

“The book is impressive through: (a) the general theoretical framework, well mastered, and by the global theoretical results; (b) the results related to the manifestation of ellipsis in Romanian, highlighting the specific features of Romanian within Romance and non-Romance languages; (c) the descriptive and theoretical results of the two sorts of ellipsis and the relation established between them; (d) several sections of convincing monographs regarding the syntax of Romanian; (e) many other detailed results which can be taken over as such, as they represent solutions to certain thorny problems in the Romanian grammar; (f) the ability to cover and master very diverse bibliographic references, and to critically comment on them; (g) the capacity to accommodate the old Romanian bibliography with the novel theoretical information; (h) the ability to use the diachronic information in order to support and account for certain interpretations and analyses.”

(GABRIELA PANĂ DINDELEGAN, Corresponding Member of the Romanian Academy)

“The book is theoretically consistent and strict without ever sacrificing the data. While young researchers are sometimes prone to «pay respect to the data» by combining theories into so-called «original syntheses», the present work daringly shows that it is especially by observing the rigours of the theory that a wealth of new data can be made sense of.”

(ALEXANDRA CORNILESCU, University of Bucharest)

“The author’s outstanding ability to find the optimal solution in interpreting apparent puzzling facts, his easiness in establishing scientific dialogue with the greatest minds of the domain prove not only a solid knowledge of the relevant literature (both modern and traditional), but also an exceptional analytic and synthetic intelligence.”

(MIHAELA GHEORGHE, “Transilvania” University of Braşov)

“Not only does the research reported in the book make a crucial and much-welcome addition to our current knowledge of the structural development of Romanian, which will also prove of considerable interest to scholars of comparative Romance linguistics, but it also raises, identifies and successfully answers a number of important and controversial theoretical issues regarding our understanding and the correct formal representation, licensing, and distribution of ellipsis. In short, this book represents an excellent piece of scholarship which expertly, and yet effortlessly, weaves together the best in traditional philology and descriptive linguistics with the state-of-the-art in minimalist syntactic theory and which, no doubt, will have a long-lasting and substantial impact on the fields of Romanian and Romance linguistics and syntactic theory.”

(ADAM LEDGEWAY, University of Cambridge, Fellow of the British Academy)

“The book is very clearly and logically organised, demonstrates an excellent understanding of current syntactic and semantic theories, as well as providing what is to my knowledge the most comprehensive and detailed analysis to date of the phenomena of ellipsis in Romanian. The general conclusions are very interesting and elegantly tied together by the overall theoretical approach to ellipsis.”

(IAN ROBERTS, University of Cambridge, Fellow of the British Academy)



alexandru nicolae

The Licensing of Nominal and Verbal Ellipsis in Romanian



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Verbal Ellipsis in Romanian

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The Licensing of Nominal and Verbal Ellipsis in Romanian

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*To my son Adam,
with all my love*

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Preface

What this book is about

This book is a revised version of my 2013 PhD dissertation (*Types of Ellipsis in Romanian. The Interpretation of Structures containing Ellipsis Sites and the Syntactic Licensing of Ellipsis*), jointly supervised by professors Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (University of Bucharest) and Ian Roberts (University of Cambridge). I defended this dissertation in November 2013 at the University of Bucharest.

The goal of this work is to provide a description and an in-depth analysis of the main configurations in which nominal ellipsis and verbal ellipsis are licensed in Romanian. Chapter I provides a motivation for the choice of nominal and verbal ellipsis as particular objects of inquiry, and for the more general option of studying ellipsis in the doctoral programme. Following previous bibliography, I focus on a particular family of elliptical types, namely elliptical structures which (i) are derived by PF-deletion and (ii) are tied to a particular licensing element; this class includes elliptical phenomena like sluicing, VP-ellipsis and nominal ellipsis. Chapter II discusses at length the differences between these phenomena and other types of surface anaphora (such as gapping and stripping). Chapters III and IV are devoted to the in-depth study of verbal and nominal ellipsis, and chapter V summarizes the results and puts them into a larger perspective.

My 2013 thinking with respect to elliptical phenomena has not modified considerably over time. In the preface to my monograph on word order and parameter change in Romanian (Nicolae 2019) I have argued that in order to properly understand the syntax of a given structure/phenomenon in an older stage of a language and the diachronic dynamics of a given phenomenon, one must first understand the syntax of the respective structure in the contemporary phase of the language (for which syntactic tests/diagnostics, one of the most important tools for the analyst, are available). Similarly, I argued in my dissertation and I continue to believe that, for the proper understanding of how ellipsis works, it is imperative that one starts from first understanding the grammar of the full, non-elided structure. Thus, the analysis of a given elliptical structure is systematically preceded by the analysis of its non-elided counterpart – and more often than not the analysis of the overt structure is lengthier than the analysis of its elliptical counterpart.

How is this book different from the 2013 dissertation?

This book preserves the structure and content of the 2013 dissertation; there is only one considerable content-related revision, that is, I have removed the part devoted to the syntax of aspectual verbs and to aspectual-complement ellipsis, as it appeared as a more elaborate self-standing paper (Nicolae 2016).

However, I have operated several revisions, some of them superficial, some of them more profound. These revisions have been prompted by several reasons. First of all, the observations from the reports and the questions from the viva brought considerable improvements to the thesis presented in 2013. Secondly, my subsequent work on several topics progressed and gave rise to more accurate analyses and better solutions and explanations (e.g. verb movement, the syntax of modal verbs, the syntax of the adjectival article construction, the diachronic development of the freestanding article *cel*, etc.). Last but not least, the general development of the domain and work of ellipsis in particular prompted the revision of some of my older assumptions and analyses.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that this book is centred on the licensing and interpretation of ellipsis, hence revisions and updates have been operated only when they made a substantive contribution to the analysis. In any case, all these changes are signalled in footnotes and references to works published after 2013.

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Bucharest, December 2019

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*

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Heartfelt thanks go to my family (you know who you are!) and to my closest friends (you too!).

I would like to dedicate this book to my son Adam, who was born on the 7th of February 2019.

Abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
AL	freestanding syntactic marker of the genitive
AUX	auxiliary
CL	clitic
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
DEF	definite article
DET	determiner
DOM	differential object marking
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund/present participle
i.a.	inter alia
i.m.	intended meaning/translation
IMP	imperative
IMPERF	imperfect tense / imperfective aspect
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
M	masculine
MCE	Modal Complement Ellipsis (see Aelbrecht 2010)
NCA	Null Complement Anaphora (see Depiante 2000)
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PLUPERF	pluperfect tense (roughly functionally similar to the English past perfect)
PPL	past participle
PRES	present
PRESUMP	presumptive (marker)

PS	simple past (<i>passé simple</i>)
REFL	reflexive
Rom.	Romanian
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
SUP	supine
TAM	Mood-Tense-Aspect
VOC	vocative
VVPE	Verb-Stranding VP-ellipsis

Functional elements specific to Romanian

A	functional preposition
A _{INF}	infinitive complementizer
CA (... SĂ)	Force complementizer in embedded subjunctive clauses
CEL	freestanding definite determiner
DE	functional preposition
DE _{SUP}	supine complementizer
MAI	clitic additive adverbial
SĂ	complementizer heading the subjunctive cluster in Romanian

Conventions

#	intonation break
≡	syncretism
=	separates a clitic from its host
< >	ellipsis site
#	infelicitous example
§	cross-reference

examples – only for the questionable examples I have indicated the source to testify their validity

bare short infinitive – the infinitival form surfacing a complement to the modal verb *putea*; the label *short* opposes it to the long, nominal infinitive (*a cânta* / *cântare*); the label *bare* indicates that this infinitival form is not preceded by the infinitive complementizer *a* (*a cânta* / *cânta*)

the grey colour signals an ellipsis site

I. Introduction: goals, outline and framework

1. Motivation, aim and contents

1.1. This book is devoted to the investigation of the syntactic licensing of ellipsis in Romanian. The principal motivation for choosing this subject of inquiry is simple and straightforward: ellipsis phenomena in Romanian are severely understudied both in the Romanian literature, and in the foreign literature, with a few relevant exceptions (discussed below). The framework assumed is the minimalist version of generative grammar (see §I.2), and the focus of my inquiry is nominal and verbal ellipsis.

In the latest academic grammar in Romanian (GALR 2008), the most extensive work devoted to the description of the morphology and syntax of Romanian comprising over 1800 pages in 2 volumes, the chapter on ellipsis is 5 pages long (Tomescu 2008), and mostly approaches the same problems discussed in the chapter devoted to ellipsis from the 1963 academic grammar (Rizescu 1966); the terminology and the stand taken with respect to elliptical phenomena is obsolete¹. The recent extensive grammar of Romanian published by Oxford University Press (GR 2013) does not represent a radical improvement: only nominal ellipsis is separately described in a short subchapter (Nicolae 2013e); cursory reference is made to gapping and other types of ellipsis based on coordination in a subsection of the chapter on coordination (Croitor 2013: 525). By contrast, in the latest representative grammars of certain European languages, the situation is rather different: for example, in Bosque and Demonte's *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* (1999), the chapter on ellipsis is 76 pages long (vol. II, p. 2786–2863; author: José M. Brucart) and is written from an up-to-date generative perspective. The conclusion that elliptical phenomena in Romanian are understudied is therefore legitimate.

1.2. However, it would be unfair to claim that Romanian elliptical phenomena are not studied at all in the recent literature. There exist two recent doctoral dissertations devoted to ellipsis: Giurgea (2008; revised and published as Giurgea 2010) and Bîlbîie (2011, revised and published as Bîlbîie 2018). A few comments are necessary here, in order

¹ This state of affairs is, of course, understandable and need not be condemned: as is well known, academic grammars are generally based on previous inquiry; the fact that ellipsis is meagrely dealt with simply reflects the fact that this particular topic has not been sufficiently explored in the (Romanian) linguistic community.

to point out the differences between the present work and Giurgea's and Bîlbîie's dissertations. Giurgea (2008, 2010) focuses on nominal ellipsis, which is also analysed in this book in §III. However, Giurgea (2008) assumes an empty pro-form approach to the phenomena under scrutiny; he focuses mostly on the interpretative disparities between ellipsis sites and their overt counterparts, and on the interpretation of pronouns. In contrast to Giurgea's work, I explicitly adopt and defend a PF-deletion approach to ellipsis (in the sense of Merchant 2001), according to which the ellipsis site is a fully articulated, but silent domain, and I focus on the syntactic conditions that have to be met in order for ellipsis to be licensed. Furthermore, I operate a distinction between nominal ellipsis and substantivization (analysed as the incorporation of silent, but contentful nouns in the sense of Panagiotidis 2003 and Kayne 2005) and I show that assuming two complementary processes with superficially similar outcomes does not lead to a contradiction². Bîlbîie's (2011) work focuses especially on gapping and stripping (see §II, for the distinction between elliptical phenomena based on a multidominant structure and elliptical phenomena based on deletion; see also §I.1.3), that is, on verbal elliptical constructions in which the verbal head is absent. In contrast to Bîlbîie's work, my discussion focuses on licensed types of ellipsis; this variety of elliptical phenomena is more similar to English VP-ellipsis in that a pronounced verbal head licenses the deletion of its complement. Thus, my inquiry should be seen as complementary to Bîlbîie's. Finally, it is necessary to mention that, while the theoretical framework adopted by Bîlbîie is Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG), the framework adopted by us is the same one as Giurgea's, namely minimalism. The choice of theoretical framework is important, as it determines the overall goals of the inquiry.

1.3. From the beginning, it should be made clear that there is a distinction between two types of elliptical phenomena: ellipses licensed by a given element ("licensed ellipses"), which are based on deletion (see Merchant 2001), and ellipses parasitic on coordination, which are fed by a multidominant structure (see Citko 2005, 2011a, 2011b). Chao (1988) is the first one to explicitly argue for a division of this type, but the idea is older (cf., for instance, Williams 1977). If we define ellipsis in a very simple way, as Merchant (2018: 19) does ("in ellipsis, there is meaning without form"), then there is no way of determining which process is "more elliptical" than the other. Chapter II is devoted to bringing arguments for this claim by investigating the properties which support this division. The first class of elliptical phenomena includes varieties of deletion like VP-ellipsis, nominal ellipsis and sluicing, while the second class of processes includes gapping,

² Merchant (2014) makes the same claim in the analysis of gender mismatches under nominal ellipsis in Greek: conceiving ellipsis as implying a deletion process does not go against the assumption that there exist silent pro-forms which may feed a form of substantivization / incorporation; in fact, the two processes should be conceived of as complementary.

stripping, right node raising, etc. The focus of this book is constituted by licensed ellipses, and I have chosen to stop at nominal and verbal ellipsis, as they present us with a wealth of empirical facts specific to Romanian, leading to interesting theoretical generalizations. Sluicing in Romanian is not very eccentric when compared to what we find in other Romance languages³; Rațiu (2010) and Hoyt and Teodorescu (2012) should be consulted for a general introduction to the problems raised by sluicing in Romanian. Another deletion phenomenon which falls into this class is polarity ellipsis (Martins 1994) licensed by affirmative and negative markers (see also Busquets 2006). Let us now turn to the contents of the present book.

1.4. The theoretical analysis is driven by empirical facts. With respect to nominal ellipsis⁴ and ellipsis with verbal licensers, I investigate the most representative configurations in which ellipsis is licensed and I show that a theoretical framework like Merchant's (2001) or Aelbrecht's (2010), in which ellipsis is licensed by the presence of an E-feature on a licensing head, is not fully appropriate. Merchant's seminal work is based on sluicing, which in most cases is optional. The choice of pronouncing or silencing a structure superficially gives the impression that the assignment of the E-feature is optional (see footnote 5; in certain configurations, sluicing is obligatory, this indicating from the outset that the E-feature is not genuinely optional). This position cannot be correct: in §II and §III, I identify several contexts in which ellipsis is forced⁵, a fact which indicates that E-feature assignment cannot be optional. Furthermore, by assuming an E-feature, whose nature is essentially semantic, one sweeps under the carpet the morphosyntactic problem of ellipsis licensing, as highlighted by authors like Lobeck (1995) (in a late GB framework) and Kennedy (2003) or Rouveret (2012) (in a minimalist framework), which is two-fold: both the licenser and the ellipsis site have to have an appropriate morphosyntactic featural composition. The morphosyntactic aspect of ellipsis licensing is important, as ellipsis is subject to cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation, a state of affairs which cannot be accounted for from a purely semantic point of view. An alternative solution to ellipsis licensing, which capitalises on López's (2000) seminal work, is put forward.

³ E.g. see Rodrigues, Nevins and Vicente (2009), Gonzáles (2010) for sluicing in Spanish.

⁴ Yoshida, Wang and Potter (2012) show that gapping does not apply within the DP; apparent examples of so-called "nominal" gapping should be analysed as involving deletion, not multidominance / across-the-board movement.

⁵ Sluicing is not optional when it ameliorates island violations; in the respective configuration, ellipsis is forced to apply, as the overt counterpart of the structure is ungrammatical (examples from Merchant 2001: 87; see also Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey 1995; see also Blümel 2013 for a possible explanation).

(i) a. *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.*
 b. **I don't remember which (Balkan language) they want to hire someone who speaks.*
 (ii) a. *Ben will be mad if Abby talks to one of the teachers, but she couldn't remember which.*
 b. **Ben will be mad if Abby talks to one of the teachers, but she couldn't remember which (of the teachers) Ben will be mad if she talks to.*

A “disclaimer of sincerity” is in order at this point. The two main domains under analysis here are unequally represented as far as the theoretical analysis of ellipsis licensing is concerned: nominal ellipsis benefits from a quasi-exhaustive survey of data (most relevant configurations in which ellipsis is licensed are identified) and fully worked out analysis of ellipsis licensing. By contrast, the part devoted to ellipsis with verbal licensors mostly focuses on the identification of the relevant class of licensors of ellipsis in Romanian. In other words, with respect to the verbal domain, I have consciously taken a more empirically oriented perspective on the elliptical phenomena to the sacrifice of detailed theoretical analysis. As will be obvious from §IV, in which verbal ellipsis is discussed, this does not mean that I have merely applied the diagnostics to delimit the class of verbal licensors; rather I have identified the relevant configurations where ellipsis is legitimate, and relevant generalizations are also put forward; however, the *why*-question (*why* is ellipsis licensed by these particular verbs and not by others) is not given an answer of similar refinement as for nominal ellipsis.

This results from the state-of-art with respect to the study of verbal ellipsis in Romanian: except for Bilbiie’s study of gapping and stripping, virtually nothing more is known about the domain of verbal ellipsis in Romanian. The general view found in the literature is that ellipsis of the English VP-ellipsis type is not generally found in Romance, except for (European and Brazilian) Portuguese and Galician (see, among others, López 1994, Martins 1994, Rouveret 2012 for this claim). It is true that Romanian is not a Verb-Stranding VP-ellipsis (VVPE) language of the Portuguese/Galician type; however, the claim that ellipsis with verbal licensors is not represented in Romanian is far from being accurate. As will be shown in §IV, Romanian features ellipsis licensed by at least the following classes of verbal licensors: ellipsis licensed by modal verbs (Modal Complement Ellipsis, in the sense of Aelbrecht 2010), by aspectual verbs (Aspectual Complement Ellipsis), and, surprisingly, by the verb *fi* ‘be’ (not in all of its instances, but only when it is inflected). Besides the delimitation of the class of licensors, many other problems of empirical interest are also brought to the fore: for instance, the fact that, contrary to what has been claimed with respect to English (Gergel 2009) or Romance (López 1994), epistemic modals are also good licensors of ellipsis in Romanian; epistemic readings of modals survive under ellipsis in English as well (David Pesetsky, *p.c.*). Another point of interest concerns ellipsis with aspectual licensors: due to the transitive (simple and complex) nature of these verbs, ellipsis is subject to a global derivational constraint (in the sense of Lakoff 1969, 1970, Postal 1972); this variety of ellipsis was studied more extensively in my 2016 paper (Nicolae 2016), written after the first draft of this book. In contrast to this state of facts characterizing Romanian, other Romance languages benefit from detailed studies devoted not only to the distribution and syntax of verbal ellipsis, but also to the acquisition of ellipsis; this is the case of Portuguese (see Santos 2009). And, in contrast to verbal ellipsis, much more is known about Romanian nominal ellipsis (see, for

an early analysis, combining elements of structural grammar and early generativism, Manoliu Manea 1968; see, more recently, Coene 1999, Giurgea 2008, 2010, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2010, 2011c, 2012a, 2012b).

To sum up, I believe that the accurate delimitation of the empirical domain is compulsory for a correct understanding of ellipsis (in fact, of any linguistic phenomenon) in order to avoid hasty generalizations and analyses built on a very restricted set of data, which fail to be fruitfully extended to account for a larger array of data.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework on ellipsis is presented in §II; in this section, I minimally lay out the general theoretical ingredients necessary for the analysis.

2.1. As stated, the theoretical framework adopted is Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1957 and ssq. work) in its minimalist version (Chomsky 1995 and ssq. work). To be more precise, I am adopting the second variant of minimalism (Chomsky 2000 and ssq. work), which disposes of the Spec-Head agreement operation and refines the conception on feature mechanics: features are no longer checked, but valued. The operation that drives feature valuation is Agree, and features are conceived of as having two dimensions, *valuation* and *interpretability*.

I follow Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), and distinguish between *interpretable* and *uninterpretable* features, on the one hand, and *valued* and *unvalued* features, on the other hand. The syntactic derivation is driven by the need to delete uninterpretable features (Chomsky 2000, 2001). In Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) (as well as Frampton and Gutmann 2006) Agree is a form of feature sharing (1).

- (1) **Agree (Feature sharing version)** (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007:4)
- (i) An unvalued feature F (a *Probe*) on a head H at syntactic location α (F_α) scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a *Goal*) at location β (F_β) with which to agree.
 - (ii) Replace F_α with F_β , so that the same feature is present in both locations.

Agree is initiated by some head at a location α (the Probe), provided with an *unvalued*, *uninterpretable* or *interpretable* feature F_α ; the c-command domain is scanned for another instance of F , in some (Goal) phrase β , F_β , with which it agrees. Conceived of as *feature sharing*, Agree consists in replacing F_α with F_β , so that the same feature is present in both locations. A link accessible throughout the derivation is thus established.

Importantly, by putting together *valuation* and *interpretability*, Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) arrive at a fourfold feature typology; feature participating in Agree bear the

same numerical index; an empty pair of brackets signals that a feature has not participated in Agree.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (2) | [uF] [1]: uninterpretable, valued | [iF] [1]: interpretable, valued |
| | [uF] []: uninterpretable, unvalued | [iF] []: interpretable, unvalued |

2.2. As for the syntactic structure of the nominal phrase and of the clause, the following assumptions are made. The ideas presented here serve to minimally delineate the framework adopted; details and refinements are provided in §III and §IV, where nominal and verbal ellipsis are discussed and properly analysed.

With respect to the nominal phrase, I adopt without further justification the DP-hypothesis (Abney 1987, Giusti 1993, Longobardi 1994). From this perspective, the minimal DP contains a functional layer, represented by determiners (and quantifiers), and a lexical layer, represented by the head's (i.e. noun's) projection. The functional layer is associated with the argumental properties of the nominal phrase; the lexical layer is associated with predicative, descriptive content. On the model of Rizzi's scission of the CP, I adopt an "updated" syntactic structure of the DP, namely, the split-DP hypothesis (see Giusti 1996, 2005, 2012, Ihsane and Puskas 2001, Aboh 2004, Laenzlinger 2005a, 2005b, 2010, Cornilescu 2007, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b, Ledgeway 2012a); the D-head splits into a lower D_{internal} position, and a higher D_{external} projection, with the space between D_{internal} and D_{external} accommodating DP-internal constituents marked from the point of the DP-internal information structure; for the limited purposes of the discussion here, I will assume, like Giusti (2012) and Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a), that the space between D_{internal} and D_{external} contains only one projection, labelled Contr(ast)P; the head of ContrP accommodates DP-internal contrastive constituents. A word of caution is in order here: I believe, like Giusti (2012), that not just any repetition of a determiner triggers the split of D; definiteness agreement can be resolved as a phenomenon of agreement (see §III.2.2.3). The split of D is determined by the presence of different determiners in the two D heads, and obligatorily activates the DP-internal left periphery, where notions like topic and focus become relevant. DPs are phasal domains (see Chomsky 2008)⁶.

Clauses are conceived of as being CPs; the C-projection may be split into a higher Force head and a lower Fin head (as in Rizzi 1997); the split-CP hypothesis will be instrumental in understanding the syntax of the Romanian subjunctive and, implicitly, the internal make-up of the ellipsis site in the case of ellipsis with modal and aspectual verbs.

⁶ There are relevant proposals for a bi-phasal analysis of the DP (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b, Simpson and Syed 2016, Syed and Simpson 2017, Roberts 2017 i.a.), on the model of the bi-phasehood of the CP; however, I will follow here the traditional mono-phasal analysis of the DP, as nothing crucial hinges on this issue.

With respect to verb movement, the level of raising of synthetic forms is high in the inflectional domain (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Cornilescu 2000, Alboiu and Motapanyane 2000, Ledgeway 2015, Schifano 2015, 2016, 2018, Nicolae 2015a, 2019). In the case of analytic forms, the auxiliaries target high positions, as shown by their ability to precede the additive light adverbial *mai*; the lexical verb also raises out of the *vP*, as shown by its ability to precede floating quantifiers and the adverbial *des* ('often') (see Alboiu and Motapanyane 2000, Ledgeway 2015).

- (3) a. *Elevii mei au mai văzut toți filmul.*
 students.DEF my AUX.PERF.3PL MAI see.PPLE all movie.DEF
 'My students have all seen the movie before.'
- b. *El va veni des la bunica de acum încolo.*
 he AUX.FUT.3SG come.INF often to grandma from now onwards
 'He will often visit grandma from now on.'

As is well-known, floating quantifiers diagnose subject positions (Sportiche 1988); adverbs like Rom. *des*, Fr. *souvent*, Engl. *often* diagnose verb raising (Cinque 1999); the additive light adverbial *mai* merges as a specifier of the Asp projection and adjoins to the lexical verb, moving along with it (Cornilescu and Cosma 2013, Nicolae 2015a, 2019).

While I preserve from the 2013 analysis the original intuition that verb movement proceeds as phrasal movement, I have revised the general theory of verb movement by adopting Vicente's (2007) 'V⁰-to-Spec', which is developed at length in my 2019 monograph (Nicolae 2019: ch. 2). The details of this analysis are schematically presented in §IV here too.

Finally, I follow the relevant literature in assuming that the clausal domain is bi-phasal (Chomsky 2001, 2008 among many other authors); both phasal heads, C and *v*, have peripheries, interface domains where P(ragmatic)-features are satisfied (see Rizzi 1997 for the CP-periphery and Belletti 2004 for arguments that there is also a "low" periphery; this is the *v**-periphery, which accommodates low foci and topics).

2.3. As has been known since Williams (1977) and López (2000), ellipsis is a Discourse Grammar phenomenon⁷. Thus, a stand on the syntax-pragmatics/information structure interface has to be taken. I have chosen to adopt and adapt López's (2009) theory,

⁷ Recall from §1.1.3 above (and see §II) that, by following a long tradition (stemming at least from Chao 1988), I distinguish between two types of elliptical process: ellipses with a licenser, which are based on deletion, and ellipses based on a multidominant structure. I focus only on verbal and nominal ellipsis with a licenser in this dissertation; according to Williams (1977), who operates a similar distinction, ellipses based on deletion are Discourse Grammar ellipses, in the case of which the interface with the pragmatic / information structure component is highly relevant.

as it offers, on the one hand, the general framework which integrates discourse into syntax with minimal alterations to the standard system as developed since Chomsky (2000), and, on the other hand, a system of (two) features with unambiguous semantic effects and clear syntactic correlates. According to López (2009), syntax and pragmatics / information structure interact cyclically; this interaction is mediated by the *phasal heads*, which may invasively assign P(ragmatic)-features to constituents, acting thus upon narrow syntax⁸.

3. Some technical remarks on the organization of this book

3.1. The methodological principle which has been conscientiously followed throughout the dissertation is that ellipsis cannot be properly understood without first understanding the syntax of overt / fully pronounced structures. This methodological principle is well expressed by Bhattacharya and Simpson (2012) in their analysis of sluicing in Indo-Aryan, being well captured by the following quote: “what is clearly required in each fresh examination of sluicing in a language is a careful comparison of sluices with other patterns in the same language, in particular those relating to wh-movement, case, copulas, and cleft construction” (Bhattacharya and Simpson 2012: 190). There are, indeed, differences between elliptical structures and their overt counterpart (see §II for details), but these disparities should not be conceived of as indicating that the ellipsis site has a structure altogether different from its overt counterpart, but rather as the effect of the discourse algorithm which identifies the identical part(s) (to be elided) and the contrasting part(s) (the remnants) and appropriately marks them.

3.2. At this point, a serious question regarding the organization of the material emerges. Essentially, there are two options, both of which have been pursued in the literature. One solution is to first present the syntax of the overt structure and then turn to ellipsis; this type of approach has been pursued by authors like Gergel (2009), working on English VP-ellipsis, or Aelbrecht (2010), working on Dutch modal complement ellipsis. Another solution is to proceed in a more local fashion, combining to various degrees the analysis of the overt structure with the analysis of its elliptical counterpart. I have adopted

⁸ See López (2009: 100-104) on the potential problems raised by this proposal with respect to Chomsky’s (1995) *Inclusiveness Condition*; see also §III.3.2.6, where I also discuss this problem, essentially defending López’s line of reasoning. In a nutshell, like López, I believe that phasal heads have the ability to invasively act upon narrow syntax; this follows from their instrumental role of being points where the structure is *transferred* to the interfaces (see Chomsky 2000, 2001) and avoids a severe *Look-Ahead* problem (e.g. semantics permitting, constituents are topics or foci in a given discourse; thus, the feature characterizing a constituent as a topic / focus should not be present on the respective constituent from the Numeration, but assigned at a later point, when felicitous discourse integration comes into play; this happens at Transfer).

the second solution to organize the material of the book; this can be observed more prominently in §IV, where I analyse in turn ellipsis with various types of verbal licensors.

As for the internal organization of the chapters, each chapter has an introductory section which outlines the problems to be discussed and the puzzles to be solved, and a conclusions section; the conclusions not only summarize the problems discussed in the respective chapter, but also assess the relevance of the results from a more theoretical standpoint.

3.3. Certain diachronic problems are also taken up in the book. For instance, in order to understand the synchronic syntax of the Romanian DP, I felt the need to incorporate in the analysis certain diachronic facts, some of which are new, some of which are drawn from previous personal and/or joint work or from other different sources; some diachronic remarks on the subjunctive / infinitive competition as complements to modal verbs will also be presented.

It is thus necessary to mention that I have adopted the periodization of Romanian put forward by Gheție (1975), who distinguishes between old Romanian (1521-1780) and modern Romanian (1780–present day). The landmarks of these periods, 1521 and 1780 correlate with the following facts: 1521 represents the *earliest attested* text written directly in Romanian⁹, *Neacșu's Letter*, while 1780 represents the year when *Elementa linguae daco-romanae sive valachicae* was published; this is the first grammar of Romanian with a large circulation. This distinction is not motivated only by extra-linguistic factors; as Gheție (1975) himself shows, there is a relevant number of linguistic differences between these two periods, a fact which motivates this cut¹⁰.

Both periods are subject to other cuts: old Romanian is further subdivided into early old Romanian (1521-1640) and late old Romanian (1640-1780); the period comprised between 1780 and 1830 is known as the pre-modern period. Because of space limitations, I did not go into extremely refined details which would put these subdivisions to work; when relevant, I did, however, point to the differences between these subdivisions.

Note that the label “old Romanian” does not correspond to the label “old” applied to other Romance varieties (e.g. Old French, Old Spanish, etc.); the division old / modern with respect to Romanian depends on the earliest attested Romanian writings¹¹.

⁹ *Neacșu's Letter* is not the earliest attested Romanian text. As shown by Mareș (2000), *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki* (*The Hurmuzaki Book of Psalms*) is older than the *Letter*, but it is a translation, not a text written directly in Romanian.

¹⁰ Gheție's (1975) classification was implicit in older histories of Romanian, such as Densusianu's (1961), and has been adopted by most researchers after 1975 (see, for instance, Rosetti 1986). Gheție's classification is thus the standard one.

¹¹ Authors like Hill (2013a) have chosen the label “early modern Romanian” for the period comprised between the 16th and the 18th c. in order to observe the general periodization of the Romance languages; I have chosen to follow tradition, by choosing the label “old Romanian”.

4. Examples and glossing

The choice of examples generally reflects the present-day spoken and written language; the source for the examples from older stages of Romanian is clearly indicated. All the examples chosen have been checked with other native speakers to ensure their well-formedness and their pragmatically felicitous character¹²; in the case of certain (pragmatically) awkward examples, the source has been indicated in footnotes.

As for the glossing of the examples, I have employed the conventions and abbreviations from the OUP *Grammar of Romanian* (GR 2013), which essentially follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules; a list of all the Abbreviations and Conventions employed has also been provided. It is important to mention that the glosses are not exhaustive – they are intended to be adequate for the immediate purpose of the example.

The book has been written according to the conventions of British English.

¹² I wish to thank to Adina Dragomirescu who had the patience and good will to go through all the examples.

II. Ellipsis: diagnostics and distinctions

The goal of this chapter is to present the main theoretical issues bearing on the licensing of ellipsis.

I start by looking at the possible sources of “meaning without form” (in Merchant’s formulation) and argue that it is possible to obtain the same superficial effect (absence of form, presence of meaning) by different mechanisms made available by UG (PF-deletion and multidominance). I then concentrate on the PF-deletion approach to ellipsis, showing that:

(i) according to recent theorizing, the instruction to delete a domain is given in the syntax (Gergel 2009, Rouveret 2012, Baltin 2012, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012a,b);

(ii) there are diagnostics showing that what is not pronounced is a fully articulated syntactic structure.

Call the approach that combines (i) and (ii) *the syntactically determined PF-deletion* approach to ellipsis.

Next, I review the recent relevant literature and present the main proposals concerned with the correct formulation of the identity/parallelism requirement on ellipsis.

The following step consists in bringing to the fore a few cases in which there are disparities between the ellipsis site and its overt counterpart; this indicates, I believe, that the syntactically determined PF-deletion approach to ellipsis is correct: if the instruction to delete a given domain takes place in the syntactic component, then it must have certain syntactic correlates; turning the tables, phenomena driven exclusively by PF-requirements will be shown to be bled by the application of ellipsis (see Kennedy 2003).

Finally, I briefly present the account proposed by López (2000) to license the class of ellipses based on PF-deletion (nominal ellipsis, verbal ellipsis, and sluicing). López (2000) assumes that the ellipsis site is actually a null pro-form that needs to be licensed and identified in Rizzi’s (1986) terms. This assumption goes against the empirical tests that indicate the presence of a fully articulated ellipsis site. However, a particular aspect of López’s proposal (which has been largely ignored in the literature) is of crucial importance for the understanding of ellipsis: in a nutshell, López advances the idea that the licenser of ellipsis has to have the ability to connect to a common (discourse) topic. This directly correlates with the idea that there are certain formal features which grammatically perform the connection with the discourse topic. Best suited to perform the grammatical signalling

of a discourse topic (i.e. to grammatically mark anaphora) are tense (Gergel 2009, Rouveret 2012) and definiteness (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012a). Chapters III and IV explore this possibility in detail. This perspective opens the possibility to do away with the E-feature advocated by Merchant (2001) and the authors building on his proposal (for instance, Aelbrecht 2010). At the same time, it also accounts for the recurring observation that ellipsis sites have a topic-like nature: certain authors (Johnson 2001, Authier 2012) have explicitly formulated the idea that VP-ellipsis is a form of VP-topicalization (but see Aelbrecht and Haegeman 2012 on the inaccuracy of this proposal); other authors like Elbourne (2008) have advanced the idea that ellipsis sites are, from a semantic perspective, definite descriptions.

This chapter is not a general survey of the typology of elliptical constructions occurring across languages; for the inventory of elliptical structures across languages, see McShane (2005), Winkler (2006), Merchant (2009, 2010a, 2010b), Aelbrecht (2010: ch. 1) and Reich (2011) i.a.

1. The sources for ellipsis in Universal Grammar

One of the simplest, yet true, definitions of ellipsis is the one given by Merchant (2018: 9): “in ellipsis, there is meaning without form”. Let us start fleshing out this definition and see what distinctions it can lead to.

1.1. Setting the picture

1.1.1. The first distinction entailed by this definition is the one between overt pro-forms (a class which includes pronominalization and constructions based on verbs plus pronominal or adverbial pro-forms, of the type Engl. *do so*, *do it*, Rom. *face-o* ‘do it’, etc.) and phenomena involving null or non-pronounced elements (ellipsis and null complement anaphora). Traditional wisdom stemming from Hankamer and Sag (1976), Sag and Hankamer (1984), taken up in the literature (most prominently by Depiante 2000), has distinguished between *deep anaphora* and *surface anaphora*, including anaphoric phenomena such as *do it*, *do so*¹, sentential *it*, null complement anaphora, and

¹ Hankamer and Sag (1976) include the *do so* construction in the class of surface anaphora, this being the only type of non-null surface anaphora. Depiante (2000) and Houser (2010) convincingly show that *do so* is a type of deep anaphora as well: extraction and inverse scope are not available with *do so* (e.g. **This is the boy who Mary likes and (who) Bill does so too.*) (example from Fox 1995: 307, building on Fiengo and May 1994); occurrence in antecedent-contained deletion structures is also forbidden (**Mary read every article that Ana did so*) (example from Depiante 2000: 95). Factors like stativity, aktionsart, agentivity determine the felicity of *do so* anaphora (Houser 2010) (e.g. *do so* anaphora is incompatible with stative verbs: *?Max knows French and Oscar does so too*; example from Depiante 2000: 97).

one-pronominalization in the class of deep anaphoric processes², and familiar phenomena of ellipsis (VP-deletion/ellipsis, sluicing, stripping, gapping, conjunction reduction³) in the class of surface anaphoric processes. Deep anaphoric phenomena display little evidence for internal structure; by contrast, there are syntactic diagnostics which indicate that surface anaphoric processes do indeed show signs of internal structure, and, consequently, that they come about as an effect of a deletion process. Attempts have been made to unify these two classes of phenomena, by proposing that surface anaphora involves a null elided element⁴ (see Wasow 1972, Shopen 1972, Hardt 1993, 1999, Fiengo and May 1994, Lobeck 1995, Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey 1995, Wilder 1997, Beavers and Sag 2004, Fortin 2007⁵). Syntactic diagnostics, most prominent of which is the possibility to extract elements from within the ellipsis site, have dismissed this possibility. Merchant's (2001) work on sluicing has re-established the traditional view according to which ellipsis is the effect of a deletion process affecting PF-realization: structure is present, but not pronounced.

A comment is in order here: Reich (2011) operates a distinction between *antecedent-based ellipses* and *situation-based ellipses*, including in the latter class fragments and text type ellipsis (i.e. the use of non-sententials in specific contexts, e.g. headlines, bylines, road signs, etc.). As shown by Merchant (2010b), situation-based ellipses do not behave uniformly and certain patterns display connectivity effects. Situation-based ellipses have also been given the label *non-sententials*; the study of non-sententials has emerged as an independent string of research of elliptical structures (see Progovac et. al. 2006). The problems posed by *situation-based ellipses* / *non-sententials* are beyond the goals of this study.

² To rephrase Merchant's (2018) definition given above, the correct characterization of overt deep anaphora is "more meaning than the form indicates".

³ The class of ellipses has been enriched as research in this domain progressed, with new types of elliptical phenomena being identified and properly described. Stump (1977) is the first to properly distinguish pseudogapping from gapping and VP-ellipsis. Aelbrecht (2010) identifies and describes the robust phenomenon of *modal complement ellipsis*, properly distinguished from VP-ellipsis. A recently identified elliptical phenomenon (Merchant 2002; the phenomenon had been observed by Ross 1969, but not properly delimited and analysed) is *swiping* (*sluiced wh-word inversion with prepositions in Northern Germanic*). Swiping is a variety of sluicing, which presupposes pied piping plus an inversion process which places the *wh*-element in front of the preposition. It is found Danish, Norwegian (cf. (i), taken from Merchant 2002), and some varieties of English (Richard S. Kayne, *p.c.*):

(i) a. *Per er gået i biografen, men jeg ved ikke hvem med.* (Danish)
 b. *Per gikk på kino, men jeg veit ikke hvem med.* (Norwegian)
 Per is gone/went to cinema. but I know not who with
 'Per went to the movies but I don't know who with'

⁴ The recent non-minimalist literature (Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Schlangen 2003, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, Stainton 2006) has also advanced the idea that there is no structure in the ellipsis site. See Aelbrecht (2010: 3-5) for solid arguments against this position.

