysis given in Chapter 2. Here are the two language facts:

(i) The indefinite cardinality NPs o parte (a part), o treime (a third), o multime (a multitude), o puzderie (a throng) as subject phrases license PL number, 3 person on the verb and never SG, 3 person agreement.

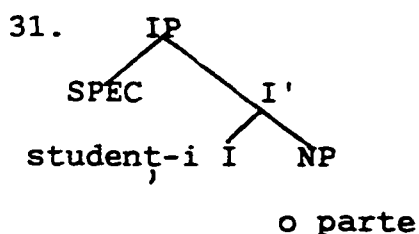
(ii) In case the indefinite cardinality NP is restricted by an adjective or is associated with focus, then SG number, 3 person agreement with the verb is the only grammatical possibility, i.e. agreement with the "matrix" NP which has wide scope.

Consider the agreement facts in (30) below which illustrate property (i) above.

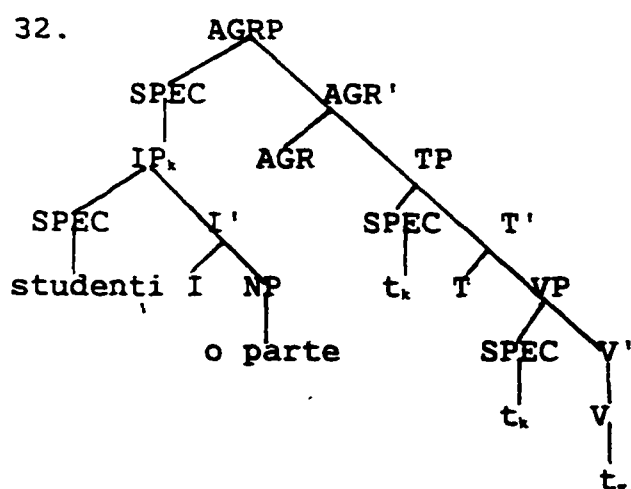
30.a. O treime din student_i-i-i *tăi sunt angaja_i-i* *în*
 a third from student-PL-the,M your are engaged-PL,M in
 acest proiect.
 this project.

b.O parte dintre copi-i-i blonz-i sunt disciplinaṭ-i.

a part from child-PL-the,M blond-PL,M are disciplined-PL,M
Partitive phrases formed with indefinite cardinality NPs start from a syntactic structure involving an IP, with the PL NP in SPEC, IP and the indefinite cardinality NP in predication position inside the IP as in (31):



The syntactic derivation of a sentence like in (30.a) is given in (32) below:



In (32), PL number, 3 person agreement with the verb may be derived by assuming that, within the subject domain, the prepositional complementizer dintre (from among), gets inserted after the subject phrase passes through the SPECs of the functional heads T^0 and AGR^0 . PL number, 3 person agreement with the verb takes place at a point in the syntactic deriva-

tion when the subject phrase is in SPEC, AGR and the verb raises to the AGR head. The PL NP student-i (students) is in the highest SPEC within the architecture of the subject phrase; hence, it determines PL number agreement for the finite verb. After PL number, 3 person agreement is licensed, within the domain of the subject phrase the prepositional complementizer dintre (from among) gets inserted. The D/P is a functional head with a maximal projection of its own: the insertion of dintre (from among) creates a SPEC position for the indefinite cardinality NP o parte (a part) to move into. Since PL number, 3 person agreement has already been licensed, the movement of o parte (SG, F) into a SPEC position that c-commands the embedded PL NP studenti (students) does not have consequences for the agreement with the finite verb.

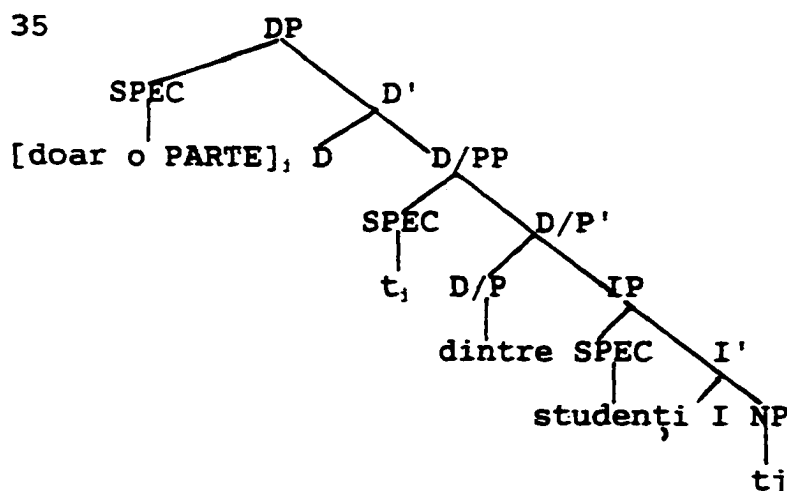
The second major characteristic phenomenon involving indefinite cardinality NPs may be explained at this point: I have shown that in case the indefinite cardinality NPs are restricted by explicit linguistic material in the form of focus particle, or focus stress or restrictive adjectives, then, in subject position, such phrases license SG, 3 person agreement with the finite verb. Again, no satisfactory explanation was offered for this robust language fact. Let us consider the examples under (33)-(34):

33.0 multime COVÎRȘITOARE dintre student-i-i noi a
 a multitude overwhelming from student-PL, the new have-SG3
 dat un răspuns bun.

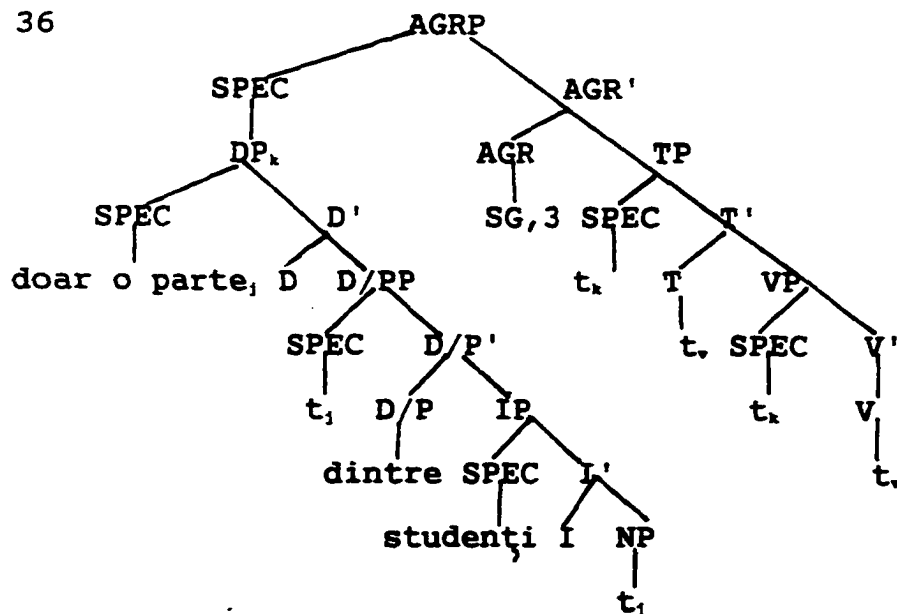
given an answer good

34. [Doar o parte] dintre student_i-i-i tăi este angajat-ă
 only a part from student-PL, the, M your is engaged-SG, F
 în acest proiect.
 in this project

The presence of the restrictive adjective covirsitoare (overwhelming) in (33) or the presence of the focus particle doar (only) in (34) delimits the matrix NP, i.e. a kind of definiteness effect. The subject phrases in (33)-(34) start out as IP structures with the PL, definite NP in SPEC, IP and the matrix NP in predication position inside the IP. The presence of a focus particle, or of focus stress, or of a restrictive adjective accounts for the movement of the indefinite cardinality NP out of its predication position to a higher SPEC at a point in the syntactic derivation when the entire subject phrase is in SPEC, VP. The insertion of the prepositional determiner dintre (from among) creates a SPEC position for the predication NP to move into; the presence of focus or of a restrictive adjective explains why the matrix NP receives an existential reading and is extracted out of SPEC, D/PP into SPEC, DP, as shown in 35:



The fact that the verb shows only SG number and 3 person agreement comes for free. The agreement with the verb is licensed at a point in the derivation when the subject phrase in (35) moves into SPEC, AGR⁰ and the V is raised to the AGR⁰ head as shown in (36) below:



It is interesting for us here that the Romanian possessive phrases behave in a parallel syntactic way to the above discussed examples.

3.2 Possessive Phrases

3.2.1 Romanian Possessives

At this point it is interesting to notice that Romanian possessive phrases like in (37) license only PL agreement with the verb, while in (38), only SG agreement is possible:

37. Majoritate-a zidar-i-lor au luat un premiu.

majority-the_{SG,F} masson-PL,M-Gen have-PL won a prize

38. Majoritate-a covîrsitoare a zidar-i-lor a luat un premiu.

majority-the overwhelming of-F masson-PL-Gen has won a prize

The interpretation of these facts is the following one: in (37), the subject phrase starts as an IP with the PL definite NP zidar-i-lor (masson-M,PL-Gen) in SPEC, IP and the indefinite cardinality NP majoritate (majority) in predication position inside the IP. Given that the definite article in Romanian does not have the "strength" of the definite article in English, the predication NP stays in its base position until the subject phrase has passed through the SPECs of T^0 and AGR^0 heads, respectively. Hence, the fact that PL agreement on the finite verb is licensed by the PL "embedded" NP comes for free.

On the other hand, in (38), the presence of the restrictive adjective covîrsitoare (overwhelming), which restricts the predication NP, "forces" it to move to SPEC, D/P and further on to SPEC, D at a point in the derivation when the subject phrase is in SPEC, VP. SG number agreement is agreement with the "matrix" NP which has wide scope.

3.2.2 English Possessive Phrases

At this point in our discussion we have a simple explanation for the difference in agreement facts between subject possessive phrases and partitive phrases in English. Consider the agreement difference between (39) and (40) below:

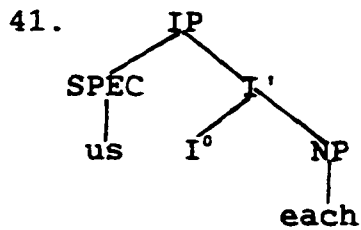
39. The friends of John's that I met yesterday were/*was leaving for Jamaica.

40. Each of us is / are leaving tomorrow.

In (39), the definite possessive phrase may license only PL number agreement with the finite verb. Assume that the subject phrase contains a possessive AGRP headed by 's with the possessor John in SPEC, AGR_{poss} and the possessed NP in predicational position to AGR_{poss}. The prepositional determiner of gets inserted and it takes the possessive AGRP as its complement; SPEC, D/P creates a landing site for the possessor NP which raises to that position. The definite article the takes the D/PP as its complement, i.e. thus the linear adjacency between the and the NP friends is explained. Since the possessed NP is plural and since it occupies SPEC, D/P, it determines PL agreement with the finite verb at a point in the syntactic derivation when the subject phrase moves from SPEC, VP to SPEC, T⁰ and SPEC, AGR⁰. The impossibility of SG number, 3 person agreement comes for free.

On the other hand, SG or PL number agreement with the finite verb in sentences whose subject is a partitive phrase is by now simple to explain. The subject phrase each of us starts as

an IP as shown in (41):



The preposition of is inserted within the syntactic domain of the subject phrase after the phrase moves through the SPECs of T^0 and AGR^0 . PL number agreement is licensed by the subject phrase in (41) at a point in the syntactic derivation when the subject phrase is in SPEC, AGR^0 and the verb has raised to the AGR head. After PL agreement is being licensed, within the domain of the subject phrase, the prepositional determiner of gets inserted and the partitive NP each moves into its SPEC. SG agreement with the finite verb is explained by a syntactic configuration in which the internal structure of the partitive phrase is entirely projected before the subject phrase is moved through the SPECs of the sentential functional heads, T and AGR, respectively. Thus the matrix NP each occupies the higher SPEC position within the subject phrase architecture prior to the movement of the subject through SPEC, T and SPEC, AGR^0 . Thus, at the point in the syntactic derivation when the subject phrase is in SPEC, AGR^0 only SG agreement with the verb can be licensed.