⁵ There are important differences between the structural approaches that resort to null elements. See Aelbrecht (2010: ch. 1) for a very well documented, comprehensive discussion of the approaches to the content of the ellipsis site.

Let us focus on antecedent-based ellipses from this point forward.

1.1.2. A long-noted intuition has been that elliptical phenomena proper (VP-deletion/ellipsis, sluicing, stripping, gapping, conjunction reduction, etc.) roughly fall into *two distinct classes*. The first author to propose a theory that accounts for the systematic differences between the two classes of ellipsis is Chao (1988). Chao (1988) proposes that two major classes can be distinguished on the basis of the presence or absence of the major phrasal heads in the elliptical constructions:

- (1) Classification of elliptical phenomena (Chao 1988)
 - a. H~ ellipses: the relevant heads are unrealised⁶ – Gapping, Stripping
 - b. H+ ellipses: pronominal in nature⁷ – VP-ellipsis, sluicing, nominal ellipsis

The basis for Chao's (1988) classification is strictly syntactic. In this connection, it is interesting to mention that Lobeck (1995) working in a late GB framework, also places VP-ellipsis, sluicing, and nominal ellipsis in the same class; Lobeck's account is, however, a null pro-form account of these ellipses. López (2000) also operates a divide, contrasting VP-ellipsis, sluicing and nominal ellipsis with gapping, stripping, and comparative deletion. He builds on William's (1977) distinction between Sentence Grammar and Discourse Grammar, and shows that VP-ellipsis, sluicing and nominal ellipsis belong to the latter compartment, while gapping, stripping and comparative deletion are sentence grammar phenomena. Whether López's account of VP-ellipsis, sluicing, and nominal ellipsis is entirely correct or not, the important fact is that he distinguishes two classes of phenomena, both having to do with the absence of linguistic material. Reich (2011) operates a similar classification, distinguishing *constituent ellipsis* (ellipsis which fully affects a maximal constituent: VP-ellipsis, sluicing and nominal ellipsis) from *non-constituent ellipsis* (ellipsis affecting certain potentially discontinuous portions of structure, not necessarily a maximal constituent: gapping, stripping, rightward deletion, right node raising/leftward deletion).

1.1.3. While Chao's classification correctly sets apart two classes of phenomena, placing in opposition ellipsis like gapping and stripping, on the one hand, and VP-ellipsis, sluicing, and nominal ellipsis, on the other hand, research after Chao (1988) has shown that

⁶ Chao (1988: 8): "the constructions in which the relevant heads are missing, the **head-minus (H~)** class, must be syntactically interpreted; this, along with a number of other characteristic properties of H~ constructions follows as a direct consequence of the omission of their syntactic heads".

⁷ Chao (1988: 8): "in contrast, the **head plus (H+)** constructions are pronominal in nature and their distributional and interpretative properties can be argued to follow from the fact that pronominals may be interpreted either in the syntax (e.g., as bound variable) or at the discourse level".

the specific account put forward in his work is not entirely accurate. With respect to H+ ellipses, it has been shown that they are not pronominal in nature, but that they are based on the PF-deletion of a fully-fledged syntactic structure (see Lasnik 1995 for VP-ellipsis, Merchant 2001, Lasnik 2007 for sluicing, Sleeman 1996, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012a for nominal ellipsis). Let us call these ellipses *PF-deletion* ellipses.

With respect to H~ ellipses, recent work in the minimalist programme has provided a few novel accounts to deal with these ellipses. One such account is to include H~ ellipses in the class of multidominant structures. A multidominant structure is a structure in which a single node has two mothers (Citko 2011b: 118). Citko (2005, 2011a, 2011b) has introduced the notion of *Parallel Merge*, a structure building operation on which multidominant structures are based. According to Citko, the existence of a third type of Merge (alongside Internal and External Merge) is a natural consequence of basic assumptions about phrase structure and movement in recent minimalist theory. Parallel Merge combines the properties of Internal and External Merge: essentially, by Parallel Merge, a constituent (β) merges with a subpart (γ) of another constituent (α), which is the result of a previous Merge operation [i.e. $\text{Merge}(\alpha, \gamma) \rightarrow \{\alpha, \{\alpha, \gamma\}\}$]. A previous account of gapping⁸, on which Citko capitalises, is Johnson (2009), where gapping is analysed as a special instance of across-the-board movement^{9,10}. These ellipses will be referred to as *multidominant ellipses*.

If we take a step back and look at Merchant's definition which has been adopted here, there is no *a priori* way of deciding whether PF-deletion or multidominance is more 'elliptical' than the other; both mechanisms are provided by UG and yield superficially the same result: the absence of a constituent from the surface representation of clauses.

In the next subsection, I provide a series of syntactic diagnostics which show contrasts between PF-deletion ellipses and multidominant ellipses. The inventory of diagnostics is by no means exhaustive; I merely wish to point out some crucial points in which these two ways of obtaining meaning without sound contrast. Since the systematic contrast of all elliptical phenomena would take us too far afield, I have stopped only at

⁸ The idea that gapping is based on a multidominant structure is not new; it was previously put forward by authors like Goodall (1987), Muadz (1991), Moltmann (1992).

⁹ Note that neither Johnson nor Citko include pseudogapping in the class of multidominant/ATB ellipses.

¹⁰ If Citko (2011b) is correct in assuming that ATB-movement is also fed by Parallel Merge (i.e. that it is a form of multidominance), then Johnson's (2009) analysis dissolves into Citko's analysis.

comparing two analogous phenomena, gapping¹¹ and VP-ellipsis^{12,13}, each illustrating one of the types of ellipsis described above. The fact that gapping and VP-ellipsis are chosen for the purposes of comparison is motivated as they both affect the lower part of the syntactic structure: VP-ellipsis applies low in the structure, affecting the vP node (Merchant 2013); in the case of gapping, the level at which share applies may be higher (vP for Johnson 2009; according to Citko 2001, sharing has to apply as high as T)¹⁴.

1.2. Gapping vs. VP-ellipsis *or* multidominance vs. PF-deletion

1.2.1. One of the first arguments brought by Chao (1988) to support the division put forward is that H~ constructions display remarkably little variation, while the range of H+ manifestations is considerably more diverse. Relativizing it to gapping and VP-ellipsis, this observation is essentially correct. Gapping is attested in most of the familiar European and non-European languages, and it is correlated to the head parameter (recall the classical discussion in Ross 1969, who showed that the head parameter determines the directionality of gapping, *forward gapping* for SVO languages (English, Romanian), *backward gapping* for SOV languages (Japanese, Hindi), and both forward and backward gapping in languages that freely allow SVO and SOV ordering (Russian)); it is a good candidate to be a universal phenomenon as Ross (1969) suggests¹⁵. On the other hand, VP-ellipsis is subject to great cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation. First, there are languages which may have a specific set of licensors: in English, VP-ellipsis is licensed by auxiliaries, modals and the infinitive marker *to*; in Welsh, ellipsis is licensed by the auxiliary *gwneud* ‘do’ (Rouveret 2012); in Dutch and in certain Romance languages (French, Spanish, Italian), only modal verbs license ellipsis (Aelbrecht 2010, Dagnac 2010). Secondly, there are languages which display a generalized form of VP-ellipsis, dubbed VVPE, i.e. verb-

¹¹ In this connection, Merchant (2013) remarks that stripping has often been analysed as a species of gapping.

¹² There are numerous dissimilarities between the different types of ellipsis included in each class. Most have to do with the level at which deletion is licensed / the head is shared. For instance, in the class of licensed ellipses, VP-ellipsis contrasts with sluicing with respect to the availability of Voice mismatches. Thus, while sluicing fully disallows Voice mismatches, VP-ellipsis allows them in a great number of instances (Merchant 2013); however, with VP-ellipsis, Voice mismatches are not always allowed, and there are discourse factors which intervene in this respect (see Kehler 2000, Tanaka 2011).

¹³ Many of the characteristics of gapping discussed below also hold for stripping. For reasons of space, I confined myself to considering only gapping in the argumentation.

¹⁴ Endeavouring to show that stripping is not a version of VP-ellipsis, Busquets (2006: 170-172) conducts a similar comparison.

¹⁵ Pickering (2009) questions Ross’ claim and shows that Apurinã (an Arawak language spoken in the Purus River area of Brazil) does not exhibit any form of gapping. This is related by the author to the fact that it has no conjunctions (no word for *and* or *or* and no other morphosyntactic device), with juxtaposition being the sole means of linking sentences. If correct, this means that gapping is fully parasitic on coordination, a good result from the perspective of deriving it as a multidominant structure.

stranding VP-ellipsis (Martins 1994, Goldberg 2005, Santos 2009, Rouveret 2012). Thus, VP-ellipsis is systematically tied to a class of specific licensors, and does not come for free. Determining the class of licensors of verbal ellipsis in Romanian is one of the goals of this dissertation.

1.2.2. In contrast to VP-ellipsis, which presupposes the full deletion of the complement of the licensor, with the exception of the elements saved by focus marking (the focused remnants), gapping freely allows the omission of the unrealized theta-marking head, be it a verb, an adjective, a noun or a preposition/particle (Jackendoff 1971, Maling 1972, Chao 1988; examples from Chao 1988: 11-21):

- (2) *John is fond of Mary, and Bill ___ of Sue.*
- (3) *John is a lecturer in linguistics, and Mary ___ in philosophy.*
- (4) a. *John is up for the chair in linguistics, and Bill ___ for the chair in philosophy.*
 b. *John is down in the alley and Bill ___ in the basement.*

This difference between gapping and VP-ellipsis has also been captured in the literature by distinguishing *non-constituent* ellipses (gapping, stripping, rightward deletion) from *constituent* ellipses (verbal ellipsis, VP-ellipsis included, nominal ellipsis and sluicing) (Reich 2011). Notice that, with gapping, the deleted string is not a constituent (occasionally it may be); the gap is therefore discontinuous; here are a few examples from Cornilescu (1982: 63-72) illustrating this point:

- (5) a. *Max will buy flowers for his mother-in-law and Bill <> for his wife.*
<buy flowers>
 b. *Charlie went into the building at 5.30 and his wife <> an hour later.*
<went into the building>
 c. *Max was trying to begin to write a novel and Bill <> a play.*
<was trying to begin to write>

1.2.3. Gapping is subject to a strict syntactic parallelism constraint, being restricted to coordinate structures (Chao speaks of a local boundedness effect): gapping is illegitimate when the antecedent is in the main clause and the gap in an embedded clause (be it a complement, or an adjunct clause) (examples from Chao 1988: 13-15):

- (6) **John persuaded Fred [that Bill ___ Sam].*
- (7) **John liked movies long before [Bill ___ concerts].*

As Chao insists, even embedding across parallel structure does not render a gapped sentence grammatical:

- (8) **John was convinced that [everyone prefers French food], but [Bill ____ Italian].*

By contrast, VP-ellipsis is allowed to occur in exactly these contexts without being disallowed in coordination:

- (6') [*Who allegedly went to the movies?*]. *John persuaded Fred that Bill **did**.*
(7') *John liked movies long before Bill **did**.*
(8') *John was convinced that everyone prefers French food, but Bill **does not**.*

With VP-ellipsis, the antecedent – ellipsis site relation can be established even across a complex noun phrase boundary; with gapping, it cannot (Reich 2011: 1862).

- (9) *The man who [likes meat] met the woman who **doesn't**.*

Furthermore, while the position of the gap is determined by the head directionality parameter, and in languages like English the gap obligatorily follows its antecedent (Ross 1969), the VP-ellipsis site is free to precede its antecedent on condition that it is embedded within a subordinate clause (11a); put differently, VP-ellipsis observes the Backward Anaphora Constraint¹⁶ (Langacker 1966; examples from Lobeck 1999: 103); there are also borderline cases in which the ellipsis site may precede the antecedent without being embedded (11b) (from Ticio 2010: 175)¹⁷:

- (10) a. *John likes French food, and Pierre ____ Italian food.*
b. **John ____ French food, and Pierre likes Italian food.*
(11) a. *Because Mary **didn't**, Sam bought a skateboard.*
b. *Sue **didn't**, but John ate meat.*
c. **Mary **didn't** and Sam bought a skateboard.*

¹⁶ In this respect, VP-ellipsis sites have a similar behaviour to pronouns, a fact which has been taken by some authors as an indication that ellipsis sites are null pronouns.

¹⁷ Sluiced phrases can also precede their antecedent:

- (i) a. *I don't know **why**, but I hate my life.* (<http://tahiraliblog.wordpress.com/>)
b. *Pretty soon, I don't know **what**, but something is going to happen* (*Pretty soon*, Norma Jean Band)
c. *I don't know **when**, but this will come in handy someday.*
(<http://www.funnyjunk.com>)

1.2.4. In this connection, VP-ellipsis allows occurrence across utterance boundaries (12) (i.e. the antecedent is placed in a different utterance from the one containing the deleted VP), while it has been claimed that gapping does not (13) (this observation is due to Williams 1977, and has been taken over in subsequent research; cf. Lobeck 1995, 1999, Ticio 2010, etc.; examples from Williams 1977 and Ticio 2010):

- (12) a. - *Did John leave?*
 - *Yes, he **did**.*
- b. - *John caught a big fish.*
 - *Yes, but Mary didn't.*
- (13) a. - *Did Sam go to the store?*
 - **No, Bill ___ to the supermarket.*
- b. - *John likes fishes.*
 - **Yes, and Mary ___ meat.*

According to the cited authors, the situation is clear-cut in English. By contrast, Romanian seems to allow gapping across utterance boundaries:

- (14) a. - *Ion a mers la magazin?* (Rom.)
 John AUX.PERF.3SG go.PPLE at store
 'Did John go to the store?'
 - *Nu, Maria ___ la supermarket.*
 no Maria ___ at supermarket
 'No, Maria went to the supermarket.'
- (15) a. - *Lui Ion îi place peștele.*
 DAT John CL.DAT.3SG likes fish.DEF
 'John likes fish.'
 - *Da, și Mariei ___ carnea.*
 yes and Maria.DAT meat.DEF
 'Yes, and Mary likes meat.'

From my perspective, this should be taken as an indication for the richer content of the left periphery in Romanian. Assuming that discourse relations are established with the use of the left peripheral area (see especially López 2009; see also Kehler 2000, D'Alessandro 2004, Giorgi 2010 for similar ideas), the richer content of the left periphery in Romanian allows the two successive lines of a discourse fragment to be coordinated. A deeper discussion should be the object of further research.

At the same time, the infelicitous gapping cases in (16) become acceptable if an auxiliary is lexicalised; pseudogapping thus takes precedence over gapping (Alexandra Cornilescu, *p.c.*):

- (16) a. - *Did Sam go to the store?*
- *No, Bill did __ to the supermarket.*
b. - *John likes fishes.*
- *Yes, and Mary does __ meat.*

1.2.5. In an extended study devoted to the analysis of the coherence relations holding between the antecedent and the ellipsis site, Kehler (2000) identifies a property of gapping that sets it apart from VP-ellipsis. Kehler (2000) develops a Neo-Humian theory of coherence relations that may hold between utterances; according to him, three primary coherence relations may be established across utterances: CAUSE-EFFECT, RESEMBLANCE, CONTIGUITY, each comprising a series of subtypes¹⁸. Thus, in contrast to VP-ellipsis, which is allowed to occur with all types of relations, gapping is acceptable only in the discourse context favouring the Parallel reading (a RESEMBLE relation). Kehler (2000) starts from Levin and Prince's (1986) empirical observation that sentences like the ones below have an *asymmetric* and a *symmetric* reading:

- (17) a. *Sue became upset and Nam became downright angry.*
b. *Al cleaned up the bathroom and Joe cleaned the mess.*

In the symmetric reading, the two events are interpreted as independent from one another, this indicating a Parallel relation between them; in the asymmetric reading, the events are interpreted as being causally related: for (18a), *Nam became very angry* because *Sue became upset*. The gapped counterparts of the sentences in (18) allow only the symmetric reading as a possible interpretation:

- (18) a. *Sue became upset and Nam __ downright angry.*
b. *Al cleaned up the bathroom and Joe __ the mess.*

Disjunctive conjunctions like *but* are ambiguous between signalling a CAUSE-EFFECT relation (i.e. the *violated expectation/denial of expectation* reading) and a RESEMBLANCE relation (i.e. the *contrast* reading). As shown by the gapping-containing sentence below, gapping only allows the reading of *but* which signals *contrast*

¹⁸ CAUSE-EFFECT: *result; explanation; violated expectation; denial of preventer*; RESEMBLANCE: *parallel; contrast*; CONTIGUITY RELATIONS: (only) *narration*.

(RESEMBLANCE), disallowing the *violated expectation* reading (CAUSE-EFFECT); this is overtly shown by the illegitimacy of the phrase *yet surprisingly*, which exclusively signals *violated expectation* (example from Kehler 2000: 565):

- (19) *John voted for Clinton but (*yet surprisingly) Tom ___ for Bush.*

As will be apparent in the conclusions to this section, the level up to which sharing takes place also determines the discourse behaviour of gapping in contrast to VP-ellipsis.

1.2.6. Another salient property that distinguishes VP-ellipsis from gapping is that voice mismatches are disallowed in gapping (as well as in stripping), while they are allowed in VP-ellipsis (Merchant 2013; examples from Merchant 2013), on condition that they observe certain coherence restrictions (Kehler 2000).

- (20) a. **Some bring roses and lilies by ___ others. <are brought>*
 b. **Lilies are brought by some and others ___ roses. <bring>*

As Merchant (2013: 83-84) correctly observes, in order to show that ungrammaticality is not due to a discourse effect, it is necessary to contrast the infelicitous sentences with their fully uttered counterparts:

- (21) a. *Some bring roses and lilies are brought by others.*
 b. *Lilies are brought by some and others bring roses.*

As the grammatical well-formedness and discourse felicity of the full counterparts show, the ungrammaticality of the gapped sentences is due to grammatical factors.

By contrast, VP-ellipsis freely allows voice mismatches:

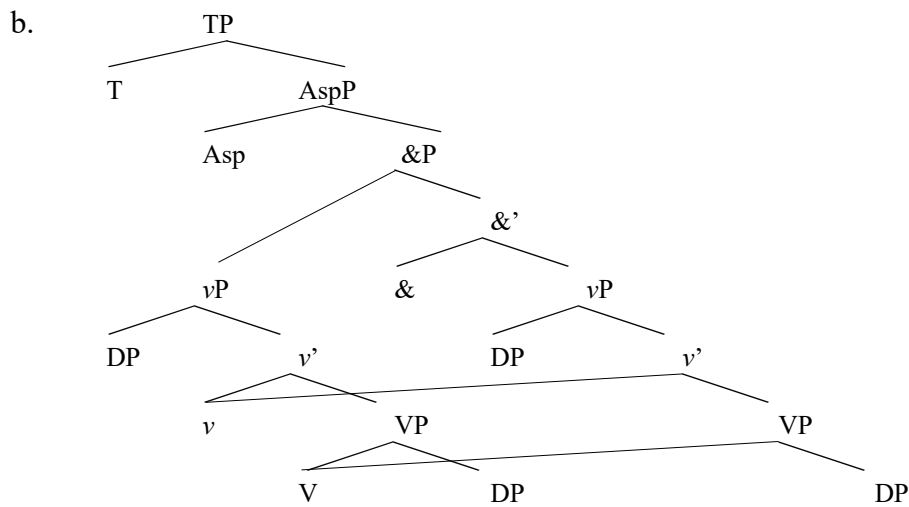
- (22) a. *The janitor must remove the trash whenever it is apparent that it should be. <removed>*
 b. *The system can be used by anyone who wants to. <use it>*

To conclude, VP-ellipsis and gapping systematically contrast in that VP-ellipsis is felicitous with Voice switch, while gapping is not.

1.2.7. In conclusion, the interpretative and distributional disparities between gapping and VP-ellipsis indicate that we are dealing with two distinct phenomena which are triggered by different mechanisms: according to the most recent literature, the structure underlying gapping is a multidominant structure, by which a head is shared by two different

portions of structure. The strict syntactic parallelism displayed by sentences featuring gapping reinforces this conclusion: in order for sharing to take place, locality/closeness is crucial. The derivation that Citko (2011a) proposes for an example like (23a) below is (23b). The basic idea in her argumentation is that the gapped portion is shared between the two conjuncts. Note that *v* and *V* are shared via multidominance, whereas *T* and *Asp* are common to both predications. The fact that *v* is shared accounts for the general ban on voice mismatches in gapping. The fact that the higher part of the structure (the portion above &P) is common to both the full and the gapped part of the sentence (in the canonical case) accounts for the interpretative puzzle signalled by Kehler (2000) viz. symmetric and asymmetric readings: an asymmetric reading is due to a divergent temporal and aspectual specification; by contrast, a symmetric reading (the only one compatible with gapped sentences) implies sameness of temporal and aspectual specification, which in (23b) is obtained.

(23) a. *Jan eats rice and Maria beans.*



For other characteristics of gapping that follow from taking a derivation like (23b) as essentially underlying the derivation of gapped sentences, see Citko (2011a: 77-92)¹⁹.

1.3. Summary

The conclusion to be drawn from this section is that gapping is derived by a different mechanism made available by UG: multidominance. This dissertation is devoted

¹⁹ For a general description of gapping in Romanian, see Bîlbîie (2011/2018).

to the exploration of the other mechanism of obtaining elliptical structures provided by UG, namely PF-deletion, and as such I will concentrate on this mechanism, resorting to comparisons with ellipses obtained via multidominance only when this proves relevant.

2. The PF-deletion approach to ellipsis

In the minimalist approach to linguistic theory (Chomsky 1995 and ssq.), the first comprehensive work that has properly restored the deletion approach (Ross 1967) to ellipsis phenomena is Merchant (2001). Up until then, Lobeck's (1995) work, which approaches ellipsis from an empty category/null pro-form perspective, was the most influential model deriving familiar phenomena like VP-ellipsis, nominal ellipsis, and sluicing²⁰. Chomsky (1995) also argues for a PF-deletion treatment of ellipsis: "[ellipsis] reduces to deletion of phonetically marked material by a general principle" (Chomsky 1995: 126).

In this section, I will briefly bring into discussion the arguments that favour the PF-deletion approach to ellipsis.

A terminological clarification is in order here: from here on, I will be employing the terms *verbal ellipsis* to denote the deletion phenomenon licensed by a verbal element, and *nominal ellipsis* to indicate that a nominal licenser is responsible for deletion. This choice is determined by the following fact: while for English, agreement has not been reached yet with respect to what exactly gets deleted in the phenomenon traditionally called VP-ellipsis (Rouveret 2012 claims that it is indeed a VP that gets deleted, while Baltin 2012 and Merchant 2013 argue the *v* is the target of deletion), for other languages, the target of deletion is clearer. For instance, Aelbrecht (2010) demonstrates that Dutch modal complement ellipsis features a TP undergoing deletion. For Romanian, as will be shown in §IV, the target of deletion may be a CP, since the complement of modal, aspectual, and volitional verbs is unquestionably a subjunctive CP. Thus, the size of the ellipsis domain seems to be subject to cross-linguistic variation and depends on the complement of the licensing head. Thus, the term *verbal ellipsis* seems reasonable to use from this perspective, since it does not impose a size requirement on the ellipsis site as it refers to the licenser rather than to the licensed constituent. The term *nominal ellipsis* (in contrast to NP-ellipsis, N'-ellipsis, NumP-ellipsis, etc. terms used in the literature) is employed by parity of reasoning.

²⁰ Note that Lobeck (1995) also properly separates VP-ellipsis, nominal ellipsis and sluicing from gapping and stripping.

2.1. Semantics or syntax?

Merchant (2001) claims that ellipsis is semantically conditioned. While it is true that semantics is crucial in determining the Parallelism Relation between the ellipsis site and its antecedent, it is equally true that morphosyntax plays the crucial role in ellipsis licensing. The morphosyntactic aspect of ellipsis licensing, well-defended in the work of Lobeck (1995), is downplayed in Merchant (2001) because of the fact that he chooses sluicing to illustrate his ideas: *wh*-phrases, which are robust licensors of ellipsis across languages, obscure syntactic variation.

By contrast, if we take a cursory glance at verbal and nominal ellipsis, we observe that there is a great deal of cross-linguistic and intra-language variation, an empirical fact that prompts the following question: what makes an element a good licensor of ellipsis? If an auxiliary is able to license the deletion of its complement in a given language (say English), but does not have the capacity to fulfil the same function in a different language (say Romanian or French), the natural expectation is that morphosyntax comes into play at this point, acting upon the instruction to delete / pronounce a given portion of material. For convenience, call this approach the “syntactically determined PF-deletion” approach to ellipsis.

Different authors (Kennedy 2003, Baltin 2012, Rouveret 2012) have pursued this path of research following Merchant (2001). The essential idea is formulated by Rouveret (2012) in his characterization of VP-ellipsis:

- (24) VPE is the PF-deletion of the complement of a *v* head, marked for potential deletion in the syntax, at the completion of the *v*P phase.

(Rouveret 2012: 959)

Note from Rouveret’s quote that the marking of a domain for deletion takes place in the syntax. As further showed by Rouveret, the proper characterization of the licensor is crucial: this is what accounts for variation, i.e. for the fact that certain verbs or classes of verbs have the ability to delete their complement, while others do not.

In the same vein, Gergel (2009), also advocating a syntactically determined PF-deletion procedure, comments that “the PF-component needs to receive clear commands from syntactically appropriate licensors and under appropriate semantics-pragmatics interface conditions” (Gergel 2009: 209).

In the analysis of nominal ellipsis, Cornilescu and Nicolae (2010, 2012a) put forth the idea that the site of nominal ellipsis is always a definite description (building on a semantic argument developed by Elbourne 2008). In other words, it is the presence of the definite article within the ellipsis site which, in interaction with independent syntactic

features of the DP and obeying a parallelism requirement, yields deletion. In earlier work, Sleeman (1996) proposes partitivity as the formal licenser of deletion.

I will take as a working hypothesis the idea that a certain domain is marked for deletion in the syntax by an appropriate licenser. In §II.4 below and especially in the chapter devoted to nominal ellipsis (§III), it will be shown that there are disparities between the elided structures and their overt counterparts: this indicates that the appropriate licensing of ellipsis has narrow syntactic implications; appropriate marking has to happen in the syntax.

Let us next turn to review a few of the strongest arguments that have been put forth to argue that the ellipsis site is indeed a fully structured piece. These diagnostics have been drawn from the relevant literature.

2.2. Full structure in the ellipsis site

2.2.1. Extraction

The strongest diagnostic indicating that there is structure within the ellipsis site is extraction. If extraction is possible, then there is enough structure within the ellipsis site to host the trace / copy of the moved element. English VP-ellipsis (25), Romanian verbal ellipsis (26), sluicing (27), etc. display extraction from the ellipsis site:

- (25) *I know which book Mary read, and Peter knows **which book** Sally did read* $t_{\text{which book}}$.
- (26) *Știu ce articol pot să scriu*
 know.IND.PRES.1SG what article can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ write.SUBJ.1SG
eu și ce recenzie poți tu să scrii $t_{\text{ce recenzie}}$
 I and what review can.IND.PRES.2SG you SĂ write.SUBJ.2SG
- (27) *Am vorbit cu cineva, dar nu știu*
 AUX.PERF.1SG speak.PPLE with someone but not know.IND.PRES.1SG
cu cine am vorbit $t_{\text{cu cine}}$
 with whom AUX.PERF.1SG speak.PPLE
 ‘I spoke to someone, but I don’t know to whom.’

In other languages, the extraction possibilities from the ellipsis site are more limited; this is the case of Dutch, which allows subject, but not object extraction out of the ellipsis site (Aelbrecht 2010: 15):

- (28) a. *Die broek mag gewassen worden,* (Dutch)
 those pants may washed become

- maar hij moet niet [gewassen worden t_{hij}]*
 but he must not washed become
 ‘Those pants can be washed, but they don’t have to be.’
- b. *?* Ik weet niet wie Thomas moet uitnodingen, maar ik weet*
 I know not who Thomas must invite, but I know
wel wie hij niet mag [uitnodigen t_{wie}]
 PRT who he not is.allowed invite
 (i.m.) ‘I don’t know who Thomas has to invite, but I do know who he isn’t allowed to.’

In §IV, devoted to the analysis of verbal ellipsis in Romanian, I will suggest a solution to this extraction puzzle that distinguishes Dutch modal ellipsis from Romanian modal ellipsis, and show that it all boils down to the size of the ellipsis site, without making other stipulations.

As shown by Merchant (2010a), all types of extraction from the ellipsis site are attested: A-extraction (29), A’-extraction (30) and head-extraction (see below).

- (29) a. *M-a întrebat ceva,*
 CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG ask.PPLE something
dar nu știu ce. (Rom.)
 but not know.IND.PRES.1SG what
 ‘He asked me something, but I don’t know what.’
- b. *Cineva a venit, dar nu știu cine.*
 someone AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE but not know.IND.PRES.1SG who
 ‘Someone came, but I don’t know who.’
- (30) a. *A venit cu cineva, dar nu*
 AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE with someone but not
știu cu cine. (Rom.)
 know.IND.PRES.1SG with whom
 ‘He came with someone, but I don’t know with whom.’
- b. *A fost aici, dar nu știu când.*
 AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE here but not know.IND.PRES.1SG when
 ‘He was here, but I don’t know when.’

A-bar extraction is also visible with object topicalization:

- (31) *Hazelnuts, I like; **peanuts** I don’t.*
- (32) *Alune mănânc; arahide nu pot,*
 hazelnuts eat.IND.PRES.1SG peanuts not can.IND.PRES.1SG

(*pentru că îmi fac rău*). (Rom.)
 for that CL.DAT.1SG make.IND.PRES.3PL bad
 ‘Hazelnuts, I eat; peanuts, I can’t (because they make me feel sick).’

A-bar extraction is systematically excluded with pro-forms (e.g. British English *do*, cf. Baltin 2013, Romanian *do it*, etc.):

(31’) **Hazelnuts, I like; peanuts I don’t do.*

(32’) **Alune am mâncat; arahide*
 hazelnuts AUX.PERF.1SG eat.PPLE peanuts
n-am făcut-o
 not=AUX.PERF.1SG done=CL.ACC.F.3SG

(*pentru că îmi fac rău*). (Rom.)
 for that CL.DAT.1SG make.IND.PRES.3PL bad
 i.m. ‘*Hazelnuts I ate; peanuts I didn’t do it (because they make me feel sick).’

Head-extraction is available in verb-stranding VP-ellipsis (VVPE) (a type of ellipsis displayed by certain languages like Hebrew, Finnish, European and Brazilian Portuguese²¹, Irish, and Welsh) (see Goldberg 2005, Santos 2009, Rouveret 2012), by which the raising of the verb is followed by the full deletion of its domain; example (33) is an instance of VVPE from European Portuguese, in which the main verb that has raised from the ellipsis site licenses deletion (example from Santos 2009: 1):

- (33) Speaker A: *A Eva deu o livro à tia de manhã.* (EPtg.)
 the Eva gave the book to+the aunt PREP morning
 ‘Eva gave the book to her aunt in the morning’
 Speaker B: *Mas a Ana não deu < >.*
 but the Ana not gave
 ‘But Ana didn’t’
 < > = *o livro à tia de manhã.*
 the book to+the aunt PREP morning

As remarked by Baltin (2012), ellipsis sites systematically contrast with overt pro-forms: the ellipsis site has to have enough structure to house the extracted constituents:

²¹ Cyrino and Matos (2002) observe that the cut-off point of deletion is different in European and Brazilian Portuguese VP-ellipsis; thus, although both languages have the VP-ellipsis option, this manifests itself differently.

- (34) *Although I don't know who John will visit, I do know who Fred **will** visit* t_{who}
 (35) **Although I don't know who John will visit, I do know who Fred **will do it**.*

2.2.2. Connectivity effects

There are two types of connectivity effects that indicate the presence of fully-structured material in the ellipsis site: case-connectivity effects and preposition connectivity effects. Obviously, these two superficially different effects point exactly to the same thing: that the remnant is dependent on the ellipsis site for appropriate grammatical marking. Here are a few examples featuring Romanian verbal ellipsis licensed by the Romanian volitional verb *vrea* 'want':

- (36) *Știu* *cui* *vrei* *să-i*
 know.IND.PRES.1SG who.DAT want.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ=CL.DAT.3SG
dai *cadouri* *și* *cui* *nu* *vrei*
 give.SUBJ.2SG gifts and who.DAT not want.IND.PRES.2SG
 <*să-i* *dai* *cadouri* t_{cui} >.
 SĂ=CL.DAT.3SG give.SUBJ.2SG gifts
 'I know to whom you want to give gifts, and to whom you don't want to.'
- (37) *Știu* *pe* *cine* *vrei* *să*
 know.IND.PRES.1SG DOM who.ACC want.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ
invit *la petrecere* *și* *pe* *cine* *nu*
 invite.SUBJ.1SG at party and DOM who.ACC not
vrei *la petrecere* *la petrecere* $t_{pe\ cine}$ >.
 want.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ invite.SUBJ.1SG at party
 'I know who you want me to invite at the party, and who you don't want me to.'
- (38) *Știu* *contra* *cui* *vrei* *să* *votezi*.
 know.IND.PRES.1SG against who.ACC want.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ vote.SUBJ.2SG
și *contra* *cui* *nu* *vrei* *să* *votezi* $t_{contra\ cui}$ >.
 and against who.ACC not want.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ vote.SUBJ.2SG
 'I know against whom you want to vote and against whom you don't want to.'

The verb *vrea* can also be used without the associate subjunctive CP. In this case, it is a transitive verb, with a subject and a direct object. One might remotely account for (37) by assuming that *pe cine* ('whom') is the direct object of *vrea* (in any case, semantically, it is interpreted as the argument of *invite*, not *want*). However, an assumption of this type cannot carry over to (36) and (38): *vrea* is directly incompatible with a dative argument and with a prepositional phase headed by *contra* 'against'. Thus, ellipsis is at play.

The most impressive connectivity effects come from sluicing. By surveying an impressive number of languages, Merchant (2001) has identified two *form-identity* generalizations that hold cross-linguistically:

- (39) *Form-identity generalization I: Case-matching*
The sluiced *wh*-phrase must bear the case that its correlate bears.
- (40) *Form-identity generalization II: Preposition-Stranding*
A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff L allows preposition stranding under regular *wh*-movement.

Both these generalizations are connectivity effects which show the dependency of the remnant on the constraints imposed inside the non-pronounced domain. For the empirical data supporting these generalizations, see Merchant (2001: 86-158).

2.2.3. Antecedent-contained deletion

Antecedent-contained deletion has been taken as a diagnostic to indicate the presence of structured material within the ellipsis site (see Depiante 2000, Merchant 2000, Aelbrecht 2010). Simply put, similarly to overt pro-forms (41), null pro-forms (42) do not allow antecedent-contained deletion:

- (41) **Waldo saw [a picture of it]_i.* (Aelbrecht 2010: 6)
- (42) a. **I always eat what he volunteers.* (Depiante 2000: 59)
- b. **I refuse to do what he refuses.*

By contrast, ellipsis allows for the occurrence of antecedent-contained deletion:

- (43) *I always eat anything that he does.* (Depiante 2000: 59)
- Christina read every book that Hilary did.* (Aelbrecht 2010: 6)

Antecedent-contained deletion structures have been derived by movement out of the relative clause (of an abstract operator or the relative pronoun, Chomsky 1977, 1981, or of the head of the relative clause itself, Kayne 1994; see Aelbrecht 2010: 137)²². In a nutshell, the ellipsis site has to have enough structure to host the trace/copy of the moved element. Antecedent-contained deletion can be therefore taken as a relevant diagnostic to decide whether an anaphoric site has internal structure.

²² See also Merchant (2000) for an up-to-date analysis of antecedent-contained deletion.

2.2.4. Unreliable diagnostics (Merchant 2010)

Sloppy readings. One diagnostic sometimes put forward to distinguish between surface anaphoric forms (i.e. sites with internal representation) and deep anaphoric forms (i.e. overt or null pro-forms) is related to the availability of sloppy readings with surface anaphora (in opposition to their non-availability with deep anaphora). Following Bach et. al (1974), Hoji (1998) and Lasnik (1997), Depiante (2000) shows that this is not a reliable diagnostic, as sloppy readings may arise even with overt pro-forms. Consider the following example taken from Depiante (2000: 66):

- (44) *Harry found a place to park his car before Mary could find one.*

Obviously, in this example, it is clear that the DP for which *one* stands refers to *Mary's car* (not *Harry's*).

Adams and Satoshi (2012) also bring into discussion the famous “pay-check pronoun” argument (see Jacobson 2000) to argue that the availability of sloppy readings cannot be taken as evidence for one or another analysis:

- (45) *The woman_i who_i deposited her_i paycheck in the bank is wiser than the woman_j who_j deposited **it** in the Brown University's Employees' Credit Union.*
(Jacobson 2000: 87)

The example in (45) shows that, as seen for *one* above, the pronoun *it* can also have a sloppy reference.

To conclude, the availability of sloppy readings is not a reliable criterion for identifying a surface anaphoric form²³.

Missing antecedents. The missing antecedents diagnostic was initially put forth with a certain amount of reservation by Bresnan (1971) to distinguish between sentences like:

- (46) a. *My uncle didn't buy anything for Christmas, but my aunt did, and **it** was bright red.*

²³ In this connection, Hoji's (1998: 149) concluding comments on sloppy readings emerge as relevant: “the phenomenon of sloppy identity in VPE contexts is murkier than is widely assumed (also see Hardt 1993). Indeed, Fiengo and May (1994: 109), proposing their Dependency Theory, conclude that «the conditions on bound variable anaphora are not coextensive with those on sloppy identity», inspiring much subsequent discussion”.

- b. *My uncle didn't buy anything for Christmas, but my aunt did it for him, and it was bright red.