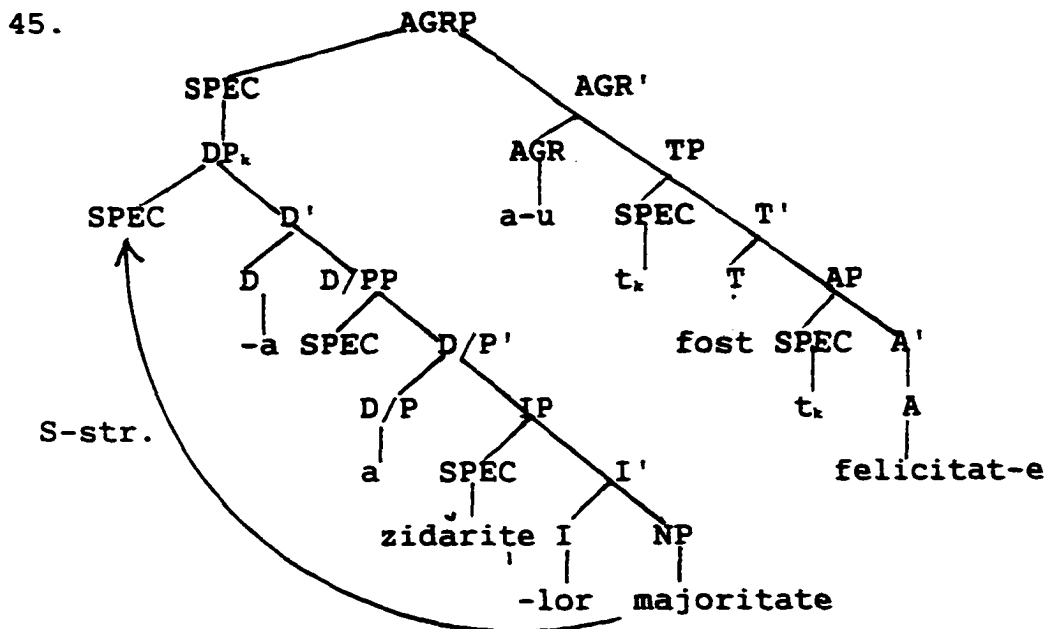
It seems to me that the new analysis of partitive and possessive phrases that Chapter 4 proposes gives a natural explanation to all these robust language facts.

3.3 Predicative Adjectives

At this point in our discussion an explanation of the way predicative adjectives get to agree with the subject phrases is possible. Consider the data under (42)-(44):

42. Mare-a majoritate a zidar-i-lor a
 great-the majority,SG,F of-F,SG masson-PL,M-Gen have-SG3
 fost felicitat-ă.
 been congratulated-SG,F
43. Majoritate-a zidar-i-lor au fost
 majority-the,SG,F masson-PL,M-Gen have-PL3 been
 felicitat-i.
 congratulated-PL,M
44. Majoritate-a zidăr-ițe-lor au fost felicitat-e.
 majority-the,SG,F masson-PL,F-Gen have-PL3 been
 congratulated-PL,F.

In (42), the auxiliary a avea (have) shows SG number, 3 person agreement and the past participle adjective agrees in SG number, F gender with the matrix NP mare-a majoritate (great-the,F majority,SG,F : the great majority). In (42), PL agreement is ungrammatical. In (43) and (44), the auxiliary a avea (have) shows PL number, 3 person agreement and the past participle adjective agrees in PL number and M gender in (43) and in PL number, F gender in (44) indicating unambiguously that the auxiliary verb and the past participle adjective agree with the embedded definite PL NP. Let us consider the syntactic derivation of example (44) as given in (45) below:



In (44) the auxiliary verb agrees in PL number, 3 person and the adjective agrees in PL number, F gender indicating that the agreement is licensed by the PL definite feminine NP zidar -it-e-lor (masson-F-PL-Gen). Within the subject phrase the PL NP zidar-it-e (masson-F-PL) is in SPEC, possessive IP and the NP majoritate is in predication position inside the IP. Since in Romanian the definite article alone does not make an NP definite in the sense that in English D^o the does, the raising of the predication NP to SPEC, D/PP and further on to SPEC, D takes place after the agreement with the predicative adjective and the auxiliary verb is licensed. PL number, F gender agreement with the predicative adjective is licensed between the subject phrase in SPEC, AP and the adjective in A. The agreement in PL number, 3 person with the auxiliary verb is licensed by the subject noun phrase at a point in the syntactic derivation when the subject raises to

SPEC AGR and the AUX verb is in the AGR head. After PL agreement is licensed, within the subject domain, the predicative NP moves to SPEC, D/P and to SPEC, D. The difference between the subject phrase in (42) and the subject phrases in (43) and (44) is that in (42), the presence of the definite article plus a restrictive adjective makes the entire noun phrase definite and the raising of the predication NP to the higher SPEC within the subject phrase is obligatory before the subject phrase raises to pass through the SPECs of T and AGR. Hence the SG number, 3 person agreement in (42) is the only grammatical possibility.

3.4 Split Partitives

Finally, we can offer an explanation for the difference in agreement between (46) and (47) below:

46. Student_i-i-i fiecare au/*a luat un premiu.

47. Dintre student_i-i-i noi, fiecare a/?? au luat un premiu.

The structure in (46) has been analyzed in section 2.2.2. above. The problem that we need to answer concerns the difference in agreement pattern between the examples in (46) and (47).

Let us consider the syntactic derivation of (47). SG number agreement, 3 person is agreement with the partitive NP fiecare (each); PL number, 3 person agreement is possible if the PL NP student_i-i-i (the students) takes heavy stress; with normal stress, PL agreement is degraded for me.

I assume that in (47) the entire DP phrase is projected at a point in the derivation when the subject phrase is in SPEC, VP, i.e. fiecare (each) moves from its basic predication position to SPEC, D/PP and then to SPEC, D. Fiecare (each) is in the highest SPEC within the architecture of the subject phrase; hence, it licenses SG number, 3 person agreement with the verb at a point in the derivation when the subject DP is in SPEC, AGR and the V has moved to the AGR head.

In (47), there is further movement of the D/PP phrase dintre studentii noi (from among the new students) to an A-bar position which could be SPEC, Topic given the intonational pause that follows it (the comma after the D/PP phrase is meant to indicate the intonational pause).

I believe that the syntactic re-analysis offered in this Chapter allows a simpler explanation to the data analyzed in Chapter 2; moreover, it constitutes an answer to the five syntactic problems that the LF movement solution of Chapter 2 could not deal with adequately.

In other words, this Chapter suggests that a syntactic analysis of partitive and possessive phrases that dispenses with the LF level of analysis is adequate.

Chapter 5

TWO ADDITIONAL TYPES OF AGREEMENT STRUCTURE

Overview

This last chapter of the Thesis discusses two agreement phenomena that offer a more rounded picture of the typology of empirical problems posed by agreement phenomena in finite sentences in Romanian, i.e. (i) the agreement pattern in relative clauses formed on personal pronouns and (ii) the agreement between the verb and the DP subject or the DP which is the associate in equative be predications.

Section 1

AGREEMENT IN ROMANIAN RELATIVE CLAUSES FORMED ON PERSONAL PRONOUNS

1.1 The Data

The relative clauses in (1) show that the verb inside the relative clause may agree either with the associate DP of the verb a fi (be) in the matrix, i.e. SG number, 3 person or with the subject of a fi (be), i.e. SG number, 1 person.

1.a. (Eu) sunt un om, care, iubește, adevărul.

SU BE Associate

I am-SG1 a man who love-SG3 truth-the

"I am a man who loves the truth"

b. Eu_i sunt_i un om care_i iubesc_i adevărul¹

I am-SG1 a man who love-SG1 truth-the

"I am a man who love the truth"

The SG number, 1 person agreement of the verb with the subject eu (I) of the matrix verb requires an explanation. The agreement pattern in (1) is usual in both spoken and literary style. In order to offer an explanation of the data in (1), it is necessary that a certain theory of the structure of relative clauses be adopted.

1.2 Kayne (1994) on the Structure of Relative Clauses

I will adopt the analysis of relative clauses proposed by Kayne (1994). Kayne (1994: Chapter 8) argues that "N-initial" languages have relative clauses which belong to the syntactic category CP, while "N-final" languages have relative clauses of syntactic type IP (e.g. Amharic relative clauses). Kayne offers an analysis of English relatives (with certain extensions to French and Italian, see section 1.2.3 below.) English being a head initial language has relative clauses of syntactic type CP.

The innovation that Kayne introduces follows from his syntactic theory. Relative clauses of syntactic category CP "lack

¹ = The example is from L.Vasiliu (1966:106)

i. "Sunt un om care iubesc adevărul și fiindcă -l iubesc
be-SG1 a man who love-SG1 truth-the and becauseCL love-SG1
știu să -l caut".
know-SG1 Subj.it look-for-SG1
"I am a man who loves the truth and because I love it I know
where to look for it"

any "head" position outside relative CP", i.e. relative clauses, like other CP structures, contain a functional head, C⁰ which is the head of the relative CP projection.

"N-final" languages have relative clauses of category IP, which explains why N-final relatives "lack relative pronouns and never display a complementizer that is identical to the normal complementizer of sentential complementation." (see Kayne, 1994:93).

In line with a long semantic tradition², Kayne assumes that in (3) the determiner the is not part of the same syntactic constituent as the rest of the phrase following it:

2.a. the [_{CP} [book], [_Cthat [_{IP} [Bill] [read t_i

By adopting a raising analysis of relative clauses (based on Smith (1969) and Vergnaud (1974)), Kayne assumes that in (2) the noun phrase book that occurs before relative that originates in its direct object position, i.e. an argument of the verb.

Let us start by looking more closely at the analysis of (3) given in Kayne (1994, 86-87):

3. I found the (two) pictures of John's/his that you lent me.

The analysis follows from the following assumptions:

² = My awareness goes back to van Orman Quine (1960).

³ = There are other syntactic reasons for considering that the definite article does not form a constituent with the noun phrase immediately following it. For a discussion see the section on "DE" Phrases in Romanian.

i. the is a D^0 element. It does not form a constituent with the phrase (two) pictures of John's. "More generally put, it must be the case that the, although it cannot have, say, (two) pictures of John's as its complement, can have as its complement two pictures of John's that you lent me" (Kayne, 1994:86). This indicates that D^0 has as sister constituent the entire relative CP.

ii. that, a C^0 , is the functional head of the entire relative CP, [two pictures of John's], that you lent me t, i.e. there is no "head" outside the relative CP.

iii. The promotion/raising analysis of relative clauses commits Kayne to the assumption that the constituent two pictures of John's originates in direct object position and is raised to SPEC, CP in the overt syntax; thus the s-structure order is as in (4) below:

4. the [_{CP} [_{SPEC} [_{NP} two pictures of John's], [_C that [_S [_{NP} you] [_{VP} lent me [e] t]]] ..

On the other hand, which relative clauses in English differ from that relatives in the sense that which NP is an XP in SPEC, CP and C^0 is empty. Thus (5) is represented as (6):

5. the [movie]_i, which Bill saw t_i

6. the [[_{SPEC} [_{NP} [movie]_i] [_{NP} which e_i]], [_C [[Bill] [saw [e]] ...

In (5), the XP which movie originates in direct object position within the lower IP. It is wh-moved to SPEC, CP in

the overt syntax; in order to obtain movie which, the XP movie is moved to SPEC, Which P, yielding a constituent whose s-structure form is shown in (7):

7. [_{NP} [_{NP} movie]_i], [_P which [_e]_i]]

Kayne's suggestion is that "relative pronouns originate as determiners that are split off from their associated NP by movement of the latter." (Kayne, 1994:89).

2 Relative Clauses Formed on the SU or Associate of BE

2.1 The Data

Romanian shows a very interesting contrast in terms of agreement pattern for structures involving predications with be in which relative clauses can be formed either on the DP subject of be or on the DP which is the associate of be; consider the contrast between the (a) and (b) examples in (8)-(10) below:

8.a. Eu_i sunt_i un om care t_i iubesc_i adevărul.

I am-SG1 a man who love-SG1 truth-the

"I am a man who love the truth"

b. (Eu) sunt un om_k care_k iubește_k adevărul.

I am-SG1 a man who love-SG3 truth-the

"I am a man who loves the truth"

9.a. Eu sunt unu-l ce știu de inel'.

I be-SG1 one-the that know-SG1 about ring

' = This example is also from L.Vasiliu (1966:106). Example 36 is from the same source.

"I am the one that know about the ring"

b. Eu sunt unu-l ce ştie de inel.

I be-SG1 one-the that know-SG3 about ring

"I am the one that knows about the ring"

10.a. Eu sunt un june tînăr care sufăr peste poate

I be-SG1 a man young who suffer-SG1 over might

şi iubesc la nemurire.

and love-SG1 to eternity

"I am a young man who suffer incredibly and love to eternity"

b. Eu sunt un june tînăr şi nefericit care suferă peste

I be-SG1 a man young and unhappy who suffer-SG1 above

poate şi iubeşte la nemurire. (Caragiale, O.VI.34)

might and love-SG3 to eternity

"I am a young and unhappy man who suffers incredibly and loves to eternity"

The relative clauses under the (b) examples seem straightforward in view of our discussion in section 1 above; namely, the relative clauses in the (b) examples involve a structure like in (11). As (11.a) shows, the associate of the be predication is complex XP.

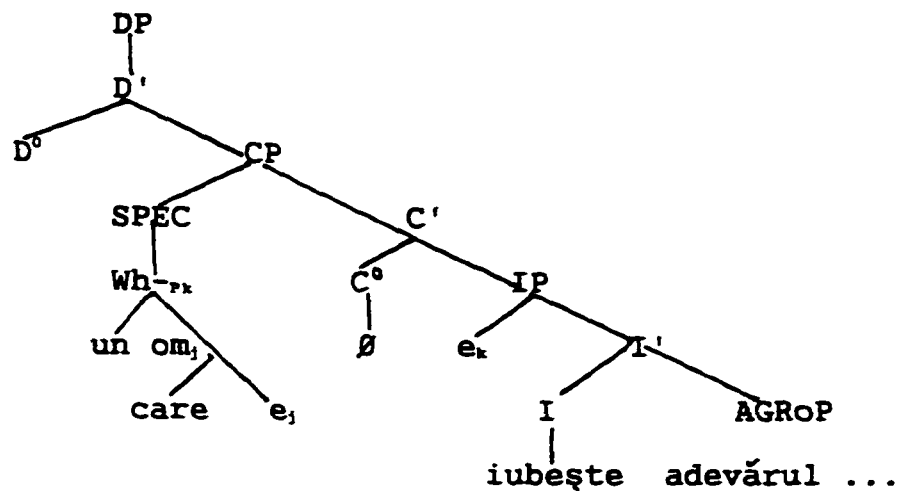
Care un om (which a man) starts as subject of the relative IP. The XP care un om is wh-moved in the overt syntax to SPEC, CP (notice that the CP has an empty C⁰).

Within the Wh-P care un om (which a man), un om (a man) starts as complement to C⁰ care; it is moved to SPEC, care-P. The s-

structue order being obtained:

11.a. [_{CP} [un om]_i [_{care} [e]_i] [_{C'} [[e]_i] [_I iubeste [_{adevarul}....

b.



The agreement pattern of the (b) examples above is straightforward; namely, the agreement takes place between the phrase in SPEC, IP, the subject of the relative and the verb in I°. But (11) cannot account for the agreement pattern in (8.a) or (9.a) or (10.a). More needs to be said about the syntactic derivation of the (a) sentences in (8), (9) and (10).

2.2 Kayne's (1994) Analysis of Stranded Relatives

Kayne (1994: chapter 9) discusses "extraposed" relatives of the sort given under (12) and (13) below:

12. Something just happened that you should know about.

33. Someone just walked into the room who we don't know.

Kayne discards the three imaginable solutions under (i)-(iii) below and advances solution (iv):

i. Right adjunction of the relative clause to the VP or IP node. The right adjunction of relative clauses to either the

VP node or the IP node is banned by LCA which requires an antisymmetric c-command relation between pairs of non-terminal nodes; solution (i) does not observe the LCA axiom of Kayne's syntactic theory, hence it is not part of the structures that UG generates.

ii. Attachment of the relative clause under VP, i.e. as a sister to both walked and into the room. This solution also violates LCA by proposing a ternary branching structure; hence, (ii) is not part of a Kaynian view of syntactic representation.

iii. Movement of the relative clause down into complement position directly to the right of V. This third theoretical possibility is questionable since it seems to modify the addicity of happen: if happen were an unaccusative verb its complement would be something, and if it is not, then it should not have a complement at all. (see Kayne, 1994:117-118).

iv. Kayne's suggestion is that the relative clauses in (12)-(13) are not "extraposed" but, in fact, "stranded" by leftward movement of something / someone. Kayne argues in favour of solution (iv) showing that it is reminiscent of Sportiche's (1988) reanalysis of quantifier floating as quantifier stranding. (see Kayne, 1994: 118). The stranding analysis of extraposed relatives assumes that in (13) someone who we don't know is sentence final at the point at which the noun phrase someone moves to subject position as shown in (14):

14. Someone_i just walked into the room [[e]_i who....

Moreover, the PP into the room has raised across the "stranded" relative; in order to argue for the PP movement past the relative constituent Kayne (1994:121) suggests two ingenious tests:

(i) a syntactic parallelism between the structure under (14) above and (15) below;

(ii) the presence of negation in a PP as proof of the licensing of any within a stranded relative in (16):

15. There just walked into the room someone who we don't know.

16.a.* A man who had any money walked into no room

b.?? A man walked into no room who anybody knew.

c.?? A man walked into no room who had any money

(from Kayne 1994:122, ex.23-25)

In (16), "the negation within the PP cannot license an instance of any within the subject phrase, as expected. To some extent, however, it can license an instance of any within the stranded relative, supporting the idea that in (16.a,b) the relative is lower than the PP."(Kayne, 1994:122, ex. 23-25).

2.3 My Analyses

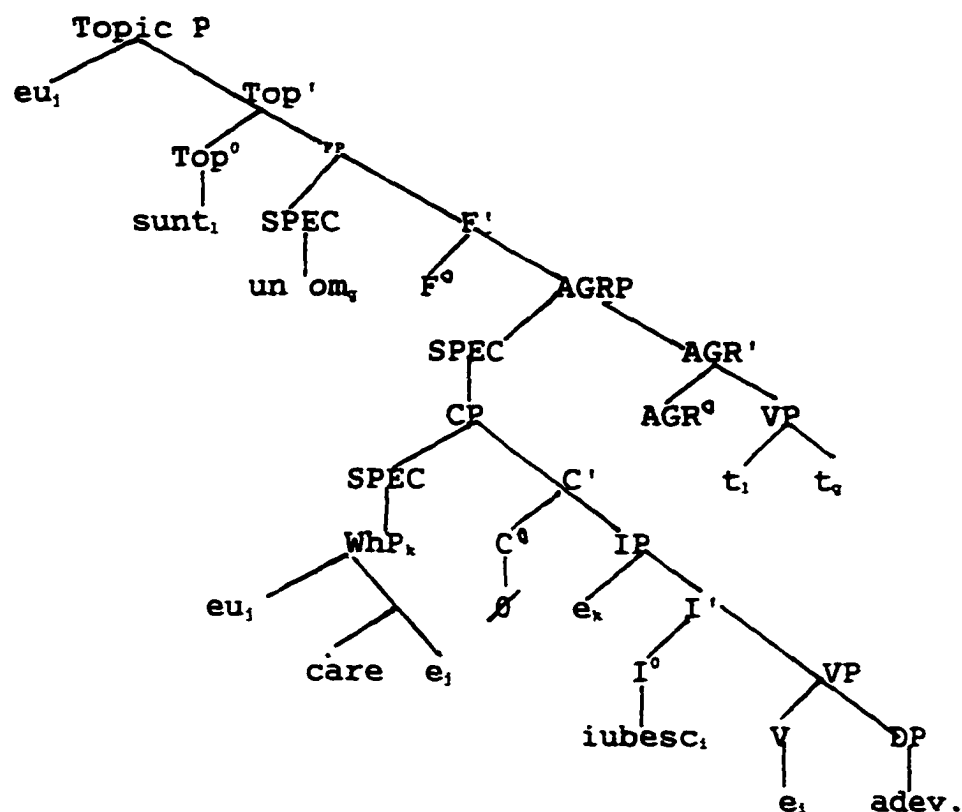
I will repeat example (1.a) under (17) for ease of exposition:

17. Eu_i sunt_i un om care t_i iubesc_i adevărul.

I am-SG1 a man who t love-SG1 truth-the

"I am a man who love the truth"

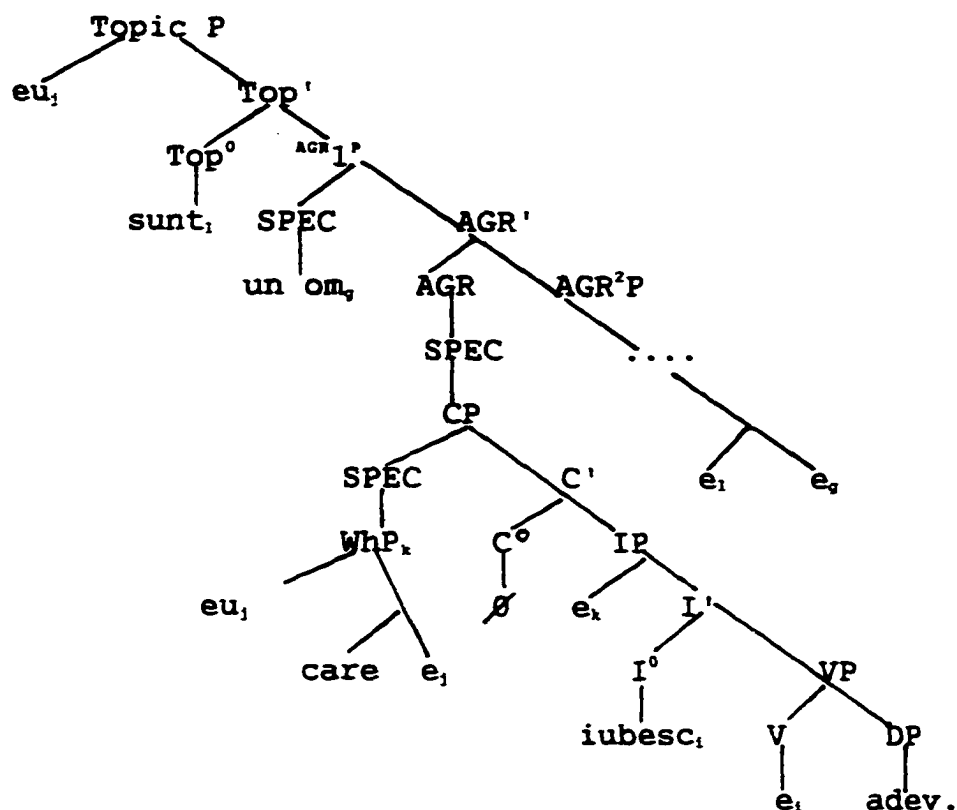
19.



The agreement pattern in (17) can be easily explained as taking place between (care) eu which is in SPEC,IP and the verb iubesc which raises to the head I^0 in order to pick up its inflection. It is a SPEC-Head configuration in which agreement takes place.

In Chapter 2 I have shown that many linguists have assumed that the DP architecture is parallel to the CP architecture. I have shown that in Romanian, the Focus head above the IP has a SPEC with A-properties, instead of the expected A-bar properties. I have suggested that AGR be split into two agreement heads. Let us apply the suggestion of Chapter 2 to the analysis of (17); consider (20) as a re-interpretation of (19):

20.



In section 2 below, I discuss the fact that in Romanian the subject pronoun eu is in SPEC, TopP, hence, I will not discuss it here again and will refer the reader to section 2 below.

Two remarks are in order here at this point: (i) it is clear that one can doubt that (17) is an instance of an extraposed relative clause.

Nevertheless, there is an imaginable syntactic test that can dispel the doubt (R. Kayne, personal communication). Compare (21.a) to (21.b) :

- 21.a. *[Omul care iubesc adevărul] sunt eu.
 man-the who love-SG1 truth-the be-SG1 I

b. [Omul care iubește adevărul] sunt eu.

man-the who love-SG3 truth-the be-SG1 I

The ungrammaticality of (21.a) indicates that the extraposed relative clause analysis proposed in (20) must be the only way sentence (18) can be obtained. (ii) Sentence (17) is interesting in another respect as well. It clearly shows that Romanian has a strategy of forming relative clauses on personal pronouns (see section 2.4 below).