Example (46a) is a case of VP-ellipsis, while (46b) is a *do it* pro-form. The grammaticality contrast between (46a) and (46b) would be due to the fact that (46a) possesses internal structure and is able to host an antecedent for the underlined pronoun, while (46b) is an anaphor without internal structure, and, as such, an antecedent for it is not available.

Merchant (2010a) brings to attention Hardt's (1993) observation that the VP anaphor *do so* allows for the inference of a missing antecedent although it is not based on deletion:

- (47) *Jerry wouldn't read a book by Babel, but Meryl has done so and it was pretty good.*

In Romanian, the connection with a suitable antecedent can also be established across a *do it* anaphor, just as in (47) above:

- (48) *Maria n-a tăiat carnea cu un cuțit.*
 Maria not=AUX.PERF.3SG cut.PPLE meat.DEF with a knife
Ioana a făcut-o și era ruginit.
 Ioana AUX.PERF.3SG do.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG and (it)was rusty
 '(lit.) Maria did not cut the meat with a knife. Ioana did it and it was rusty.'
- (49) *N-am vrut niciodată să călăresc*
 not=AUX.PERF.1SG want.PPLE never SĂ ride.SUBJ.1SG
o cămilă, dar am făcut-o
 a camel but AUX.PERF.1SG do.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG
și mirosea oribil.
 and stink.IMPERF.3SG horribly
 '(lit) I never wanted to ride a camel, but I did it and it stank horribly.'

These are in contrast to the following English examples, featuring the same *do it* pro-form (examples from Depiante 2000), but which are considered infelicitous, despite their similarity with examples like (47):

- (50) *Mary didn't cut the meat with a knife; Sally **did it** and **it** was rusty.

This behaviour also extends to NCA verbs, whose complement is also argued not to display internal structure:

- (51) **John didn't want to give up his seat, so Peter volunteered $\emptyset$ because **it** was too narrow for him anyway.*

I conclude, with Merchant (2010a), that missing antecedents are not reliable diagnostics for assessing whether we are dealing with PF-deletion or a different type of (overt or null) anaphora. Grammaticality judgements appear to be insecure. The following remark from Cyrino and Matos (2006: 99) indicates that they too have arrived at the same conclusion: “the missing antecedent criterion is a rather delicate test, which often produces non-consensual judgements among speakers”.

Non-linguistic antecedents. One other diagnostic taken by certain authors (e.g. Hankamer and Sag 1976, Depiante 2000) to distinguish between deep and surface anaphora is the availability of non-linguistic antecedents, i.e. that deep anaphora may be exophoric. According to Hankamer and Sag (1976: 392), the *do it* pro-form may be more readily pragmatically controlled (53), while VP-ellipsis must be syntactically controlled (52) (examples from Hankamer and Sag, 1976: 392):

[Hankamer attempts to stuff a 9-inch ball through a 6-inch hoop]

- (52) Sag: *#It's not clear that you'll be able to.*
(53) Sag: *It's not clear that you'll be able to do it.*

The utterance of a linguistic antecedent in full renders (52) acceptable:

- (54) Hankamer: *I'm going to stuff this ball through this hoop.*
Sag: *It's not clear that you'll be able to.*

Depiante (2000) extends this diagnostic to null complement anaphora, also a deep (but null) anaphor, and takes the acceptability of null complement anaphora in the absence of a linguistic context to be indicative of its deep anaphoric nature (this testifying to its lack of internal structure) (from Depiante 2000:9):

- (55) [Hankamer attempts to stuff a 9-inch ball through a 6-inch hoop]
Sag: *It's not clear you'll succeed $\emptyset$.*

However, this diagnostic has been criticized since the late seventies, i.e. immediately after it was proposed (Hankamer and Sag 1976 themselves bring counterevidence) by authors like Williams (1977), Schachter (1977), and later by Chao (1988). Schachter (1977) brings into discussion a series of VP-ellipses that can be, in the

appropriate context, uttered without a linguistic antecedent: *You mustn't! I really shouldn't!* etc. Pullum (2000) returns to this issue, and shows that there are only about a dozen frozen phrases (i.e. idioms) that can be used without a linguistic antecedent, concluding that this diagnostic is valid. Finally, Merchant (2010a) insists that the conditions under which ellipses can be used without a linguistic antecedent are poorly understood.

In connection to this, Kehler (2000) and Reich (2011) bring into discussion cases in which a VP-ellipsis site can take its denotation from a nominal antecedent (examples from Kehler 2000: 548, Reich 2011: 1862):

- (56) *Meanwhile, they sense a drop in visitors to the city. Those who **do** < >, they say, are not taking cabs. <visit the city>*
- (57) *This letter deserves a response, but before you **do** < > [...]. <respond>*
- (58) *Today there is little OFFICIAL harassment of lesbians and gays by the national government, although autonomous governments **might** < >. <harass lesbians and gays>*

To conclude, the conditions under which an ellipsis site acquires its denotation are still poorly understood. A *common-topic* approach like the one advocated by López (2000) is able to account for such borderline cases in which reference is picked up from the context or from a non-isomorphic linguistic antecedent.

3. The nature of the parallelism relation holding between the antecedent and the ellipsis site

This section reviews the main recent approaches to the parallelism/identity/isomorphism condition on ellipsis. The findings of this section contrast with those of the following one, which shows that parallelism/identity/isomorphism can sometimes be overridden under ellipsis.

3.1. Lexical parallelism

3.1.1. The *Lexical Identity* condition

Ellipsis is subject to a lexical identity condition, which, in current minimalism, can be conceived of as a condition on the numerations of the antecedent and of the ellipsis site (cf. Chung 2005; Rouveret 2012). Rouveret (2012) formulates this requirement for VP-ellipsis as follows:

- (59) Lexical Identity Condition (Rouveret 2012: 930)
Every lexical item in the numeration of the elided VP must be identical to an item in the numeration of the antecedent VP.

Rouveret adapts Chung's (2005) proposal for sluicing; since, as claimed above, nominal ellipsis forms a natural class with sluicing and verbal ellipsis, it can be assumed that a variant of this condition holds for all types of PF-deletion ellipses, modulo the elided category. Rouveret insists that this lexical identity condition should not concern affixes and other elements of inflection. He further couples this condition with the Principle of Recoverability (see (80) below), which is an exclusively grammatical requirement.

Hendriks and Spenader (2005) revamp an old argument brought by Zwicky and Sadock (1975) to distinguish ambiguity from vagueness, and show that ellipsis removes ambiguity. The felicity contrast between the sentences below can also be taken to enforce the lexical identity condition holding in ellipsis:

- (60) a. *Bill waved and the flag waved too.*
b. *??Bill waved and the flag did too.*

The infelicity of (60b) is due to the fact that the ellipsis site cannot have a different interpretation from the source clause – despite being related, in each occurrence the sense of *wave* is different ('greeting' and 'moving in the wind'). Lexical identity is thus enforced.

Additional evidence for the claim that lexical identity is indeed relevant comes from the *diathesis alternations*.

3.1.2. Diathesis alternations

Merchant (2013) establishes an interesting difference between Voice and Diathesis. Thus, while voice alternations are given by the presence of distinct specifications on the same functional head (see below), *diathesis alternations* entail the presence of distinct heads in the Numeration. The label *diathesis alternations* includes argument structure alternations like, on the one hand, subject/non-subject alternations such as the transitive/anticausative alternation (61) and the transitive/middle alternation (62), and, on the other hand, internal argument alternations, such as the ditransitive alternation (63) and the oblique alternation (with verbs such as *embroider*, *issue*, and *provide*) (64):

- (61) a. *The sun melted the ice-cream.*
b. *The ice-cream melted.*
(62) a. *They sell vegetables well in the market.*

- b. *Vegetables sell well in the market.*
- (63) a. *They gave the boy a book.*
 b. *They gave a book to the boy.*
- (64) a. *They embroidered something with peace signs.* (Merchant 2013: 99)
 b. *They embroidered peace signs on something.*

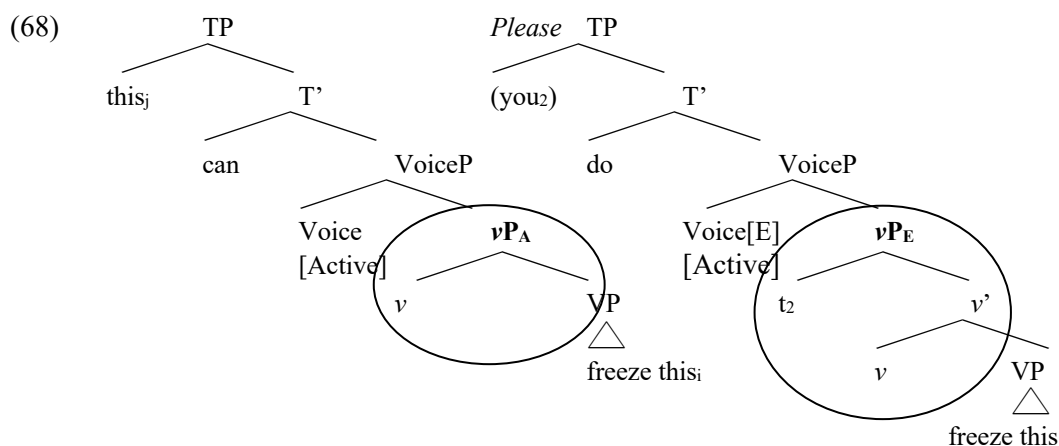
The correlations established by Merchant (2013) work both ways: on the one hand, it is shown that parallelism is sensitive to syntactic structure, and, on the other hand, that diathesis alternations genuinely reflect the presence of distinct heads in the numeration. As has been known at least since Hale and Keyser (1993), distinct types of lexical heads project different lexical VPs. Expectedly, ellipsis cannot work on non-parallel syntactic structures.

The following data drawn from Merchant (2013) confirm that diathesis alternations are fully excluded under ellipsis. Consider the transitive/anticausative alternation ((65)-(66)) and the transitive/middle alternation (67) and their behaviour with respect to VP-ellipsis.

- (65) a. *This can freeze. Please freeze this.*
 b. *This can freeze. *Please do.*
- (66) a. *Bill melted the copper vase. The magnesium vase melted too.*
 b. **Bill melted the copper vase, and the magnesium vase did too.*
- (67) a. *They market ethanol well in the Midwest. Ethanol markets well in the Midwest.*
 b. **They market ethanol well in the Midwest, but regular gas doesn't.*
**Ethanol markets well in the Midwest, but they don't in the South.*

As obvious from the examples in (b), ellipsis is illegitimate. Merchant accounts for this by assuming that the crucial element consists in separating the head that determines Voice from the head that determines these argument structure alternations (he also insists that there is no conceptual reason why these two should go together) (see also the next subsection). Thus, if the portion undergoing deletion is indeed below Voice, then the infelicity of the examples in (b) has to be due to the presence of distinct heads below Voice. This is indeed the case: if we look at (61), we observe that (61a) is a transitive configuration, with a transitive *v* (note the presence of the specifier with this variety of *v*), while (61b) is an unaccusative configuration, with an unaccusative *v*. In Merchant's account (p. 97), the representations for (65b) are the ones in (68); obviously, the portion targeted by deletion is not identical, the offending difference being placed below the cut-off point of deletion.

- (65b) *This can freeze. *Please do.*



As Merchant (2013: 99) shows, this behaviour carries over to the other set of argument structure alternations²⁴.

From these sets of data, Merchant (2013) correctly concludes that ellipsis identity/parallelism is calculated *across syntactic structure*. If a certain grammatical specification is outside the domain targeted by deletion, alternations are preserved; if, by contrast, the projection responsible for the alternation is within the intended ellipsis site, then alternations are illegitimate. Furthermore, the unavailability of this type of alternations is further proof of the lexical identity condition holding between the antecedent and the ellipsis site: diathesis alternations come about as the effect of the presence of different light heads in the numeration.

3.2. Syntactic parallelism: apparent mismatches

Researchers have identified two main types of syntactic parallelism relations holding between the antecedent and the ellipsis site. The first type of syntactic parallelism is determined by the height of the ellipsis site: if the relation between the antecedent and the ellipsis site includes a certain node, then the specification of the respective node has to be similar for the antecedent and for the elided site. This type of parallelism has been investigated in detail by Merchant (2013), from which the facts presented in the first subsection are drawn. The second type of parallelism has been of utmost importance ever since Lasnik's (1995) seminal paper on verbal morphology (see Postdam 1997 and Rouveret 2012). Rouveret (2012) develops and motivates a theory of morphemic transparency, which accounts for the blocking of certain patterns of VP-ellipsis.

²⁴ See Merchant (2013: 99) for examples.

3.2.1. Syntactic Parallelism (1): can there be any mismatches?

Merchant (2013) starts by distinguishing *high* (big) and *low* (little) ellipses, depending on the portion of structure that undergoes deletion. Sluicing is usually classified as *high* ellipsis, since deletion affects a TP, while VP-ellipsis is classified as *low* ellipsis, since a smaller portion of structure gets deleted (vP, according to Merchant 2013, but see above for different opinions). With sluicing, voice mismatch is completely forbidden (69), while with VP-ellipsis (70), both active-passive (70a) and passive-active mismatches (70b) are well-formed (English examples from Merchant 2013)²⁵:

- (69) a. **Joe was murdered, but we don't know who.* <murdered Joe>
 b. **Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know who by.* <Joe was murdered>
- (70) a. *The janitor must remove the trash whenever it is apparent that it should be.* <removed>
 b. *The system can be used by anyone who wants to.* <use it>

Merchant derives this contrast by assuming that, with sluicing, the head responsible for voice alternations is comprised within the ellipsis site, and, as such, it is relevant for calculating parallelism/identity, while in the case of VP-ellipsis, this head lies outside the ellipsis site. Merchant assumes a form of Collins' (2005) smuggling account of the passive and postulates a Voice head above vP; the Voice head is different from the head that determines the transitivity (or unaccusativity, etc.) of the VP and introduces the external argument (in transitive configurations)²⁶ (see also Kratzer 1996 on this point). The different values of the Voice head (interpretable in Voice⁰) establish Agree with an (uninterpretable) Voice feature present in the verbal cluster and determine the voice specification of a predicate²⁷. With respect to the licensing of ellipsis, Merchant assumes his E-feature, which determines the deletion of the complement of the head bearing it.

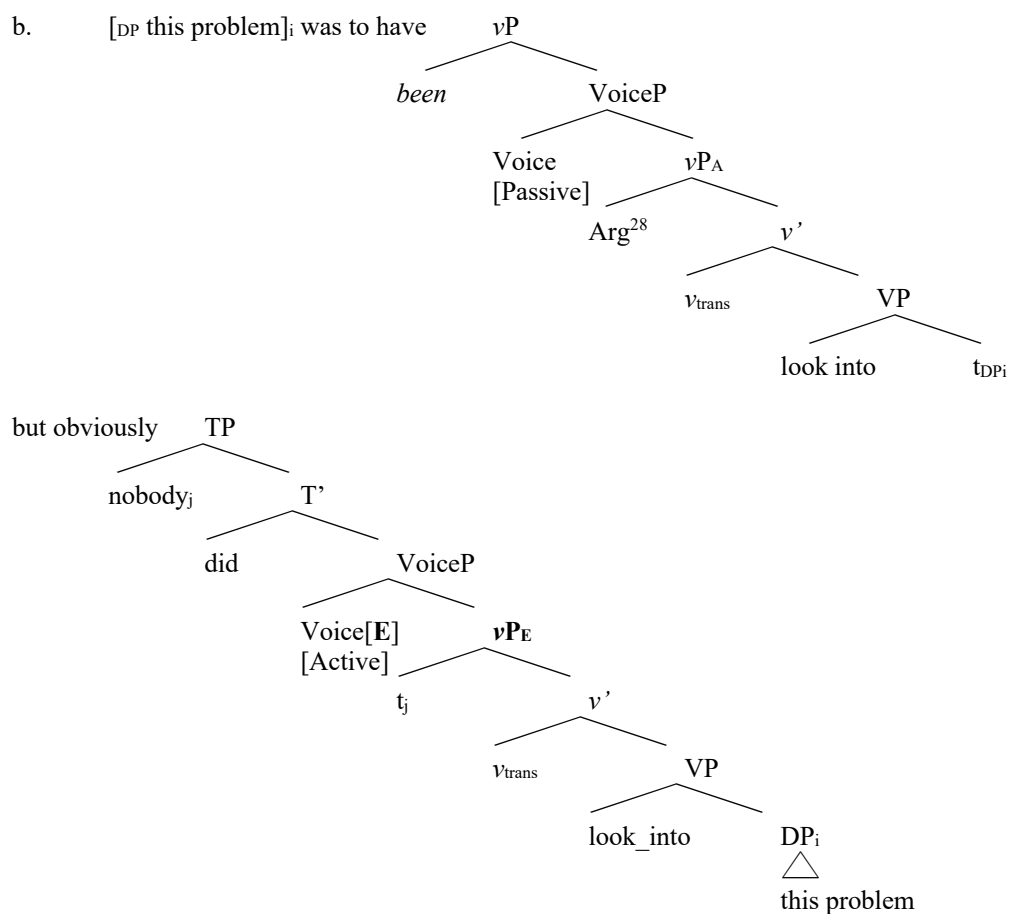
According to Merchant (2013), the derivation of a clause displaying VP-ellipsis like (71a) is (71b), and the derivation of an illicit sluicing case (72a) is the one in (72b) (the subscript _A stands for antecedent and _E for elided; [E] adjoined to a head is the ellipsis feature):

²⁵ According to Kehler (2000), the coherence relations established between the antecedent and the ellipsis site also affect the felicity of Voice mismatches (see also Tanaka 2011).

²⁶ Baltin (2012) also teases apart Voice from v, following Kratzer (1996).

²⁷ This perspective on Voice rehabilitates the early traditional account (Chomsky 1957) according to which the passive form of the sentence is derivationally related to the active form.

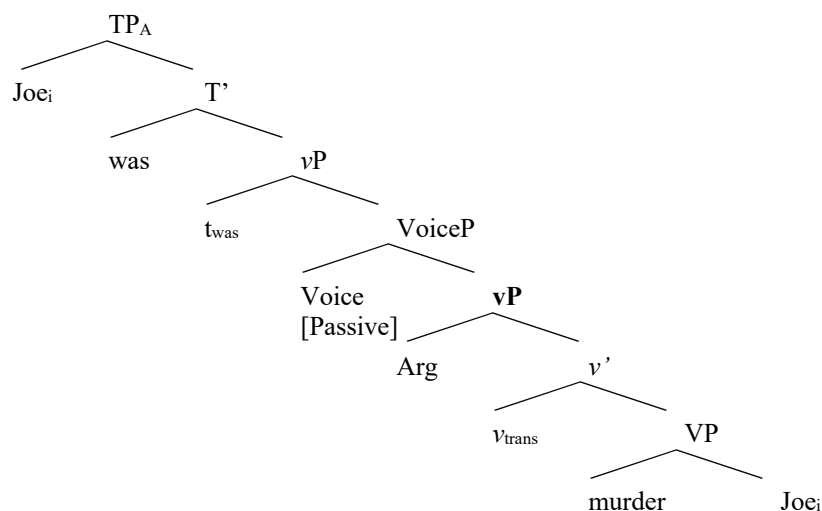
(71) a. This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did.



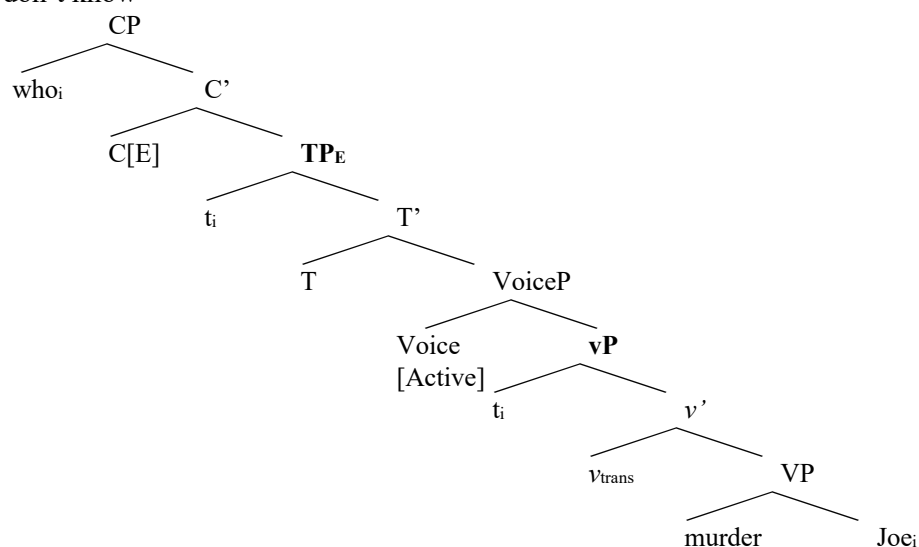
²⁸ Merchant follows Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989) and assumes that, if the subject of a passive clause is not expressed by a *by*-phrase, it is present in Spec, ν P as a null indefinite argument with narrow scope (*Arg*).

(72) a. *Joe was murdered (by someone), but we don't know who.

b.



but we don't know



As obvious from the comparison between (73b) and (74b), if a certain node is contained within the ellipsis site, its specification has to match the one expressed in the antecedent (74b); in the opposite case, if the node which determines a potential mismatch is outside of the ellipsis site, matching is not obligatory (73b). This elegantly accounts for the contrasts between sluicing and VP-ellipsis with respect to Voice alternations.

Romanian seems to disobey Merchant's radical claim about the possibility of voice mismatch; while with canonical *be*-passive, it is true that voice mismatches are disallowed, reflexive passives with implicit arguments seem to be able to antecede a sluiced clause in the active voice:

- (73) *S-a câştigat, dar nu ştiu*
 CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE but not know.IND.PRES.1SG
cine ce. <a câştigat>
 who what AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE
 '(lit.) It has been won, but I don't know exactly who won what.'

It is equally true that when the arguments of the antecedent are fully realised, voice switch is degraded (note that *by*-phrases are allowed under certain conditions with *se*-passives in Romanian):

- (74) *??S-a câştigat ceva de către cineva,*
 CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE something by someone
dar nu ştiu cine ce. <a câştigat>
 but not know.IND.PRES.1SG who what AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE

I believe that the voice switch in (73) does not actually go against Merchant's claim that syntactic identity is very relevant in assessing parallelism. Examples like (73) do observe the condition of syntactic parallelism at the relevant level, which is lower than TP, in spite of the sluicing construction.

Recent research (cf. the papers in Merchant and Simpson (eds.) 2012) has modified the view on the licensing of ellipsis, switching the perspective from the ellipsis site to the licenser. Let us be more precise. Several recent studies have argued that what singles out sluicing (and sluicing-like constructions) is the presence of the licensing *wh*-phrase; given the cyclic (phasal) nature of *wh*-movement, the *wh*-phrase triggering ellipsis may be in lower (vP) or higher (CP) phasal periphery. The ellipsis site may thus have a different constituency, depending on the constituency properties of each language/construction, so sluicing need not be considered to strictly affect a TP. What is relevant is the presence of the licensing head, not necessarily the TP-status of the deleted complement. Here are a few arguments supporting this position.

Analysing Modal Existential Constructions (MECs)²⁹, Šimík (2011: 204-211) shows that MECs can be sluiced, although the deletion site does not include a TP; what is crucial is the presence of the licensing *wh*-phrase (“the structure elided under sluicing in restructuring MECs is a vP (or an AP) rather than an IP, as usually assumed”, Šimík 2011: 210). For instance, he analyses the following Czech example and claims that the elided domain is actually a vP, not a TP/CP:

- (75) *Karel chtel jít ven, ale nemel s kým.* (Czech)
 Karel wanted go.INF out but NEG.had with who
 ‘Karel wanted to go out but there was nobody to go out with’.

The idea that the licenser, and not the ellipsis domain, is relevant is gaining weight from this perspective. Corroborative evidence also comes from Hoyt and Teodorescu (2012) who, following a long tradition (Shimoyama 1995, Merchant 1998, Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002), analyse Japanese sluicing as the ellipsis of the CP-constituent of a cleft structure. It is sufficient thus for a *wh*-phrase to be in an appropriate context in order to license ellipsis³⁰.

Returning to example (73) (repeated here), I believe that a similar explanation carries over to the Romanian voice mismatch case pointed out above.

- (73) *S-a câştigat, dar nu ştiu cine ce.*
 CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE but not know.IND.PRES.1SG who what
 <*a câştigat*>
 AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE
 ‘(lit.) It has been won, but I don’t know exactly who won what.’

As known, Rizzi (1997) postulates a rich CP left periphery, capable of accommodating topics, foci, and *wh*-elements. In languages with multiple *wh*-movement,

²⁹ Although Romanian also has MECs (see Pomian 2006-2007 and Gheorghe 2013: 487-488), the MCE site may be either a bare short infinitive or a subjunctive; since clitic climbing is disallowed in both cases, we do not know whether the ellipsis site includes a vP or a CP in a sluiced clause:

- (i) *Trebuie să vină cineva, dar n-are cine* [_{VP} *veni*]
 must SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG someone but not=have.IND.PRES.3SG who come.INF
 [CP *să vină*].
 SĂ come.SUBJ

‘Someone should come, but there’s no one available.’

³⁰ In this connection, note also that Paul and Potsdam (2012) analyse Malagasy sluicing as an instance of TP-ellipsis; however, based on the general properties of Malagasy, they show that the ellipsis site is not necessarily a structure derived via regular *wh*-movement, but rather via predicate fronting.

the CP-periphery hosts all moved *wh*-elements. Belletti (2004) argues that topic and focus positions are also available in V-domain. In this connection, it is reasonable to assume that, by virtue of being a phasal head, *v*P projects its own periphery, a space which may host low topics and foci, and, in connection with *wh*-movement, can act as an escape hatch that allows constituents from the lower phase to access the higher phase, thus ensuring successive-cyclicity³¹. Thus, *wh*-phrases have to move through the *v*P edge in order to get to the CP-periphery (see, for details, Richards 1997/2001). Assuming, like Merchant (2013), that the head that determines the voice specification is above *v*, at the point at which the *wh*-phrases have reached the *v*P periphery, and the lexical verb has reached *v* (assuming V-to-*v* movement), the structure is isomorphic to the *v*P periphery of the antecedent. Note that the reflexive passive voice is established in the T-domain (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015); thus, the *v*-phases of the antecedent and of the ellipsis site are identical and syntactic isomorphism is observed³². This actually reinforces Merchant's (2013) claim, instead of jeopardizing it. When the antecedent has a richer overtly expressed structure, like in (74) (repeated here), stricter isomorphism is imposed, downgrading the felicity status of non-isomorphic conjuncts:

- (74) ??S-*a* *câştigat* *ceva* *de către cineva*,
 CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE something by someone
dar *nu* *ştiu* *cine ce.* <*a* *câştigat*>
 but not know.IND.PRES.1SG who what AUX.PERF.3SG win.PPLE
 '(lit.) Something has been won by someone, but I don't know exactly who won what.'

In conclusion, the facts investigated in this section indicate that *syntactic parallelism is a necessary condition in the licensing of ellipsis*. Thus, to answer the question in the title of this subsection, mismatches are allowed when the head responsible for a certain mismatch is outside of the cut-off point of ellipsis.

Let us now turn to a different type of syntactic constraint on establishing parallelism, identified by Rouveret (2012), who capitalises on a strand of research stemming from Lasnik (1995).

³¹ This proposal has explicitly been advanced by Yu-Ying (2012).

³² According to Tuller (1992), cited by López (2009: 57), in Chadic languages, *wh*-phrases (and contrastive foci) target the edge of the *v*P.

3.2.2. Syntactic Parallelism (2): morphemic transparency

Starting from the empirical observation that certain inflectional differences between the antecedent and the elided verb can be ignored (76) (see Quirk et. al 1972, Warner 1986 for early presentations), while others cannot (77), Lasnik (1995) puts forth the idea that *The Stranded Affix Filter* (i.e. the requirement that a morphological affix must merge with some morphologically realized category at PF) is responsible for these disparities.

- (76) a. *John sleeps (every afternoon), and Mary should <> too.* <sleep>
 b. *John was sleeping, and now Mary will <>* <sleep>
 (77) a. **John slept, and Mary was too.* <> <sleeping>
 b. **John won't enter the competition, but Peter is <>.* <entering>

Thus, while a progressive form may antecede a simple form (76b), the reverse is not true (77). For Lasnik (1995), this happens because deletion applies before the verb adjoins to the progressive affix, and the progressive affix is thus stranded.

Lasnik (1995) observes that this does not carry over to the perfect affix, but does not offer an account for this difference:

- (78) a. *John may be questioning our motives, but Peter hasn't.* <questioned>
 b. *Peter saw your parents last week, but he hasn't since.* <seen>

Building on other Stranded Affix Filter violations identified by Potsdam (1997), Rouveret (2012) dismisses the explanation based on the Stranded Affix Filter and puts forth an account based on *morphemic transparency*. Rouveret's explanation is based on the empirical observation that certain affixes do not count in the computation of identity in ellipsis, i.e. that they are transparent. He uses the term *morphemic* instead of *affixal* transparency capitalizing on the correct observation that at LF the notion of affix has no status. A morpheme is characterized as transparent when it is semantically irrelevant; a semantically irrelevant morpheme is an empty or a redundant morpheme. Categorical morphemes are empty morphemes. What about redundant morphemes? Consider also sentence (79), from Rouveret (2012: fnt. 20):

- (79) *I was reading Shakespeare and Mary was too.* <reading>

If we contrast (79) with (77), we observe that there does not exist a general ban on the omission of a verb inflected for the progressive; ellipsis is fine as long as the antecedent is in the progressive as well. But if we compare (77) with (78), we observe that the omission

of a verb inflected for the perfective is not subject to the same constraint: a non-perfective form can antecede it.

Rouveret advances the idea that a redundant morpheme is a morpheme which does not convey any other kind of semantic information which is not locally recoverable. Relativizing to the cases at hand, this means that the perfective affix (-ed) is semantically redundant when it stands next to a perfective auxiliary, while the progressive affix is not. Bringing into discussion a series of data concerning the disparities between participles and progressive forms, Rouveret (2012) arrives at the conclusion that in the perfective *have* constructions, the source of perfect meaning is not conveyed by the participial morphology, while -ing has a value of its own³³. Thus, in the case of ellipsis headed by perfective auxiliaries, full morphemic identity (between the antecedent and the elided verb) is not required, while with progressive affixes, identity is enforced for a convergent deletion. This is related to the (non-)contentful nature of the progressive and perfect morphemes in the local environments where they surface.

Morphemic transparency / non-transparency is a semantic property, and cannot be properly handled by the syntax. Rouveret (2012) shows that the syntax-internal correlate for transparency is interpretability, and concludes that ellipsis must observe a recoverability condition on *interpretable* features, formulating the following principle:

- (80) Principle of Recoverability
A VP-elided constituent cannot contain any non-recoverable interpretable feature.

Accordingly, we can understand the systematic possibility of ignoring the perfective affix (-ed) when the participle is selected by the auxiliary *have* (81a) vs the impossibility to omit the progressive affix (-ing) (81b), except for the cases in which it is overtly realized in the antecedent (81c):

- (81) a. *Peter saw your parents last week, but he hasn't < > since.* <seen>
b. **John won't enter the competition, but Peter is < >.* <entering>
c. *I was reading Shakespeare and Mary was < > too.* <reading>

³³ See, for instance, the following contrasts observed as early as Emonds (1976) (examples from Rouveret 2012: 908) :

- (i) *We thought she would lose her temper and **lost** it she has.*
*We thought she would lose her temper and **lose** it she has.*
(ii) *Mary thought Sam would play 'As time goes by' and **playing** that song he undoubtedly was.*
Mary thought Sam would play 'As time goes by' and **play that song he undoubtedly was.*

Omission of the perfect morpheme is fine with these dislocations, while the progressive affix cannot be omitted.

Baltin (2012) arrives at the same conclusion: according to him, “something less than full syntactic identity is needed in calculating the identity requirements for ellipsis. It seems that all and only interpretable elements are inspected for this purpose” (Baltin 2012: 403).

To conclude, all the interpretable features included within the ellipsis site have to be locally recoverable for ellipsis to go through.

3.2.3. Summary

The goal of this section has been to establish that syntactic Parallelism / Identity / Isomorphism is an obligatory condition on ellipsis. At the same time, syntax is overridden by the requirement that all interpretable features included within the ellipsis site have to be locally retrievable.

3.3. Syntactic-semantic constraints on deletion: MaxElide

Harwood (2013b) and Aelbrecht and Harwood (2012) show that while syntactic parallelism is required, it is not always the case that the maximal identical string must be elided. Thus, English VP-ellipsis may leave behind one or more than one auxiliary (Ross 1969, Akmajian, Steele and Wasow 1979; examples from Aelbrecht and Harwood 2012):

- (82) *Betsy must have been being hassled by the police, and...*
 a. *Peter must <have been being hassled by the police>, too.*
 b. *Peter must have <been being hassled by the police>, too.*

By contrast, operator-variable structures impose a maximality condition, requiring that no unbound variable be left behind. Starting from the empirical observation that VP-ellipsis is blocked when sluicing is allowed in the same clause (83), Takahashi and Fox (2005), Merchant (2008) and Hartman (2011) have proposed that ellipsis is subject to a MaxElide constraint (examples from Hartman 2011).

- (83) a. *Mary was kissing someone, but I don't know who (*she was).*
 b. *You play a wind instrument? Which one (*you do)?*
 c. *Speaker A: Susan will talk to a professor.*
 *Speaker B: Did you hear which one (*she will)?*
 d. *You admire a woman in this room. Tell me who (*you do).*

According to Hartman (2011), this results from the fact that all types of traces (A-traces, A-bar traces and head-movement traces) are uniformly interpreted as bound variables. Movement thus gives rise to operator-variable structures.

Empirically, MaxElide chooses a larger constituent over a smaller one, in particular contexts. Technically, this means that the elided domain has to be as large as to include free variables with a correlate in the antecedent.

Consider the derivation of (83a), as proposed by Hartman (2011: 370):

- (83a) *Mary was kissing someone, but I don't know who (*she was).*
 (84) someone [λy . Mary was [$_{VP}$ kissing y]] ... who [λx . she was [$_{VP}$ kissing x]]

If deletion targets VP [$_{VP}$ kissing x], the rebound variable x is deleted without its λx binder. MaxElide forces the selection of a larger parallelism domain which also includes λx . This domain is none other than the phrase dominated by *who*: sluicing is forced.

Two more comments are in order with respect to MaxElide. First of all, *wh*-adverbials confirm the role of the trace in the establishment of the correct parallelism domain (Hartman 2011: 373-375). For instance, the *wh*-adverbial *when* has two readings in the following sentence:

- (85) *I forget when he said Mary left.*

One is a matrix reading, in which *when* adjoins to *he said*; in the other reading, *when* adjoins to *Mary left*. According to the constraint imposed by MaxElide, VP-ellipsis should allow only the reading in which *when* is adjoined to the matrix clause, while sluicing should allow both readings. Hartman (2011: 373) shows that this is indeed the case:

- (86) a. *John said Mary would leave, but I've forgotten when.* (Sluicing)
 matrix reading – $\checkmark$ / embedded reading – $\checkmark$
 b. *John said Mary would leave, but I've forgotten when he did.* (VP-ellipsis)
 matrix reading – $\checkmark$ / embedded reading – *

Secondly, intervening focus tampers with the application of MaxElide: when there is focus material intervening between two potential ellipsis sites, the deletion of the smaller constituent is possible (examples from Hartman 2011: 371).

- (87) *Mary doesn't know who we can invite, but she can tell you who we CANNOT.*
 (88) *I don't know who JOHN will kiss, but I know who SUSAN will.*

This boils down to the fact the material marked as focus cannot be deleted: thus, the largest deletable constituent here is not TP, but VP. From this perspective, the inner workings of MaxElide are not affected, as the establishment of parallelism domains deals with *potentially deletable* material; intervening focus renders the TP non-deletable.

3.4. Summary

In this section, I have briefly surveyed the principal parallelism relations assumed to be active in well-formed cases of ellipsis. Ellipsis sites have to be lexically identical with their antecedent; mismatches are allowed in as much as they are established above the cut-off point of ellipsis. Other types of constraints, such as MaxElide, are exclusively concerned with the internal make-up of the ellipsis site.

4. Ellipsis is more than meets the eye

Recent research on elliptical phenomena has shown that there are certain disparities between the make-up of the ellipsis site and its corresponding overt counterpart. From a theoretical point of view, such phenomena indicate that the requirement of syntactic parallelism does not entail the full identity of the antecedent and the ellipsis site. The list of disparities presented below is by no means exhaustive; furthermore, some of the phenomena presented below have been sometimes taken by researchers to argue in favour of a null element approach to ellipsis, i.e. against a deletion analysis.

4.1. EPP-suspension (Merchant 2001, van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken 2006)

Merchant (2001) claims that the EPP-requirement (i.e. the requirement that the subject raises to Spec,IP) is bled when sluicing takes place. Thus, the subject condition active in non-elided clauses (89) is suspended in (90) (van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken 2006: 654)³⁴.

- (89) a. **Which Marx brother_i is a [biography of t_i] going to appear/be published this year?*
 b. **Which Marx brother_i did [a biography of t_i] cause a scandal earlier this year?*
- (90) a. *A biography of one of the Marx brothers is going to appear/be published this year – guess which (Marx brother).*
 b. *A biography of one of the Marx Brothers caused a scandal earlier this year, but Bill doesn't recall which (Marx brother).*

Note the contrast between (89) and (90): if the EPP were active under sluicing, (90) would be grammatical.

³⁴ Similar facts are also observed by Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995).

Corroborative evidence is brought by van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken (2006) to support the conclusion reached by Merchant (2001). For instance, in order to account for the strong grammaticality contrast between (91b) and (92) involving a Negative Polarity Item, they assume that the subject of the elliptical clause is not attracted to Spec,TP (93); as such, the NPI is in the c-command domain of negation in (91b), but not in its overt counterpart (92)³⁵:

- (91) a. *What didn't work was any of the printing equipment.*
 b. *What didn't work? - Any of the printing equipment.*
 (92) **Any of the printing equipment didn't work.*
 (93) [TP ~~T Neg~~ [_{VP} any of the printing equipment [_V ~~work~~]]]

An additional piece of data involves the lack of complementizer agreement under sluicing in certain Dutch dialects (data from Craenenbroeck and den Dikken 2006: 659) (cf. (94a) vs. (94b)):

- (94) a. *Jan weet niet wie darr-e wiej gezien hebt.*
 Jan knows not who that-AGR we seen have.
 b. *Wiej hebt'r ene ezeen, en Jan weet niet wie(*-e).*
 we have.there someone seen and Jan knows not who-AGR
 (Hellendoorn Dutch)

As van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken (2006) comment, complementizer agreement is an Agree phenomenon dependent on the presence of the subject in the highest position of the inflectional domain; recent research (Haegeman and van Koppen 2012³⁶) validated this intuition. Thus, the lack of complementizer agreement shows that, in the elliptical clause, the subject does not raise high enough to be probed by the complementizer, and thus display agreement. Technically, the EPP is suspended.