2.4 Relative Clauses Formed on Personal Pronouns

Unlike Present Day English, Romanian allows relative clauses to be formed on personal pronouns, both 1 Person and 2 Person pronouns. Sentence (17) contains a relative clause formed on a 1 Person pronoun. Consider (22) as an illustrative example for a relative clause formed on a 2 Person pronoun:

22. Tu care ești răbdător vino și mă ajută.

You who are patient come and help me

In this respect, Romanian differs from English. In contemporary English it is unnatural to have a relative clause on a pronoun; consider for instance (23):

23. I who am speaking to you now know all the answers.

(23) has a clear archaic ring to it. This is not the case of Romanian; sentence (22) is part of the formal style, but (24) seems to me to belong to spoken Romanian:

24. Eu care am trecut de curînd prin așa ceva știu

I who have passed recently through such a thing know

ce greu îți este.

how hard to you is

The difference seems to be that in English one does not have relative clauses formed on 1 Person Singular pronouns. Archaic English seems to have had constructions like (23) or like (25) below:

25. I am a man who am able to do such things.

The subject of be is who I under the raising analysis. In Old English, the first person pronoun I was to be found in complex constructions like John and I.

Notice that in contemporary English this became John and me. Kayne (personal communication) considers the phrase John and me stylistically an indicator of an "alto" register; according to him, one avoids it simply by saying the two of us. John and I has the same "alto" register status as we three, compared to the ordinary English phrasing the three of us.

Section 2

THE AGREEMENT PATTERN IN "BE" SENTENCES

1.1 The Data

The agreement pattern of Romanian BE sentences is more varied than the English pattern since it reveals possibilities that English lacks. Consider the following Romanian sentences under (1)-(2) below and contrast them to the English sentences under (3):

Romanian

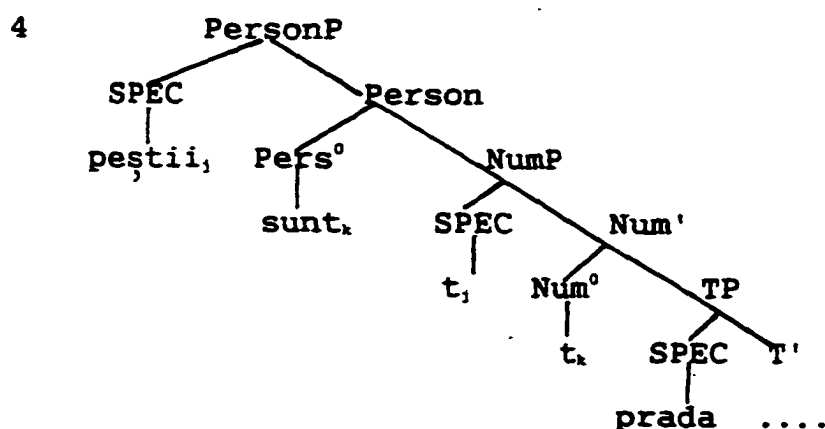
1. Peșt-i-i, sunt, prad-a.
fish-PL-the be-Pres-PL3 prey-the
2. Prad-a sunt, peșt-i-i.
prey-the be-Pres-PL3 fish-PL-the

English

- 3.a. The problem is the jewels.
- b. The jewels are the problem.

I assume that the subject of BE is the DP with which BE agrees in number and person. In the Romanian example in (1) above, peșt-i-i (fish-PL-the) is the DP_{subject} and it licenses PL number, 3 Person agreement with the verb.

Assume that the preverbal position of the subject DP is structurally represented as SPEC, PersonP and that the verb raises successive cyclic by Head Movement to the Person head; the agreement between the DP subject and the verb takes place in the canonical SPEC-Head configuration as shown in (4):



On the other hand, in (2) the noun phrase preceding the verb is not part of the agreement domain of the verb; more precisely, since the verb shows PL number, 3 Person agreement, the initial noun phrase prada (prey-SG-the) does not participate in the agreement facts. In (2), the verb agrees in number and person with the postverbal noun phrase pestii (fish-PL-the).

In both (1) and (2), the verb BE agrees with a plural noun phrase pestii (fish-PL-the) irrespective of its pre or postverbal position, e.g. the plural DP licenses PL number, 3 person agreement with the finite verb.

The Romanian examples in (1)-(2) contrast sharply with the English examples under (3), i.e. in English the verb shows agreement with the noun phrase that occurs in preverbal position, i.e. in (3.a) the verb shows SG 3 Person agreement since the preverbal noun phrase the problem is singular DP; in (3.b), the preverbal position is occupied by the plural DP, e.g. the jewels, hence the verb shows PL 3 Person agreement. Generalizing over the data in (3), we could simply say that

the preverbal position for English BE predications is the subject position and the verb agrees with the respective noun phrase. Posed in these terms, the difference between English and Romanian indicates that there should be a syntactic explanation for the agreement pattern as displayed in (1)-(2) that sets Romanian apart from English.

1.2 Two Former Theoretical Proposals

Within current theory, there seem to be two different theoretical proposals of how to interpret the data in (1)-(2). Both proposals have a common theoretical assumption, namely that A-positions are positions which show SPEC-Head agreement with their Head. (see Rizzi, 1991)

i. Diesing (1990)

The first proposal was couched in terms of IP and I will continue to use the term: the finite V raises to Infl by successive applications of Head-Movement and SPEC, IP is either an A-position or an A-bar position, i.e. the preverbal position can be occupied by a noun phrase that is subject (and topic) and by non-subject topics. The core of this proposal is to be found in Reinhart (1981)⁵. Diesing (1990) worked out the details of this proposal in an analysis of Yiddish; she sug-

⁵ Especially section 3.1 (pp.62-63) of the article where she discusses the strong preference to interpret the grammatical subject of the sentence as the sentence topic, or to place the topic in subject position. "Subjects, then, are the unmarked topics, which means that it is easier to use a sentence when we interpret its subject to be a topic. But they are not obligatory topics."

gested that finite verbs move to Infl rather than to COMP⁶; as a consequence, SPEC, IP can function as either an A- or an A-bar position; this yields a simple way of distinguishing subject and non-subject topics⁷. Under this proposal, in (1) and (2) above the preverbal DP is in SPEC, IP and the V moves to I-zero; in (2) the singular noun phrase prada (prey-SG-the) does not trigger agreement, hence this is an instance of SPEC, IP showing A-bar properties.

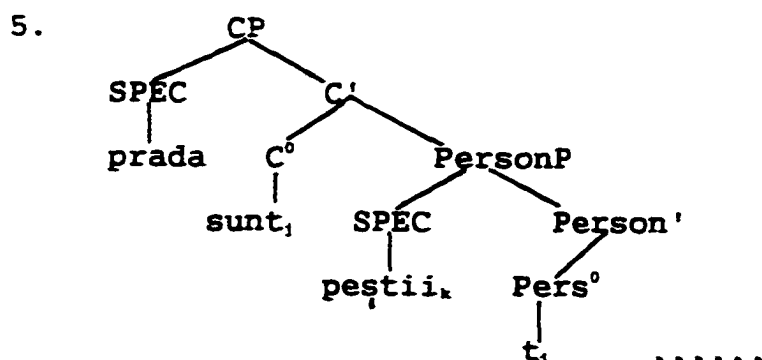
ii. Cardinaletti&Roberts (1990) and Moro (1993)

The second theoretical proposal assumes that Romance verbs move to C⁰ in a Germanic way; the preverbal position in (2) is an A-bar position, i.e. SPEC, CP, hence the absence of agreement between the V in C-zero and the DP in SPEC, CP. The construction is analyzed as an instance of SU-V inversion with (V+)I-to-C movement.

The two proposals are different. The Cardinaletti-Roberts (1990) and Moro (1993) viewpoint assumes that Romance and Germanic languages have V-(to I)-to C raising, as shown in the representation under (5).

⁶ In this respect Yiddish is non-Germanic.

⁷ = Kratzer (1993) takes the most radical view according to which all subjects are VP external and are introduced in the syntactic computation by an inflectional head Voice; SPEC, VoiceP is an A-bar position.

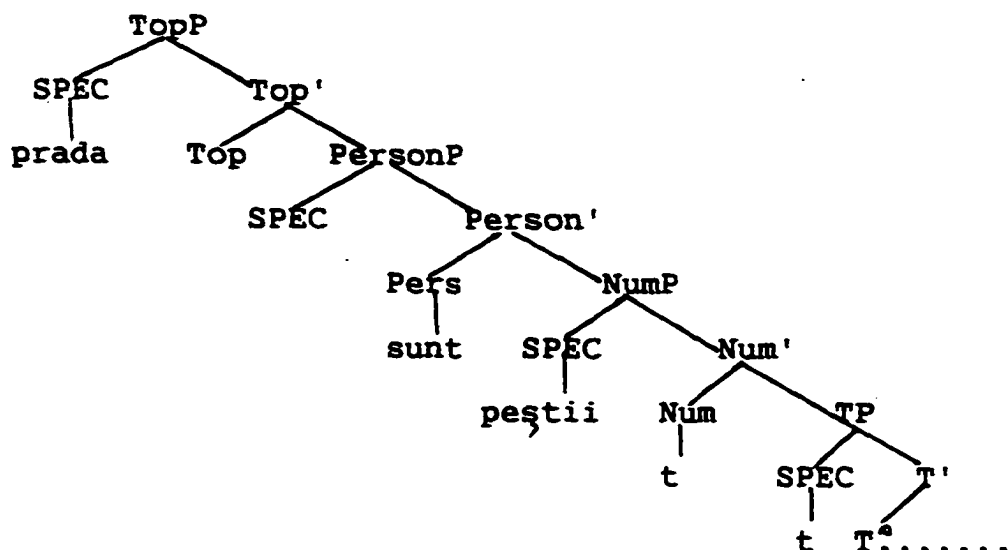


The Diesing (1990) analysis suggests that languages differ among themselves w.r.t. the height of the structural position targeted by verb movement. Yiddish, unlike German or Dutch, has only V-to-I raising.

1.3 My Analysis

In (1), under my analysis, the verb has moved to the highest inflectional head, i.e. Person-zero head; the consequence of such an assumption is that the plural DP pestii (fish-PL-the) moves successive cyclic to a SPEC position asymmetrically c-commanded by the verb. The plural DP pestii (the fishes) moves to SPEC, NumberP in the overt syntax, and the VS order is obtained; at LF, the subject DP moves covertly from SPEC, NumberP to SPEC, PersonP to check the agreement features with the verb, e.g. 3 Person. The singular DP prada (prey-the) is in an A-bar position, outside the clausal agreement domain.

6



In the next section I will try to test the adequacy of my theoretical interpretation of the Romanian data and contrast it to the Cardinaletti-Roberts (1991) and Moro (1993) viewpoint.

2 Testing the Proposal

2.1 Sentential Adverbs

Sentential adverbs show certain clear syntactic preferences with respect to their occurrence in sentences like (1) and (2). Consider the data in (7) below:

- 7.a. [În trecut], prad-a era-u peşt-i-i.
 of old prey-sg-the be-Past-PL,3 fish-PL,M-the
- b. Prad-a, [În trecut], era-u peşt-i-i.
 prey-SG,F,the of old be-Pst-PL,3 fish-PL,M-the
- c. Prad-a, [În trecut], era-u, [deseori] peşt-i-i.
 prey-the of old Be-Pst,PL3 often fish-PL,M-the
- d. Prad-a, [În trecut], era-u, [probabil] peşt-i-i.

prey-SG,F,the of old be-Pst,PL3 probably fish-PL-the

In (7.a), în trecut (of old) is a sentential adverb which simply indicates the left edge of the clausal domain; in my interpretation of (7.b), the sentential adverb separates the DP in Topic position from the rest of the sentence, but (7.b) gives no clue as to the structural height of the position of the V; there is such a possible information in (7.c) and (7.d). The reasoning is along the following lines: if în trecut (of old) and probabil (probably) are adverbs indicating the left edge of sentential phrases, then the V erau can be assumed to move to a functional head outside the clausal agreement domain since it occurs to the left of a sentential adverb. In what follows I will explore the possibilities of such a theoretical standpoint; the viewpoint will turn out to be untenable. For the moment let us return to the sentences in (1) and (2). For convenience I repeat the examples under (8)-(9) below:

8. Peșt-i-i, sunt, prad-a.
 fish-PL,M-the be-Prst-3PL prey-SG,F,the
9. Prad-a sunt, peșt-i-i.
 prey-SG,F,the be-Prst-3PL fish-PL,M-the

In (8) the DP peșt-i-i (the fishes) licenses PL number, 3 person agreement with the verb; in (9), the order is XVS and the verb agrees in PL number, 3 person with the postverbal plural DP peșt-i-i (the fishes). At this point it is important to notice that the intonation pattern of these two sentences

differs: (8) has flat, neutral intonation, while (9) requires an intonational break after the sentence initial singular DP. This difference in intonation could be interpreted as indicating that in (9) the DP prada (prey-the) is indeed to the left of the clausal edge, i.e. an A-bar position (see Rizzi, 1995). Consider the sentential adverb test given in (10) below:

- 10.a.??Peștii, [în trecut], erau [probabil] prada.
 fish-PL-the of old were probably loot-the
 b. PEȘTII, [în trecut], erau [probabil] prada.
 fish-PL-the of old were probably loot-the
 c. PEȘTII, [în trecut], erau [probabil] prada cea mai
 fish-PL-the of old were probably loot-the that more
 mare/big

In my speech, all the sentences in (10) are good with special intonation and long pauses after each constituent; for (10.a) to be good it requires quite a long pause and some stress on the sentence initial DP as in (10.b). (10.c) is the best, with stress on the first DP and the DP following the V with some degree of syntactic "heaviness".

My interpretation of the information in (10) is along the following lines: the DP peșt-i-i (fish-PL-the) licenses PL number and 3 person agreement with the verb; it cannot be severed from the rest of the sentence unless it is focalized and there is an intonational break of some sort after it. The syntactic weight of the DP following the verb seems to make

the sentence more natural in case sentential adverbs are present before and after the V; in (10.c)) probabil (probably) may be assumed to move from sentence final position⁸ past the syntactically "heavy" constituent "stranding" the heavy DP in a non-Case position⁹.

The fact that the DP preceding the V in (1) is subject and not normally severed from the rest of the sentence can be seen more clearly in the illustrative examples under (11) and (12); the sentences under consideration are more complex and the adverb test stands out in bold relief; the grammaticality judgements indicated below are valid only for a neutral intonation contour:

11.a. Toată hran-a lui in ziu-a aceea au fost [cîteva
all food-the his on day-the that have-PL3 been some
pere sălbatice],.
pears forest-grown-Pl.

"All his food on that day have been some forest-grown pears"

b. [Cîteva pere sălbatice], au fost toată hran-a lui
some pears forest-grown have-PL3 been all food-the his
in ziua aceea.
on day-the that

c. ??Cîteva pere sălbatice probabil au fost toată hrana

⁸ Obviously I am assuming a Larsonian VP-shell. (see Larson (1988))

⁹ The same stranding phenomenon applies to relative clauses, see section on Relative Clauses, i.e. a relative clause can be stranded by A-movement only in a non-Case position (Chomsky, 1993 :32 and Kayne, 1994:121).

some pears forest-grown probably have-PL3 been all food
lui in ziua aceea¹⁰.

his on day-the that

12.a.Cea mai cumplită greutate probabil i-au, fost
the most terrible dead weight probably CL have-PL3 been
[cei cinsprezece ani de boală a muierii],.

the fifteen years of illness of wife-Gen

b.[Cei cinsprezece ani de boală a muierii], i-au,
the fifteen years of illness of wife-Gen CL have-3PL
fost cea mai cumplită greutate.

been the most terrible dead-weight

c.?Cei cinsprezece ani de boală a muierii probabil i -au
the fifteen years of illness of wife probably CL have
fost cea mai cumplită greutate.

been the most terrible dead-weight

Both (11.c) and (12.c) indicate the same syntactic fact, namely that the DP which is subject of the sentence and precedes the V is not separable from the rest of the sentence by a sentential adverb in case the sentence is uttered with a normal /flat intonation pattern (to be good the sentences under (c) require a long intonational break after the first DP constituent). I take the examples under (11) and (12) to indicate that the preverbal DP in (8) is within the sentential agreement domain, i.e., in the SPEC of the highest inflectional head;

¹⁰ The question marks refer to the neutral/flat intonation contour of the sentence.

in (2) the preverbal DP is in an A-bar position; the question stays about the functional head to which the verb moves. Has the verb moved to the C-zero head, or is it in the highest inflectional head, i.e. Person⁰ ? In order to answer this question, we need to look at more data.

2.2 VS Order and Equative BE

Romanian, like Italian, and unlike English, has structures with existential BE in sentence initial position; consider the illustrative examples under (13):

13.a. Sunt eu.

be-Pres-SG1 I

"It is me"

b. Ești tu, nu te teme.

be-Pres-SG2 you, not reflexive afraid

"It is you, i.e. it is characteristic of you, don't be afraid"

c. Fericit-a femeie sunt eu.

happy-the woman be-Pres-SG1 I

"I am the happy woman"

Sentences like (13.a) are common in Romanian. English has no such declarative sentences that show VS order as the ill-formedness of the examples in (14) indicates:

14.a.*Am I.

b.*Are you.

The sharp contrast between the well-formedness of (10) and the ungrammaticality of (14) requires a syntactic explanation. Matters are not simple and there seem to be two possible analyses:

- i. the V has moved from I-to C-zero and the subject DP is in the SPEC position below the C-zero head;
- ii. the verb has moved to the highest Infl head and its subject does not raise further than the SPEC below the respective head.

Can any test help us choose between these two alternative possibilities ?

Notice that probabil (probably) can occur between the V and its postposed subject as in (15):

15. Sunt [probabil] eu.

be-Pres-SG1 probably I

If probably is an indicator of the left edge of a clause, the data in (15) could be considered evidence that sunt (am) has moved to a head above the Infl node, i.e. the C⁰ head. But matters are complex and we will see that, in fact, one could argue that the verb moves only up to the Person head.

Consider the equative BE structure in which both the subject and the associate are in the singular, but they indicate different persons:

16.a. Duce-le sunt eu.

duke-the be-Pres-SG1 I

"I am the duke"

b.*Duce-le este eu.

duke-the be-Pres-SG3 I

17.a. Rege-le ești tu.

king-the be-Pres-SG2 you

"You are the king"

b.*Rege-le este tu.

king-the be-Pres-SG3 you

18.a. Putere-a suntem noi.

power-the be-Pres-PL1 we

"We are the power."

b.*Putere-a este noi.

power-the be-Pres-SG3 we

19.a. Om(u)-l acela sunt eu.

man-the that be-Pres-SG1 I

"I am that man."

b.*Om(u)-l acela este eu.

man-the that be-Pres-SG3 I

The data in (16)-(19) are interesting. The sharp ungrammaticality of the (b) examples contrasts to the well-formedness of the (a) examples. This seems to indicate that we are confronted with a solid linguistic fact¹¹. It appears that personal pronouns in Romanian "take over" the agreement with

¹¹ Speakers of Romanian do not produce the (b) sentences.

the verb when set in competition with a noun phrase^{12, 13}.

My analysis of (19.a) has the verb sunt (BE Present Indicative SG 1) raise to the Person-zero head in the split AGR model. The first person pronoun eu passes through SPEC, TP for nominative Case licensing and then moves to SPEC, NumberP in the overt syntax (the V-S order is obtained); at LF, the pronoun moves covertly to SPEC, PersonP to check the 1 Person agreement with the lexical V in Person-zero head. Covert movement of the first person pronoun to SPEC, PersonP in order to check agreement with the V is possible in a parallel fashion with covert movement of DPs to SPEC, PersonP in sentences with VS order. In other words, I am analyzing sentences like (13) Sunt eu (Am I) like simple cases of VS order. Let us pursue this line of argument more thoroughly in the next section.

2.3 Other Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

I would like to look more attentively at BE sentences (both existential BE and equative BE) with coordinate subjects and compare them to the transitive and intransitive verbs with coordinate subjects that were analyzed in Chapter 2. BE has the syntactic behaviour of other lexical verbs in VS sentences. The agreement between the subject and the verb follows the same rule, i.e. if the subject is a coordinate DP formed

¹² I owe this observation to Richard Kayne; these data were discussed at my exam of Thesis proposal, June 6, 1996.

¹³ See also the section on Stranded Relatives that are formed on personal pronouns in Romanian.

of two singular DPs the agreement on the V is PL number, 3 Person if the subject precedes the V, the SVX order; if the V moves to a position higher than the coordinate subject DP (the XVS order), the V may show SG number, 3 Person or PL number, 3 Person agreement. BE shows the same characteristics as any other full verb with respect to the agreement strategy. Consider the following examples:

20. a. Este¹⁴ [un moș și o babă] acum aici.

be-Pres-SG3 an old man and an old woman now here.

b. Sunt [un moș și o babă] acum aici.

be-Pres-PL3 an old man and an old woman now here.

21. *[Un moș și o babă] este acum aici.

an old man and an old woman Be-Pres-SG3 now here

22. [Un moș și o babă] sunt acum aici.

an old man and an old woman are now here

In (20) the V is moved past its coordinate subject noun phrase ,i.e. VSX order. The verb shows SG number, 3 Person agreement in (20.a) and PL number, 3 Person agreement in (20.b). In the next two examples the coordinate subject precedes BE,i.e.the SVX order. In this configuration the verb may take only PL

¹⁴ The same agreement relation is present in (a)-(c) below:

a. (Nu e singură.) Mai e [o fată și un bărbat].
not is alone besides be-Prst-SG3 [a girl and a man]

"She is not alone. There is also a girl and a man.

b. Acum este [moarte și tăcere] acolo.
now be-Pres-SG3 death and silence there.

"Now there is death and silence there".

c. A fost odată [un om și o femeie].
Have-Pres-SG3 been once [a man and a woman]

"Once there was a man and a woman."

number, 3 Person agreement as illustrated in (22); SG number, 3 Person agreement on the verb is not grammatical as shown by the star on (21).

Consider some more examples that contain existential BE. The same parallelism between XVS word order and agreement possibilities is evinced in the examples under (23)-(25) below:

23.a. [^]In lume -i [veselie, amor, sperare, viață].

in world-is [mirth love hope vivacity]

"There is mirth, love, hope, vivacity in the world."

b. In lume sunt [veselie, amor, sperare, viață].

in world are mirth love hope vivacity

24.a. Acolo-i [lumin-ă și suferință-ă].

there-is light-the and suffering-the

"There is the light and the suffering."

b. Acolo sunt [lumin-ă și suferință-ă].

there are light-the and suffering-the

25.a. E [un nu știu cum și un nu știu ce]¹⁵.

Is an not know-SG1 how and an not know-SG1 what

"There is an I don't know how and an (I)don't know what."

b. Sunt [un nu știu cum și un nu știu ce].

Are an not know-SG1 how and an not know-SG1 what

"There are an I don't know how and an (I)don't know what".

Equative BE is not different from existential BE with respect to the relationship between sentential constituent order and

¹⁵ This is a quotation from Eminescu " Pentru că-n toată ei făptura/ E-n nu știu cum și-un nu știu ce." (Because in her all being there is an I don't know how and an (I) don't know what).

agreement possibilities. Consider (26)-(27) below:

SU BE Associate DP

26.a.[Zîmbet(u)-l și mers(u)-l] îi erau același¹⁶.

smile-the and gait-the to him be-Pst-PL3 same-SG

"His smile and his gait were like in former times."

b.*[Zîmbet(u)-l și mers(u)-l] îi era același¹⁷.

smile-the and gait-the to him be-Pst-SG3 same-SG

"His smile and his gait were like in former times."

X V SU

27.a.Același îi era [zîmbetul și mersul].

same-SG to him Be-Pst-SG3 smile-the and gait-the

b.Aceiași îi erau [zîmbetul și mersul].

same-PL to him Be-Pst-PL3 smile-the and gait-the

(26.a) has the SVO order and since the subject is a coordinate phrase the agreement with the verb is necessarily PL number, 3 Person. (27) shows that in the XVS order, the verb may show either SG number, 3 Person or PL number, 3 Person agreement. The syntactic interpretation of the above discussed data is straightforward. In all the examples, BE is raised successive cyclic by Head-Movement to the Person-zero head. The coordinate subject DP may target two different structural positions in the overt syntax, i.e. in the SVO order, the coor-

¹⁶ The example is quoted from Gramatica Academiei. The interesting syntactic fact is that the verb erau has PL,3 person form, while the demonstrative adjective același is in the SG (the PL form is aceiași).

¹⁷ see footnote 16.

dinate subject raises successive cyclic from SPEC, VP to SPEC, TP for nominative Case licensing and then to SPEC, Number and SPEC, Person; the agreement between the subject and the verb is licensed in a SPEC-Head configuration in the pre-Spell-Out computation. In the XVS order, BE raises to the same functional head, i.e. Person-zero head, while the coordinate subject DP raises only to SPEC, NumberP in the overt syntax; person agreement is being checked at LF.