4.2. The Infinitivus Pro Participio Effect (Aelbrecht 2010)

Discussing the disparities between overt structures and elliptical structures, Aelbrecht (2010: 79) examines the curious behaviour of the modals in the perfective in the *Infinitivus Pro Participio* construction. More exactly, in a non-elliptical sentence, the

³⁵ See den Dikken, Meinunger and Wilder (2000) and Wilder (1997) for details on the type of ellipsis present here.

³⁶ Haegeman and van Koppen (2012: 450) explicitly show that the complementizer agrees with the most local goal.

infinitival verb in its complement domain triggers the Infinitivus Pro Participio effect (IPP effect) on the modal, with the modal occurring as an infinitive not as a past participle (95).

- (95) *Ralf heeft { *gemoeten / moeten } werken.*
 Ralf has must.PPLE must.IPP³⁷ work
 ‘Ralph has had to work.’

However, under ellipsis this effect disappears, and the modal surfaces as a past participle (96a); realization as an infinitive leads to ungrammaticality (96b).

- (96) a. *Ralf wou niet werken, maar hij heeft gemoeten.*
 Ralf wanted not work but he has must.PPLE
 ‘Ralf didn’t want to work, but he had to.’
 b. **Ralf wou niet werken, maar hij heeft moeten.*
 Ralf wanted not work but he has must.IPP

This again indicates a disparity between ellipsis sites and their overt counterpart. The explanation provided by Aelbrecht (2010: 145) to account for these disparities modifies the customary view on ellipsis as PF-deletion: namely, from her perspective, PF-deletion actually means blocking vocabulary insertion. Thus, if the IPP effect is a PF-effect, a *by-product of verb clustering* in her terms, then blocking vocabulary insertion suspends this effect. The rectification of the PF-deletion account brought by Aelbrecht is undesirable, both conceptually³⁸ and empirically. The IPP-effect may be dealt with in the same manner as (the lack of) complementizer agreement is treated by van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken (2006; see also §II.4.1), as an effect of the fact that, in ellipsis, the complement of the modal verb is not in an appropriate (sufficiently local) configuration to trigger IPP.

4.3. Obligatory deletion

The next set of data comes from Romanian nominal ellipsis. In previous joint work (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012a), we have shown that there are contexts in which the

³⁷ IPP in Aelbrecht’s (2010) glosses stands for: “infinitive due to IPP-effect”.

³⁸ The conceptual drawback of this solution will be emphasized later in the book. Note that Aelbrecht’s (2010) own description of this process is contradictory (recall that she assumes Merchant’s E-feature): “Ellipsis occurs in the course of the derivation, as soon as the licensing head is merged. At this point, the ellipsis site becomes inaccessible for any further syntactic operations and vocabulary insertion at PF is blocked” (p. 87). The perspective expressed in the last part of the quote entails a Distributed Morphology-like view on narrow syntax, allowing it to manipulate only features, with lexical items inserted at spell-out, but, at the same time, is inconsistent with respect to the first part of the quote, in which it is assumed that heads are merged in the derivation.

deletion of the head is obligatory. For instance, in nominal ellipsis headed by the freestanding definite article *cel* ('the')³⁹, the suppression of the head noun is obligatory when the remnant is a relational adjective (97) or an argument of the head noun (98):

- (97) a. *comedia românească și cea americană*
 comedy.DEF Romanian and CEL American
 'the Romanian comedy and the American one'
- b. **comedia românească și comedia cea americană*
 comedy.DEF Romanian and comedy.DEF CEL American
- (98) a. *semnarea de decrete și cea de ordonanțe*
 signing.DEF of decrees and CEL of dispositions
 'the signing of decrees and dispositions'
- b. **semnarea de decrete și semnarea cea de ordonanțe*
 signing.DEF of decrees and signing.DEF CEL of dispositions

Thus, in this particular case, the presence of the licenser of ellipsis precludes the overt realization of the elided head, i.e. ellipsis is forced.

Similar considerations hold in the case of the Romanian indefinite quantifiers *unul*⁴⁰ (a.DEF 'one') and *altul* (other.DEF 'another'). Notice, in particular, that *unul* is overtly made up of the indefinite article plus the definite article (*un-ul*). Both *unul* and *altul* preclude the realization of the head noun; i.e. in this context, nominal ellipsis is forced:

- (99) a. *un băiat de la Constanța și unul de la București*
 a boy from Constanța and one.DEF from Bucharest
 'a boy from Constanța and one from Bucharest'
- b. **un băiat de la Constanța și unul băiat de la București*
 a boy from Constanța and one.DEF boy from Bucharest
- (100) a. *un băiat de la Constanța și altul de la București*
 a boy from Constanța and one.DEF from Bucharest
- b. **un băiat de la Constanța și altul băiat de la București*
 a boy from Constanța and one.DEF boy from Bucharest

The derivation of nominal ellipsis involves the presence of an elided definite noun (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012a and §III). The overt realization of the definite article, which is taken over by *un* and *alt* due to their adjectival morphology, constitutes evidence that ellipsis is phonological deletion proper; no blocking of vocabulary insertion emerges.

³⁹ See §III for details.

⁴⁰ In §III, it will be shown that *unul* and *altul* are based on deletion; they are a form of surface anaphora.

4.4. Some other sluicing disparities

(101) *Abby was reading, but I don't know what.* (Merchant 2001: 19)

At the same time, there are morphosyntactic disparities between the ellipsis site and the antecedent. As shown in Merchant (2001: 22-24), there are numerous cases in which the grammatical form of the elided clause is different from the grammatical form of the antecedent clause (examples from Merchant 2001):

- This non-isomorphism cluster can also be illustrated with Romanian sluicing. A TP deleted under sluicing, which contains a pronominal clitic doubling the object *wh*-phrase, may correspond to a non-clitic-doubled correlate in the antecedent VP:

- ⁴¹ One other interesting case of obligatory deletion is discussed by LaCara (2012) with *as*-parentheticals.

văzut.

CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE

Whenever a [+human] denoting object *wh*-phrase bearing the differential object marker PE is moved to the left periphery of the clause, it triggers clitic doubling on the verb; lack of doubling leads to ungrammaticality:

- (106) a. *Pe care l-ai văzut?*
 DOM which CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.2SG see.PPLE
 ‘Which one did you see?’
 b. **Pe care ai văzut?*
 DOM which AUX.PERF.2SG see.PPLE

Thus, in the sluicing example above, the clitic in the deleted TP has no correspondent in the antecedent IP.

4.5. Summary

The goal of this subsection has been to show that there are disparities between the ellipsis site and its overt counterpart. The importance of these phenomena should not be underestimated.

They empirically validate the claim that the Lexical and Syntactic parallelism constraints do not entail full structural identity of the antecedent and the ellipsis site. According to Merchant (2001), the remnants are always placed in a focus (left-peripheral) position and there is no requirement that the periphery of the antecedent should also have been represented. Additional disparities represent the effect of the anaphoric ties linking the antecedent and the ellipsis phrase, such as the definiteness of the ellipsis site in the case of nominal ellipsis.

As highlighted in numerous other places across this book, this calls for a mechanism of ellipsis licensing that integrates morphosyntax in the assignment of the instruction to ban PF-realization (i.e. the instruction to delete).

At the same time, as shown in §II.3.1.1, lexical identity is crucial. This result is convergent with Hardt's (1993) conclusion that "semantic identity is preserved under ellipsis, even at the expense of changes in syntactic form" (Hardt 1993: 16). The old intuition that ellipsis involves, after all, "sameness of meaning" proves to be correct. Furthermore, as shown by Hendriks and Spenader (2005) (see also §II.3.1.1) and highlighted by Hardt (1993), an essential feature of meanings is their relativization to contexts.

5. A common topic approach

5.1. An E-feature?

The previous sections have introduced two slightly contradictory ideas regarding the study of licensed ellipses: on the one hand, a version of parallelism/identity/isomorphism between the ellipsis site and the antecedent seems to hold and is sometimes enforced. On the other hand, there are quite a few phenomena featuring disparities between the ellipsis site and its antecedent showing that (i) parallelism/identity/isomorphism is not as strong as it may seem at first sight; (ii) the licensing of ellipsis has a narrow syntactic correlate. Furthermore, as will be briefly illustrated below, constant access to discourse/information structure is required for a correct resolution of ellipsis. An appropriate approach should capture or, at least, leave open the possibility to capture the seemingly squishy nature of the parallelism requirement, on the one hand, and the important morphosyntactic aspect of ellipsis, on the other hand.

Let us assume that an E[llipsis]-feature of the type Merchant advocates for is sufficient for the licensing of deletion. Merchant (2001) defines the E-feature as follows:

- (107) $[[E]] = \lambda p: p \text{ is e-GIVEN} . p$ (Merchant 2001:61)

The E-feature is the feature that imposes the Focus condition on ellipsis:

- (108) **Focus condition on ellipsis** (Merchant 2001: 38)
A constituent α can be deleted only if α is e-GIVEN.

E-GIVENness is defined as follows:

- (109) **GIVENness** (Merchant 2001: 30)
An expression E counts as GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo $\exists$ -type shifting, A entails F-clo(E)

Merchant (2001) implements his E-feature by assuming that E will combine with TP, and further comments that “by giving a semantics for E, the licensing (the local featural requirements of E) and identification (the semantic conditions E imposes on its complement) requirements on ellipsis can for the first time be directly linked”. Building on Merchant’s (2001) work, Aelbrecht (2010) makes a bolder proposal, stating that there are separate E-features for every elliptical process made available by UG: “I assume that for each elliptical phenomenon that occurs in a language, there is a specific [E]-feature in the lexicon” (Aelbrecht 2010: 96).

For instance, for sluicing, she assumes that there is a variety of E, notated with the subscript _s (E_s) with the following characteristics, innovating with respect to Merchant (2001) in that the syntax and phonology of E_s are also given (Aelbrecht 2010: 90):

- (110) a. The syntax of E_s: E_s [*uwh**, *uQ**]
 b. The phonology of E_s $\varnothing\text{TP} \rightarrow \varnothing/\text{E}_{\text{s}}_\$
 c. The semantics of E_s $[[\text{E}_{\text{s}}]] = \lambda p: \text{e-GIVEN } (p) [p]$

From my perspective, this position cannot be correct from both conceptual and empirical reasons⁴². There are two conceptual drawbacks to this proposal: (i) the E-feature imposes a “look-ahead” flavour to all elliptical derivations; (ii) more importantly, postulating an E-feature is incompatible with the most recent findings on parametrization. Let us insist on this second issue. As insisted throughout the chapter, ellipsis is subject to intra-linguistic (e.g. auxiliaries, modals, and the infinitive marker *to* license VP-ellipsis in English, volitional verbs do not; modals, aspectuals and volitionals license verbal ellipsis in Romanian, auxiliaries do not) and cross-linguistic variation (main verbs license ellipsis in verb-stranding VP-ellipsis languages; they do not in languages like Romanian or English). If one were to assume E-features, besides imposing selectional features upon the different varieties of E (Romanian E has to combine with modals, aspectuals, and volitionals but not with auxiliaries; English E has to combine with auxiliaries, modals and the infinitive maker *to*, but not with volitional and aspectual verbs), an additional constraint has to regard the size of the ellipsis site (E deletes a *vP*/*VP* in English, a *TP* in Dutch or a *CP* in Romanian). This cannot be correct: first, because it goes against the most commonly accepted account of syntactic variation in the Minimalist Program, the *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture* (Baker 2008: 353), which states that “all parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g., the functional heads) in the Lexicon”. The burden of variation would thus be switched from the functional heads of particular lexical items to an independently stipulated E-feature. And while it is in principle possible that the E-feature could just vary in its distribution across functional head (Ian Roberts, *p.c.*), the disparities reviewed in §II.4 above would however still remain unaccounted for. Secondly, this implementation fully misses the idea that ellipsis is dependent on morphosyntax. As insisted, the availability of certain types of ellipsis is tied to the

⁴² Aelbrecht herself is aware of the problems raised by assuming an E-feature: “I realize that postulating an [E]-feature for ellipsis is stipulative and, although it describes the distribution of ellipsis in an elegant way, it does not explain it. Further research along the lines proposed in this work, i.e. analyses that take ellipsis to be the result of an Agree relation between two elements in the syntactic structure, might in the long run lead to an elimination of the ellipsis feature. Ellipsis would then be the optional result of an Agree relation between the licenser and the head selecting the ellipsis site; an Agree relation that is also established in non-elliptical sentences but only optionally results in ellipsis (and only then is the ellipsis site frozen).” (Aelbrecht 2010: fnt. 1, p. 209).

morphosyntactic properties of the licensors. In particular, Rouveret (2012) has convincingly argued that VP-ellipsis is parasitic on the availability of *v*'s uninterpretable [tense] feature to be valued at the *v*-level; Gergel (2009) has a similar, tense-based analysis of verbal ellipsis licensing. In the same vein, Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a), with reference to nominal ellipsis this time, show that PF-deletion in the nominal domain is contingent on the valuation of definiteness by the definite article, ellipsis sites being definite descriptions. Thus, research has recently focused on accounting for the availability of ellipsis in connection with certain relevant morphosyntactic properties, which is a step ahead in offering a minimalist solution – which complies with the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture – to the existence of variation in the licensing of ellipsis.

Empirically, the assignment of an E-feature *cannot be optional*, since, as shown above, there are distributional disparities between the ellipsis site and its overt counterpart, for instance, distribution of ellipsis-DPs is sometimes different from that of overt-head DPs, which means that they cannot have the same syntactic structure:

- (111) a. *comedia românească și cea americană*
 comedy.DEF Romanian and CEL American
 'the Romanian comedy and the American one'
- b. **comedia românească și comedia cea americană*
 comedy.DEF Romanian and comedy.DEF CEL American
- (112) a. *semnarea de decrete și cea de ordonanțe*
 signing.DEF of decrees and CEL of dispositions
 'the signing of decrees and dispositions'
- b. **semnarea de decrete și semnarea cea de ordonanțe*
 signing.DEF of decrees and signing.DEF CEL of dispositions

Thus, there are particular syntactic configurations which make possible or rather force ellipsis. What seems to be necessary is the identification of the relevant properties of these configurations rather than an inventory of E-features that do not have any substantive properties. The properties of ellipsis processes have to do with the licensing heads, as well as the complements they may/must select.

In conclusion, the postulation of E-features is a technical solution that by-passes the quest for a deeper motivation for ellipsis; in the next subsection, I briefly present López's (2000) proposal, I suggest certain amendments to it that make it compatible with a PF-deletion view of ellipsis, and I highlight its empirical advantages. The specific incarnation of this proposal is presented in §III and §IV, which deal with the syntactic licensing of nominal and verbal ellipsis in Romanian.

5.2. Building a common topic

López (2000) has put forth an empty category approach to licensed ellipses that has the main ingredients to capture the morphosyntactic aspect of ellipsis licensing and certain parallelism disanalogies highlighted in the previous sections.

The approach advocated for by López (2000) is an empty pro-form analysis of ellipsis; in other words, the ellipsis site is not a structured domain, but an empty pro-form. According to López, this pro-form is within an $H^{\max}$, H a functional head, by LF. As shown in §II.2, there is evidence that the ellipsis site has internal structure. Thus, López's implementation cannot be entirely correct. However, the next assumption made by López is that this functional head has the property of being (narrowly) D-linked: according to him, this licenses the empty category in syntax. López's proposal can be modified as follows: the functional head advocated for by him is actually the licenser of ellipsis. The licenser of ellipsis has the (narrow) D-linking property that licenses deletion in the syntax (instead of licensing an empty pro-form).

A series of comments are in order at this point. The first one concerns the concept *narrow D-linking*. As is known, the notion *D-linking* was coined by Pesetsky (1987) to indicate the ability of *wh*-words to pick an entity or a set of entities from the alternatives present in the context or the discourse. López (2000) introduces the concept *narrow D-linking* insisting that only the connection with a previous discourse, and not merely with a context, is relevant for ellipsis licensing. The presence of a *narrow D-linking* feature is an instruction for the interpretative component that says "connect with a discourse topic" (López 2000: 186).

Secondly, assuming that features like definiteness and tense are complex, in that they have semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic correlates, *narrow D-linking* can be conceived as one of the components of the rich matrix of these complex features. Thus, definiteness and tense are by-default *narrow D-linking* functional features because they are intrinsically D-linking⁴³; in the appropriate discourse which ensures the connection with a discourse topic, and under the appropriate morphosyntactic conditions, the deletion of the complement of the head that bears this feature becomes possible.

The specific implementation of this proposal will be fleshed out in §III and §IV, devoted to the study of nominal and verbal ellipsis in Romanian.

⁴³ See Hall Partee (1973) and Enç (1987) on the anaphoric nature of tense and Abbott (2004, 2006) on the anaphoric nature of definiteness. With respect to VP-ellipsis, Gergel (2009) also brings conceptual arguments in favour of choosing tense as a feature which co-participates in the licensing of ellipsis: "the interpretability of the licenser [equipped with a T-feature] once grammaticalized (A) anchors the fully articulated VPE site in the derivation, but also (B) it can smuggle it through discourse to contrast it to an antecedent" (Gergel 2009: 212).

At this point, let us emphasize the empirical advantages of this approach. First, it can account for the differences between the ellipsis site and its overt counterpart (see §II.4) by introducing a narrow syntactic condition on licensing.

Second, it allows for the relaxation of the parallelism/isomorphism/identity condition on ellipsis. In the unmarked case, the ellipsis site is parallel to its antecedent. However, there are numerous cases in which ellipsis resolution does not imply a parallel antecedent. Illustrative for this phenomenon are the cases in which the ellipsis site has split antecedents (examples from Busquets 2006: 178, Gergel 2009: 10, Reich 2011):

- (113) a. *I can [walk]₁ and I can [chew gum]₂. Gerry can <> too, but not at the same time.* <walk and chew gum>
 b. *Sally should [take out the dog for a walk]₁ and Bob should [do the dishes]₂, but neither of them must <>.* <take out the dog and do the dishes>
 c. *Wendy is eager to [sail around the world] and Bruce is eager to [climb Kilimanjaro], but neither of them can <> because money is too tight.* <sail around the world and climb Kilimanjaro>
 d. *Pot să dansezi și să cânt,* (Rom.)
 can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ dance.SUBJ.1SG and SĂ sing.SUBJ.1SG
dar nu vreau <> în același timp.
 but not want.IND.PRES.1SG in the-same time
 ‘I can sing and dance, but I don’t want to <> at the same time.’ <sing and dance>

Split antecedents are also available with nominal ellipsis, as shown by the following case of Romanian nominal ellipsis headed by *cel*.

- (114) *Vasile aduce prăjituri_i cu nucă și bomboane_j cu vanilie.*
 Vasile brings cookies with nut and bonbons with vanilla
Pe cele_{i/j/i+j} cu ciocolată le aduce Ion.
 DOM CEL with chocolate CL.ACC.F.3PL brings John
 ‘Vasile is bringing nut cookies and vanilla bonbons. The ones (cookies/bonbons/cookies and bonbons) with chocolate are brought by Ion.’

Another phenomenon where the common topic approach proves useful is what we may call *ellipsis-contained antecedents*⁴⁴. Baltin (2012) finds cases in which the antecedent of an elided VP involves a verb distinct from a verb that is within the deleted VP itself, under the condition that the corresponding verb in the antecedent has been deleted. Thus,

⁴⁴ I did not find a label for this phenomenon in the literature.

the interpretation of sentence (115) below is the one in (116), not the one in (117), expected under a strict parallelism constraint on ellipsis resolution:

- (115) *When John has to cook he doesn't want to < >, and when he has to clean, he doesn't < > either.*
- (116) *When John has to cook he doesn't want to <cook>, and when he has to clean, he doesn't **want to clean** either.*
- (117) *When John has to cook he doesn't want to **cook**, and when he has to clean, he doesn't **clean** either.*

Elbourne (2008) makes the very same observation with respect to nominal ellipsis. He discusses the interpretation of the ellipsis site in nominal and VP-ellipsis cases and gives an explicit procedure for constructing this discourse (super)set, by summing up the set of NP-members denoted by the antecedent and of NP-members denoted by the ellipsis-containing DP, and additionally performing any operations required by the fact that the antecedent restriction and elided restriction need not be completely identical, even if they often are identical. Here is a type of situation discussed by Elbourne (2008), where the denotations of the restriction sets are not identical, specifically because the antecedent itself contains an instance of ellipsis:

- (118) *After the book went on sale, thirteen **shoppers who had bought some** < > **earlier** complained, but after the magazines went on sale, only two < > did.*
*After the book went on sale, thirteen **shoppers who had bought some** <books> **earlier** complained, but after the magazines went on sale, only two <shoppers who had bought some magazines earlier> did.*

In Elbourne's interpretation, this sentence means "After the book went on sale, thirteen shoppers who had bought some books earlier complained; but after the magazines went on sale, only two shoppers who had bought some magazines earlier complained". Thus, the antecedent NP contains an instance of nominal ellipsis, and, finally, the two NPs are not identical. Elbourne (2008) correctly assumes *that in all cases an ellipsis site should have an antecedent and that it must be related to it by identity of meaning or of LF*. A(n) (unique) identical set must be constructed to satisfy this requirement and, in this particular instance, it is the unique set consisting of the thirteen shoppers who had bought some books and two shoppers that had bought some magazines. Thus, the interpretation of the elliptical DP in (28) is 'two of the {thirteen shoppers who had bought some books and two shoppers who had bought some magazines}'. And this unique set, Elbourne's (semantic) antecedent, is López's discourse topic, and it is the interpretation assigned to the definite DP complement of the ellipsis determiner.

In this connection, Baltin (2012) himself makes the following comment: “identity of lexical or semantic content of the phrase is not necessary, but the question is how to relax the notion of identity to just the right point while preserving the intuition that some notion of identity is necessary. After all, *Although John didn’t drink the wine, Bill did* cannot mean that Bill ate the steak” (Baltin 2012: 388).

To conclude, the common topic approach advocated for here has the conceptual strength to account for such cases: the narrowly D-linked licenser mediates constant access to discourse, allowing the ellipsis resolution procedure to pick up the best appropriate antecedent or, if necessary, to construct a mixed antecedent. From this point on, ellipsis becomes parasitic on discourse conditions, which represent the domain of pragmatics and relevance theory. These issues need not further concern us here.

6. Ellipsis and larger discourse access

There are several phenomena which indicate that the correct resolution of ellipsis implies larger access to the discourse. Although this issue seems to be orthogonal to our discussion regarding the syntactic licensing of ellipsis, it does, however, provide further evidence that the common topic approach to the licensing of ellipsis is correct, as it is the only theoretical approach that leaves open the possibility to access a larger context relevant for the resolution of ellipsis, preserving, at the same time, the parallelism constraints.

Bringing into discussion an argument of Uriagereka (2008), Gallego (2010: 48) shows that certain natural language phenomena need more memory than that provided by mere Markovian chains. An argument comes from the ellipsis of potentially idiomatic chunks/phrases:

(119) *Matilda [kicked the bucket], and [so did] farmer Smith, who was milking her.*

The simultaneous idiomatic (*kick the bucket* = ‘die’) and non-idiomatic interpretation of *kick the bucket* is not possible: “for ellipsis resolution to work as indicated, [...] we need to keep a record of the chunk of structure that is deleted and interpreted in some other place via ellipsis” (Gallego 2010: 48). Constant recourse to discourse grammar is necessary in order to obtain felicitous interpretations of utterances, and this role is fulfilled by phasal transfer (see also López 2009).

Furthermore, as Reich (2011: 1864-1865) shows, the relation between the antecedent and the ellipsis site is biconditional: not only does the antecedent impose restrictions on the make-up of the ellipsis site, but the ellipsis site itself imposes constraints on the antecedent. Consider example (120), taken from Reich (2011: 1864).

(120) *Someone hit everyone.*

Sentence (120) has two readings given by the scope domain of quantifiers: *someone* may scope over *everyone*, and vice-versa (*someone* > *everyone*; *everyone* > *someone*). Consider next (121), containing an R-expression in subject position:

(121) *Bill hit everyone.*

The only possible scope relation here is *Bill* > *everyone*, with the R-expression having wide scope relative to *everyone*. Let us now combine the sentences above and elide the second VP (Reich 2011: 1864):

(122) *Someone hit everyone, and then Bill did.*

The second clause preserves its unique scoping possibilities, with the R-expression *Bill* scoping over the quantifier *everyone*. However, the first clause also displays only one scope relation, namely *somebody* > *everyone*, parallel to the elided clause; the scope relation *everyone* > *someone* has been eliminated via parallelism with the elliptical clause, which follows the non-elliptical clause. Clearly, ellipsis resolution takes place in a larger context, and not only is the ellipsis domain dependent upon the antecedent, but the antecedent, in its turn, depends on the ellipsis site.

Similar evidence comes from the so-called “chicken argument” (Sag 1976). Consider the example below, taken from Reich (2011: 1864):

- (123) a. *The chickens are ready to eat.*
b. *and the children are too.*

Virtually, each conjunct has two readings; thus, one would expect the conjoined sentence to have four readings, contrary to fact: whatever reading is chosen for (123a) also features in the elliptical clause.

To conclude, the data reviewed in this section indicate that the relation between the antecedent and the ellipsis site is not a one-way direction, with the antecedent imposing conditions on the ellipsis site, but that, in fact, the ellipsis site can also influence the antecedent by removing certain readings. A framework which allows larger discourse access (i.e. the common topic approach) is thus welcome.

7. Summary and conclusions

The goal of this chapter has been to introduce the main ingredients necessary for the analyses that follow in the next two chapters. I have started by distinguishing two

varieties of ellipsis, i.e. types of ellipsis based on a multidominant structure and types of ellipsis based on deletion. This dissertation is devoted to ellipses based on deletion. The remainder of the chapter has been devoted to the following problems: I have defended the PF-deletion approach to ellipsis; I have presented the different tests put forth in the literature to diagnose deletion and indicated which ones are reliable; I have presented a series of disanalogies between overt structures and their elliptical counterparts which indicate that ellipsis is not always optional and thus a mechanism based on a Merchantian E-feature is not sufficiently effective to deal with this problem; I have introduced a series of constraints on deletion (MaxElide; syntactic parallelism) which filter out certain potential cases of ellipsis; finally, I have introduced López's (2000) account of ellipsis as a discourse-linking phenomenon, which will be revised in the chapters that follow.

III. Nominal ellipsis: anaphoricity as definiteness

The goal of this chapter is twofold. From an empirical point of view, I aim to present and account for most of the patterns in which nominal ellipsis is licensed in Romanian; in the same vein, I will also bring into discussion certain configurations in which ellipsis is blocked, and provide an explanation for why this is so.

From a theoretical point of view, I aim to tackle the following theoretical problems, which will follow from the analysis of the empirical data (not necessarily in this order):

(i) I provide syntactic evidence that ellipsis sites are definite descriptions (see Elbourne 2008 for semantic evidence) and show that the definiteness of the ellipsis sites contributes to the creation of a common discourse topic (in the sense of López 2000); in other words, the ellipsis site always contains a silent definite article; the fact that the deleted head noun is definite is an instruction that this head noun is part of the common discourse topic; the common topic approach to deletion is thus well defended;

(ii) the role and correlates of focalization are also assessed in the proper licensing of ellipsis (see also Merchant 2001, Winkler 2003);

(iii) at various points, it will emerge that the data cannot be handled by an empty pro-form analysis¹, the PF-deletion approach being preferable;

(iv) a difference between two superficially similar, but syntactically different phenomena, *nominal ellipsis* and *substantivization* will emerge; *substantivization* involves the presence of a silent noun (i.e. of a null pro-form) in the sense of Panagiotidis (2003) or

¹ The *what-you-see-is-what-you-get* treatment of ellipsis (see, more recently, Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Schlangen 2003, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005 *inter alii*) has been shown to be empirically and conceptually inadequate (Merchant 2001, Aelbrecht 2010); of the two remaining (structural) approaches to the nature of ellipsis site, the PF-deletion and empty pro-form, the former has become the most widely accepted working hypothesis. Conceiving ellipsis as a PF-deletion phenomenon does not exclude the presence of silent/empty nouns (see Panagiotidis 2003, Kayne 2005) as lexical formatives; later on in this chapter, I will show that Romanian also possesses a substantivization phenomenon which implies the presence of silent/empty nouns, which is distinct from nominal ellipsis. In this context, Panagiotidis' (2003: 381) remark proves correct: "empty nouns, whether phonologically null or overt, are listed in the lexicon and have to be learned once, rather than licensed and identified in every syntactic context they appear".

Kayne (2005)²; in Romanian, there is an important empirical difference between nominal ellipsis and substantivization: the suffixal definite article licenses only substantivization, being excluded as a licenser of nominal ellipsis³.

Certain issues present in this chapter have been previously discussed in individual or joint work: the general mechanism of nominal ellipsis licensing has been first put forth in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2010) and revised in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a); from a conceptual point of view, this chapter preserves the ideas from these joint papers, but enriches and deepens the analysis, providing novel arguments in favour of the approach earlier advocated. The syntax of adjectives plays an important part in the discussion of nominal ellipsis with adjectival remnants; the essential features of the syntax of Romanian adjectives have been dealt with in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011b) and Cornilescu and Nicolae (2016). Certain syntactic issues concerning the morphologically paradoxical words *unul* and *altul* have been dealt with in Nicolae (2008), Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011c) and Nicolae (2013c). The syntax of the adjectival article *cel* has also benefited from several recent analyses in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011b) and Nicolae (2013f) (and, more recently, in Nicolae 2019). Finally, the particular view on definiteness advocated here is essentially based on Nicolae (2013a)⁴; Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011a and 2012a) have taken as a null hypothesis what is actually defended in Nicolae (2013a) from a conceptual and empirical perspective. Previous works by Coene (1999), Giurgea (2008, 2009, 2010), and Cornilescu (1992, 2004, 2005, 2007) have been fundamental for the issues discussed here.

The minimal DP-structure assumed is the one given by Borer (2005):

- (1) DP > QP > NumP > NP

This structure will be revisited in §III.3, where the discussion of *cel* requires the adoption of the *Split D-hypothesis* (Giusti 1996, 2005 (on Romanian), 2012, Ihsane and Puskas 2001, Aboh 2004, Laenzlinger 2005a, 2005b, 2010, Cornilescu 2007, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b; see also Roberts 2017 for the implementation of this idea in a bi-phasal

² In the analysis of gender mismatches under nominal ellipsis, Merchant (2014: 9) reaches a similar conclusion (highlight mine, Alexandru Nicolae): “a nominal constituent can be elided (*true ellipsis*), or a *null nominal pro-form* can be used (model-theoretic anaphora)”.

³ Romanian thus eliminates the ambiguity of the “*le malade*”-type of structures discussed by Sleeman (1996) for French, as it displays two different structures, *bolnavul* (‘the sick man’) and *cel bolnav* (‘the sick one’), overtly distinguishing the two processes.

⁴ I owe a great debt of gratitude to Ian Roberts for discussing with me the conceptual problems posed by the ideas defended in Nicolae (2013a), to Adam Ledgeway, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, Alexandra Cornilescu, Camelia Stan, and Adina Dragomirescu for reading the final draft of Nicolae (2013a), and to the members of the Surrey Morphology Group led by Greville G. Corbett for inviting me to present the first version of this paper at the University of Surrey at Guildford. The ideas defended in Nicolae (2013a) (and further in Nicolae 2015b) prove essential for understanding the source of the definiteness of the ellipsis site.

approach). The D-head will be shown to split into a lower D_{internal} position and a higher D_{external} projection, with the space between the two determiner projections accommodating DP-internal constituents marked from the point of the DP-internal information packaging (cf. Chafe 1976).

The **outline** of the chapter is as follows: in §III.1, I present the main problems bearing on ellipsis to be dealt with in the chapter; in §III.2 I deal with Danon's "definiteness parameter" and I put forth an account of the syntax of definiteness in Romanian; while Danon's proposal is not readily compatible with the current views on parametrization, his insight is valuable and sets the frame for understanding the distinction between languages in which definiteness is expressed as an affix on nouns (being thus a property of nominal inflection, see Nicolae 2015b, Ledgeway 2017) and languages in which definiteness is a freestanding morpheme. From §III.3 onwards (the most extended section of the chapter) I properly turn to the analysis of nominal ellipsis; the syntax of the ellipsis site and of the overt counterparts will be presented in parallel in order to depict the effects of the application of ellipsis on syntactic structure; §III.4 starts from a historical problem (nominal ellipsis with participial remnants) and shows that two different processes, nominal ellipsis and substantivization, have historically specialized their licensors (in old Romanian, the suffixal definite article was employed for both phenomena, whereas modern Romanian reserves the suffixal article for substantivization and the adjectival article *cel* for nominal ellipsis); finally, §III.5 draws the conclusions.

1. Setting the picture

Since the 19th century (Cipariu 1869-1877), it has been noticed that Romanian possesses two definite articles, occurring in complementary distribution (Cornilescu 2004): the suffixal definite article *-(u)l / -le, -a, -i, -le* and the freestanding definite article *cel* (*cel, cea, cei, cele*).

- (2) a. *băieții*
 boys.DEF
 'the boys'
- b. *cei doi băieți*
 CEL two boys
 'the two boys'

Building on the distinction between valuation and interpretability (in Pesetsky and Torrego's 2007 sense), in the next section, we will try to understand the syntax of the Romanian definite articles, essential in the derivation of nominal ellipsis. More generally,

understanding the syntax of definiteness is crucial for the proper understanding of nominal ellipsis.

Additionally, the article *cel* also appears as an adjectival/demonstrative⁵ article with a very specific syntactic-semantic function: it introduces a constituent expressing an identifying property (Strawson 1961); this constituent merges at the DP-level (Cornilescu 2009b)⁶. From an interpretative perspective, the difference between (3a) and (3b) is that the property introduced by the adjective in the *cel*-construction (3b) is possessed to a degree of excellence, contrasting with the less salient properties of the head noun⁷; in the regular noun plus adjective pattern (3a), the adjective is not subject to such interpretative constraints (the translations are, unfortunately, unable to capture this interpretative subtlety):

- (3) a. *copilul înalt*
 child.DEF tall
 b. *copilul cel înalt*
 child.DEF CEL tall
 ‘the tall child’

Turning to ellipsis now, an intriguing empirical fact is that the suffixal definite article is unable to function as a licenser of nominal ellipsis (in modern Romanian⁸); it may only function as a marker of substantivization. Substantivization will be shown to involve the presence of a silent empty noun (of the type advocated by Panagiotidis 2003, Kayne 2005), with a precise lexical content, which restricts its possibilities of combinations to certain lexical-semantic classes of adjectives; this silent noun is part of the language-specific repository of lexical items and has to be learned by children in the process of language acquisition (Panagiotidis 2003: 381). Thus, in the examples below, the suffixed adjective can only express the aesthetic concept ‘beautiffulness’ (4a), whereas the *cel*-construction can have any referent the antecedent dictates:

- (4) a. *frumosul*
 beautiful.DEF
 ‘the beautiffulness’

⁵ In line with the Romanian tradition (Mitran 1966 I: 107-108), I will use the denomination *adjectival article* for this instance of *cel*, although its distribution is not restricted only to adjectives (see §III.3.3.1).

⁶ For the initial distinction between NP- and DP-adjectives, see Larson and Marusik (2004).

⁷ The adjectival article *cel*-construction has been subject to intense inquiry; for the most relevant recent accounts I refer the reader to Manoliu Manea (1993), Tasmowski-De Ryck (1994), Coene (1999), Cornilescu (2007), Iliescu (2009), Marchis and Alexiadou (2009), Vasilescu (2009b).

⁸ See §III.4 for some diachronic considerations.

- b. ***cel*** *frumos*
 CEL beautiful
 ‘the beautiful one’ (*one* = ‘child’, ‘horse’, ‘rose’, ‘apartment’, etc.)

Substantivized adjectives are thus fully-fledged self-sufficient nouns, while the *cel*-counterparts are structures based on the deletion of the head-noun, retrievable from the context. As stated above, not all adjectives may be substantivized (6a), but most adjectives⁹ can take part in the nominal ellipsis construction licensed by *cel* or by a different narrowly D-linked determiner (6b):

- (5) *strălucitoare****le*** *stele*
 shining.DEF stars
 ‘the shining stars’
 (6) a. **strălucitoare*
 shining.DEF
 b. ***cele*** / *acelea* / ***unele*** *strălucitoare*
 CEL those some shining
 ‘the / those / some shining ones’

A further empirical issue to be discussed and decided on is what instance of *cel* (the freestanding article *cel* or the adjectival article *cel*) licenses ellipsis. As is obvious from the potential overt counterparts of (7a) in (7b,c), it seems that only the adjectival article *cel* may head nominal ellipsis structures (7c), as the direct insertion of freestanding *cel* in front of adjectives is disallowed when the head noun does not occupy the DP-initial position:

- (7) a. *cel* *întunecos*
 CEL dark
 ‘the dark one’
 b. ****cel*** *întunecos* *iad*
 CEL dark hell
 c. *iadul* ***cel*** *întunecos*
 hell.DEF CEL dark
 ‘the dark hell’

One other empirical puzzle to which this chapter provides an answer is the following one: relational adjectives (i.e. thematic and classifying adjectives) are disallowed

⁹ Not all adjectives may be remnants of nominal ellipsis. An interesting result that will emerge is that the adjectives that undergo definiteness agreement are obligatorily part of the ellipsis site (see §III.3.3.6.3).

in the *cel*-construction, because of their denotation (properties of kinds, $\langle k, t \rangle$), which forces them to merge in the lexical (NP) domain. As will be shown in the section devoted to the analysis of *cel*, adjectives in this construction merge above D_{internal} , being thus exempt from undergoing definiteness agreement with the head-noun. However, relational adjectives may appear under nominal ellipsis headed by *cel*:

- (8) a. **produsul cel românesc*
product.DEF CEL Romanian
b. **producția cea cerealieră*
production.DEF CEL cereal
- (9) a. *produsul englezesc și cel românesc*
product.DEF English and CEL Romanian
' $\sim^{10}$ the English product and the Romanian one'
b. *producția petrolieră și cea cerealieră*
production.DEF petroleous and CEL cereal
' $\sim$ the petroleum production and the cereal one'

This pattern extends to (subcategorised) nominal arguments: they are excluded in the overt *cel*-construction (10), but allowed in the elliptical variant (11).

- (10) a. **acordarea cea de burse*
granting.DEF CEL of scholarships
b. **dependența cea de droguri*
dependence.DEF CEL on drugs
c. **apelul cel la autorități*
appeal.DEF CEL to authorities
- (11) a. *acordarea de burse și cea de distincții*
granting.DEF of scholarships and CEL of distinctions
' $\sim$ the granting of scholarships and the one of distinctions'
b. *dependența de droguri și cea de alcool*
dependence.DEF on drugs and CEL on alcohol
' $\sim$ the dependence on drugs and the one on alcohol'
c. *apelul la prieteni și cel la autorități*
appeal.DEF to friends and CEL to authorities
' $\sim$ the appeal to friends and the one to authorities'

¹⁰ The $\sim$ sign indicates that *one*-insertion is not fully acceptable with relational adjectives in English (Jim Brown, *p.c.*); the same is valid for subcategorized nominal arguments. Although I am aware that the English translation is not fully acceptable, I have opted for this translation, in order to make it resemble to a greater extent the Romanian structure.

The derivation of these examples will be shown to be an instance of smuggling (Collins 2005) the relational adjective or the nominal argument to a position otherwise inaccessible to exclusively postnominal constituents.

Finally, the last puzzle concerns the morphologically paradoxical words *unul* and *altul*, which overtly consists of an indefinite quantifier suffixed by the freestanding definite article.

Let us first turn to the so-called “definiteness parameter” and see how Danon’s (2010) intuition can be more accurately captured by the current tools of the minimalist framework. Recall that Pesetsky and Torrego’s (2007) perspective on Agree, which distinguishes interpretability from valuation and in which Agree is conceived as *feature sharing* (see also Frampton and Gutmann 2006 on Agree as feature sharing), has been adopted.

2. A “definiteness parameter”?

2.1. Remarks on parametrization

2.1.1. The classical model of parametrization

From the very beginning of the emergence of linguistics as a scientific discipline in the 19th century (Ionescu 2001: 15), the comparative perspective has been in one form or another in the core of the discipline. However, while the comparative-historical method has been interested in the reconstruction of disappeared or unattested (stages of) languages and in establishing the common origin of a certain cluster of languages through the investigation of their shared morphophonological properties (Gallego 2011: 523), Generative Grammar has concentrated from its very beginnings on syntax, and, starting with the 1980s, on linguistic variation in the *Principles and Parameters* format (see Chomsky 1981).

From the point of view of parametrization, the chief result of the GB framework has been the proposal of a model which captures both the stable, invariant features of natural language (i.e. the *Principles*) and the points in which languages may vary (i.e. the *Parameters*)¹¹. In this model, parametric variation is syntactically determined, and parameters are conceived as having large scale effects, cutting across unrelated language – a *macroparametric* perspective, therefore. This type of parametrization is illustrated, for

¹¹ “What we expect to find, then, is a highly structured theory of U[niversal] G[rammar] based on a number of fundamental principles that sharply restrict the class of attainable grammars and narrowly constrain their form, but with parameters that have to be fixed by experience” (Chomsky 1981: 3-4).

instance, by the *Null Subject (/Pro-drop) Parameter* (Chomsky 1981, Rizzi 1982) or by the *Polysynthesis Parameter* (Baker 1996). Intensive research in the 1980s and the first decade of the 1990s has revealed a great number of counterexamples¹² to the macroparametric model of variation, whose ultimate effects have been the abandonment of the macroparametric vision and the reinterpretation of macroparameters as secondary clustering effects of certain *microparameters* (Roberts 2012a, b, Gallego 2011).

2.1.2. Parametrization in Minimalism

In the minimalist programme, the problem of linguistic variation has split into two directions (Baker 2008), not necessarily antagonistic.

The most widely employed method of investigating syntactic variation is the *microparametric* method, initiated by Richard S. Kayne, and further developed and refined by Kayne himself (see Kayne 2005, 2012) and by the ReCoS (*Rethinking Comparative Syntax*) group headed by Ian Roberts. As also remarked by Baker (2008: 351), this method is based on the same conceptual principles as the classic GB theory of parametrization, but differs from it in two very important respects: (i) it deals with more restricted phenomena, and (ii) it applies to languages / dialects more closely related¹³ (see also Kayne 2012). The source of variation is represented by the formal features of lexical items, an idea known as the *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture*, explicitly formulated by Baker (2008):

- (12) *The Borer–Chomsky Conjecture* (Baker, 2008: 353)
All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g., the functional heads) in the lexicon.

¹² For instance, in the case of the *Null Subject (/Pro-drop) Parameter*, the existence of null subjects in a given language is related, in the classical formulation, to rich verbal inflection (see Rizzi, 1986: 520). The immediate counterexamples to this claim are German and Icelandic, whose verbal inflection is rich, but do not accept a null subject. For example, in German, rich inflection is present both with simple paradigms (present, preterit), and with analytic forms (perfect, pluperfect, future, etc.). A well-known exception to this generalization exists (Adam Ledgeway, *p.c.*): null expletives (but not overt expletives like *es*) are found in V2 main clauses, where a constituent distinct from the subject is topicalised; compare: **(Es) wird heute getanzt* (EXPL AUX-PASS today danced) cu *Heute (*es) wird getanzt* (today AUX-PASS *EXPL danced), with both sentences meaning ‘there is dancing today’ (see, for details, Vikner 1995: ch. 6, 7). A more attractive proposal formulated in the minimalist framework is that null subjects come about as the effect of the deletion of a pronoun in narrow syntax (Roberts 2010a); this proposal disentangles *pro*-drop from verbal inflection conceived as a unit (encompassing both verbal (tense-mood-aspect) and nominal (person, agreement) inflectional information).

¹³ The reason for comparing closely related idioms is the elimination of “noise”, i.e. of the elements that may interfere with the parameter under scrutiny. The null hypothesis is therefore the following one: the more closely related two idioms, the less differences between them; thus, parameters may be more closely delimited and their correlates more easily controlled.

A second method of investigating syntactic variation is the macroparametric method. There are at least two perspectives on macroparameters.

Mark C. Baker claims that the most important parameters are delimited by a major comparison of languages belonging to different families; the source of macroparametric variation is placed in the grammatical component of the language¹⁴, not in the lexicon; the *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture* is thus not functional for delimiting macroparameters.

The other perspective, crystallized by Ian Roberts within the ReCoS project (see Roberts 2012a, 2012b), has an essentially microparametric view on macroparameters: “apparent macroparametric variation appears when a group of functional heads are specified for the same properties: for example, if all heads implicated in determining word-order variation have the same word-order related property, the system is harmonically head-initial or head-final” (Roberts 2012a: 321). In a nutshell, when all the relevant heads are specified for a certain property, we arrive at a consistent macroparametric setting. In the system proposed by Roberts, variation is set up as a network. Consider the Head-Directionality / Word-Order Parameter, and assume, as in Kayne (1994), that the default option is head-initial, with the head-final order being derived by the leftward movement of the complement; movement is ensured by a feature on functional heads (a movement diacritic). Roberts (2012a: 321) sets up the following parameter hierarchy, which captures the discrete gradualness of parameter setting:

- (14) Is the head-final feature present on all heads?
- Y: **head-final(a)** N: present on no heads?
 - Y: **head-initial (b)** N: present on [+V] categories?
 - Y: **head-final in the clause only (c)** N: present on...

The positive setting of the first variable gives us consistently head-final languages (e.g. Japanese), while its negative setting characterises rigidly head-initial languages (e.g. Celtic, Romance). These settings, situated at the top of the hierarchy, give us the macroparametric options. As we descend on the hierarchy, the setting that affects smaller classes of heads (e.g. [+V] heads) is a mesoparameter, and the parameter further breaks down into specific microparameters. The system also leaves room for almost idiosyncratic instances of variation, *nanoparameters*. For example, the idiosyncratic linearization

¹⁴ “[...] there can be variation in the grammar proper in addition to variation that can properly be attributed to the properties of particular lexical items” (Baker 2008: 354).

properties of the Romanian 3rd person singular feminine accusative clitic¹⁵, which are not phonological in nature, but seem to be the effect of syntactic change (Dragomirescu 2013c: 194), and which single out this item, can be argued to be due to a nanoparametric setting affecting this item. Another phenomenon that can be considered an instance of nanoparametric variation is the capacity of the verb *putea* ('can, be able to') to preserve infinitival complementation in Romanian, as opposed to the other modal (and aspectual) verbs with clausal complements, which take a subjunctive (Adam Ledgeway, *p.c.*). In this framework, parametric variation (irrespective of its domain: *macro-*, *meso-*, *micro-*, *nano-*parametric) falls under the *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture*.

The current phase of research does not allow one to have a clear choice for one perspective or the other. In favour of the Baker parametrization, one could argue that there is a certain global consistency of a given grammatical system, deeper than the mere clustering of microparametric choices: "there seems to be a certain global unity to a head-final language as opposed to a head-initial language [...], which seems more pervasive than can be attributed to any particular lexical item, or even to a small class of lexical items" (Baker, 2008: 354). At the same time, there is no conceptual or empirical counterargument to the Roberts system of parametrization. Setting up a parameter hierarchy starting at the bottom of the hierarchy from microparameters and gradually generalizing the microparametric properties to all the relevant heads offers the premises of a systematic and conceptually motivated account of mixed types: parametric variation is a **discrete**

¹⁵ With certain analytic tenses, *o* gives rise to enclisis (ii), in contrast to all the other accusative and dative clitics, which are systematically proclitic (i):

- (i) a. *l-am* *văzut*
CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE
'I saw him.'
- b. *i-am* *dat* *cartea*
CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG give.PPLE book.DEF
'I gave him the book.'

- (ii) *am* *văzut-o*
AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG
'I saw her,'

No other clitic displays this idiosyncratic linearization property. The special linearization properties of *o* begin to manifest themselves after the 18th century (Stan 2012; Dragomirescu 2013c: 194); see the example below, which shows that in old Romanian, *o* had a regular behaviour:

- (iv) *o* *am* *auzit* (Cantacuzino, 17th c.)
CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.PERF.1SG hear.PPLE
'I heard it.'

In old Romanian and early modern Romanian (cca. 16th-19th centuries), *o* could also be doubly realised, occurring both before and after the verbal cluster (auxiliary + verb) (Stan 2012; Dragomirescu 2013c: 194; Nicolae 2019: 36):

- (iv) *o* *au* *adus-o* (Neculce, 18th c.)
CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.PERF.3SG bring.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG
'they brought it'

continuum, with the pure types (e.g. head-initial / head-final) at the ends of a hierarchy and with mixed types in between. From a conceptual point of view, it is more elegant to have macroparameters resulting from the clustering of microparameters; the discrete continuum nature of parameter hierarchies results from the behaviour of microparameters. Thus, it is easier to assume a similar source of syntactic variation at all levels (the Roberts model) rather than postulating macroparameters and accounting for mixed type with the help of microparameters (the Baker model).

2.1.3. Summary

To sum up, in the Roberts hierarchies, *nanoparameters* are situated at the bottom of the hierarchy and are idiosyncratic properties of a head or of a few heads, *microparameters* come next, and characterize a robust subclass of heads, *mesoparameters* characterize all heads of a given class (e.g. [+N] / [+V] heads), while macroparameters apply a given setting to all the heads that can be parameterised.

In the next section, I discuss the characteristics of the [+definite] feature, place it in a larger featural typology and show that it is a *morphosyntactic* feature in Romanian (as opposed to its being merely a *semantic* feature¹⁶). Its *morphosyntactic* nature allows one to properly place it in a syntactic variation perspective.

2.2. On “the definiteness parameter”. Patterns of definiteness valuation in Romanian

In his argumentation, Danon (2010) starts from two empirical problems: the syntax of the genitive and definiteness agreement between nouns and adjectives, both illustrated with Hebrew.

From the outset, it should be mentioned that the terms *definiteness agreement* and *double definiteness* / *double definite construction* are not synonymous. Definiteness agreement is a morphosyntactic *agreement* phenomenon by which an adjective agrees in definiteness with a definite noun, while double definite constructions are constructions which trigger the split of the D-head into a D_{internal} and a D_{external} projection, with *distinct* determiners occupying or satisfying the necessities of the split-D heads (see also Giusti

¹⁶ Semantically, definiteness means *uniqueness* (Russell 1905) / *maximality* (Heim 1991, cf. also Link 1983) and *familiarity*; the Russellian view on definite descriptions (i.e. uniqueness) has been extended to account for plural definites as well (i.e. the maximality effect of definites) (see also Abbott 2004, 2006 for detailed discussions on the semantics of definiteness). Interestingly, in the licensing of nominal ellipsis, it is the *familiarity* requirement (Christophersen 1939) of definite descriptions, which distinguishes them from *indefinite* descriptions, subject to the novelty condition (Heim 1982), that is relevant, not the uniqueness / maximality requirement.

2012 for this claim). Romanian instantiates a genuine double definite construction, the *cel*-adjectival article construction, which will be discussed in §III.3.

2.2.1. Danon's (2010) proposal

Consider the Semitic construct state, in which a definite (non-prepositional) possessor is adjoined to a non-definite possessee:

- (14) *xulcat ha-yeled retuva* (Hebrew, *apud* Danon 2010: 143)
 shirt DEF.boy wet

According to Danon (2010), the construct state genitive in (14) has more than one interpretation: both the possessor and the genitival dependent are interpreted as definite *or* only the genitival dependent is read as definite *or* the phrase as a whole is definite *or*, finally, the [+definite] feature is not interpreted at all in the respective phrase. The [+definite] feature, marked only once in the phrase as a prefix on the noun denoting the possessor, is differently distributed from an interpretative point of view across the complex nominal phrase.

The other phenomenon discussed by Danon (2010) is *definiteness agreement* of attributive adjectives. In Hebrew, in definite DPs, attributive adjectives regularly display definiteness agreement with the head noun, this agreement phenomenon being of the same type as gender and number concord:

- (15) *he-sefer *(ha-)adom ne'elam* (Hebrew, *apud* Danon 2010: 145)
 DEF.book DEF.red disappeared
 'The red book disappeared'

According to Danon (2010), a "definiteness parameter" accounts for the special morphosyntactic and interpretative distribution of definiteness in Hebrew (see also Ledgeway (2012b) for a similar discussion on Greek and Southern Italian).

2.2.2. Definiteness as a morphosyntactic feature

In order to account for the special distribution of the [+definite] feature, Danon (2010: 145) puts forth the idea (correct from our perspective) that Hebrew nouns and adjectives possess in their lexical matrix the [+definite] feature, with definiteness being a morphosyntactic feature. According to Danon (2010), the availability of a [+definite] morphosyntactic feature is a *parameter* that distinguishes languages like Hebrew and

Arabic from languages in which definiteness is marked by articles (English, French, etc.), but definiteness is *morphosemantic*, as opposed to being morphosyntactic¹⁷.

The distinct status, *morphosyntactic* vs. *morphosemantic*, of a certain feature concerns the phenomena in which the respective feature can participate. Specifically, in Kibort's formulation (2010: 80-81, highlight mine, Alexandru Nicolae):

- (16) "A *morphosyntactic feature* is a feature whose values are involved in either syntactic agreement or government",

in opposition to morphosemantic features "whose values are not involved in either syntactic agreement or government but are inherent only".

The definition in (16) proposed by Kibort (2010) is fully compatible with Corbett's (2011: 448) definition of *canonical* morphosyntactic features:

- (17) "A canonical morphosyntactic feature is one that has robust formal marking and is manipulated or constrained by simple rules of syntax".

Most of the assertions of the current subsection are in need of clarification. First of all, although Danon's proposal is insightful, it is not rooted in a proper theory of parametrization: the source of variation must be ascertained; furthermore, a [+definite] parameter affects only a subclass of heads, i.e. the nominal (i.e. [+N]) ones; this calls for the placement of the *definiteness* parameters in a parametric hierarchy of the type advocated by Roberts (2012a, 2012b).

Secondly, Kibort's proposal to distinguish different varieties of features proves indeed insightful as it is able to distinguish featural subtypes (with superficially similar realization, but with radically different behaviour¹⁸) previously bulked together. However, from the point of view of the current model of Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1995 and

¹⁷ Kibort (2010) distinguishes between morphosyntactic / morphosemantic / morphological features. The characteristics of morphosyntactic features are presented in the main text (their chief characteristic is participating in *agreement* phenomena). Morphosemantic features do not participate in agreement phenomena, but have semantic effects; according to Kibort, tense features are morphosemantic features. Actually, tense features themselves are morphosyntactic since case assignment is dependent upon valuation of T-features (Pesetsky and Torrego 2004); Kibort actually refers to values such as [Past] / [Present] / [Future], which, indeed, do not have narrow syntactic correlates, and may thus be considered morphosemantic. (Purely) morphological features are defined in opposition to morphosyntactic and morphosemantic features: they do not participate in agreement phenomena and they do not have semantic implications; inflectional class features (e.g. [declension I] for Latin nouns) are purely morphological features.

¹⁸ Consider, for example, the radical different behaviour of gender features / inflectional class features and number features, which, in a language like Romanian, may be realized as suffixes on nouns.

ssq.), *government* has been dispensed with¹⁹, and its effects can be roughly captured by *c-command*, defined by Roberts (2011: 200) as “the transitive closure of sisterhood and containment (this is the natural definition, since both sisterhood and containment can be directly defined in terms of Merge, see Chomsky 2000: 116)”, and *Agree* (more on Agree below). And since Agree, irrespective of the featural typology adopted²⁰, is parasitic on *c-command*, i.e. with a feature F on a Probe scanning its c-commanding domain for another instance of F on the Goal, Kibort’s proposal in (16) can be reinterpreted as follows:

- (18) A *morphosyntactic feature* is a feature whose values are involved in either syntactic agreement or c-command.

As will be shown in the following subsections, in the case of definiteness agreement in Romanian, syntactic agreement is actually also the result of a Probe-Goal relation; thus, syntactic agreement comes about in a c-command configuration; one can thus further refine Kibort’s proposal as follows:

- (19) A *morphosyntactic feature* is a feature whose values are involved in c-command (Agree).

This clarification enables one to properly formalize the recent results on featural typology in the minimalist framework. The purpose of the next section is to empirically show that the [+definite] feature actively participates in Agree, a fact which indicates that it belongs to the nanosyntactic compartment, i.e. that it is a morphosyntactic feature, subject to parametrization. The source of definiteness is assessed in one of the forthcoming sections (§III.2.2.4); in a nutshell, I will adopt a lexicalist view on morphology, of the type advocated in Chomsky (1995) and Lasnik (1995), which allows inflectional morphemes (e.g. tense, definiteness affixes) to combine with lexical categories (verbs, nouns) in the pre-syntactic component. This generative view is supported by results coming from linguistic typology as well as generative grammar (see the discussion below, especially (55) and (57)).

The affixal status of the Romanian definite article (a status similar to that of the Hebrew and Arabic definite article) also proves important in deciding whether the definiteness feature in Romanian is morphosyntactic (I will also get back to this issue below). For the time being, it is worth mentioning that the realization of a feature also proves important when assessing the respective feature’s status, as noted by Corbett (2011:

¹⁹ In Chomsky’s last classical work in the GB framework, *Barriers* (Chomsky 1986), *government* is defined as follows: “(18) α governs β iff α m-commands β and there is no γ , γ a barrier for β , such that γ excludes α ” (Chomsky 1986: 9).

²⁰ Valued / unvalued; interpretable / uninterpretable in various proposals of Chomsky’s since the 2000 paper; valued / unvalued *and* interpretable and uninterpretable in Pesetsky and Torrego (2007).

458): “another perspective on canonical [morphosyntactic] features [...] is that they be realized by canonical inflectional morphology”.

Before proceeding with our analysis, it is important to minimally present the definition of Agree adopted. Recall from §1.2 that I follow Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), who distinguish between *interpretable* and *uninterpretable* features, on the one hand, and *valued* and *unvalued* features, on the other hand. The syntactic derivation is driven by the need to delete uninterpretable features (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) conceive Agree as a form of feature sharing (see also Frampton and Gutmann 2006).

- (20) **Agree (Feature sharing version)** (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007: 4)
- (i) An unvalued feature F (a *Probe*) on a head H at syntactic location α (F_α) scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a *Goal*) at location β (F_β) with which to agree.
 - (ii) Replace F_α with F_β , so that the same feature is present in both locations.

Agree is thus initiated by some head at a location α (the Probe), provided with an *unvalued*, *uninterpretable* or *interpretable* feature F_α ; the c-command domain is scanned for another instance of F , in some (Goal) phrase β , F_β , with which it agrees. Conceived as *feature sharing*, Agree consists in replacing F_α with F_β , so that the same feature is present in both locations. A link accessible throughout the derivation is thus established. Importantly, by combining *valuation* and *interpretability*, Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) arrive at a fourfold feature typology; features participating in Agree will bear the same numerical index; an empty pair of brackets signals that a feature has not participated in Agree.

- (21) $[uF] [1]$: uninterpretable, valued $[iF] [1]$: interpretable, valued
 $[uF] []$: uninterpretable, unvalued $[iF] []$: interpretable, unvalued

2.2.3. The definiteness parameter in Romanian. Deriving definiteness valuation and definiteness agreement in Romanian

Thus, our specific proposal is that Romanian is part of the group of languages (Hebrew, Arabic²¹) in which the definiteness parameter is active. Thus, Romanian nouns

²¹ Other languages which can be potentially included in this group are the Scandinavian / North Germanic languages and Albanian (Romanian scholar B.P. Hasdeu had noticed as early as 1879 striking similarities between Romanian and Scandinavian languages / Albanian). For definiteness marking in Albanian, see Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea (2006); for Scandinavian, see Julien (2005), Faarlund (2009), Stroh-Wollin (2009) i.a. A potential implication is that languages that mark definiteness as an affix on the noun (and on adjectives, as the effect of agreement) manifest the definiteness parameter.

and adjectives possess in their lexical matrix the *morphosyntactic* definite feature. Since definiteness is interpretable only on nouns, it is reasonable to assume that its presence on adjectives represents an agreement phenomenon.

I will get back in §III.2.2.4 to a more accurate characterization of the [+definite] (morphosyntactic) feature.

In order to support our proposal, it is necessary first to demonstrate that the [+definite] feature is present on nouns from the beginning of the syntactic derivation, and then to show that this feature actively participates in Agree, i.e. it gives rise to definiteness agreement phenomena. Recall that, in order to be *morphosyntactic*, a feature has to actively participate in syntactic phenomena; equally important, only *morphosyntactic* features can be subject to parametrization.

2.2.3.1. Patterns of definiteness valuation and definiteness realization

A cursory comparison between old and modern Romanian (see §I for the periodization of Romanian) with respect to definite DPs shows that the noun enters the derivation suffixed by the definite article.

By analysing the examples in (22) below, we observe that it is compulsory that the DP-initial position is occupied by a definite determiner in modern Romanian:

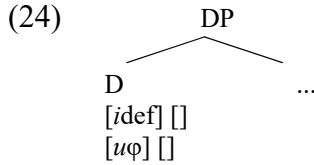
- (22) a. *băiatu**l***²²
boy.DEF
- b. *frumosul băiat* b'. **frumos băiatul*
beautiful.DEF boy beautiful boy.DEF
- c. *cei doi băieți*
CEL two boys

Analysing, as stated, the structures in (22) from the perspective of the DP-hypothesis (Abney 1987, Longobardi 1994 and ssq. work), a significant generalization emerges:

- (23) *Definiteness realization in modern Romanian* (to be recast in terms of valuation)
A definite determiner occupies the DP-initial position.

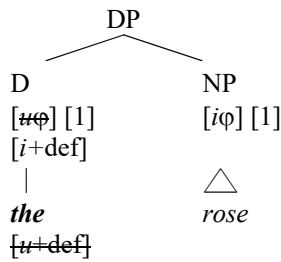
²² I have boldfaced only the inflectional marker *-l* as representing the Romanian definite article; the segment *-u-* present between the nominal root and the definite article represents the masculine/neuter singular *number* inflectional ending (< Lat. *-u(m)*, see Fischer 1985: 91) which, in modern Romanian, gets phonologically realized only in the presence of the definite article (Tasmowski-de Ryck 2000: 8; Nedelcu 2013: 274); in old Romanian, this inflectional ending generally surfaced on nouns, creating the opposition *băiatu* (singular indefinite) / *băiatul* (singular definite) (Frâncu 2009: 42).

Similarly to Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) proposals on the featural make-up of the T-head²³, assume that, in UG, the D-head is *uninterpretable* [ϕ] and interpretable definite ($u\phi$, $idef$) (as in Cornilescu and Nicolae 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012a).



In a language like English, [$idef$] is valued by Merge of the freestanding definite article *the*, while the ϕ -features of D are valued via Agree with the c-commanded nominal restriction.

(25) *the rose*



In a language like Romanian, which has a suffixal definite article, in a simple structure where the DP consists only of a definite noun, the [$u+def$] feature of the noun, acting as a Goal, will value the [$idef$] feature of D Probe via Agree²⁴.

(26) *elevul*
pupil.DEF

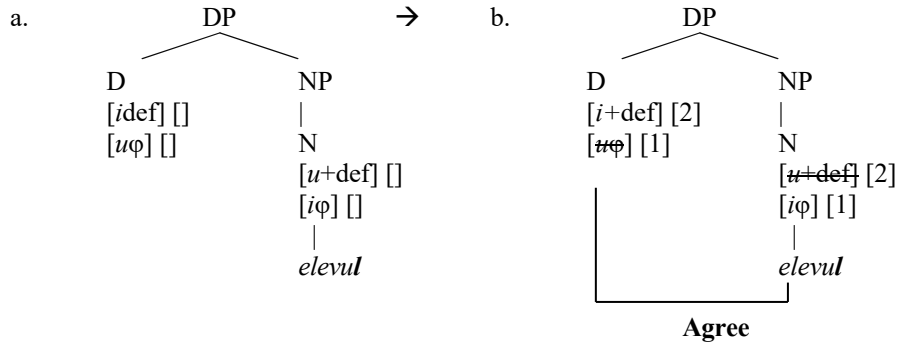
²³ Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) proposal for the English tense system is the following one:

Agree

(i)	... Tense	[_v walked]	→	.Tense	[_v walked]
	<i>i</i> T[]	<i>u</i> T + past		<i>i</i> T[2]	<i>u</i> T + past [2]

As can be noticed, the locus of *interpretability* is the functional head; the values of a given interpretable feature on a functional head are provided either by Agree with goal in the respective head's c-command domain (as is standardly assumed) or via Merge (as advocated by Rouveret 2012; Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) also indicates that Merge is one possible strategy of valuation).

²⁴ There is also a Num(ber)P in the extended nominal projection; in Romance (Romanian included), there is N-to-Num raising as a typological option (see, among others, Tănase-Dogaru 2009). The NumP will be ignored for the time being, as it is not directly relevant for the present argumentation.



As mentioned, the definite article can also surface on adjectives. This represents a phenomenon of *agreement* in definiteness. The position of the adjectival head in the DP is highly relevant: not all configurations with adjectival modification allow definiteness agreement. Actually, only *attributive* (qualifying or intensional) *prenominal* adjectives can undergo definiteness agreement (27). In modern Romanian, the definite article surfaces only once, on the highest [+N] constituent (cf. (27b-c)); DP-internal adverbials (i.e. [-N] categories) can precede the constituent suffixed by the definite article and do not trigger (defective) intervention effects (cf. (27a)). Note that intensional adjectives (like *former*, *poor*, etc.) are exclusively prenominal²⁵ (cf. (27d)-(27e)). *Postnominal* adjectives, be they qualifying (28a) or relational²⁶ (28c), are excluded from definiteness agreement ((28b), (28d)); predicative adjectives do not undergo definiteness agreement either (29).

- (27) a. (*foarte*) *frumosul* *trandafir*
 very beautiful.DEF rose
 ‘the very beautiful rose’
 b. **frumos* *trandafirul*
 beautiful rose.DEF
 c. **frumosul* *trandafirul*
 beautiful.DEF rose.DEF
 d. *fostul* *șef*
 former.DEF boss
 ‘the former boss’

²⁵ Certain prenominal adjectives like *sărac* are not excluded in postnominal position; however, when postnominal, these adjectives display an exclusively descriptive meaning (postnominal *sărac* ‘impecunious’), in opposition to the prenominal position, where *speaker evaluation* overrides the descriptive meaning (prenominal *sărac* ‘poor, pitiable’). Other adjectives like *fost* (‘former’), *viitor* (‘future’) or *biet* (‘pitiable’) are indeed exclusively prenominal.

²⁶ The class of *relational* adjectives includes *thematic* (e.g. **British** victory) and *classifying* (e.g. **romantic** poem) adjective (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2016 for details).

- e. **șeful* *fost*
 boss.DEF former
- (28) a. *trandafirul* *frumos*
 rose.DEF beautiful
 ‘the beautiful rose’
- b. **trandafirul* *frumosul*
 rose.DEF beautiful.DEF
- c. *comedie* *americană*
 comedy.DEF American
 ‘the American comedy’
- d. **comedia* *americana*
 comedy.DEF American.DEF
- (29) a. *Trandafirul* *este* *frumos.*
 rose.DEF is beautiful
 ‘The rose is beautiful’
- b. **Trandafirul* *este* *frumosul.*
 rose.DEF is beautiful.DEF
- c. **Trandafir* *este* *frumosul.*
 rose is beautiful.DEF

Let us concentrate on prenominal adjectives, which display definiteness agreement. In this connection, note that there is a relevant difference between coordination and stacking (see also Scott 2002): with stacked prenominal adjectives, the article surfaces only once, on the highest adjective (30a) (vs. (30b) and (30c)), whereas, with coordinated adjectives, the article surfaces on both conjuncts (31):

- (30) a. *marele bătrân continent,* *Europa*
 big.DEF old continent Europe
 ‘the big old continent, Europe’
- b. **marele bătrânul* *continent,* *Europa*
 big.DEF old.DEF continent Europe
- c. **mare bătrânul continent,* *Europa*
 big old.DEF continent Europe
- (31) a. *lunga* *și* *călduroasa* *vară*
 long.DEF and warm.DEF summer.DEF
 ‘the long and warm summer’
- b. **lunga* *și* *călduroasă* *vară*
 long.DEF and warm summer.DEF

- c. **lungă* și *călduroasă* *vară*
 long and warm.DEF summer.DEF

The relevance of the disparity between stacking and coordination proves relevant, as stacking involves hierarchical structure (Scott 2002), whereas coordination is essentially a phenomenon of symmetry (cf. Munn 1993).

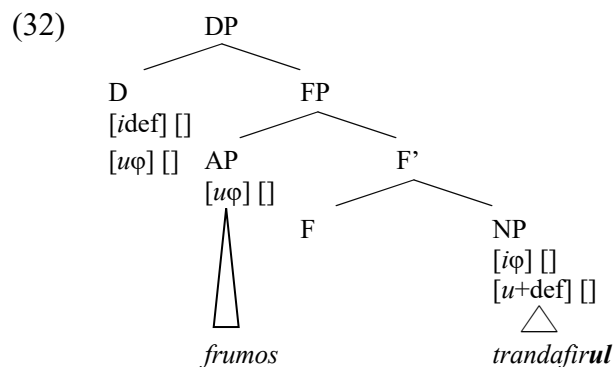
With respect to the derivation of definiteness agreement, I assume that definiteness is among the agreement features of the adjective. This affirmation finds support first and foremost in the inflectional behaviour of adjectives (see Brăescu 2013: 410–414 for a survey of adjectival inflection in modern Romanian, with cursory references to old Romanian). Modern Romanian possesses four inflectional classes of adjectives: four-form adjectives, three-form adjectives, two-form adjectives, invariable adjectives. All these adjectival inflectional classes dissolve into the inflectional classes of the noun, as also remarked by Brăescu (2013: 410): “[a]djectives share a series of inflectional affixes with nouns, and the variation of the stem generally displays morphophonological alternations common to both classes”. The inflectional relation between adjectives and nouns is actually a set-superset relation: there is no adjectival inflection which is not present in the noun set of inflections, but not vice versa²⁷. On morphological grounds, the assumption that definiteness is among the agreement features of the adjective is thus well supported. The definiteness feature on adjectival heads will be *unvalued uninterpretable* [definite]. The complete featural make-up of adjectival heads is thus: *unvalued uninterpretable* [case]²⁸, [number], [gender], and [definiteness].

I essentially follow Cinque (2010) in merging prenominal adjectives as specifiers of functional projections (only the relevant features are present in tree). Consider example (27a), repeated here, whose internal structure is given in (32):

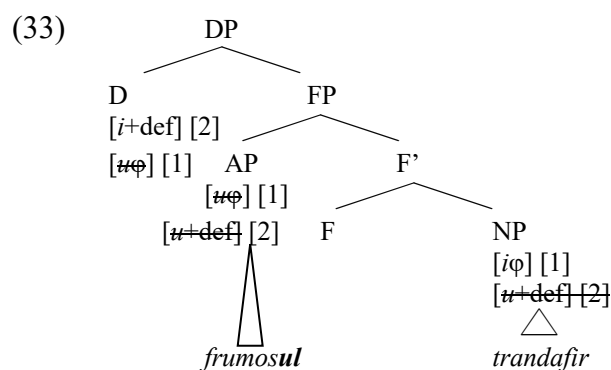
- (27) a. *frumosul* *trandafir*
 beautiful.DEF rose
 ‘the beautiful rose’

²⁷ As also remarked by Brăescu (2013: 410): “there also exist dissimilarities between the inflection of the noun and that of the adjective: some inflectional endings [of nouns] (*-uri* for plural, *-o* for vocative) never occur with adjectives”.

²⁸ Actually, if we follow the account in Pesetsky and Torrego (2004, 2011), *nominative* and *accusative* case features are actually [*uT*] features valued in distinct phases (the C and the *v* phase); valuation in different phases gives rise to the nominative / accusative distinction.

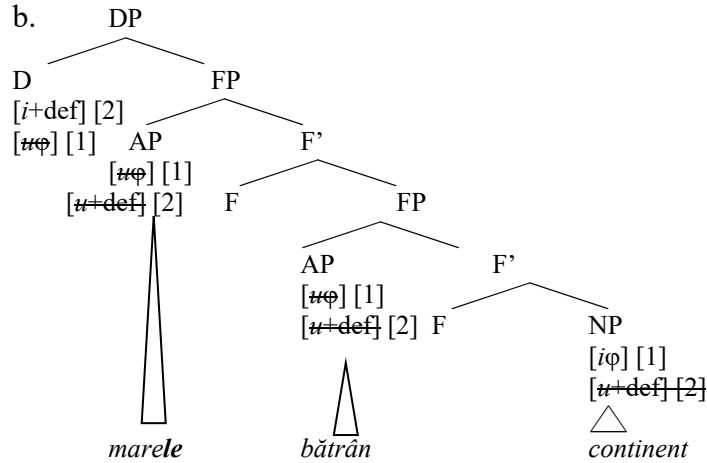


In this configuration, the adjective is in an appropriate position for undergoing Agree (i.e. feature sharing), with the adjective taking over the values of the matching features on the noun. The adjectival head, duly equipped with matching features, is in an appropriate configuration to serve as a Goal for the D-head: the D-head gets its features valued and the derivation is convergent.



The derivation of stacked adjectives featuring the definite article on the DP-initial adjective (34a) is similar (34b) (only the final step of the derivation is shown):

- (34) a. *marele bătrân continent, Europa*
 big.DEF old continent Europe
 ‘the big old continent, Europe’



Thus, the *definiteness realization* requirement stated in (23) can be reformulated in terms of Agree:

(35) *Definiteness valuation in modern Romanian*

The [+def] Goal Phrase which values [*idef*] in D must be a [+N] phrase immediately below D. (*local Agree*)

One more comment is in order at this point: it is important to distinguish between *the realization of the definite article*²⁹ and *the valuation of definiteness*. While definiteness is phonologically realized only once, on the highest [+N] constituent of the phrase, it is present on all [+N] heads in the extended projection of the noun. Evidence for the presence of the definiteness feature on all [+N] heads is given by the existence of multiple realization of the definite article, both in modern Romanian and in old Romanian (see below examples from old Romanian, (44)-(45), and modern Romanian, (46)-(47)).

Let us turn to old Romanian now. In contrast to the modern language, the Romanian DP in older stages of the language possesses a freer grammar, in that it allows both *long distance agreement* and *long distance movement* (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a and Nicolae 2019: ch. 4 for a full discussion; see also Stan 2008 for relevant details).

²⁹ Romanian resembles to a certain extent Norwegian: under certain circumstances, the suffixal definite marker is realized only on the adjective but not on the noun; compare the two examples below, taken from Corbett (2006: 136):

- (i) a. *det ny-e hus-et mitt*
DEF new-DEF house-DEF my
b. *mitt ny-e hus*
my new-DEF house
'my new house'

Long distance movement is shown by the existence of constructions (not present in modern Romanian) in which specifiers can be crossed over by phrasal constituents:

- (36) a. *arătându-i [mare treabă aceasta]* (Costin)
 show.GER=CL.DAT.3SG big affair this
 ‘showing him this big affair’
- b. *pă ticălosul pământul acesta să vină* (Greceanu)
 PE wretched.DEF earth this SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘that he should come on this wretched earth’
- c. *inima ta aceasta* (Greceanu)
 heart.DEF your this
 ‘this heart of your’
- (37) a. [DP *frumos mirositoare a dragostei flori*]
 sweetly smelling AL love.DEF.GEN flower
a rășări (Cantemir)
 AUX.FUT.3SG spring.INF
 ‘the sweet-smelling flower of love will spring’
- b. *pre [DP mai mare a vicleșugului căptușală]_i*
 DOM more big AL guile.DEF.GEN hiding
o_i făcea (Cantemir)
 CL.ACC.F.3SG made.IMPERF.3SG
 ‘he resorted to a deeper hiding of his guile’ (= ‘he hid his guile deeper’)

By contrast, in modern Romanian, prenominal genitives are confined to occupying the DP-initial position³⁰, being determiner genitives (Cornilescu 1995, GBLR 2010), very similar to the English Saxon genitive (Lyons 1986), and valuing the [*idef*] feature of D as unambiguously [+definite] (cf. (38c)).