There are two possibilities, i.e. in case the verb shows SG number, 3 person agreement, it is only the DP in SPEC, Coord.P that is being raised covertly to SPEC, Person P. In case the verb shows PL 3 Person agreement, it is the entire CoordP that raises covertly to SPEC, PersonP. Notice that we have managed to unify the syntactic analysis of examples like in (20)-(27) with the analysis in Chapter 2, section 7.5.

There is an interesting agreement pattern in substandard Romanian that I discuss in 2.4. I will show that substandard agreement possibilities do not require a modification of the general agreement rule discussed above. From the language acquisition perspective, this is an important result of my analysis.

2.4 Agreement with the Associate DP

2.4.1 Substandard Romanian shows an interesting pattern with the BE predications as illustrated in (28) below:

28.a. Peștii e¹⁸ prada.

fish-PL-the be-Pres-3SG spoil-the

"The fish are the prey."

b. Cîrcium-i-le e afacerea.

pub-PL-the be-Pres-SG3 money-spinner

The pubs are the money-spinner.

In Romanian the sentence initial DP is often Topic¹⁹. The plural DP in (28) is assimilated to Topic and the verb shows SG number, 3 person marking, i.e. agreement with the associate of the subject which is a DP in the singular, e.g. prada, (prey-the); the entire structure is an instance of Topic V S order; "subject" is the label for the DP the verb agrees with. This analysis is reminiscent of Kayne's (1994:52) comment that "... it may be that the subject DP can reach at LF the specifier of an Agr projection higher than Agr, only in a language that has subjects able to move higher than SPEC, Agr.²⁰" The

¹⁸ e is short from este = Be- Present Indic. 3SG(English is).

¹⁹ = In Ștefanescu (1981) I argued that Romanian was a Topic oriented language unlike English which is a subject oriented language. (see Ch.Li.ed)

²⁰ Kayne's (1994:52) discussion directly refers to Germanic languages: "If the verb has raised to Agrs in German and Dutch, and if the complements have moved to the left of that position, then the subject, at least when it is to the left of one or more complements, cannot be in Spec, Agrs, although it presumably will have passed through it. The conclusion that subjects in German and Dutch can be, and with ordinary transitives typically are, higher than the Agrs projection may ultimately contribute to an understanding of a striking asymmetry within Germanic, namely, that complementizer agreement with the subject (see Bayer 1984; Cardinaletti and Roberts 1990; Haegeman 1990; Platzack 1992) is found only in the Germanic SOV languages, and never in the Germanic

DP pestii (fish-PL-the) is in the specifier of TopicP. The analysis of (28) runs along the following lines: the verb raises successively up to the Person head; the associate of the subject is raised to SPEC, NumberP in the overt syntax; at LF, the associate checks the agreement with the verb by covert movement to SPEC, PersonP, hence the presence of SG number, 3 person agreement on the verb. The plural DP pestii (fish-PL-the) occupies SPEC, TopP.

Imagine someone who would suggest that my analysis of (28) is incorrect, i.e. that in fact, pestii (fishes) is in SPEC, CP and the verb raises in a Germanic way to C-zero.

I will bring two different types of syntactic arguments to show that such an analysis of V-to-(I-to)C is possible (especially the data in 2.4.2; the data in 2.4.3 show that it might be the case that Romanian allows for both strategies: (i) movement to the highest inflectional head, Yiddish-like according to Diesing (1990) and (ii) movement to C⁰, Germanic-like as suggested by Cardinaletti and Roberts (1990) and Moro (1993) for Italian.

2.4.2 The first argument

In standard Romanian, agreement with the associate is possible if the subject DP is complex and separated from the verb by a relative clause that restricts one of the DPs which is part of the subject. Consider the illustrative examples in (29) and

SVO languages, to the best of my knowledge." (Kayne, 1994:52).

(30) below:

29. Cocioaba..., bărbatul, fata și boii..., un țap și
hut-the man-the girl-the and oxen-the a he-goat and
două capre slabe și rîioase ce dormeau pururea in tinda
two she-goats thin and dirty that slept always on verandah
era [toata avere-a Irinucăi]. (Creangă)

Be-Pst-SG3 all treasure-the Irinuca+Gen

"The hut, the man, the girl and the oxen, a he-goat and two,
thin, dirty she-goats that would sleep in the verandah was
Irina's entire treasure." (Ion Creangă, Amintiri:36)

The agreement is between BE and the associate of the sub-
ject, e.g. toata averea (the entire treasure). The reason seems
to be that the "real" subject which consists of an enumeration
may have been in an A-bar position to start with. But if such
an analysis were accurate, then the occurrence of a sentence
adverbial between this complex topic DP and the rest of the
sentence should lead to a grammatical sentence; but it
doesn't. If there is an intonational break between the
preverbal DP and the sentential adverb probabil (probably) the
sentence is better. A sentential adverb can occur after BE, as
shown in (30.b); to my ear (30.b) is flawless:

30.a.*[Cocioaba...,bărbatul, fata,...]²¹ probabil era toata
the hut the man the girl... probably was all
avere-a Irinucă-i.

²¹ The sentence is good with an intonational break after the
preverbal DP or with both an intonational break and some degree of
stress on the preverbal DP.

treasure-the Irinuca+Gen

b. [Cocioaba..., bărbatul, fata, ...] erau/???era probabil
 the hut, the man, the girl were/???was probably all
 toata avere-a Irin-ei
 all treasure-the Irina-GEN

In (30.b) probabil occurs between the verb erau (be-Pst-PL3) and the associate of the subject and the sentence is good. If adverbs are an accurate test for left edges of sentences, then this would be an argument that the verb is in C^0 .

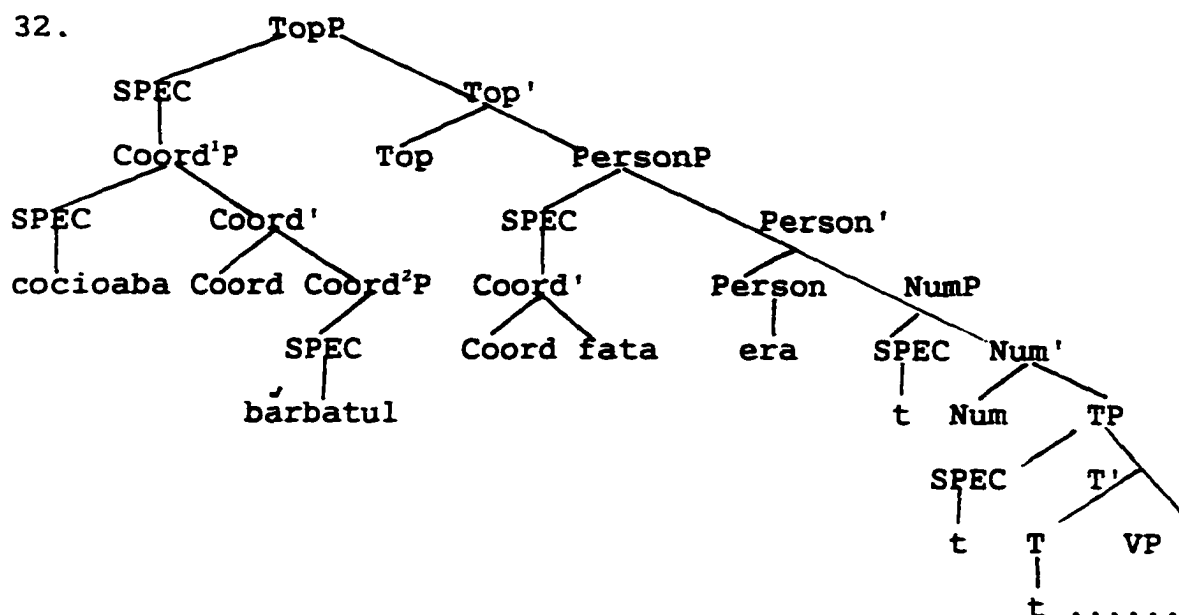
But (30.a) raises a problem: if the verb be agrees with the associate, the presence of probabil between the preverbal DP (in an A-bar position) and the rest of the sentence should be good. And it isn't. Let us try to analyze (30.a) as in Chapter 2, section 7.5. I have shown that CoordPs with more than two conjuncts have the DP in SPEC, Coord¹P and the DP in SPEC, Coord²P extractable. This might be precisely the case. Consider (31):

31. [Cocioaba..., bărbatul, fata, ...] era/erau toată
 the hut the man the girl... was/were all
 avere-a Irinucă-i.
 treasure-the Irinuca+Gen

Under the analysis in Chapter 2, section 7.5. SG number agreement with the verb is agreement with the DP in Complement position of the CoordP, while PL agreement is agreement with the entire Coord.P. The derivation in (32) corresponds to the

SG agree-ment case in (31) above:

32.



In other words, SG number, 3 person agreement with the verb in (31) above is syntactically different from SG number, 3 person agreement in (20) or (28).

I think this is an important difference.

2.4.3 A Second Argument

There is indirect evidence that in (28) BE is not in C-zero. Consider the structure under (33):

33. [Selim și tu, împreună] pieri -veți amândoi.

Selim and you together die -will-PL2 both

"Selim and you, the two of you will die."

In (33) the verb form is pieri - veți (die - will-PL-2) is an instance of the AUX-V insersion construction discussed in Chapter 3, section 5. As shown there the most plausible landing site for the non-finite verb in the analytic tenses is C⁰.

2.5 In Sum

The discussion in this section suggests a theoretical speculation on the difference between Romanian and English agreement phenomena in BE sentences.

Two major differences were discussed: one syntactic difference is evinced by equative BE sentences, the second difference concerns equative and existential BE sentences in an equal measure.

(i) If a Romanian equative BE sentence contains a plural DP (in pre or postverbal position) the verb invariably agrees with the plural DP (examples (1) and (2) above). In English, BE agrees with the DP in preverbal position. I suggest that cases of verb agreement with a postverbal plural DP are parallel to V-initial sentences, i.e. XVS order and agreement phenomena with postverbal subjects that are coordinate phrases. The split AGR hypothesis seems to enable an elegant explanation of the Romanian data. The existence of two agreement functional heads each with its own maximal projection permits a unified view on the agreement data under (1)-(2) and (20)-(27).

Data like in (33) above suggest that the analysis in Chapter 3, section 5 of the illformedness of a sentence like (57) point out to the fact that the verb may move to C^0 as well.

(ii) The second difference between English and Romanian concerns the agreement pattern in equative and existential

sentences containing a personal pronoun. If a Romanian equative BE sentence contains a lexical DP and a personal pronoun, the verb shows agreement in number and person with the personal pronoun irrespective of the pre or postverbal position of the personal pronoun as shown in (16)-(19) above. Syntactically, the personal pronoun is "subject", i.e. it is the DP the verb shows agreement with. If the V raises to the Person head, and the preverbal position is occupied by the lexical DP, that lexical DP is in the SPEC position of a functional head above the PersonP node. SPEC, Person P is occupied at LF by the personal pronoun that checks the person agreement with the verb. I have suggested that this type of structure is parallel to the Topic V S order. Moreover, this syntactic property of equative BE sentences can be compared to the existential BE sentence like (13) whose syntactic form is VS (Sunt eu. = Am I). The syntactic analysis is carried along the same lines as above. English has no such possible constructions as indicated in (14) above.

It seems to me that my proposal manages to give a unified syntactic explanation to transitive verbs and equative BE sentences²² and to intransitive verbs and existential BE by directly setting a parallelism between the addicity of the verb and the SVO and XVS orders.

²² In view of Ross (1970) this is an expected result.

APPENDIX 1¹

Alf Lombard classifies Romanian verbs into 6 classes by using two morphological criteria (i) the verb-final vowel in the infinitive form and (ii) the presence/absence of the suffixes **-ez-/-esc-/-ăsc-** in the present indicative form of the verb (verbs that take the suffix are called weak verbs, verbs that do not have the suffix may have Ablaut alternations, hence they are called strong verbs); Lombard's classification is given in Table 1:

Table 1

1. Infinitive vowel **-a**, strong V: **a jur-a, jur**
2. Infinitive vowel **-a**, weak V: **a fum-a, fum-ez**
3. Infinitive vowel **-i/î**, strong V: **a dorm-i, dorm**
4. Infinitive vowel **-i/î**, weak V: **a dor-i, dor-esc**
5. Infinitive vowel **-ea**, strong V: **a păr-ea, par**
6. Infinitive vowel **-e**, strong V: **a sug-e, sug**

Gramatica Academiei (1966, vol.1) proposes a four ways classification according to the verb-final vowel in the infinitive form which is exemplified below:

- I **-a**, **a cînt-a** (sing), **a lucr-a** (work)
- II **-ea**, **a tăc-ea** (be silent, keep silence)
- III **-e**, **a fac-e** (make/do)
- IV **-i/i**, **a dorm-i** (to sleep), **a hotăr-î** (to decide).