- (38) a. *al casei prag*
 AL house.GEN threshold
 ‘the house’s threshold’
- b. *al meu prieten*
 AL my friend
 ‘my friend’
- c. **un al casei prag*
 a AL house.GEN threshold

³⁰ Only floating quantifiers may precede the D-position; see Cardinaletti and Giusti (2007) for the presence of a Q projection outside D.

Examples like (39), featuring the movement of an AP across the prenominal genitive are excluded in modern Romanian:

- (39) a. **inalt al casei prag*
 high AL houses threshold
 b. **bun al meu prieten*
 good AL my friend

This cursory comparison of old and modern Romanian indicates that movement operated long distance in old Romanian. The examples in (36) point to the same conclusion. While postnominal demonstratives are not excluded in modern Romanian, there is, however, an important constraint on the occurrence of a postnominal demonstrative: the postnominal demonstrative can be preceded only by a definite head noun (40a). Phrasal constituents are excluded (40c).

- (40) a. *copilul acesta frumos*
 child.DEF this beautiful
 ‘this beautiful child’
 b. **copilul. frumos acesta*
 child.DEF beautiful this

The postnominal demonstrative construction has been derived as instance of N^0 movement to D across the phrasal demonstrative (Cornilescu 1992, 2005, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998, Nicolae 2019).

If we compare the paradigm in (40) with the examples in (36), we observe that, in contrast with modern Romanian, old Romanian freely allows the displacement of *phrasal* constituents (an A+N phrase in (36a); a definite A+N phrase in (36b); a definite N+possessive A phrase in (38c)) across demonstratives, this being an instance of *long distance movement*.

Let us turn to *long distance Agree* now; this second phenomenon is more relevant, as it unambiguously indicates that the definite article originates as a suffix on the head noun. Contrary to the generalization in (35) characterizing modern Romanian, in old Romanian we find examples in which the definite head is preceded by a non-definite adjective; definiteness is thus valued across a potential intervener, this being an instance of *long distance Agree*:

- (41) a. *cu [DP cinstită cartea mării tale] (16th c., DÎR)*
 with honoured letter.DEF highness.DEF.GEN your
 ‘with your highness’ honoured letter’

- b. *au aflat cap și începătura*
 AUX.PERF.3PL find.PPLE head and beginning
moșilor [...] *ca să nu se înece*
 ancestors.DEF.GEN so SUBJ not REFL drown
 [DP *a toate țările anii trecuți*] (17th c., Ureche)
 AL all countries.DEF years.DEF passed
 ‘They found the origin and the beginning of their ancestors so that the passed years of all countries may not be drowned into oblivion.’
- c. *plecat robul Măriei tale* (17th c., Biblia 1688)
 humble servant.DEF highness.DEF.GEN your
 ‘your highness’ humble servant’
- d. *Umbălă după [DP a lumii înșelătoare fața]* (17th c., Costin)
 go.IND.PRES.1PL after AL world.DEF.GEN deceitful face.DEF
 ‘We are after the world’s deceitful face’
- e. *în [DP vrăjmași colți crocodilului] aflându-se* (18th c.: Cantemir)
 in inimical teeth.DEF crocodile.DEF.GEN be.GER=REFL
 ‘being in the crocodile’s inimical teeth’
- f. *făcută de [DP cinstiți părinți ei]* (18th c., L.Can.)
 made by honest parents.DEF her
 ‘made by her honest parents’
- g. *den [DP rea chiverniseală domnilor]* (18th c., RP)
 because bad administration.DEF kings.DEF.GEN
 ‘because of the kings’ bad administration’
- h. *numai cu [DP rea mintea lui] le făcea* (18th c. – RG)
 only with mean mind.DEF his CL.ACC.F.3PL made.IMPERF.3SG
 ‘he made these only with his mean mind’

The occurrence of this so-called “low(er) definite article” is not free; it is generally, but not obligatorily, constrained by the appearance of an inflectional genitive, postnominal to the definite head. As known, in the absence of the definite article to its left, the inflectional genitive is headed by the possessive marker *al*, *a*, *ai*, *ale* (traditionally called “possessive genitival article”):

- (42) a. *casa preotului*
 house.DEF priest.DEF.GEN
 ‘the priest’s house’

- b. *o casă a preotului*
 a house AL priest.DEF.GEN
 ‘a house of the priest’

The realization of the low(er) definite article in old Romanian is thus the effect of the combination of a representational economy constraint (Chomsky 1995: 150-162) (introduce the inflectional genitive without the possessive marker) with the possibility of satisfying D’s featural requirements in a non-local fashion (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a, Nicolae 2019: ch. 4). Cross-linguistically, there are other cases of definiteness agreement across an adjectival intervener; consider the following example from Icelandic, which features the same *long distance Agree* option:

- (43) *gamli maður-inn* (Icelandic, *apud* Stroh-Wollin 2009: 4)
 old man.DEF
 ‘the old man’

Returning to this issue of the presence of the definite article on the noun at merger / lexical insertion, I believe that the low(er) definite article of old Romanian undoubtedly indicates that the definite article starts low, as a suffix on the noun. The adjective may take over the article if it is in an appropriate configuration for undergoing Agree (i.e. if it c-commands the noun). This proposal accounts for the relatively high frequency of polidefinite constructions in old Romanian³¹, and also accounts for the distribution of polidefiniteness (see Croitor 2008): the multiple realization of the suffixal definite article almost exclusively takes place with prenominal adjectives, in A + N structures (44a) or in stacked adjectival A + A + N structures (44b); the structures of the form N + A in which both the N and the A bear the article are very rare (attested only with DPs in the genitive case):

- (44) a. *puternica mâna lui Dumnedzeu* (Costin)
 mighty.DEF hand.DEF GEN God
 ‘God’s mighty hand’
 b. *moaștele a [sfintei preodobnei Paraschevei]* (Costin)
 relics.DEF AL saint.DEF beautifully-adorned.DEF Parascheva
 ‘the relics of the holy, beautifully-adorned (Saint) Parascheva’

³¹ Polidefiniteness was present in old Romanian from the beginning of the 16th c. to the end of the 18th c., i.e. throughout the entire period of old Romanian (Croitor 2008: 213, Nicolae 2019: 129-131).

- (45) *zidul [cetății marei și frumoasei]* (Cantacuzino)
 wall.DEF city.DEF.GEN big.DEF.GEN and beautiful.DEF.GEN
 ‘the wall of the big and beautiful city’

From our perspective, it is relevant that prenominal adjectives typically occur in these polidefinite structures; it actually verifies the mechanism proposed above to derive the realization of the definite article in modern Romanian: the definiteness feature is present on all prenominal [+N] heads; in old Romanian, the article may be phonologically realized on all these heads, while in modern Romanian realization is restricted to the DP-initial adjectives. Stacked prenominal adjectives (as in (44b)) also validate this hypothesis.

Summary. By taking into consideration the low(er) definite article and the polidefinite constructions of old Romanian, I have shown that the definite article starts low, as a suffix on the noun. Its propensity towards the DP-initial position is the effect of an Agree phenomenon. These phenomena show that definiteness is a morphosyntactic feature, as it actively participates in syntactic agreement phenomena.

2.2.3.2. A brief detour into definiteness agreement in modern Romanian

Interestingly, the definiteness agreement phenomenon of old Romanian is also present in modern Romanian, albeit in a very restricted context: only in the presence of postnominal demonstratives. For the purposes of this section, modern Romanian definiteness agreement shows two things: on the one hand, it confirms that definiteness is a morphosyntactic feature, being involved in syntactic agreement; on the other hand, it validates the mechanism put forth to generally account for definiteness agreement in A+N structures in modern Romanian.

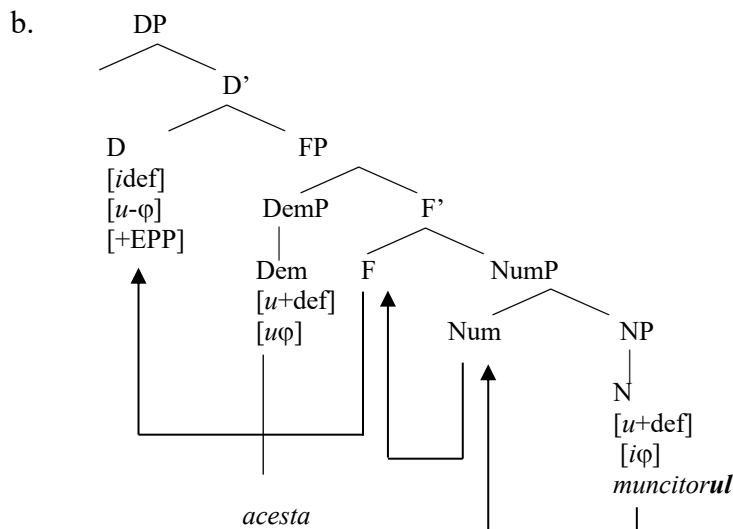
The examples below illustrate two different patterns: the first pattern, illustrated with example (46) features a **definite** A + a **definite** N + a postnominal demonstrative; the second pattern illustrates a **definite** N + a postnominal demonstrative + a **definite** A, as shown by example (47):

- (46) *săracul băiatul ăla*
 poor.DEF boy.DEF that
 ‘that poor boy’
- (47) *muncitorul ăla vrednicul*
 worker.DEF that hardworking.DEF
 ‘that hardworking worker’

The relevant interpretative characteristic of both patterns is that they are pragmatically marked: in both cases, the nominal phrase expresses the subjective evaluation of the speaker in context or, simply put, speaker evaluation. Intensive research on the Romanian demonstratives has shown that, from a *functional perspective* (Tasmowski 1990, Manoliu 2000, Cornilescu 2005, Vasilescu 2009a), the postnominal demonstrative is an emphatic element (possibly endowed with a specificity feature), and thus behaves like a focus. The presence of the postnominal demonstrative in these structures is thus not surprising.

As stated above, it is standardly assumed that the derivation of the simple postnominal demonstrative construction relies on head-movement of the definite noun across the demonstrative in the case of Romanian³² (see Cornilescu 1992, 2005, Vulchanova & Giusti 1998, Nicolae 2019: 175-183).

- (48) a. *muncitorul acesta*
worker.DEF this



Without going into details regarding the derivation of the two definiteness agreement patterns presented above, it follows from structure (48b) that both are derived by movement across the demonstrative. The essential point is that only adjectives that

³² In this respect, the contrast with Spanish is interesting: in Spanish, the canonical order in DPs with adjectives and postnominal demonstratives is N+A+Dem (in other words, the adjective cannot be left behind except for prosodically marked structures), which is an indication of phrasal (NP) movement across the demonstrative (see Brugè 2002).

(obligatorily) are or may be prenominal (intensional and qualifying adjectives) are allowed to occur in these constructions.

In the first pattern (**definite** A + **definite** N + postnominal demonstrative), there occur only intensional, evaluative adjectives which are restricted to the prenominal position (*biet* ‘piteous’, *pretins* ‘alleged’) or which display intensional, evaluative meanings only in prenominal position (*sărac* ‘[prenominally] piteous; [postnominally] ‘poor, penniless’):

- (49) a. *bietul băiat*
 piteous.DEF boy
 ‘the pitiable boy’
 b. **băiatul biet*
 boy.DEF piteous
- (50) a. *săracul băiat*
 piteous.DEF boy
 ‘the piteous boy’
 b. *băiatul sărac*
 boy.DEF penniless
 ‘the penniless boy’

Syntactically, the derivation of the first pattern (example (46)) goes as follows: being merged in a prenominal position, these adjectives c-command the noun and agree with it, taking over the noun’s morphosyntactic definiteness specification. Subsequently, there is phrasal movement of the [definite A + definite N] sequence across the demonstrative, yielding the word order A > N > Dem. The obligatory presence of the definite article on both constituents boils down to economy considerations (similar to those responsible for the realization of the low definite article of old Romanian): on the one hand, postnominal demonstratives are licensed only in the presence of the definite article to their left (thus, the definite article has to surface on the noun in order to license the postnominal demonstrative); on the other hand, considerations pertaining to the locality of Agree force the noun to surface on the prenominal adjective as well, in order to satisfy D’s featural requirements (local Agree). However, in Nicolae (2019: 181-183) I argue for a slightly different analysis of (46)-type examples, which relies on the direct merger of the prenominal adjective in the DP-periphery; this novel account solves the problem of moving a phrasal category across another phrasal category and preserves the analysis of the canonical postnominal demonstrative construction presented above.

In the second pattern (**definite** N + postnominal demonstrative + **definite** A) ((47), repeated below), there occur typical qualifying adjectives which may be placed both prenominally (51b) and postnominally (51a); in this situation, there are no differences in

meaning between the postnominal and the prenominal position of the adjective; however, adjectives which merge prenominally encode *speaker evaluation*.

- (47) *muncitorul* *ăla* *vrednicul*
 worker.DEF that hardworking.DEF
 ‘that hardworking worker’
- (51) a. *muncitorul* *vrednic*
 worker.DEF hardworking
- b. *vrednicul* *muncitor*
 hardworking.DEF worker
 ‘the hardworking worker’

Expectedly, in prenominal position (51b), these adjectives take over the definite article, c-commanding the noun. The prenominal configuration (51b) feeds the definiteness agreement configuration in (47). As in the simple [definite noun + demonstrative] construction in (48), there is head movement of the definite noun across the definite adjective and across the demonstrative, yielding the order [definite N > Dem > definite A]. In order for the definite noun to crossover the adjective placed in Spec,FP, an equidistant derivation in the sense of Lasnik (2009) has to apply. The head noun undergoes movement to the F⁰ head (in whose specifier we find the definite adjective). At this point, the adjective and the noun are in the same minimal domain and equidistant from the target of movement³³, since head movement extends the domain of a head (Chomsky 1995). A natural question at this point is why the reverse order, [definite A > Dem > definite N], is not possible (as in (52)). In other words, what makes the definite noun a better candidate for movement than the definite adjective, since they are both equidistant to the target? This very same question can be also asked in connection to the derivation in (48b) in which a definite noun crosses over a phrasal demonstrative.

- (52) * *vrednicul* *ăla muncitorul*
 hardworking.DEF that worker.DEF

The solution adopted by Cornilescu (2005) in the derivation of the postnominal demonstrative construction can be successfully extended to our construction as well. The two potential candidates for movement have a different phrasal status: the noun is a head, while the demonstrative is phrasal (for arguments that postnominal demonstratives are phrasal, while prenominal demonstratives are heads, see Cornilescu 2005 and Nicolae 2013d: 295-299). The preference for head movement (N⁰) over phrasal movement (AP

³³ As in Lasnik (2009): “If α , β are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from γ ”.

movement in this case) follows from a principle of economy requiring the pied-piping of only as much material as is needed for convergence (*Pied Pipe Less Weight*, as in Stateva 2002, or *Attract/Move Smallest*, Akiyama 2004). Additionally, the AP may be banned from raising because of the strictly local nature of phrase movement (Spec-to-Spec); however, this idea has been challenged recently in the analysis of *wh*-filter-gap dependencies (Boeckx 2007; see the discussion in Gallego 2010: 42-46). In Nicolae (2019: 175-183), I propose an updated derivation of the postnominal demonstrative construction, which also relies on head movement, but finds a different motivation for why the definite noun, rather than the demonstrative, is attracted to D.

Mention should also be made of the fact that the postnominal adjective structure (51a) feeds a construction without definiteness agreement (this is because postnominal adjectives do not c-command the noun and, thus, cannot agree in definiteness with the noun):

- (53) *muncitorul ăla vrednic*
 worker.DEF that hardworking
 ‘that hardworking worker’

More interestingly, the two minimally different structures correlate with the expected interpretative contrast: while (47) expresses focus and speaker evaluation, (53) expresses only focus.

To conclude, only by postulating a morphosyntactic definiteness feature, which is involved in syntactic agreement, can one properly understand and describe the definiteness agreement structures present in modern Romanian.

Summary. The data reviewed in the present section have shown that the definiteness feature is actively involved in syntactic agreement, having the potential of being a possible Probe of Goal in Agree.

Additional evidence for the morphosyntactic nature of definiteness comes from the possessive marker *al*, *a*, *ai*, *ale*, which introduces the inflectional genitive or possessive adjectives in the absence of the definite article to the left of the possessor phrase. The possessive marker *al* is historically made up of the preposition *a* (< Lat. *ad*) **suffixed** by the definite article (see Densusianu 1961, Rosetti 1986, Vasiliu and Ruxăndoiu 1986, Sala 2006; see Giurgea 2012 and references for a different etymology, based on the direct descent of the marker *al*, *a*, *ai*, *ale* from weak distal demonstrative < Lat. *ille*). The definite nature of the possessive marker is visible with prenominal genitives (see the discussion above viz. example (38)), which value the D-head as [*i*+def], conferring a definite interpretation to the DP they head; the only element in the structure of the prenominal

genitive that could be potentially definite is *al*, as the complement of *al* may be definite or indefinite).

The next subsection places more properly the definiteness parameter in the architecture of the grammar and completes the characterization of the [+definite] morphosyntactic feature.

2.2.4. More on the definiteness parameter: causes, consequences

As remarked in §III.2.2.2, Danon's (2010) proposal is rather vague from a technical perspective. The chief result arrived at in the previous section is that a definiteness parameter manifests itself in the Romanian nominal phrase: Romanian nouns have the option of being lexically specified with the definite article at merge, and the definite article may function as an agreement marker in the DP, affecting [+N] heads (nouns and adjectives). The locality conditions for definiteness agreement are very precise: definiteness agreement takes place only under Agree.

2.2.4.1. As stated by Danon (2010), there are two possible options with respect to the nature of the [+definite] morphosyntactic feature: we are either dealing with a bivalent feature, valued positive ([+definite]) or negative ([-definite]), or with a monovalent / privative [+definite] feature. Danon (2010) argues for the second solution. According to Adger and Svenonius (2011: 31), "a privative feature is a feature with no other properties beyond its distinctiveness from other features". By applying this reasoning to the [+definite] feature, we arrive at the following parametrization: a language either possesses the [+definite] feature, as a morphosyntactic feature, or it does not. (Given its privative nature, the [+definite] feature might be simply notated as [definite], Ian Roberts, *p.c.*).

2.2.4.2. Most probably, the cause that has led to the [+definite] parametric options, which sets apart Romanian from the other Romance languages but brings it closer to more distant languages, is the affixal nature of the definite article. There are several arguments that the Romanian definite article is a suffix; I will mention only a few below (but the relevant bibliography discusses more; see Lombard 1974: 192, Halpern 1992, Giusti 1998, Ortmann and Popescu 2000, Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2006, Ledgeway 2012a: 108, 2017, Nicolae 2012a, 2015b).

The morphologic status of the article as a *suffix* rather than a (second position) *clitic* follows from the following facts:

(i) The article is not always in second position, since inside the AP degree words (and prepositions) may precede the adjective to which the article attaches, as in *atât de / foarte lungi+le drumuri* ('such of / very long.DEF roads').

(ii) The article attaches to both conjuncts in a coordination, as in *frumos+ul și mare*(+le) oraș* ('beautiful.DEF and big*(.DEF) city'), an unexpected repetition for a clitic (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983).

(iii) The article shows allomorphy, changing its form depending on the last phoneme of the nominal base and on the inflectional class of the stem. For instance, masculine nouns ending in a consonant take the basic allomorph *-l*, as in *copil* (child) → *copilul* (child.DEF), while masculine nouns ending in *-e* take the allomorph *-le*, as in *perete* (wall) → *peretele* (wall.DEF).

By contrast, Romanian clitics are inconsistent with respect to their position (since they may occur both before and after their syntactic host: *I-am luat/ am luat-o* 'him_{CL}-have_{AUX, 1st person} taken' / 'have_{AUX, 1st person} taken-her_{CL}'), as well as to the type of constituents they cliticize onto (verbs, auxiliaries, Ns, complementizers).

Thus, in Zwicky and Pullum's (1983) terms, the Romanian enclitic article exhibits a high degree of selection with respect to its host/stem, a property expected of affixes, not clitics.

Yet another inflectional argument that the article is an affix (which has not been discussed before, to our knowledge) comes from allomorphy, but it is of a different nature than argument (iii) above. In case the definite article surfaces on a prenominal adjective, its realization is dependent on the inflectional class of the adjective, irrespective of the inflectional class of the noun:

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|--|
| (54) | a. | <i>continentul</i>
continent.DEF | definite article allomorph: <i>-l</i> |
| | b. | <i>marele continent</i>
big.DEF continent | definite article allomorph: <i>-le</i> |

Thus, the article does not merely "hop" or raise like a clitic from the noun to the prenominal adjective; its morphological realization exclusively depends on the inflectional class of the adjective. This also empirically indicates that *def-lowering* analyses (such as Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2006) are not empirically adequate.

Let us now assess the implication of the affixal nature of the article for the idea that nouns may lexically be equipped with definite article at merge. Researchers coming from different schools of thought agree on the fact that affixes are actually a part of the words on which they surface; this is well-captured by the following quote from Faarlund (2009):

- (55) "inflectional forms of the word are created by morphosyntactic feature specification, rather than just added as separate morphemes"
(Faarlund 2009: 623, building on Stump 2001 and Corbett 2006)

With respect to the Romanian definite article, the following remark by Giusti (1998: 61) is noteworthy:

- (56) “The enclitic article in Rumanian has reached the apex of grammaticalization and is now part of the word internal morphology of nouns and adjectives.”

These intuitions have to be correlated with the recent results regarding the position of inflectional elements in the architecture of the grammar. According to Kibort (2010: 69), inflection (and, implicitly, affixation) is a *lexical* property:

- (57) “the ‘rule’ that determines which elements have to realize particular inflections is found in the *lexicon* in the form of a generalization over the relevant part of speech or a subclass within a part of speech”.

This essentially lexicalist stand on inflection has been proposed as early as Lasnik (1995) (and Chomsky 1995) and applied for distinguishing between the verbal inflection of French (which is uniform, all verbs being lexically specified for inflection) and that of English (which is hybrid, partly inflectional, with *have* and *be* fully inflected from the lexicon vs. all the other verbs bare in the lexicon)³⁴. Being a part of a word, inflectional affixes are *learned* by children at the same time with the base itself, a view supported by language acquisition studies (see Sleeman 2012 on the L1 acquisition of the suffixal article in Swedish and Romanian).

To conclude, the suffixation of the definite article on a nominal base is a lexical property present in Romanian.

With respect to the placement of the definiteness parameter in a Roberts hierarchy (see above), from our discussion it has resulted that the [+definite] parameter is a *mesoparameter*: all heads specified as [+N] have the possibility of incorporating the definite article. This proposal follows the spirit, but not the letter of the Roberts parametrization (Adam Ledgeway, *p.c.*). From the perspective of parametrization system put forth by Roberts (2012a, 2012b), mesoparameters are those parameters affecting a delineable class of **functional** heads, possessing a certain feature (e.g. the feature that determines word order variation). Our proposal regards elements categorially specified as [+N] (nouns and adjectives), i.e. **lexical** heads. There are possibilities of better harmonizing

³⁴ Chomsky (2013: 46) makes the following remark, which is very pertinent in the present context: “LIs are complex objects with many properties that do not derive from operations of narrow syntax, and there are many questions about where these complexities enter into a derivation”.

this proposal with Roberts' system of parametrization³⁵, but this is beyond our goals. Importantly, our proposal also directly supports the *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture*, which reduces syntactic variation to lexical properties.

2.2.5. Definiteness valuation by the freestanding definite article *cel*

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Romanian possesses two definite articles; thus, besides the affixal article, the freestanding determiner *cel* is employed as a definite article. *Cel* is employed whenever there is no suffixed noun or adjective sufficiently close to the D-head in order to value D's [*idef*] feature. The typical situation of this kind is that of an intervening quantifier, such as a cardinal, an ordinal or other quantifiers; note that the noun is not inflected for definiteness in this structure:

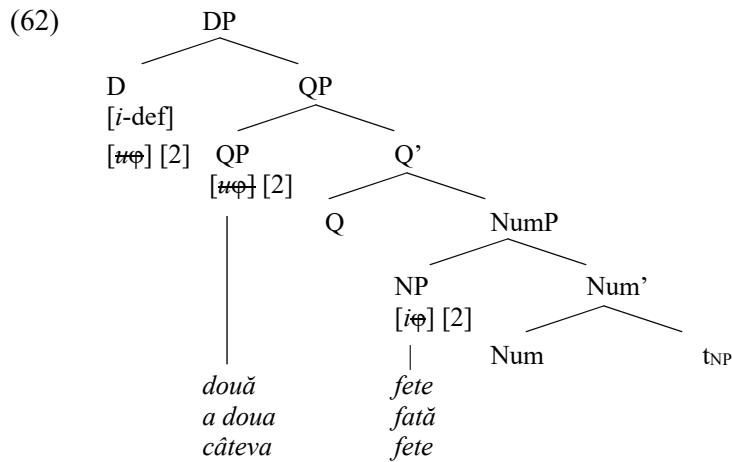
- (58) a. *cele două fete*
 CEL two girls
 'the two girls'
- b. *cel de-al doilea elev*
 CEL DE-second student
 'the second student'
- c. *cele câteva fete*
 CEL few girls
 'the few girls'

2.2.5.1. The intuition to capture here is that the cardinal is an intervener, and prevents a lower (definite) adjective or noun from valuing the definiteness feature of D, so that the last resort insertion of *cel* is required. I will follow here Borer (2005) in merging indefinite quantifiers (cardinals, ordinals, and other indefinites) in the specifier of a quantity phrase (QP), below D. Recall also that in Romance (Romanian included), there is N/NP raising to NumP (Longobardi, 1994, Bernstein 2001, Cinque 2004b; Tănase-Dogaru 2009 for Romanian).

In order to show that quantifiers trigger defective intervention effects (in opposition to DP-internal adverbials, across which [*idef*] may be valued), one has to show that they do interact with the D position. Thus, quantifiers may value the [*uφ*] features in D after the cardinal and the head noun undergo ϕ -feature agreement (61). Most prominently, the quantifiers that trigger the insertion of freestanding *cel* display *gender* distinctions ((59)-(61)):

³⁵ One solution would be to propose a new parameter (prone to hierarchization, of course) which explicitly concerns the analytic – synthetic dimension (i.e. the continuum from lack of inflection – rich inflection). However, this has to be subject to a deeper discussion, which is beyond the purposes of this work.

- (59) a. *două fete*
two(F) girls(F)
b. *doi băieți*
two(M) boys(M)
- (60) a. *a doua fată*
second(F) girl(F)
b. *al doilea copil*
second(M) child(M)
- (61) a. *câteva fete*
a-few(F) girls(F)
b. *câțiva băieți*
a-few(M) boys(M)

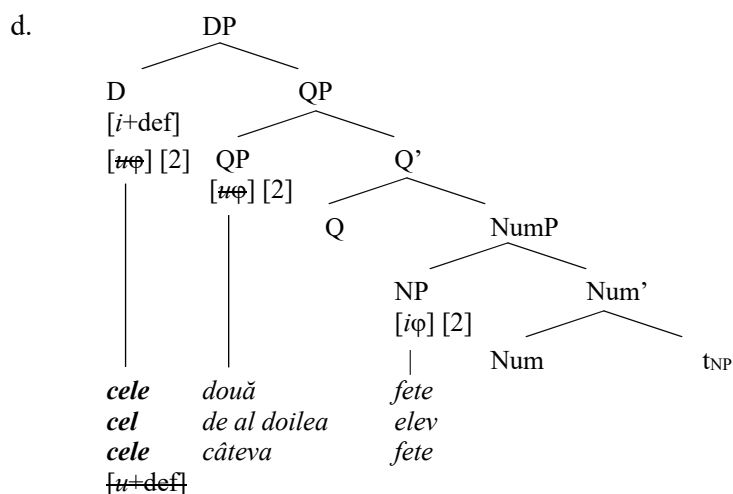


However, while quantifiers may value the $[u\phi]$ -features of D, given that quantifiers are not categorially $[+N]$, they cannot Agree in definiteness with the immediately lower adjective or noun; thus, the quantifier cannot satisfy the requirements of the D-head (valuation of $[i\text{def}]$). Since the quantifier does value the ϕ -features of D, it does count as a potential intervener in the process of definiteness valuation.

Thus, the presence of a cardinal, and more generally of a quantifier prevents valuation of a definiteness feature in D by a lower $[+N]$ constituent. In this situation, in order to render a definite interpretation to the nominal phrase, *cel*, which is lexically specified as $[u+\text{def}]$, is inserted as a last resort, and values the definiteness feature in D.

Note that, when inserted in the derivation, the noun does not bear the morphosyntactic definiteness feature; this is consistent with Danon's (2010) privative $[+\text{def}]$ feature proposal: the interpretation of a noun phrase with no morphosyntactic $[+\text{def}]$ feature is determined by the presence of other determiners.

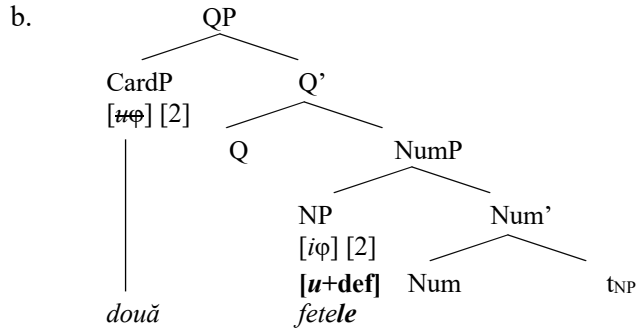
- (63) a. *cele două fete*
 CEL two girls
 ‘the two girls’
 b. *cel de-al doilea elev*
 CEL DE-second student
 ‘the second student’
 c. *cele câteva fete*
 CEL few girls
 ‘the few girls’



This is the only configuration that converges. Let us very briefly inspect two other potential configurations and see why they are not well-formed. I will use for illustration only cardinal numerals here; the other quantifiers behave absolutely identically.

2.2.5.2. A first configuration of this sort is one in which a definite head noun is present below the quantifier:

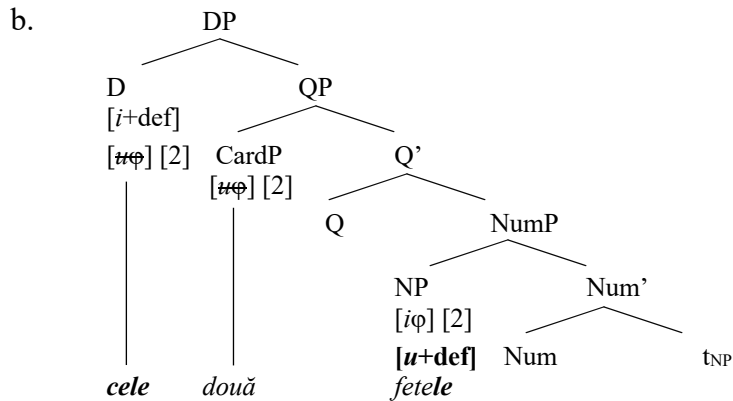
- (64) a. **două fetele*
 two girls.DEF



As can be observed from the representation in (64b), the cardinal cannot transmit the definiteness feature to the D position. The $[u+def]$ feature of the noun cannot be deleted, and the $[i\text{def}]$ feature of D is not valued either. The derivation is non-convergent.

Another potential configuration involves a **definite** noun plus the freestanding definite article *cel*:

- (65) a. **cele două fetele*
CEL two girls.DEF



This time, the D head has valued its definiteness feature. However, the $[u+def]$ feature of the noun has not undergone Agree and has not been deleted, causing the derivation to crash.

2.2.5.3. Categorical specification, on which our account of *cel*-insertion is based, proves to be very important, as shown by the existence of words with quantitative meaning (e.g. *mulți* ‘many’, *puțini* ‘few’) which may be categorized either as adjectives or as quantifiers (Pană Dindelegan 2003: 66-74, Cornilescu 2009a). When they are categorized as adjectives, they follow the model of definiteness valuation of adjectives and get suffixed

by the definite article as shown in (66a). By contrast, when they are categorized as quantifiers, they trigger the insertion of *cel* (66b):

- (66) a. *foarte puținii bani pe care îi are*
 very few.DEF money DOM which CL.ACC.3SG have.IND.PRES.3SG
 b. *cei foarte puțini bani pe care îi are*
 CEL very few money DOM which CL.ACC.3SG have.IND.PRES.3SG
 ‘the very little money which (s)he has’

2.2.5.4. Additional evidence for this account of the freestanding definite article *cel* comes from the history of Romanian. The existence of definiteness valuation by *long distance Agree* in old Romanian, as testified by the low(er) definite article (presented in §III.2.2.3.1 above), predicts that the lower definite article is also available in old Romanian in contexts where in the modern language one finds the freestanding definite article *cel*, i.e. in contexts where the DP-initial position is occupied by quantifiers which cannot bear the definite article. Quantifiers in modern Romanian behave like prenominal adjectives, which trigger intervention effects if they do not take over the definite article. By parity of reasoning, if prenominal adjectives in old Romanian did not act as defective interveners, allowing the definite article to value D’s [*idef*] feature across them, then quantifiers are also predicted to occur in these structures.

This prediction is indeed borne out: in old Romanian, a definite constituent is able to value definiteness across a quantifier intervener, a cardinal in (67b), (67e), or an ordinal in (67a), (67c), (67d).

- (67) a. *arătarea [a dooa venire_{ei} lui]* (Coresi)
 showing.DEF the-second coming.DEF.GEN his
 ‘the showing of his second coming’
 b. *însă [câte trei morți] nu sunt închipuiri* (Antim)
 but each three dead-persons.DEF not are illusions
 ‘but the three persons each are not illusions’
 c. *omul eretic după una și [a doao învățătur_a]*
 man.DEF heretical after first and second lesson
leapădă-se (N. Test.)
 renounce.IND.PRES.3SG=CL.REFL
 ‘the heretical man gives up after the first and second lesson’
 d. *[Al șaptele mărturisitoriu] iaste Ioan Botezătoriu.* (Coresi)
 seventh confessor.DEF is John Baptist.DEF
 ‘The seventh confessor is John the Baptist.’

upon the tightening of the conditions on definiteness valuation (visible, first and foremost, in the disappearance of the low definite article construction discussed above). Interestingly, as in the case of the suffixal definite article, which is descendant of Lat. *ille* (see Stan 2013: 285 for a review of the proposed etymologies), a distal demonstrative, the freestanding definite article *cel* is also based on a distal demonstrative, *acel(a)* ('that'). Thus, at different moments of its evolution, Romanian employed the same material to form similar new functional items (as Iliescu 2006 puts it, this is a form of 'cyclical typological recurrence'). In the passage from the distal demonstrative *acel(a)* to the freestanding definite article *cel*, the grammaticalizing element has undergone the typical stages of this variety of linguistic change (Giusti 1998, Roberts and Roussou 2003, Ledgeway 2012b): semantic bleaching, with essentially the loss of the deictic feature of the demonstrative; morphophonological reduction (*acel(a)* → *cel*); categorial change (Dem → D), and syntactic reanalysis with merger to a higher, leftmost position Merge in a DemP (with D > Dem) → Merge in D).

2.3. Summary

The results of this large section, conceived as a minimal introduction to the syntactic structure of the Romanian nominal phrase, are the following:

- (i) I have put forth and defended the idea that the [+definite] feature is a morphosyntactic feature in Romanian, which actively participates in Agree;
- (ii) Romanian nouns may enter the derivation with the definiteness feature readily available;
- (iii) from a technical perspective, I have derived the main constructions present in the Romanian DP; understanding the syntax of overt structures is compulsory for the correct understanding of nominal ellipsis.

We may now turn to the analysis of nominal ellipsis in Romanian.

3. Licensing nominal ellipsis in Romanian

3.1. Constructing a "common topic"

Recall that the account of ellipsis put forth combines two previous accounts, López (2000) and Merchant (2001). From Merchant (2001), I have borrowed the idea that the ellipsis site is a fully **structured** domain, present in the syntax. López (2000) enables one to properly understand the features of the licensing head: this head has to be narrowly **D-linked**³⁶, a feature which "instructs it to look for a discourse topic" (López 2000: 190). Nominal ellipsis is

³⁶ See §II.5.2, where I discuss the differences between the concepts *narrowly D-linked* (as in López 2000) and *D-linked* (as originally formulated by Pesetsky 1987).

generally licensed by determiners. D-linked determiners are those whose ranges are specified in context. [+D-linking] is a feature in the matrix of the licensing determiner.

More recent work by López (2009) provides a framework of implementing these ideas; López (2009) builds an account of the syntax-information structure interface which allows phasal heads to assign pragmatic features (P-features). I will return to the assignment of P-features below in §III.3.2.6.

Consider the following interpretative contrast from López (2009), which shows that the interpretation of an elliptical structure involves more than the mere deletion of a nominal head³⁷:

- (71) a. [Some men]_i came in. [Most of them]_i sat down.
 b. [Some men]_i came in. [Most men]_{#i} sat down.
 c. [Some men]_i came in. [Most _]_i sat down.

As can be easily observed, the elliptical construction in (71c) is not equivalent to its (supposed) overt counterpart (71b), but with quantifier followed by a partitive construction (71a). This interpretative phenomenon extends to Romanian (72) and French (73) as well, with (72c) and (73c) being equivalent to (72a) and (73a) respectively:

- (72) a. [Niște oameni]_i au intrat. [Unii dintre ei]_i
 some men AUX.PERF.3PL come-in.PPLE some of them
s-au așezat.
 CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3PL sit-down.PPLE
 b. [Niște oameni]_i au intrat. [Unii oameni]_{#i}
 some men AUX.PERF.3PL come-in.PPLE some men
s-au așezat.
 CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3PL sit-down.PPLE
 c. [Niște oameni]_i au intrat. [Unii _]_i
 some men AUX.PERF.3PL come-in.PPLE some of them
s-au așezat.
 CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3PL sit-down.PPLE
 (73) a. [Certaines personnes]_i sont entrées.
 some persons AUX.PERF.3PL enter.PPLE.F.PL
 [Plusieurs d'entre elles]_i se sont assises.
 many of them CL.REFL AUX.PERF.3PL sit.PPLE.F.PL
 b. [Certaines personnes]_i sont entrées.
 some persons AUX.PERF.3PL entered.F.PL

³⁷ Indexing is used here as a tool and does not have Binding Theory relevance.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | [<i>Plusieurs</i> | <i>personnes</i>] _{#i} | <i>se</i> | <i>sont</i> | <i>assises.</i> |
| | many | persons | CL.REFL | AUX.PERF.3PL | sit.PPLE.F.PL |
| c. | [<i>Certaines</i> | <i>personnes</i>] _i | <i>sont</i> | <i>entrées.</i> | |
| | some | persons | AUX.PERF.3PL | enter.PPLE.F.PL | |
| | [<i>Plusieurs</i> _] _i | <i>se</i> | <i>sont</i> | <i>assises.</i> | |
| | many | | CL.REFL | AUX.PERF.3PL | sit.PPLE.F.PL |

An easy solution at this point would be to assume, like Sleeman (1996), that the ellipsis site is partitive. The fact that the class of determiners that allow ellipsis is almost identical to that of determiners which can head a partitive construction has been long noted (Lobeck 1995, Sleeman 1996, López 2000, Giurgea and Nedelcu 2009). Consider the following paradigm from López (2000: 190, 191) which points to this conclusion:

- (74) *Some men are decent...*
- a. ... *but most* <> *are not.*
 - b. ... *but many* <> *are not.*
 - c. ... *but all* <> *are not.*
 - d. ... *but some* <> *are not.*
 - e. ... *but three* <> *are not.*
 - f. ... *but each* <> *is not.*
 - g. ... **but every* <> *is not.*
 - h. ... **but no* <> *is perfect.*
- (75) *Some men are decent...*
- a. ... *but most* *of them* *are not.*
 - b. ... *but many* *of them* *are not.*
 - c. ... *but all* *of them* *are not.*
 - d. ... *but some* *of them* *are not.*
 - e. ... *but three* *of them* *are not.*
 - f. ... *but each* *of them* *is not.*
 - g. ... **but every* *of them* *is not.*
 - h. ... **but no* *of them* *is perfect.*

This pattern again extends to Romanian. Note that the degree quantifier *mulți* ('many'), the quantifiers *toți* ('all') and *fiecare* ('each'), and cardinal numerals are uniformly allowed as licensors of ellipsis and as heads of partitive phrases, while the indefinite *niște* ('some') is excluded in both (note that I adopt the *single-DP* analysis of partitive phrases, as put forth by Schwarzchild 2006, Grimshaw 2005, Cornilescu 2009a; see also the discussion in §III.3.3.7.1 below):

(76) *Unii oameni sunt decenti...*

some men are decent

- a. ... *dar mulți* < > *nu sunt*.
 but many not are
- b. ... *dar nu*³⁸ *toți* < > *sunt*.
 but not all are
- c. ... *dar nu fiecare* < > *nu este sută la sută*.
 but not each not is one-hundred-per-cent
- d. ... *dar trei* < > *nu sunt*.
 but three not are
- e. ... **dar niște* < > *nu sunt*.
 but some not are

(77) *Unii oameni sunt decenti...*

some men are decent

- a. ... *dar mulți dintre ei* *nu sunt*.
 but many of them not are
- b. ... *dar nu toți dintre ei* *sunt*.
 but not all of them are
- c. ... *dar trei dintre ei* *nu sunt*.
 but three of them not are
- d. ... **dar niște dintre ei* *nu sunt*.
 but some of them not are

However, a closer examination of the empirical data indicates that the simple assumption that the ellipsis site is partitive is not completely accurate. If we turn to Romanian, we observe that, while overlapping, the class of determiners occurring in the partitive construction is not identical to the class of determiners that head nominal ellipsis. For instance, *cel* is a robust licenser of ellipsis (78), but it is excluded from partitive constructions (79), although it can generally select PPs, be they lexical, be they functional (80):

- (78) a. *cei doi (au venit)*
 CEL two have come
 ‘the two ones have come’

³⁸ The use of negation in (b) and (c) does not affect the acceptability/non-acceptability of nominal ellipsis, but merely contributes to providing a more meaningful status of these minimal examples (which are odd, but not ungrammatical/inacceptable); negating the quantifier in (e) does not improve acceptability in any way:

(76e') ... **dar nu niște* ☐ *nu sunt*.
 but not some not are.

- (79) b. *cel roșu (e al meu)*
 CEL red is AL mine
 ‘the red one is mine’
- a. ??*cei dintre ei*³⁹
 CEL of them
- b. ??*cele dintre fete*
 CEL of girls
- (80) a. *cei fără locuință*
 CEL without home
 ‘the homeless’
- b. *(zilele) cele de pe urmă*
 days.DEF CEL DE on final
 ‘the final days / ones’

The resemblance between nominal ellipsis and the partitive construction (although not perfect) will be accounted for.

Recall that, in López’s (2000) account, ellipsis is a Discourse Grammar phenomenon (Williams 1977) which presupposes the construction and retrieval of a common discourse topic. Relativizing this intuition to nominal ellipsis, the common discourse topic represents the set of entities jointly denoted in the context / discourse by the antecedent DP and by the vestigial DP. The range of entities denoted by an NP in context is supplied by the domain of discourse of the respective context; this is what ensures *narrow D-linking*. In López (2009: 1), *discourse* is defined as the “combinatorial system that takes Σ s to form new sets”. An object Σ is the output of syntax, with syntax defined as “a computational system that **takes symbols** and **sets of symbols** and **combines** them forming new sets” (López 2009: 1); note that there are two dimensions in the interpretation of an object Σ : the symbols themselves and the structure that they form.

Thus, in the case of nominal ellipsis, the common topic referred to by the D-linked determiners represents the unique superset containing the referents of the two NPs given in the discourse:

- (81) a. *Some men came in. Most sat down.*

³⁹ This construction is available in the eastern varieties of (Daco-Romanian), i.e. in the Moldovan subdialect (see Pană Dindelegan 2013a: 6 for the subdialectal structure of Romanian), especially in the varieties spoken in the Republic of Moldova (Rodica Zafiu, *p.c.*). However, in these varieties, *cel* still retains its demonstrative nature, as shown by the possibility of directly preceding nouns, a possibility excluded for modern Romanian *cel* (both as a freestanding definite article, and as an adjectival article) in the standard language

- b. Some [OF THE CONTEXT GIVEN SET OF] men came in. Most [OF THE CONTEXT GIVEN SET OF PEOPLE] sat down.

This vision has been revamped by Elbourne (2008), who discusses the interpretation of the ellipsis sites of nominal and VP ellipsis. Let us focus on nominal ellipsis. Elbourne (2008) puts forth an explicit procedure of constructing the common topic / the discourse (super)set: the NP-members denoted by the antecedent and the ones denoted by the elliptical DP are summed up; additional discourse operations are allowed to apply, since the antecedent restriction and the elided restriction need not be completely identical, even if more often than not they are.

Consider the following example from Elbourne (2008: 194) featuring a VP-ellipsis site which contains an nominal ellipsis site

- (82) *Every police officer who arrested some murderers insulted some < >, and every police officer who arrested some burglars **did** < > too.*

According to Elbourne, the correct resolution of this example is (83b), not (83a); note that by applying strict identity, the output would be (83a), not (83b):

- (83) a. *Every police officer who arrested some murderers insulted some <murderers>, and every police officer who arrested some burglars **did** <insult some <murderers>> too.*
 b. *Every police officer who arrested some murderers insulted some <murderers>, and every police officer who arrested some burglars **did** <insult some <burglars>> too.*

The same interpretative disparity emerges with nominal ellipsis sites which embedded another nominal ellipsis site; consider the following example, also taken from Elbourne (2008: 194)

- (84) *After the book went on sale, thirteen shoppers who had bought some < > earlier complained; but after the magazines went on sale, only two < > did < >.*

Again, the restriction retrieved (85b) is not the one expected if strict identity is enforced (85a):

- (85) a. *After the book went on sale, thirteen shoppers who had bought some <books> earlier complained; but after the magazines went on sale, only two <shoppers who had bought some <books>> did <complain>.*

- b. *After the book went on sale, thirteen shopper who had bought some <books> earlier complained; but after the magazines went on sale, only two <shoppers who had bought some <magazines>> did <complain>.*

As also remarked by Elbourne (2008) and Baltin (2012), this extends to VP-ellipsis sites (example from Elbourne 2008, taken over by Baltin 2012⁴⁰ as well):

- (86) *When John has to cook he doesn't want to <>, and when he has to clean, he doesn't <> either.*

The correct resolution of the second ellipsis site is the one in (87b), not the one in (87a):

- (87) a. *When John has to cook he doesn't want to <cook>, and when he has to clean, he doesn't <clean> either.*
 b. *When John has to cook he doesn't want to <cook>, and when he has to clean, he doesn't <want to clean> either.*

In order to account for these interpretative puzzles, Elbourne (2008) proposes to analyse silent NPs as “higher order definite descriptions that can be bound into” (Elbourne 2008: 191). In other words, the elided nominal is, in fact, a *definite description*, i.e. a definite DP.

3.2. From interpretation to syntax

3.2.1. The *structure* question

From a syntactic perspective, this correlates with the presence of the definite article in the ellipsis site: the definiteness of the ellipsis site allows the ellipsis site to be marked as anaphoric and thus deleted. From a technical perspective, an obligatory step in the derivation of nominal ellipsis is the *valuation of definiteness*. The valuation of definiteness ensures the marking of the ellipsis site as *anaphoric*. I will follow López (2009) and employ the feature [a] ([a] = anaphoric) to mark the ellipsis site.

At the same time, as commented on in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2010), this perspective involves allowing the remnant determiner / quantifier to take scope over a definite description: “the interpretation of an ellipsis DP is that of a generalized quantifier,

⁴⁰ Baltin (2012) notes that this interpretative puzzle was first discussed in Hardt (1999) and Schwarz (2000).

the remaining D is strong, since its restriction is clearly non-empty” (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2010: 102). Enough syntactic structure needs thus to be provided in order to allow **a quantifier to scope over a definite description**.

3.2.2. Splitting the D-head

Evidence for the two distinct, but related claims expressed in the paragraphs above should be presented. Consider first the second claim, namely, the structure problem. Recall that the analysis of licensed ellipsis (see §II) involves notions like *Focus* and *Topic* (Merchant 2001, López 2000, López 2009, Winkler 2005, etc.), that is the activation of the information structural layer of the sentence and, respectively, of the DP.

Besides the identity requirement (conceived as the construction of the common topic) on the ellipsis site, the *remnant* is also affected by the deletion process in that it is contrastively focused⁴¹ (see Merchant 2001 and Winkler 2005 i.a.). In the elliptical variety investigated by Merchant (2001), sluicing, movement of the remnant, i.e. the *wh*-phrase, to Spec, CP is not the effect of ellipsis, but is triggered by the need of valuing the [*uwh*] feature of the operator phrase. On the one hand, this gives the impression that ellipsis is syntactically optional. On the other hand, it will emerge that this formulation is not entirely accurate: several empirical arguments will be briefly brought below in order to show that focus on the remnant is actually obligatory. Thus, a dedicated projection to satisfy the focus needs of the remnant is necessary. And contrastive focus is not resolved *in situ*, but involves internal or external merger in the left periphery. Again, I will follow López (2009) and employ the feature [+c] to indicate that a constituent is focused.

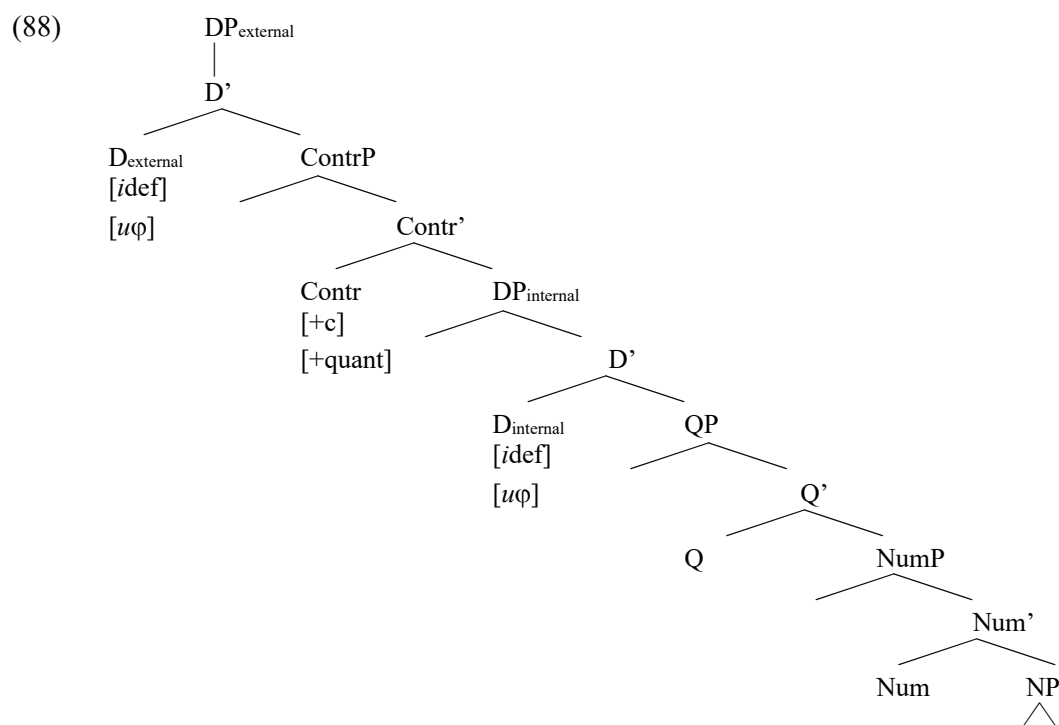
Thus, the syntactic structure adopted has to be rich enough to permit the following: (i) a determiner / quantifier to scope over a definite description; (ii) the internal or external merger of a focused constituent, i.e. of a constituent marked as [+c].

A structure of this type is readily available in *split-DP* hypothesis, advocated by authors like Giusti (1996, 2005 (on Romanian), 2012), Ihsane and Puskas (2001), Aboh (2004), Laenzlinger (2005a, 2005b, 2010), Cornilescu (2007), Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011b) (see also Roberts 2017 for the implementation of this idea in a bi-phasal approach). According to this theory, which pursues Rizzi’s (1997) split of the C-head into Force and Fin, the D-head splits into a lower D_{internal}⁴² position, and a higher D_{external} projection, with the space between D_{internal} and D_{external} accommodating DP-internal constituents which are marked from the point of the DP-internal information packaging (cf. Chafe 1976). For our

⁴¹ Focus and topic are not primitive features; in the specific analysis of ellipsis, I will follow López (2009) and employ the features [a] (=anaphoric) and [c] (=contrast), which have clearer syntactic and interpretative correlates. For the decomposition of Topic and Focus, see Cornilescu (2007).

⁴² The labels given to the split D heads varies from one author to another. I will continue to use here the labels employed in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a).

limited goals here, I will assume, like Giusti (2012), that the space between D_{internal} and D_{external} contains only one projection, labelled $\text{Contr}(\text{ast})\text{P}$; the head of ContrP is marked $[+c, +\text{quant}]$. By virtue of being phasal edges, peripheries are quantificational domains (this is why a $[+\text{quant}]$ feature is present on Contr^0) (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b; cf. also Butler 2004).



A few comments are in order here. First, as also correctly noticed by Giusti (2012: 215), the duplication of the article *per se* does not constitute evidence for a split DP. In the derivation of definiteness agreement in the previous section, I have adopted a structure with a non-split D. Conceptually, it is not necessary to invoke distinct projections for the valuation of the same feature linked via Agree. In Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) formulation, the same feature with different values (recall that features are of the type [attribute: value]) is linked by an Agree chain. Satisfying the valuation necessities of one feature entails the satisfaction of all the values of the Agree chain.

Similarly to the splitting of C into Force and Fin, the splitting of D has to be correlated with the presence of *different* lexical items satisfying the necessities of these heads. This is what actually happens in the Romanian adjectival article construction:

- (89) *băiatul cel bun*
 boy.DEF CEL nice
 ‘the nice boy’

The suffixal definite article values D_{internal} ’s [*idef*] feature, while the adjectival article *cel* is merged in D_{external} , valuing by merge this head’s featural requirements. The final word order (N-def > *cel* > A) is obtained via phrasal movement to Spec, DP_{external} . I will return to the derivation of this construction in the section devoted to the adjectival article *cel* (§III.3.3.4).

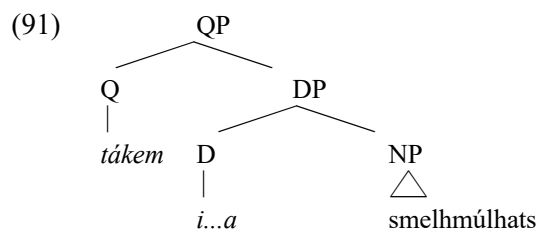
3.2.3. A syntax-semantics interface implication

By adopting the split-D hypothesis as proposed above also gives us a natural account of the fact that quantifiers may have a definite description in their scope. Quantifiers of natural language make up scales (Horn 1972); scalarity is an inherently contrastive property: quantifiers have thus the opinion of internally or externally merging in the DP-left periphery (see §§.III.3.3.1, III.3.3.7 below for situations where a quantifier merges above D_{internal}).

Empirical evidence for the fact that quantifiers may scope over a definite description comes from St’át’imcets (Lillooet Salish), analysed by Matthewson (2001). In this language, a quantificational element is systematically the sister of a full DP containing an overt determiner, as in (90) below, taken from Matthewson (2001: 146):

- (90) a. *tákem* [*i* *smelhmúlhats-a*]
 all DEF.PL woman(PL).DEF
 ‘all the women’

In the derivation of this construction, Matthewson (2001) proposes the following structure:



To briefly conclude, the syntax of natural languages does not impose a ban on a quantifier having in its scope a definite description. The structure proposed above for

double definite constructions is exactly of the type Matthewson (2001) puts forth for the analysis of quantification in Lillooet Salish⁴³.

3.2.4. Evidence for definiteness in the ellipsis site

Empirical evidence should be also brought for the daring assumption that a definite article is always present in the ellipsis site. Romanian brings rich evidence for this claim, as most double definite constructions⁴⁴ have elliptical counterparts. Consider first the *cel*-construction:

- (92) a. *mărul* *cel roșu*
 apple.DEF CEL red
 ‘the red apple’
- b. *cel roșu*
 CEL red
 ‘the red one’

Demonstratives present an even more interesting case. As is known, Romanian possesses two types of demonstrative adjectives: prenominal demonstratives and postnominal demonstratives. Besides DP-internal word order restrictions, the two types of demonstratives also contrast in that they have different paradigms, with postnominal demonstratives having a long/strong form (ensured by the final particle *-a* or by word-internal processes)⁴⁵. Here are the paradigms of the Romanian demonstratives *acest/acesta* (‘this’) and *acel/acela* (‘that’).

⁴³ Salish languages prove extremely relevant for the analysis of natural language quantifiers / determiners. In Skwxwú7mesh / Squamish, investigated by Gillon (2009), determiners do not encode the well-known *familiarity* (definite) / *novelty* (indefinite) distinction, but mark deixis/proximity distinctions; more exactly, the same determiner can be used to introduce a definite or indefinite referent. Under these conditions, the common property of determiner, which unifies this class, is the fact that determiners introduce a *domain restriction*, i.e. they combine with a nominal restriction which has a certain extension in the context. Thus, definiteness is not be a primitive category, but results from the interaction of domain restriction with uniqueness / maximality. In this dissertation, I will continue to treat definiteness as a primitive; however, Gillon’s (2009) compositional view is relevant as it might indicate that the *familiarity* requirement of definiteness is relevant in the licensing of nominal ellipsis.

⁴⁴ Recall that definiteness agreement does not represent double definiteness in the sense defined here, as it does not trigger the splitting of the D-head.

⁴⁵ The origin of Romanian strong demonstratives and of the postnominal demonstrative construction is discussed in detail in Nicolae (2019: 163-197).

THE PARADIGM OF *ACEST* / *ACESTA* ('this')

CASE	MASCULINE				FEMININE			
	SINGULAR		PLURAL		SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
NOM≡ACC	<i>acest</i>	<i>acesta</i>	<i>acești</i>	<i>aceștia</i>	<i>această</i>	<i>aceasta</i>	<i>aceste</i>	<i>acestea</i>
GEN≡DAT	<i>acestui</i>	<i>acestuia</i>	<i>acestor</i>	<i>acestora</i>	<i>acestei</i>	<i>acesteia</i>	<i>acestor</i>	<i>acestora</i>

THE PARADIGM OF *ACEL* / *ACELA* ('that')

CASE	MASCULINE				FEMININE			
	SINGULAR		PLURAL		SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
NOM≡ACC	<i>acel</i>	<i>acela</i>	<i>acei</i>	<i>aceia</i>	<i>acea</i>	<i>aceea</i>	<i>acele</i>	<i>acelea</i>
GEN≡DAT	<i>acelui</i>	<i>aceluia</i>	<i>acelor</i>	<i>acelora</i>	<i>acelei</i>	<i>aceleia</i>	<i>acelor</i>	<i>acelora</i>

What is relevant for our purposes here is that the postnominal demonstrative occurs in a double definite construction, being preceded by a definite noun (93a), while the prenominal demonstrative occurs in a simple definite DP in which it is the sole bearer of definiteness (93b).

- (93) a. *omul* *acesta* / *acela*
 man.DEF this that
 b. *acest* / *acel* *om*
 this that man
 'this / that man'

Expectedly, only the postnominal demonstrative is allowed as a remnant of nominal ellipsis:

- (94) a. *caietul* *gri* *de pe* *masă și acesta / acela* *roșu din dormitor*
 copybook.DEF grey on table and this that red from bedroom
 'the grey copybook on the table and the red one from the bedroom'
 b. **caietul* *gri* *de pe* *masă și acest / acel* *roșu din dormitor*
 copybook.DEF grey on table and this that red from bedroom

To conclude, the similarity between double definite constructions and nominal ellipsis cannot be accidental: nominal ellipsis involves the valuation of definiteness, a fact

which from a syntax-discourse perspective permits the construction of a common discourse topic.

3.2.5. Evidence for focus on the remnant

Next, empirical arguments will be brought for yet another claim made at the beginning of this subsection, namely: the remnant of nominal ellipsis is focused. This claim has been often made in the general literature on ellipsis (Aelbrecht 2009, Merchant 2001, Winkler 2005, Giurgea 2010) and in the nominal ellipsis literature (Eguren 2010, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2010, 2012a). Structurally, focalization (conceived as the presence of a [+c] feature on the remnant) may trigger differences in the internal structures of elided vs. overt head constructions, as contrastive focus is not checked / valued *in situ* (see López 2009). Romanian provides pervasive (formal and functional) evidence that this is the case, and that the internal structure of DPs with ellipsis is different of the internal structure of DPs with overt nominal heads.

Formal evidence consists of distributional disparities between ellipsis DPs and overt head DPs. As already mentioned, in overt head constructions, the adjectival article *cel* cannot be followed by relational adjectives, as in (95a); by contrast, elided noun head structures with *cel* are perfectly legitimate with this type of adjectives, as in (95b); this distributional disparity will be shown to follow from the assignment of focus on the remnant in nominal ellipsis (see §III.3.3.6.3):

- (95) a. **filmul* *cel* *frânțuzesc*
 movie.DEF CEL French
 b. *filmul* *frânțuzesc* *și* *cel* *românesc*
 movie.DEF French and CEL Romanian
 ‘the French movie and the Romanian one’

The derivation of these examples will be presented in one of the next subsections.

Likewise, the overt head/elided head constructions observe different ordering conditions on sequences of cardinals and adjectives. Thus, in the overt head construction, cardinals and adjectives (with modal, evaluative readings) are freely ordered, as shown in (96), while in structures with ellipsis the only possible word order has the adjective follow the cardinal, as in (97):

- (96) a. *aceste două simple probleme*
 these two simple problems
 ‘these two simple problems’

- b. *aceste **simple** două probleme*
 these simple two problems
 ‘~these simple two problems’⁴⁶
- (97) a. *acestea două **simple***
 these two simple
 ‘these two simple ones’
- b. **acestea **simple** două*⁴⁷
 these simple two

Notably, ellipsis in (97) patterns with the postnominal demonstrative construction (98), a double definite construction which activates the structure in (100) with a unique focus position in between the two D positions and a definite silent restriction; if it patterned with the prenominal demonstrative construction (96)/(99), the word order restrictions in (97) (i.e. the exclusion of (97b)) would be unaccounted for.

- (98) a. *problemele acestea două **simple***
 problems.DEF these two simple
- b. *??problemele acestea **simple** două*
 problems.DEF these simple two
- (99) a. *aceste două **simple** probleme*
 these two simple problems
- b. *aceste **simple** două probleme*
 these simple two problems

Additional evidence for the focalization of the remnant(s) comes from the existence of a robust class of determiners and quantifiers whose form changes under ellipsis; namely, the remnant differs from its counterpart occurring in non-elliptical contexts through the presence of the particle *-a*, which has been analysed in the traditional literature as a “deictic particle” (Rosetti 1986).

- (100) a. *tuturora*
 all.GEN≡DAT-*A*

⁴⁶ On a google.co.uk search (05.10.2013), the sequence “these simple two” has 2.710.000 results, a fact which indicates that it is attested in English as well; the canonical structure, with the cardinal preceding the adjective has about 10 times more attestations (25.900.000). However, as L2 English is used on a large scale on the internet, these figures should be taken with caution (Ian Roberts, *p.c.*).

⁴⁷ Google.co.uk indicates that, with *one*-pronominalization, the structure [demonstrative + adjective + cardinal + *one*] is not attested, similarly to the nominal ellipsis construction of Romanian; at the same time, the structure [demonstrative + cardinal + adjective + *one*] is attested (with 536.000 results for “these two simple ones”), again like in Romanian.

- (101) a. *tuturor oamenilor*
all.GEN=DAT humans.DEF.GEN=DAT
b. **tuturora oamenilor*
all.GEN=DAT-*A* humans.DEF.GEN=DAT
a. *fiecăruia*
each/every.GEN=DAT-*A*
b. *fiecăru om*
each/every.GEN=DAT human
c. **fiecăruia om*
each/every.GEN=DAT-*A* human

Functional evidence is given by proximal and distal demonstratives. As shown above, demonstratives appear in elided structures only with their long/strong form. Research on the information packaging of DPs with demonstrative determiners has shown that the two types of demonstratives (long/strong and short/weak) are associated with different roles in the information packaging of the DP (Tasmowski 1990, Manoliu (Manea) 1993, 2000, Cornilescu 2005, Vasilescu 2009a). The prenominal demonstrative is a mere endophoric determiner, a text-cohesion device. By contrast, the postnominal demonstrative is an emphatic element endowed with a specificity feature, a means of talk interaction, and thus behaves like a focus. Consequently, prenominal demonstratives cannot be contrastively stressed (102a), while postnominal demonstratives can easily bear nuclear stress (102b):

- (102) a. *?ACEASTĂ carte, nu aceea*
this book, not that
b. *cartea ACEASTA, nu aceea*
book.DEF this not that

In the subtle interplay of speaker specificity / addressee specificity, the postnominal distal demonstrative presents the referent as being non-specific for the hearer, but specific for the addressee (Manoliu 2000: 592):

- (103) *spune și nouă, tată, cine este vipera aceea care nu-ți*
tell.IMP.2SG also us father who is viper.DEF that who not=CL.DAT.2SG
dă pace. (Ispirescu)
give.IND.PRES.3SG peace
'Tell us, father, who is that viper who does not leave you alone.'

The occurrence of only postnominal demonstratives with nominal ellipsis is thus also motivated from an information structure point of view.

3.2.6. Characterizing the chosen P-features

In the previous subsections, I have briefly introduced the P-features employed, without much discussion. Let us briefly comment on these features and on the particular syntax-information structure interface account I am adopting.

In the case of ellipsis, categorized as a Discourse Grammar phenomenon, a mechanism is required to assign P-features to constituents that do not possess intrinsic pragmatic properties. This mechanism is readily available in López's (2009) account of the discourse-grammar interface. I will roughly present here the ingredients minimally necessary for our analysis; more details and conceptual motivation for why this particular implementation is adequate can be found in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a: 1095-1097).

According to López (2009: 22), information structure covers "those aspects of sentence grammar relevant for the integration of sentences into discourses". A module "pragmatics" is postulated, which assigns the features relevant for inserting a syntactic representation / object into a discourse structure in certain positions. López (2009) further capitalises on a well-known state of affairs, namely that the notions *topic* and *focus* fail to identify a coherent class of structures; the analyst is unable to make precise syntactic predictions concerning the syntactic behaviour of topics and foci. What is thus called for is a decompositional view on topic and focus by employing P-features with clear syntactic correlates and unambiguous semantic component.

I will borrow the two features also employed by López (2009), [+a] (=anaphor) and [+c] (=contrast).

The feature [+a] is described as "involving an obligatory dependency with respect to an antecedent" (López 2009). Note that [+a] actually covers the function of the *narrow D-linking* feature of López (2000), which was described as "an instruction for the interpretative component that says «connect with a discourse topic»" (López 2000: 1986). From a morphosyntactic perspective, I have shown above that the ellipsis site is definite. Definiteness ensures the grammatical marking of anaphoricity, distinguishing nominal ellipsis from other cases of anaphora, which are secured by common descriptive content, as in the following example in which the second occurrence of *women* is anaphoric to the first one:

(104) Two *women* entered the room. The *women* were well dressed.

Thus, nominal ellipsis is conditioned both from a Discourse Grammar and from a syntactic perspective; the elided nominal restriction has to be marked as [+a] and [+def].

Anaphoricity must not only be inferred, as in (104) above, but explicitly marked, and this is why the ellipsis site must be definite.

As for the feature [+c], it is assigned to the remnant and has a double role: semantically, it indicates that the remnant represents non-identical information with respect to the antecedent; syntactically, it triggers internal or external merger to the left periphery⁴⁸ (in the case of DP, to the DP-periphery, situated in between the split determiners)⁴⁹.

López's (2009) two-feature system is able to capture a well-known characteristic of ellipsis, highlighted as early as the Renaissance (see Dillinger 1974 for details): ellipsis is a double trope / rhetoric figure, which presupposes the deletion of the anaphoric part, and the emphatization of the remnant.

From a technical perspective, the assignment of the P-features is the burden of the phasal heads (note that DPs are phases; see Chomsky 2008). Features like [+a] and [+c] are assigned to constituents that do not have inherent pragmatic properties. According to López (2009), they are assigned during the derivation by the pragmatic component⁵⁰ as soon as the phasal head merges; in other words, P-features are assigned cyclically. This stand, taken by López (2009) and adopted here, is not without problems. The first thorny question presents itself: does the assignment of P-features by phasal heads violate the Inclusiveness Condition (1995)? López (2009: 100-104) discusses this problem in detail and, by capitalizing on Chomsky's (1995) original intuition that "the intent of the Inclusiveness Condition is to ensure that the derivation itself only consists of applications of Merge and Move" (López 2009: 100), he shows that P-feature assignment does not violate Inclusiveness understood in this narrow sense.

Another potential problem is discriminating between this account and the theory developed by Merchant (starting with his 2001 monograph). Why is it preferable to have the anaphoric requirement conceived of as phasal assignment procedure rather than as an E-feature? Merchant's (2001) E-feature has to be present from the beginning in the Numeration (see also Aelbrecht 2009, who further develops this idea); this raises a more serious conceptual problem, namely Look Ahead. The account adopted here bypasses the Look-Ahead problem, by transferring the assignment of anaphoricity (actually, the task of deciding whether a certain domain is parallel / isomorphic / anaphoric to a different domain) to the phasal head. Phase theory as developed since Chomsky (2001) allows us to speculate on why this task should be handled by the phasal heads. As stated, I will follow

⁴⁸ I will also briefly discuss the case of multiple remnants and show that it is possible to deal with these cases as well.

⁴⁹ Note that the feature [+c] can also be assigned to contrastive constituents in non-elliptical constructions. This is exactly what happens in the overt *cel*-construction, discussed below.

⁵⁰ "I take pragmatics to be invasive [...], and therefore having the ability to inspect syntactic structure and attach such a feature ([+a] / [+c]) to it" (López 2009: 98).

López (2009) in assuming that P-features may be assigned by phasal heads; in the next two paragraphs, I speculate on why this might be so.

Intensive research on phases (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008; Den Dikken 2007, Boeckx and Grohmann 2007, Gallego 2009, 2010, the papers in Gallego 2012, among many others) has capitalized on the narrow syntactic role of phases (the PIC⁵¹ as formulated in Chomsky 2000⁵²), the narrow syntactic relation between phases (the PIC as formulated in Chomsky 2001⁵³), the limits of phases (cf. Den Dikken's 2007 *Phase Extension* mechanism and Gallego's 2010 *Phase Sliding* proposal).

However, as envisaged by Chomsky, there is another facet of phases which has received little attention in the literature (this is actually the aspect on which López 2009 builds his argumentation): **phases are spell-out domains** (cf. also Uriagereka 1999, Fox and Pesetsky 2005, Richards 2007 i.a.) How should this property of phases be interpreted? Simply put, phases should be viewed as chunks of syntactic structure sent to the interfaces, discourse integration being one of them. In other words, phases are the locus of interaction between syntax and Discourse Grammar. The establishment of information-structural make-up of a sentence (i.e. establishing whether a constituent is a focus or a topic, etc.) should therefore take place at a phasal level, i.e. when phases are sent to spell-out.

López arrives at a welcome conclusion from our perspective: "P-features must be assigned during the derivation, not before" (López 2009: 169). This means that P-features are not inherent in the featural make-up of constituents; nor are they merged with certain components in the pre-syntactic domain. This perspective eliminates Look Ahead. For illustration, consider an instance of topicalization. Two scenarios may be imagined: (i) a constituent is marked as a Topic when the phase head within which it is comprised reaches spell-out / discourse; the phase head sends the instruction "look for a Topic" to a lower head in the structure, the intended constituent is marked as a (contrastive) Topic and moves to the left-periphery; (ii) alternatively, the constituent is marked as a Topic in the Numeration and, via a Greed-like system, reaches a left-periphery Topic position. Of these two scenarios, the first one is conceptually more attractive: a constituent is not inherently a topic or a focus; the discourse configuration in which it appears (combined, of course, with the lexical properties of the respective constituent) makes it a candidate to a focus or a topic position. It thus appears that phases are endowed with P-features and have the ability

⁵¹ Phase Impenetrability Condition.

⁵² "Early" PIC (*strong PIC* in Gallego's 2010 formulation): "In a phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α ; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations." (Chomsky 2000: 108)

⁵³ "Late" PIC (*weak PIC* in Gallego's 2010 formulation): "[Give the structure [_{NP} Z... [_{HP} α [_H YP]]], with H and Z the heads of phases]: The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations." (Chomsky 2001: 14).

to invasively assign certain feature not belonging to the narrow syntactic component, but as syntactic reflexes of the ongoing make up of a felicitous discourse.

Further research will determine whether these speculations are on the right track. For the moment, let us retain the following results arrived at:

(i) the ellipsis site must be marked as [+a, +def]; [+a] ensures relation with a discourse antecedent, while [+def] grammatically marks this relation;

(ii) as insisted in §III.3.1 above, the interpretation of ellipsis requires the construction of a common topic, i.e. a superset of the entities jointly denoted by the antecedent and the ellipsis site; from a semantic perspective as well, the second occurrence of the common topic has to be definite, since indefinite descriptions satisfy Heim's (1982) *Novelty Condition*: indefinites introduce a new discourse referent, and thus cannot be related to a common topic of the sort constructed in nominal ellipsis;

(iii) the remnant(s) is (are) assigned [+c], this signalling their non-identity to the antecedent; [+c] correlates with the movement of the non-anaphoric component to the DP left periphery.

We may now set out to analyse the most representative patterns of nominal ellipsis. The elided head will be merged as [+definite] in the derivation. Let us start with nominal ellipsis headed by adjectival article *cel*, presenting first the syntax of the overt adjectival article construction.

3.3. Nominal ellipsis headed by *cel*

In this section, I will deal with the following problems:

(i) I will briefly present the syntax of the adjectival article construction, which allows us to also understand how ellipsis headed by *cel* works;

(ii) I will derive *cel*-ellipsis; in the derivation of *cel*-ellipsis, the manner in which the assignment of the [+a] and [+c] features works will become very clear.

With respect to the [+a] feature, it will be shown that DP-internal constituents which undergo definiteness agreement are automatically trapped within the ellipsis site; this is why adjectives suffixed by the definite article cannot be remnants of ellipsis, as remarked in the introduction to this chapter; the elliptical counterpart of (105) is (106b), not (106a):

- (105) *strălucitoarele stele*
 shining.DEF stars
 'the shining stars'

- (106) a. **[?]strălucitoarele*
 shining.DEF
 b. *cele strălucitoare*
 CEL shining
 ‘the / those shining ones’

Assignment of [+c] is instrumental in understanding why relational adjectives and nominal arguments can be remnants of nominal ellipsis in the *cel*-construction (see (107b), (108b)), despite the fact that they are disallowed in the overt *cel*-construction (see (107a), (108a)). Assignment of [+c] on the remnant correlates with movement to the ContrP (i.e. ensuring the smuggling of the relational adjective / nominal argument to the DP left periphery); assignment of [+c] takes place only under ellipsis.

- (107) a. **produsul cel românesc*
 product.DEF CEL Romanian
 b. *produsul englezesc și cel românesc*
 product.DEF English and CEL Romanian
 ‘~the English product and the Romanian one’
- (108) a. **acordarea cea de burse*
 granting.DEF CEL of scholarships
 b. *acordarea de burse și cea de distincții*
 granting.DEF of scholarships and CEL of distinctions
 ‘~the granting of scholarships and the one of distinctions’

3.3.1. The distribution of *cel* in the adjectival article construction⁵⁴

In the adjectival article construction, the head noun is always definite (bears the affixal definite article) and occupies the first position of the nominal phrase. The adjectival article *cel* introduces modifiers belonging to the following categories: APs headed by qualifying adjectives (109a), PPs (109b), the agreeing past participle (109c) and present participles (=gerunds) (109d). All these structures are double definite constructions since definiteness is expressed twice by different items: by the affixal definite article, suffixed on the head-noun, and by the adjectival article *cel*.