¹ The Appendix culls information from Gramatica Academiei (1966, vol.1), Alf Lombard (1954) and A.Rosetti (1968).

Strong and weak forms are listed under each conjugation class. I will adopt below the four ways classification. The weak suffix ez/asc/esc may well be of the form e/a-z/sc. As footnote 13 indicates, Vowel Harmony is decisive for the choice of a or e. The I and IV conjugation classes are fully productive in CR. The II conjugation is not productive in CR. It contains about 20 verbs which are of Latin origin. The III conjugation class is likewise unproductive nowadays, but it is somewhat richer than the II class. Some neologisms have been added to this 3 class of conjugation, e.g. a decide (decide), a depinde (depend on), a include (include) which are also of Latin origin.

Finite Tenses

Present Indicative

Root, + Thematic Vowel + Number/Person Inflection

	I	II	III
cînt ²	lucr- ~~ez~~ ³	tac ⁴	fac ⁵
cînt ₁ -i	lucr- ~~ez~~ -i	tac-i	fac-i

² The Old Romanian form was cîntu and the Main Stress was on the verb-final vowel. This vowel was dropped and the stress pattern changed to the root in modern Romanian.

³ The verbs that take the suffixes -ez-, -esc-, -ăsc- built up the "weak" verbs. In 16 century Romanian the Present Indicative form was without -ez, i.e. lucru or the PL, 3 form was săgeta and not săgetează (see Rosetti, 1968:544).

⁴ In Old Romanian the form was tăcu with u as verb final vowel.

⁵ In Old Romanian, verbs that belonged to the 3 class of conjugation had forms like cadzu which became cad, or raspundzu which became răspund (see Rosetti, 1968:545)

cînt-ă ⁶	lucre-eaz-ă	tac-e	fac-e
cîntă-m	lucră-m	tăce-m	făce-m
cînta-ți	lucra-ți	tăce-ți	făce-ți
cînt-ă	lucr-eaz-ă	tac	fac

IV

dorm	povest-esc ⁷	cobor	hotăr-ăsc
dorm-i	povest-eșt-i	cobor-i	hotăr-ășt-i
doarm-e	povest-eșt-e	coboară	hotăr-ășt-e
dormi-m	povesti-m	coborî-m	hotărî-m
dormi-ți	povesti-ți	coborî-ți	hotărî-ți
dorm	povest-esc	coboar-ă	hotăr-ăsc

Imperfective Indicative⁸Root + Thematic Vowel + A⁰/T⁰ + Number/Person

I	II	III	
cînt-a-m ⁹	lucr-a-m	tăce-a-m	făce-a-m
cînt-a-i	lucr-a-i	tăce-a-i	făce-a-i

⁶ The presence of the vowel ă is due probably to a process of Vowel harmony. In Old Romanian the vowel was a (see Rosetti, 1968:544).

⁷ Rosetti, 1968:149 suggests that the suffix -sc- is derived from the Latin inchoative, e.g. floresco "to start/begin to blossom". The inchoative sense got lost and -sc- is just a number/person suffix. The iz suffix is a Greek borrowing; it is frequent with medical and church terminology (exorc-iz-are, etc.). The verbs that have the long infinitive in -are form a new paradigm, i.e. a lucra-lucrare, eu lucrez instead of eu lucru (see Rosetti, 1968: 150).

⁸ The Imperfect Aspect/Tense exponent -a- is derived from Latin -abam, -ibam and -ebam. The b was dropped.

⁹ The SG, 1 person agreement morpheme -m was absent in 16 century Romanian, e.g. eu era, eu face, eu imbla (see Rosetti, 1968:546).

cînt-a	lucr-a	tăce-a	făce-a
cînt-a-m	lucr-a-m	tăce-a-m	făce-a-m
cînta-ți	lucra-ți	tăcea-ți	făcea-ți
cînt-a-u ¹⁰	lucr-a-u	tăce-a-u	face-a-u

IV

dorme-a-m	poveste-a-m	cobor-a-m	hotăr-a-m
dorme-a-i	poveste-a-i	cobor-a-i	hotăr-a-i
dorme-a	poveste-a	cobor-a	hotăr-a
dorme-a-m	poveste-a-m	cobor-a-m	hotăr-a-m
dorme-a-ți	poveste-a-ți	cobor-a-ți	hotăr-a-ți
dorme-a-u	poveste-a-u	cobor-a-u	hotăr-a-u

Simple Perfect

Root, + Asp⁰/T⁰ + Number(PL -ra)+ Person

I		II	III
cînt-a-i	lucr-a-i	tăc-u-i	făc-u-i
cînt-a-și	lucr-a-și	tăc-u-și	făc-u-și
cînt-a	lucr-a	tăc-u	făc-u
cînt-a-ră-m	lucr-a-ră-m	tăc-u-ră-m	fac-u-ră-m
cînt-a-ră-ți	lucr-a-ră-ți	tăc-u-ră-ți	fac-u-ră-ți
cînt-a-ră	lucr-a-ră	tăc-u-ră	fac-u-ră

III

IV

zi-se-i	dorm-i-i	povest-i-i	cobor-f-i

¹⁰ The PL, 3 person agreement morpheme -u was likewise absent in 16 century Romanian, e.g. ei cînta, ei ave.

zi-se-și	dorm-i-și	povest-i-și	cobor-î-și
zi-se	dorm-i	povest-i	cobor-î
zi-se-ră-m	dorm-i-ră-m	povest-i-ră-m	cobor-î-ră-m
zi-se-ră-ți	dorm-i-ră-ți	povest-i-ră-ți	cobor-î-ră-ți
zi-se-ră	dorm-i-ră	povest-i-ră	cobor-î-ră

Passe Compose

The present form of the AUX a avea (have)+ participle of V

I	II	III
a-m cîntat	a-m lucrat	a-m tăcut
a-i cîntat	a-i lucrat	a-i tăcut
a cîntat	a lucrat	a tăcut
a-m cîntat	a-m lucrat	a-m tăcut
a-ți cîntat	a-ți lucrat	a-ți tăcut
a-u cîntat	a-u lucrat	a-u tăcut
IV		
a-m dormit	a-m povestit	a-m coborît
a-i dormit	a-i povestit	a-i coborît
a dormit	a povestit	a coborît
a-m dormit	a-m povestit	a-m coborît
a-ți dormit	a-ți povestit	a-ți coborît
a-u dormit	a-u povestit	a-u coborît

Past Perfect

Root, + Aspect (Perf) + Tense(Bef) + Number (PL) + Person

I	II
cînt-a-se-m	lucr-a-se-m
	tăc-u-se-m

cînt-a-se-și	lucr-a-se-și	tăc-u-se-și
cînt-a-se	lucr-a-se	tăc-u-se
cînt-a-se-ră ¹¹ -m	lucr-a-se-ră-m	tăc-u-se-ră-m
cînt-a-se-ră-ți	lucr-a-se-ră-ți	tăc-u-se-ră-ți
cînt-a-se-ră	lucr-a-se-ră	tăc-u-se-ră

III

IV

făc-u-se-m	zi-se-se-m	dorm-i-se-m
făc-u-se-și	zi-se-se-și	dorm-i-se-și
făc-u-se	zi-se-se	dorm-i-se
făc-u-se-ră-m	zi-se-se-ră-m ¹²	dorm-i-se-ră-m
făc-u-se-ră-ți	zi-se-se-ră-ți	dorm-i-se-ră-ți
făc-u-se-ră	zi-se-se-ră	dorm-i-se-ră

IV

povest-i-se-m	cobor-î-se-m	hotar-î-se-m
povest-i-se-și	cobor-î-se-și	hotar-î-se-și
povest-i-se	cobor-î-se	hotar-î-se
povest-i-se-ră-m	cobor-î-se-ră-m	hotar-î-se-ră-m
povest-i-se-ră-ți	cobor-î-se-ră-ți	hotar-î-se-ră-ți
povest-i-se-ră	cobor-î-se-ră	hotar-î-se-ră

Future

Formed of the present indicative form of the verb a vrea (want) and the infinitive form of the lexical verb.

I.

II

III

¹¹ The form is related to Latin dixē-ra-m.

¹² A form like "zi-se-se-ră-m" is an instance of the MS operation called merger: Root + Aspect (Perfect) + Tense (Before) + PL Number + 1 Person; English: "we had said".

voi cînta	voi lucra	voi tăcea	voi face
vei cînta	vei lucra	vei tăcea	vei face
va cînta	va lucra	va tăcea	va face
vo-m cînta	vo-m lucra	vo-m tăcea	vo-m face
ve-ți cînta	ve-ți lucra	ve-ți tăcea	ve-ți face
vor cînta	vor lucra	vor tăcea	vor face

IV

voi dormi	voi povesti	voi coborî	voi hotărî
vei dormi	vei povesti	vei coborî	vei hotărî
va dormi	va povesti	va coborî	va hotărî
vo-m dormi	vo-m povesti	vo-m coborî	vo-m hotărî
ve-ți dormi	ve-ți povesti	ve-ți coborî	ve-ți hotărî
vor dormi	vor povesti	vor coborî	vor hotărî

Future Perfect

I

II

III

voi fi cîntat	voi fi lucrat	voi fi tăcut	voi fi făcut
vei fi cîntat	vei fi lucrat	vei fi tăcut	vei fi făcut
va fi cîntat	va fi lucrat	va fi tăcut	va fi făcut
vo-m fi cîntat	vo-m fi lucrat	vo-m fi tăcut	vo-m fi făcut
ve-ți fi cîntat	ve-ți fi lucrat	ve-ți fi tăcut	ve-ți fi făcut
vor fi cîntat	vor fi lucrat	vor fi tăcut	vor fi făcut

IV

voi fi dormit	voi fi povestit	voi fi coborît	voi fi hotărît
vei fi dormit	vei fi povestit	vei fi coborît	vei fi hotărît
va fi dormit	va fi povestit	va fi coborît	va fi hotărît

vo-m fi dormit vo-m fi povestit vo-m fi coborît vo-m fi "
 ve-ți fi dormit ve-ți fi povestit ve-ți fi coborît ve-ți fi "
 vor fi dormit vor fi povestit vor fi coborît vor fi "

Present Subjunctive

It is formed from the Present Indicative preceded by the conjunction să which is a marker of the subjunctive.

I	II	III	
să cînt	să lucr- ez	să tac	să fac
să cînt _; -i	să lucr- ez-i	să tac-i	să fac-i
să cînt-e	să lucr- ez-e	să tac-ă	să fac-ă
să cîntă-m	să lucră-m	să tăce-m	să face-m
să cînta- _{ți}	să lucra- _{ți}	să tăce- _{ți}	să face- _{ți}
să cînt-e	să lucr- ez-e	să tac-ă	să fac-ă

IV

să dorm	să povest-esc	să cobor	să hotăr-ăsc ¹³
să dorm-i	să povest-est-i	să cobor-i	să hotăr-ăst-i
să doarm-ă	să povest-esc-ă	să coboare	să hotăr-esc-ă
să dormi-m	să povesti-m	să coborî-m	să hotărî-m
să dormi-ți	să povesti-ți	să coborî-ți	să hotărî-ți
să doarm-ă	să povest-esc-ă	să coboar-e	sa hotăr-esc-ă

¹³ It may be well the case that only -sc- is the weak conjugation suffix, the presence of a or e being part of Vowel Harmony. A phonological study of the processes is necessary.

Perfect Subjunctive

It is formed with the subjunctive form of the AUX a fi (be) plus the participle form of the V.

I	II	III
să fi cîntat	să fi lucrat	să fi tăcut
să fi cîntat	să fi lucrat	să fi tăcut
să fi cîntat	să fi lucrat	să fi tăcut
să fi cîntat	să fi lucrat	să fi tăcut
să fi cîntat	să fi lucrat	să fi tăcut
să fi cîntat	să fi lucrat	să fi tăcut

IV

să fi dormit	să fi povestit	să fi coborît	să fi hotărît
să fi dormit	să fi povestit	să fi coborît	să fi hotărît
să fi dormit	să fi povestit	să fi coborît	să fi hotărît
să fi dormit	să fi povestit	să fi coborît	să fi hotărît
să fi dormit	să fi povestit	să fi coborît	să fi hotărît
să fi dormit	să fi povestit	să fi coborît	să fi hotărît

Present Conditional Optative

Formed from the AUX a avea (have) + infinitive of the V

I	II	III
aş cînta	aş lucra	aş tăcea
a-i cînta	a-i lucra	a-i tăcea
ar cînta	ar lucra	ar tăcea
a-m cînta	a-m lucra	a-m tăcea
a-ţi cînta	a-ţi lucra	a-ţi tăcea
ar cînta	ar lucra	ar tăcea

IV

aş dormi	aş povesti	aş coborî	aş hotărî
a-i dormi	a-i povesti	a-i coborî	a-i hotărî
ar dormi	ar povesti	ar coborî	ar hotărî
a-m dormi	a-m povesti	a-m coborî	a-m hotărî
a-ţi dormi	a-ţi povesti	a-ţi coborî	a-ţi hotărî
ar dormi	ar povesti	ar coborî	ar hotărî

Perfect Conditional Optative

I

II

III

aş fi cîntat	aş fi lucrat	aş fi tăcut	aş fi făcut
a-i fi cîntat	a-i fi lucrat	a-i fi tăcut	a-i fi făcut
ar fi cîntat	ar fi lucrat	ar fi tăcut	ar fi făcut
a-m fi cîntat	a-m fi lucrat	a-m fi tăcut	a-m fi făcut
a-ţi fi cîntat	a-ţi fi lucrat	a-ţi fi tăcut	a-ţi fi făcut
ar fi cîntat	ar fi lucrat	ar fi tăcut	ar fi făcut

IV

aş fi dormit	aş fi povestit	aş fi coborît	aş fi hotărît
a-i fi dormit	a-i fi povestit	a-i fi coborît	a-i fi "
ar fi dormit	ar fi povestit	ar fi coborît	ar fi "
a-m fi dormit	a-m fi povestit	a-m fi coborît	a-m fi "
a-ţi fi dormit	a-ţi fi povestit	a-ţi fi coborît	a-ţi fi "
ar fi dormit	ar fi povestit	ar fi coborît	ar fi "

APPENDIX 2

1 The Passe Compose

In standard Romanian, the Patee Compose is formed by the present tense form of the auxiliary a avea (have) which varies in person and number (fused exponent) and the invariable participle form of the verb¹⁴ as shown in (10) below:

10. a-m cîntat (have-SG1 sung)
 a-i cîntat (have-SG2 sung)
 a-0 cîntat (have-SG3 sung)
 a-m cîntat (have-PL1 sung)
 a-ți cîntat (have-PL2 sung)
 a-u cîntat (have-PL3 sung)

The auxiliary a avea (have) is derived from the lexical verb a avea (have) which indicates possession; the auxiliary verb has developed "reduced" forms which differ from the full verb a avea (have) in the SG,3 and the PL,1, PL,2 than as shown in (11):

- 11.a. Auxiliary: a-m, a-i, a, a-m, a-ți, a-u
 b. Lexical V: a-m, a-i, ar-e, ave-m, ave-ți, a-u

In some Romanian dialects in the South-Eastern part of Romania¹⁵, the 1,2,3 Plural forms can show the Plural morpheme

¹⁴ Mallinson (1987:314) notes that "the Romanian compound perfect is based on the Latin HABEO + past participle".

¹⁵ = in Braila, Galati (may be even more spread). In my dialect (Transylvanian Romanian) the forms do not exist, but I am aware that my father (born in Braila) uses them mostly to imitate some archaic way of speaking.

ra affixed to the past participle form of the lexical verb¹⁶, as shown in (12):

- 12.a.noi a -m cîntat -ă¹⁷-ră
 we have-1 sung, PastPrt-V -PL
 b.n -a- m declarat - ă-ră
 NEG-have-1 declare, PastPrt-V-PL
 c. n- a- m plătit - ă- ră
 NEG-have-1 pay, PastPrt-V-PL

In archaic Romanian and in dialects spoken in Transylvania(e.g. Muntii Apuseni) active forms like (13) containing the past participle of the verb a fi (be) can be found:

13. a-m fost cîntat
 have-1 been sing-PastPrt
 "I have sung"

Rosetti (1968: 547-8) notes that periphrastic forms as in (13) or (14) below existed in 16-18 century Romanian and dialectally they have been preserved in the North-Western part of the country¹⁸. These periphrastic forms exist in the Istro-Romanian dialect as well¹⁹ as Rosetti (1968) notes:

14. noi ce a-m fost muriț-i

¹⁶ See also footnote 9 in the text.

¹⁷ The vowel a is an infixed vowel between the C of the stem and the C of the affix.

¹⁸ in Munții Apuseni (lit. The Western mountains).

¹⁹ Istria is a province in Italy on the Adriatic coast located between Fiume, Trieste and Pola; see also footnote 9.

we which have-PL,1 been die,PastPrt-PL

"we who have died"

Sandfeld-Olsen (1954:320) attest the existence in dialectal Romanian of forms like (13) and (14) above: "a côté de la combinaison du présent de "a avea" avec un participe passé, la langue populaire emploie aussi am fost suivi d'un participe passé à sens actif":

15. (o luat băietul în brațe și) s 'o fost pornit să-l

se-have,SG3 been started

deie într-o fântână.

"(He took the boy in his arms) and was ready to throw him into the fountain"

The AUX a avea (have) shows the same number/person fused exponents as the Imperfect Indicative and the Past Perfect Indicative paradigms of the verb as (16) indicates:

16. SG 1 Person	-m	PL	-m
2 Person	-i		-ți
3 Person	-o		-u

3.2 Tense Forms Rendering Future Time

The future tense has a variety of periphrastic forms that can render it²⁰. The simple future form is constructed with the

²⁰ Mallinson (1987:313) notes that the future in Romanian is periphrastic and appears to have been so throughout its history.

indicative present form of a vrea (want)²¹ and the short infinitive form of the verb as illustrated in (17):

Future Present (literary form)

17. voi cînta (will-SG1 sing)
 vei cînta (will-SG2 sing)
 va cînta (will-SG3 sing)
 vo-m cînta (will-PL1 sing)
 ve-ti cînta (will-PL2 sing)
 vor cînta (will-PL3 sing)

The future perfect form is built up from the indicative present form of the auxiliary a vrea (want) inflected for number and person (fused exponents) + the short infinitive form of the auxiliary a fi (be) + the past participle form of the verb; consider the paradigm in (18):

Future Perfect (a vrea + BE + V in the Past Participle)

18. voi fi cîntat (will-SG1 be sung "I shall have sung")
 ve-i fi cîntat (will-SG2 be sung "you will have sung")
 va fi cîntat (will-SG3 be sung "he/she will have sung")
 vo-m fi cîntat (will-PL1 be sung "we shall have sung")
 ve-ți fi cîntat (will-PL2 be sung "you will have sung")
 vor fi cîntat (will-PL3 be sung "they will have sung")

Other forms by which the future can be rendered span the gamut from a colloquial "invariant" future auxiliary o to the

²¹ Mallinson (1987:313) notes that this more literary form is derived from Vulgar Latin forms of VOLEO + infinitive. The selection of "wish" as the auxiliary of future is characteristic of Balkan languages.

standard²² inflected a avea + the subjunctive²³. There is an interesting difference between these two forms w.r.t. number/person exponents. Let us start with the colloquial, invariant form. The future present is formed from a reduced form of the auxiliary a vrea (want) in the present, namely o which shows no number or person marking; the fused exponents for number/person appear only on the subjunctive verbal form as shown in (19):

The Invariant AUX "o"

19. eu o să cînt-**0** (I will Subj. sing-SG1)
 tu o să cînt-**i** (you will Subj. sing-SG2)
 el o să cînt-**e** (he will Subj. sing-SG3)
 noi o să cîntă-**m** (we will Subj. sing-PL1)
 voi o să cînta-**ți** (you will Subj. sing-PL2)
 ei o să cînt-**e** (they will Subj. sing-PL3)

Probably, the invariant form is derived by the application of the minor WFR of clipping, i.e. fore and back clipping applied to the full auxiliary a vrea (want). Fore clipping accounts for the absence of **v-** in AUX initial position and back

²² The difference between the two standard forms voi merge and am să merg is semantic. voi merge has a strong volitional sense (so strong as to make it a marked construction); am să merg is more like a declaration of intention, or a promise. In neutral conversation, I think I would express the idea of future time reference by using the simple present tense and a future time adverbial merg mîine (I go tomorrow). A thorough investigation is needed to clarify all the differences.

²³ According to Mallinson (1987:313) this form is derived from latin HABEO + subjunctive.

clipping accounts for the absence of number/person marking on the auxiliary. The idea that o is a (fore and back) clipped variant of the full AUX comes from the following type of data: in certain Romanian dialects there exists a "fore-clipped" variant of the auxiliary, i.e. a form for which number and person marking is still present as shown in (20):

20. <u>Full Form</u>	<u>Reduced Form</u> , i.e. fore clipping
vo-i cînta	(v-)o-i cînta
ve-i cînta	e-i cînta
va cînta	o/a cînta
vo-m cînta	o-m cînta
ve-ți cînta	e-ți/i-ți/o-ți cînta
vor cînta	or cînta

The interesting phenomenon concerns the difference in number and person marking in the the fore-clipped constructions in (20) versus the literary periphrastic construction in (21). The literary periphrastic future time reference form is derived from the present indicative form of the verb a avea (have) and the subjunctive form of the lexical verb. There are fused number/person exponents both on the auxiliary a avea (have) and on the subjunctive form of the verb as shown in (21); in (20), number and person information is present only on the AUX:

21. a-**m** sã cînt-**0** (have-SG1 Subj. sing-SG1 "I shall sing")
 a-**i** sã cînt-**i** (have-SG2 Subj. sing-SG2 "you will sing")
 a-(r)**e** sã cînt-**e** (have-SG3 Subj. sing-SG3 "he will sing"))

ave-**m** să cîntă-**m** (have-PL1 Subj. sing-PL1 "we shall sing"))

ave-**ți** să cînta-**ți** (have-PL2 Subj. sing-PL2 "you will sing")

a-u să cînt-**e** (have-PL3 Subj. sing-PL3 "they will sing").

Throughout languages paradigms like the one in (21) are frequent²⁴; the syntactic derivation of such constructions should reflect the difference (see section 4.4.2).

3.3 The Conditional Paradigm

The conditional present is formed with an inflected form of the

auxiliary a avea (have) that has specific conditional forms and the infinitive form of the lexical V. The conditional forms of the AUX are historically related to a avea (have).

Consider the paradigm in (22):

Conditional Present

22. aș cînta (would-1SG sing)
 a-i cînta (would-2SG sing)
 ar cînta (would-3SG sing)
 a-m cînta (would-1PL sing)
 a-ți cînta (would-2PL sing)
 ar cînta (would-3PL sing)

The conditional perfect is formed with the conditional inflected auxiliary of (22) + the short infinitive fi (BE) +

²⁴ see Plank (1995) "(Re-)Introducing Suffixaufnahme".

V past participle form; fi (be) is an indicator of "perfected" tense.

Conditional Perfect

22. a₃ fi cîntat (would-SG1 be sung "I would have sung")
 a-i fi cîntat (would-SG2 be sung "you would have sung")
 ar fi cîntat (would-SG3 be sung "he would have sung")
 a-m fi cîntat (would-PL1 be sung "we would have sung")
 a-ți fi cîntat (would-PL2 be sung "you would have sung")
 ar fi cîntat (would-PL3 be sung "they would have sung")

The periphrastic tense forms of Romanian have fused exponents for Number and Person. What is important for us here is the fact that three of the fused exponents are identical to the number/person morphemes identified for the synthetic tenses; the identical forms are listed in (23) below:

23. a. PL 1 is invariant -m
 2 is invariant -ți
 b. SG 2 is invariant -i

These data indicate that at the interface between syntax and phonology, there is a separate MS level at which the operation of fusion applies to the bracketed strings that are the output of syntax to generate the appropriate phonological forms. A bracketed string like in (24) which is the output of syntax becomes (25) after the application of fusion at the MS level:

24. [[[a]-ți, PL_{NUM}] cîntat]
 25. [[a-ți, ers/_{NUM}] cîntat]

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