⁵⁴ This account of the adjectival article construction was updated in Nicolae (2019: 197-216), where diachronic evidence is presented for some of analytical solutions put forward here. There are certain details in which the account presented here differs from that presented in Nicolae (2019), but they are not relevant for the analysis of nominal ellipsis licensed by *cel* (rather, they are relevant for the diachronic development of the adjectival article construction).

- (109) a. *vinul cel vechi*
 wine.DEF CEL old
 ‘the old wine’
- b. *palatul cel de cleștar*
 palace.DEF CEL of crystal
 ‘the crystal palace’
- c. *copila cea pierdută*
 girl.DEF CEL lost
 ‘the lost girl’
- d. *coșurile cele fumegânde* (obsolete)
 chimneys.DEF CEL steaming
 ‘the steaming chimneys’

Different *phrasal* constituents, such as possessive adjectives or genitival personal pronouns (110a), PPs (110b), and relational adjectives (110c), may intervene between the definite head noun and the modifier introduced by *cel*. Therefore, unlike demonstratives, *cel* does not observe the *adjacency constraint* (the head noun need not be adjacent to *cel*). This indicates that the derivation of the *cel*-construction is not identical to the derivation of the postnominal demonstrative construction.

- (110) a. *vinul meu / lui cel vechi*
 wine.DEF my his CEL old
 ‘my old wine’
- b. *palatul de cleștar cel din povești*
 palace.DEF of crystal CEL from fairy-tales
 ‘the crystal palace from fairy tales’
- c. *cartea englezească cea interesantă*
 book.DEF English CEL interesting
 ‘the interesting English book’

An important distributional feature of the *cel*-construction is the presence of agreeing non-finite verbal modifiers, gerunds. These modifiers have to obligatorily display agreement in this, in opposition to the structure in which *cel* is not present, which allows both agreeing and non-agreeing gerunds; additionally, in the latter construction, they may appear prenominally (and undergo definiteness agreement)⁵⁵ (see the paradigm in (111a-e). Past participles are also allowed to appear in the *cel*-construction, as shown in (111f-g).

⁵⁵ The usage of the DP-internal gerund is obsolete in present-day Romanian; however, grammaticality judgements may be elicited.

- (111) a. *rana* *cea sângerândă* (agreeing)
 wound.DEF(F) CEL(F) bleeding.F
 b. *rana* *sângerândă* (agreeing)
 wound.DEF(F) bleeding.F
 c. **rana* *cea sângerând* (non-agreeing)
 wound.DEF(F) CEL(F) bleeding
 d. *rana* *sângerând* (non-agreeing)
 wound.DEF(F) bleeding
 e. *sângerânda* *rană* (agreeing)
 bleeding.DEF.F wound
 ‘the bleeding wound’
 f. *copilul* *cel pierdut*
 child.DEF CEL lost
 ‘the lost child’
 g. *cartea* *cea citită*
 book.DEF CEL read.F
 ‘the read book’

Furthermore, exclusively postnominal adjectives (relational adjectives) are totally excluded from the *cel*-construction:

- (112) a. *construcția* *românească*
 construction.DEF Romanian
 ‘the Romanian construction’
 b. **construcția* *cea românească*
 construction.DEF CEL Romanian

This distribution shows that the class of *postnominal cel* modifiers roughly corresponds to the class of prenominal modifiers. Derivationally, this indicates that these modifiers become postnominal as an effect of movement.

Importantly, intensional adjectives like *fost* (‘former’), *biet* (‘poor/pitiable’) are excluded from the *cel*-construction:

- (113) a. **șeful cel fost*
 boss.DEF CEL former
 b. **copilul cel biet*
 child.DEF CEL poor/pitiable

3.3.2. The interpretation of the *cel*-construction

As can be noticed from the examples above, *cel*-insertion is an optional phenomenon, with the exception of postnominal *cel* preceding quantifiers. The natural question is then what is the function of *cel*. The function of *cel* is that of signalling the fact that the modifier it introduces represents *the most salient property* characterizing the nominal head in the given context. More exactly, when comparing *băiatul mare* (boy.DEF big) and *băiatul cel mare* (boy.DEF CEL big), in the latter case the adjective expresses the identifying property of the boy rather than one property among other possible ones (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b, 2012a for more details; see also Tasmowki-de-Ryck 1994; Vasilescu 2009b; GBLR 2010). *Saliency* may be understood here either as *contextual saliency* (the property introduced by *cel* serves for contextual identification) or as *strength* (the property introduced by *cel* is very characteristic / the most characteristic one of the subject so that it serves to identify it)⁵⁶. Thus, the relevant properties associated with *cel* insertion may be: emphasis and contrast (117a); contextual saliency, the *cel* modifier spelling out the identifying property of the referent, without emphasis or contrast (117b); or the signalling of stereotypical properties (117c).

- (117) a. *Vreau* [bluza **cea** roșie], nu pe cea galbenă
want.IND.PRES.1SG blouse.DEF CEL red not PE CEL yellow
'I want the red blouse, not the yellow one.'
- b. "Lângă el [...] un procuror șchiop [...]"
next to him a prosecutor lame
[...]
– *Ce imbecil! spuse el, cu adresă la [procurorul **cel** șchiop]"*
What idiot said he with direction at prosecutor.DEF CEL lame
'Next to him sat a lame prosecutor.'
[...]
– What an idiot! he said, referring to the lame prosecutor.'
- (Fănuș Neagu, *apud* Tasmowski-de-Ryck 1994: 18)
- c. *cerul **cel** albastru*
sky.DEF CEL blue
'the blue sky'

⁵⁶ This interpretative characteristic led Manoliu Manea (1993) to suggest that the *cel*-construction is actually a disguised superlative construction. When a phrase like *băiatul cel mare* (boy.DEF CEL big) is uttered, a pragmatic scale is activated and *mare* 'big' is interpreted as the most salient attribute of *băiat* 'boy'; hence, the interpretation 'the oldest boy'.

Several consequences follow from this description. It appears that the *cel*-construction represents the selection of a property out of a range of attributes; this implies the construction of a contextual scale of attributes, a pragmatic scale in the sense of Fauconnier (1975), in which attributes are arranged in order of strength or contextual saliency (how characteristic they are of the subject or how well they serve for the identification of the subject). From a syntax-semantics interface perspective, this indicates that these constituents are DP-internal contrastive foci, i.e. they are assigned López's (2009) [+c] feature, whose syntactic correlate is internal / external merger to the left periphery. The lack of definiteness agreement on the postnominal adjective and the exclusion of intensional adjectives show that the constituents in the *cel*-construction directly merge in the specifier of ContrP.

Yet another consequence follows from this proposal. Contrastive foci are quantificational constituents, because contrastive focus opens up a variable and simultaneously resolves it (López 2009: 17). The domain over which these constituents quantify should be specified. Predicates cannot be quantified over unless they are saturated, i.e. nominalised. Thus, obligatory number and gender agreement on gerunds indicates that they have been nominalized and can be quantified over (see the paradigm in (111a)-(111e) above). Their mode of semantic combination with the nominal restriction has to be *functional application* (see the next two sections).

In the next section, I briefly comment on the classification of adjectives recently proposed in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2016). This classification integrates three criteria: a syntactic criterion, a semantic-combinatorial criterion, and an ontological criterion. Stress will fall mostly on the first two criteria.

3.3.3. A brief note on the classification of adjectives

In Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a, 2016), we have defended the idea that adjectives do not constitute a class with a uniform syntax: the position where an adjective merges is determined by syntactic, semantic-combinatorial and ontological considerations. The detailed argumentation is given in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2016); in this section, only the results of this paper are presented. The classification of adjectives serves for understanding the distribution of DP-internal constituents in the *cel*-construction.

The first criterion, the syntactic criterion, put forth by Larson and Marušič (2004), distinguishes between NP- and DP-adjectives. Roughly speaking, NP-adjectives have an NP in their scope and DP-adjectives have a DP in their scope. In Larson and Marušič's (2004) analysis, DP-adjectives are predicative adjectives which merge as small clause predicates and combine with DP-subjects. Cornilescu (2006) has shown that DP adjectives can also be DP-internal in split-DP constructions.

The second criterion, the semantic-combinatorial criterion (the rule by means of which adjectives combine with the NP or DP constituent which is in their scope), distinguishes between the two existent modes of semantic combination, Functional Application and Predicate Modification (θ -Identification in Higginbotham 1985):

- (118) a. **Functional Application** (Heim and Kratzer 1998: 44)
 For $\alpha \in D_{\sigma}$, $\beta \in D_{\langle \sigma, \tau \rangle}$ and γ such that γ immediately dominates both α and β , $[[\gamma]] = [[\beta]] ([[\alpha]])$
- b. **Predicate Modification** (Heim and Kratzer 1998: 65)
 For $\alpha \in D_{\langle e, \sigma \rangle}$, $\beta \in D_{\langle e, \sigma \rangle}$ and γ such that γ immediately dominates both α and β , $[[\gamma]] = \lambda x [[\alpha]](x) \wedge [[\beta]](x)$.

Predicate Modification combines predicates of *the same-level*, i.e., having *the same denotation*, by means of *set intersection* (the conjunction of predicates). Adjectives that may combine with NPs by predicate modification are *intersective*, while *Functional Application* combines constituents that have *denotations of different types*, such that one of them, the function, takes the second for its argument.

3.3.4. The derivation of the *cel*-construction

Let us review the main conclusions arrived at in the previous sections, focusing on the derivation of the *cel*-construction with adjectival modifiers:

- (i) the *cel*-construction is a genuine double definite construction in which both D_{internal} and D_{external} are activated;
- (ii) the fact that phrasal constituents may precede *cel* indicates that the noun moves as a phrase, not as a head;
- (iii) given their interpretation (placement on a pragmatic scale of attributes), the modifiers in the *cel*-construction are marked as [+c], a fact which allows them to occupy Spec,ContrP;
- (iv) by adopting the distinction between NP- and DP-adjectives, we allow DP-internal adjectives to have a DP in their scope, to be merged above D_{internal} , in ContrP, or undergo movement to that position.

A first point consists in discriminating between the two possibilities presented in (iv). Recall that, in this construction: (i) the head noun is definite, (ii) exclusively postnominal adjectives, i.e. relational adjectives, are excluded in the *cel*-construction. If an adjective merges preminally below D_{internal} in the specifier of a FP and undergoes subsequent movement to Spec, ContrP, it should obligatorily undergo definiteness agreement with the head noun prior to movement, thus having to appear inflected with the definite article in the

cel-construction. An alternative assumption, namely that the adjective merges postnominally, is excluded, as it has been shown that exclusively postnominal adjectives (relational adjectives) are excluded from the *cel*-construction. This prediction is not borne out: adjectives in the *cel*-construction are systematically non-definite (119). Therefore, modifiers in the *cel*-construction merge in Spec,ContrP rather than move there.

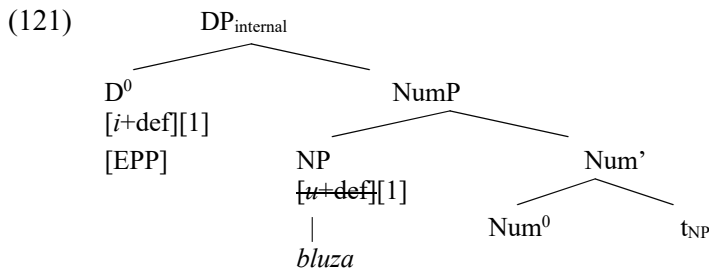
- (119) a. *copilul* *cel bun*
 child.DEF CEL good
 b. **copilul* *cel bunul*
 child.DEF CEL good.DEF

By assumption, when the left periphery of the DP is activated, D_{internal} has an EPP feature, which allows Spec,DP to function as an escape hatch.

Let us focus on the example in (120):

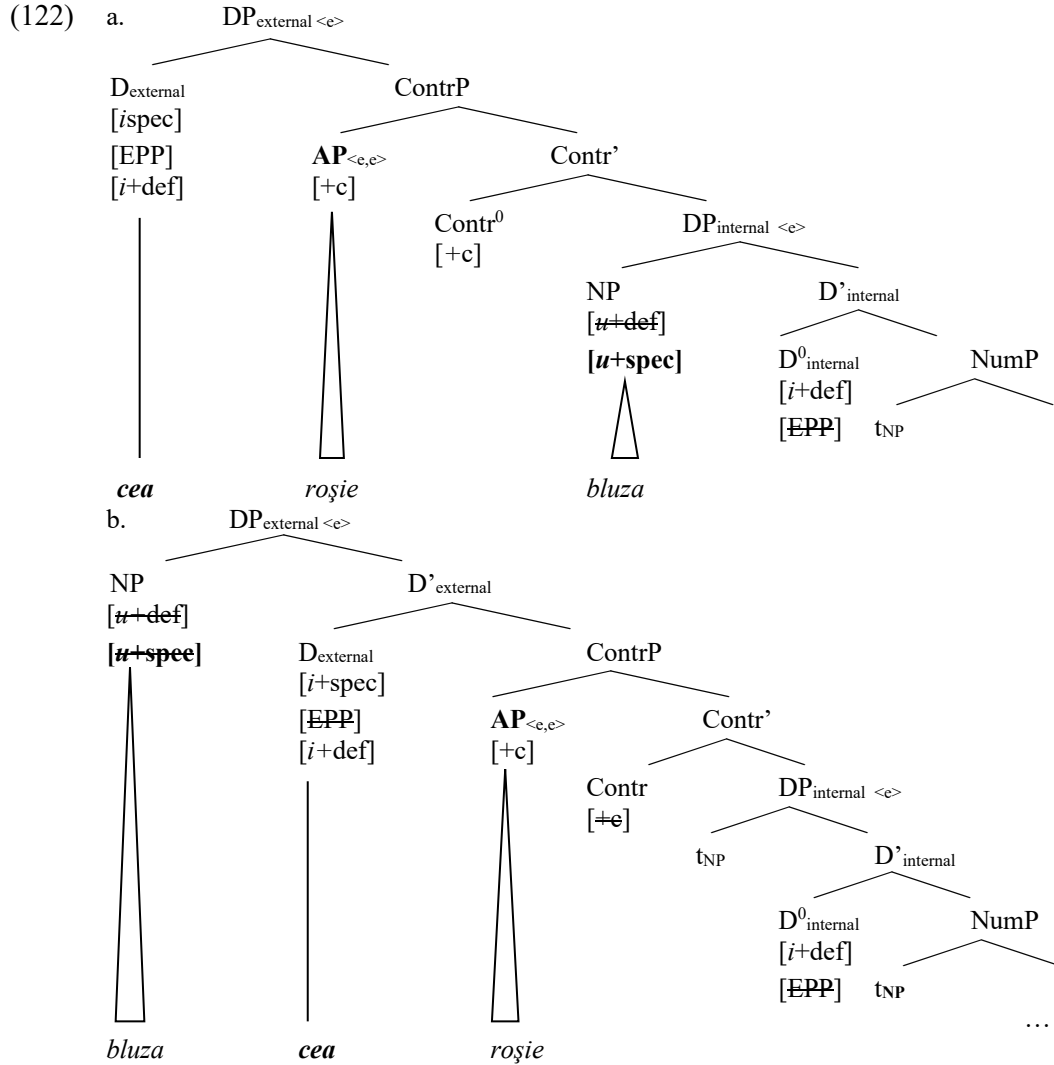
- (120) *bluza* *cea roșie*
 blouse.DEF CEL red
 the red blouse

The noun is merged as [$u+\text{def}$], and undergoes phrasal movement to Spec,NumP. In this position, the [$u+\text{def}$] noun is directly c-commanded by the [$i\text{def}$] D head; D's definiteness feature is valued, and the definite feature of the noun is deleted and can no longer participate in Agree phenomena.



Next, the NP is attracted to the Spec, DP_{internal} . The [$+c$] adjective merges as a specifier of ContrP; since the definiteness feature of the NP is inactive at this point, definiteness agreement does not apply (although they are in a c-command configuration). *Cel* then merges as a head in D_{external} (and satisfies its [quantificational] selection requirements), and then the NP raises to the specifier of D_{external} . Raising to Spec, D_{external} is triggered by an interpretable unvalued specificity (i.e. [$i\text{spec}$]) feature of D_{external} , a feature introduced by *cel* (Cornilescu 2007, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012a): given the

interpretation of the adjectival article construction, the specificity of the referent of the DP is induced by the identifying property expressed by the AP⁵⁷. The representations in (122) depict the derivation.



⁵⁷ See footnote 25 in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a: 1091), which shows that *specificity*, *definiteness* and *anaphoricity* are distinct properties of DPs which do not entail one another: *specificity* is tied to contextual information available to the speaker (Ihsane and Puskás 2001); *anaphoricity* presupposes connection to a discourse antecedent (López 2009); *definiteness* correlates with *familiarity* and *uniqueness* / *maximality*.

The representation in (122b) is slightly simplified; in order to allow the NP to cross over the AP in Spec,ContrP, the D_{internal}^0 head undergoes movement to Contr^0 ; head-to-head merge ensuring equidistance (Lasnik 2009).

This analysis of the *cel*-construction accounts for the following empirical facts. First and foremost, NP-adjectives, i.e. intensional (123) and relational (124) adjectives, are excluded from the *cel*-construction (see (123a) and (124a)). They may appear to the left of *cel* ((123b) and (124b)), being pied-piped there as an effect of NP-movement, but they cannot be directly preceded by *cel*.

- (123) a. **romanul cel englezesc*
 novel.DEF CEL English
 b. *romanul englezesc cel interesant*
 novel.DEF English CEL interesting
 ‘the interesting English novel’
- (124) a. **șeful cel fost*
 boss.DEF CEL former
 b. *#fostul șef cel mare*⁵⁸ (internet⁵⁹)
 former.DEF boss CEL big
 ‘the former big boss’

Intensional adjectives (124a) are excluded because of their merge position. Being kind-level modifiers (with $\langle\langle k, t \rangle \langle k, t \rangle\rangle$ denotations), they combine with the NP in their scope by *functional application* (recall that *predicate modification* requires constituents of the same type, and nouns do not have $\langle\langle k, t \rangle \langle k, t \rangle\rangle$ denotations; according to Baker 2003, the basic denotation of nouns is $\langle k, t \rangle$). This forces intensional adjectives to merge below D_{internal} ; merging above D_{internal} would entail an inappropriate semantic combination. Since their merge position is prenominal (in definite DPs, they always undergo definiteness agreement), but below D_{internal} , they are most appropriately merged as specifiers of FPs below D_{internal} .

The exclusion of relational (thematic and classifying) adjectives is also due to combined syntactic and semantic features, which determine their merge position. Semantically, they are subsective, kind level modifiers (with $\langle k, t \rangle$ denotation), “nouns in disguise” for Fábregas (2007) (see, for more details Bosque and Picallo 1996, Ticio 2003, McNally and Boleda 2004, Fábregas 2007, and the discussion in Cornilescu and Nicolae 2016). They are allowed to combine with the noun via *predicate modification*. This excludes merger in ContrP, as this would imply a kind-level modifier combining with a

⁵⁸ This construction is odd, but not ungrammatical. Its oddity results from the fact that the head is simultaneously modified by a *kind-level modifier* (the intensional adjective *fost* ‘former’) and an *object level modifier* (the qualifying adjective *mare* ‘big’). The example in (124b) is attested on the internet.

⁵⁹ <http://ciufuticasrl.wordpress.com/2009/03/06/last-day/>

noun with object level denotation (disallowed both as functional application and as predicate modification). Furthermore, their exclusion as prenominal modifiers indicates that they are merged directly as adjuncts to NPs; any attempt to merge them prenominally as specifiers of FPs would predict definiteness agreement in definite DPs (as they would be c-commanding the noun), contrary to fact (125).

- (125) a. *filmul* *românesc*
 film.DEF Romanian
 ‘the Romanian film’
 b. **românescul* *film*
 Romanian.DEF film

Relational adjectives give credit to a very controversial claim present in Baker (2003), namely: “adjectives also have an option that is unique to them: that of being merged directly with the head noun, without functional structure mediating the relationship” (Baker 2003: 193). Baker’s view proves correct, both conceptually and empirically.

Another consequence of the analysis is that nominal arguments are excluded from the *cel*-construction:

- (126) a. **dependența* *cea de tutun*
 dependency.DEF CEL on tobacco
 b. **lipsa* *cea* *de argumente*
 lack.DEF CEL of arguments
 c. **fiul* *cel* *al* *lui* *Ion*
 son.DEF CEL AL GEN Ion
 d. **cântatul* *cel* *al cocoșului*
 singing.DEF CEL AL rooster.DEF.GEN

This exclusion has syntactic reasons: the Spec,ContrP position as the merge position is inaccessible to these constituents. They have to be merged in the N-domain, in order to be thematically marked (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012b for more details).

The analysis of nominal ellipsis headed by *cel* will show that relational adjectives and nominal arguments can reach the Spec,ContrP position, but only via movement (i.e. smuggling).

A final word has to be said about the derivation of the *cel*-construction when the constituent to the right of *cel* is a quantifier:

- (127) *fetele* *cele trei*
 girls.DEF CEL three
 ‘the three girls’

As shown in §III.2.2.5 above, in the regular derivation in which quantifiers are merged as specifiers of a QP below D_{internal} , the nouns inflected for definiteness are excluded (128); definiteness valuation across a quantifier is disallowed (128a), and movement of the definite noun across the quantifier is also disallowed (128b). In this construction (which is actually the familiar definiteness valuation strategy of languages like English and French), definiteness valuation is satisfied by the merger of *cel* in D_{internal} and the noun is merged as non-definite in the derivation (128c).

- (128) a. **trei fetele*
 three girls.DEF
 b. **fetele trei*
 girls.DEF three
 c. *cele trei fete*
 CEL three girls

Clearly, a different derivation has to be behind the quantificational adjectival article construction. The semantics of cardinals and other quantifiers makes them good candidates for occupying the Spec,ContrP position: cardinals make up scales (Horn 1972), and evaluation with respect to scalarity is the main syntax-semantics interface property expressed by the *cel*-construction. Thus, if quantifiers merge in this position, on the familiar model of the other modifiers in the *cel* construction, they do not tamper with definiteness valuation, as the definiteness feature of the noun has been inactivated (by Agree with D_{internal}); in contrast to the constructions in (128a), (128b), no defective intervention effect arises, and the derivation is allowed to proceed as described above for adjectival modifiers.

3.3.5. A speculation on the emergence of the adjectival article *cel*

Historically, both instances of *cel* developed out of the endophoric distal demonstrative *acel* (< ECCE / ECCUM + ILLUM, Dimitrescu 1975: 169), after the 16th century (Iordan and Manoliu 1965: 145); thus, the grammaticalization process takes place in a period with attested documents and can be properly analysed. Chronologically, the grammaticalization of *cel* as a freestanding definite article takes place before the grammaticalization of *cel* as an adjectival article.

The grammaticalization of *cel* has been analysed in detail in Nicolae (2012b, 2015c and 2019), from which the following facts are drawn.

In §III.2.2.5 above, we have seen that the grammaticalization of *cel* as a freestanding article can be accounted for in terms of the re-setting of Agree from *long distance* to *local* in the passage from old to modern Romanian: as soon as definiteness can no longer be valued across an intervener, the last resort insertion of a definite article in D is necessary.

Turning to the adjectival article *cel*, which has an information structural function, we might speculate that changes in the constraints on movement from old to modern Romanian have triggered the emergence that has led to this development. This time, the change from *long distance movement* to *local movement* is at stake⁶⁰. To be very precise, as soon as displacement for information structure necessities becomes restricted because of changes in the constraints on movement, a new position for information structural purposes is created; this is the ContrP position.

Empirically, what needs to be shown is that displacement to the DP left periphery is more freely allowed in old Romanian. This allows focusing constituents by freely moving them to the left periphery. In this respect, at least the following cases may be identified.

(i) In old Romanian, both indefinite and definite adjectives could precede demonstratives, a possibility excluded in modern Romanian. Consider indefinite adjectives first:

- (129) a. old Rom.: ***cumplit*** *aceste* *vremi de acum* (Costin)
 terrible these times of now
 b. modern Rom.: *aceste* ***cumplit*** *vremuri de acum*
 these terrible times of now
 ‘these terrible times of now’

The adjective in (129a) is surely in an emphatic periphery position. Adjectives inflected for definiteness are also allowed to move across the demonstrative to the ContrP (130).

- (130) a. old Rom.: ***nenorocite*** *acestea* *vremi* (RG)
 unfortunate.DEF these times
 ‘these unfortunate times’
 b. modern Rom.: ***vremurile*** *acestea* *nenorocite*
 times.DEF these unfortunate

⁶⁰ If Move is Agree followed by internal merge caused by an attracting (EPP-like) feature, then the re-setting of *Agree* and *Move* from *long distance* to *local* in the passage from old to modern Romanian are the two different sides of the same phenomenon (the re-setting of Agree, essentially).

The fact that the adjective moves to ContrP rather than directly merging there is testified by the definite article on the adjective; in order to have acquired the definite article, the adjective must have undergone Agree with the definite noun below the lower D, and then moved across the (phrasal) demonstrative.

(ii) In the same vein, definite adjectives could move across cardinals to Spec, ContrP, a possibility utterly excluded in modern Romanian:

- (131) a. old Rom.: *cântecele* [_{DP} *sfinților* *trei feciori*] (Coresi)
 songs.DEF sacred.DEF.GEN three sons
 ‘the song of the three sacred sons’
- b. modern Rom.: *cântecele* [_{DP} *celor trei sfinți feciori*]
 songs.DEF CEL three sacred sons
 ‘the song of the three sacred sons’

Recall that in modern Romanian, this configuration, with cardinals preceding nouns and adjectives, calls for the insertion of freestanding *cel*

More notably, (131b) is not the perfect equivalent of (131): the adjective in (131b) is below cardinals and **does not acquire the contrastive reading acquired by the displaced adjective** in (131a). This information packaging option has been lost in the passage to modern Romanian, and, more importantly, cannot be made up for by any means in the modern Romanian DP.

(iii) In old Romanian, it is also possible for a complex definite NP to precede the demonstrative (132), contrary to modern Romanian, where the N⁰ alone crosses the Dem (133):

- (132) a. *pă* [*ticălosul* *pământu* *acesta*] *să* *vie* (RG)
 on wretched.DEF earth this SĂ come.SUBJ
 ‘...that he should come on this wretched earth.’
- b. *inima* *ta* *aceasta* (RG)
 heart.DEF your this
 ‘this heart of yours’
- (133) a. *pământul* *acesta* *ticălos* [modern Romanian equivalents]
 earth.DEF this wretched
- b. *inima* *aceasta* *a ta*
 heart.DEF this AL your

Thus, in modern Romanian, the operation Move, like Agree, is **local**; it cannot cross a higher specifier. As shown above, the strict adjacency of the postnominal demonstrative to the definite head (133) has standardly been interpreted as an instance of definite N⁰-

Movement to D across a phrasal demonstrative in the specifier below D. By contrast, the derivation of old Romanian examples in (80) involves movement of a phrase across a specifier. This is an instance of long distance movement, an option lost in the transition from old to modern Romanian.

Gradually, all the patterns identified above ((i) to (iii)) have disappeared in the passage from old Romanian to modern Romanian. Patterns (i) and (ii) are directly relevant from an information-structure point of view: in all these patterns, the adjective (definite or indefinite) may appear at the left periphery of the DP, signalling an information structure relevant, contrastive constituent. DP-internal fronting of this sort (= edge-fronting) has disappeared (see the details in Nicolae 2019: 131-145). Pattern (iii) is also relevant for the present discussion as it shows that it was possible in old Romanian to displace phrasal constituents across the D_{internal} projection. After the loss of adjective fronting, *cel* was instead subsequently employed in order to create a periphery configuration, an escape hatch to the left periphery. This is why *cel* as the adjective article construction emerged: to make up for the loss of edge-fronting, in the passage from old to modern Romanian.

After having clarified the syntax and interpretation of the adjectival article construction, we may turn to the analysis of ellipsis headed by *cel*.

3.3.6. The analysis of nominal ellipsis headed by *cel*

3.3.6.1. The range of remnants

Nominal ellipsis headed by *cel* is allowed with the entire distribution allowed in the overt *cel*-construction. Qualifying adjectives may occur in this construction:

- (134) *caietul galben și cel roșu*
 notebook.DEF yellow and CEL red
 ‘the yellow notebook and the red one’

Agreeing non-finite verbal modifiers, past participles and gerunds, are also allowed as remnants (note that the usage of modifying gerunds is obsolete in the current stage of Romanian; see Niculescu 2013; rare examples can be however identified on the internet and are not rejected by native speakers, as in (135b).

- (135) a. *Indexul citit seara târziu și cel citit*
 index.DEF read evening late and CEL read

- dimineața* *devreme* *trebuie să fie* *identice*⁶¹
 morning early must SĂ be.SUBJ identical
 ‘The index read late in the evening and the one read early in the morning
 must be identical.’
- b. *corpul* *lui* *ud* *s-a* *apropiat*
 body.DEF his wet CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3SG get-close.PPLE
de cel sângerând *al lui Ashley*⁶²
 to CEL bleeding AL GEN Ashley
 ‘his wet body got close to Ashley’s bleeding body’

Notice especially the example in (135a), featuring a participial remnant of nominal ellipsis. In this example, the participial remnant preserves its adverbial temporal adjuncts, a fact which indicates that nominal ellipsis does not create an opaque structure, but merely deletes a head present in the syntax. Recall that I have shown above (and this issue will be addressed again in §III.4) that the nominal ellipsis and substantivization are distinct processes; the suffixal definite article licenses substantivization while *cel* and other determiners head nominal ellipsis (this analysis also accounts for the fact that the suffixal article cannot license nominal ellipsis in modern Romanian). Participles are good remnants of nominal ellipsis, but they are rather restricted as bases for substantivization in modern Romanian. However, there are a few almost synonymous pairs like (136) below, in which a passive participle can occur both as a remnant in *cel* nominal ellipsis and as the base of substantivization⁶³:

- (136) a. *cel cunoscut*
 CEL known
 b. *cunoscutul*
 known.DEF
 ‘the one I know / the one known by me’

Notably, when occurring in the nominal ellipsis constructions, the passive participle preserves its subordinates; by contrast, the substantivization structure is opaque: the participle turns into a noun, and any previously verbal subordinate is excluded. In this case, a *by*-phrase is allowed to occur with passive participle remnants of nominal ellipsis (137a), but not with substantivized passive participles (137b):

⁶¹ Source <http://www.aquanovahr.ro/ro/informatii-utile/89>

⁶² Source: <http://www.wattpad.com/24148816-chipurile-umbrelor-capitolu-xiii-atacul?p=3>.

⁶³ There are further differences between nominal ellipsis and substantivization, reviewed in §III.4. Most notably, substantivized words have very specific meanings (e.g. (136b) can only denote humans) because of the fact that they are obtained via incorporation with silent nouns with specific context; nominal ellipsis can refer back anaphorically to any type of referent (e.g. (136a) can be a human or a horse or a concert, etc.).

- (137) a. *cel cunoscut de mine*
 CEL known by me
 ‘the one known by me’
 b. **cunoscutul de mine*
 known.DEF by me

Moving further to the presentation of the range of remnants of nominal ellipsis, PPs are also allowed to surface as remnants:

- (138) *casa de piatră și cea de lemn*
 house.DEF of stone and CEL of wood
 ‘the stone house and the wooden one’

Quantificational remnants are also allowed:

- (139) *cei trei / câțiva*
 CEL three few
 ‘the three / few ones’

There are also contexts possible with ellipsis, but not shared by the adjectival article construction or the definite article one (see the contrast between the examples b. and examples a. in (140) and (141) below). These involve postnominal relational adjectives (140) and nominal arguments (141) respectively, both possible with ellipsis, but not in the adjectival article construction.

- (140) a. **atacul cel american*
 attack.DEF CEL American
 b. *atacul german și cel american*
 attack.DEF German and CEL American
 ‘the German attack and the American one’
 a’. **acidul cel sulfuric*
 acid.DEF CEL sulphuric
 b’. *acidul sulfuric și cel clorhidric*
 acid.DEF sulphuric and CEL hydrochloric
 ‘the sulphuric acid and the hydrochloric one’
 (141) a. **dependența cea de tutun*
 dependence.DEF CEL on tobacco

- b. *dependența de tutun și, mai ales,*
 dependence.DEF on tobacco and especially
 cea de droguri
 CEL on drugs
 ‘the dependence on drugs and especially the one on drugs’

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that nominal ellipsis headed by *cel* is *not* as unconstrained as it may seem when looking at this distribution: there is a robust class of remnants which are not allowed to appear in *cel* nominal ellipsis, namely the class of intensional adjectives like *fost* (‘former’), *biet* (‘poor’), *presupus* (‘alleged’), etc.:

- (142) a. **cel biet*
 CEL poor
 b. **cel fost*
 CEL former

This distribution is verified by adjectives which have different prenominal (143a) and postnominal readings (143b); under ellipsis (144), only the postnominal reading is preserved.

- (143) a. *o singură femeie*
 a unique/only woman
 ‘only one woman’
 b. *o femeie singură*
 a woman alone
 ‘a woman alone’
 (144) *cea singură*
 cel alone
 ‘the one who is alone’

The exclusion of prenominal intensional adjectives is not an idiosyncratic property of the *cel*-construction. These adjectives cannot be remnants of ellipsis headed by cardinals either:

- (145) a. **doi bieți*
 two poor
 b. **doi foști*
 two former

This ends our presentation of the range of remnants with nominal ellipsis headed by *cel*. We may now turn to the analysis of ellipsis headed by *cel*. I will focus in detail on ellipsis with adjectival remnants, deriving this pattern; I will then account for the entire range of remnants present in this construction.

3.3.6.2. *Cel*-ellipsis with qualifying adjectives

I start from the assumption that the variety of *cel* heading the elliptical construction is the adjectival article *cel*, merged as a head in D_{external} , not the freestanding article *cel*, merged as a last resort in D_{internal} . Only the adjectival article has the ability to directly precede adjectives, as shown in (146c) below, a property shared with nominal ellipsis (146b); the freestanding article *cel* cannot directly precede adjectives (146a).

- (146) a. **cele galbene flori*
 CEL yellow flowers
- b. *cele galbene*
 CEL yellow
 ‘the yellow ones’
- c. *florile* *cele galbene*
 flowers.DEF CEL yellow
 ‘the yellow flowers’

Thus, the noun enters the derivation as [*u*+def] and values the [*idef*] feature of D_{internal} . Under the uncontroversial assumption that DPs are phases (see Chomsky 2008 and much subsequent work in Phase Theory), the highest head in the extended projection of the nominal phrase acts as a phase head. This is the D_{external} head in our account. According to López (2009), phasal heads have the ability to assign P-features (see also §III.3.2.6 above).

When the D-phase head is merged, the procedure of comparing the ellipsis DP with its antecedent takes place. Recall that López’s (2009) two-feature system is employed. Both components in the elliptical structure should receive appropriate pragmatic marking. The definiteness of the elided head allows it to be marked as [+a], signalling the relation to an antecedent and the construction of a common topic. The specific hypothesis entertained here is to relate the morphosyntactic property *definiteness* to the pragmatic property *anaphoricity* since only definite DPs have anaphoric uses⁶⁴ and may be felicitously linked

⁶⁴ The reverse implication does not necessarily hold: DPs can be definite without being anaphoric, as in generic constructions: *The lion lives in Africa*. Similarly, discourse-initial DPs can be definite without being anaphoric: *I met the friend of John’s who came from Paris yesterday*.

to a discourse antecedent⁶⁵. The other side of the coin is that ellipsis may occur only if the discourse / context supplies a suitable antecedent.

The [+a] feature can successfully be taken to replace Merchant's E-feature. First, because it is more constrained: in the case of nominal ellipsis, it can be introduced only on definite heads. Second, it identifies a more general discourse phenomenon: as shown by López (2009), the presence of [+a] on a constituent marks it as a *topic* and may have syntactic and interpretative effects.

The [+a] feature is thus assigned to the head noun that has agreed with the definite D, and is automatically assigned to all the constituents which have undergone definiteness agreement with the definite noun and bear the same [*u+def*] feature.

Simultaneously with the construction of the common discourse topic, the phasal head also evaluates its domain for the non-identical part, marking it as [+c]. This process may be said to run parallel with [+a] assignment, with a redundancy rule ensuring that the non-identical part is contrastive, i.e. [-a] → [+c]. Note that with nominal ellipsis, contrastive focus no longer implies establishing a scale of attributes; rather, contrast is the Discourse Grammar effect of comparing the DP headed by the elided head with its antecedent and the constructed common topic.

This characterization of nominal ellipsis suffices to derive the construction in (146b): the elided noun is marked as [+def, +a] and may undergo deletion; the remnant is marked as [+c] and may occupy the Spec,ContrP position.

Two technical possibilities present themselves here: the adjective merges directly in Spec, ContrP as in the overt *cel*-construction or, rather, the AP is merged postnominally, as in the general case of relational adjectives, and [+c] on the bigger NP node (in which on N is marked as [+def, +a], but the AP is [+c]) pied-pipes this larger node to Spec, ContrP. In Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012a) we have chosen the second alternative: as will be seen in the next section, movement of a larger NP ensures that relational adjectives and nominal arguments land in Spec, ContrP.

3.3.6.3. Extending the analysis. Predictions

The proposed analysis allows us to account for a series of empirical facts.

The first prediction of the analysis is that adjectives that have undergone definiteness agreement are always trapped inside the ellipsis site. This prediction is borne out with intensional adjectives (or intensional readings of adjectives), which are systematically excluded from ellipsis headed by *cel*:

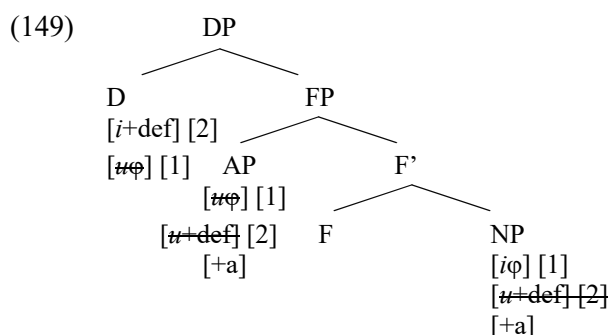
⁶⁵ Recall that indefinite DPs satisfy Heim's (1982) *Novelty Condition*, introducing new discourse referents.

- (147) (*noul* *şef* *şi*) **cel fost*
 new.DEF boss and CEL former
 (i.m.) ‘the new boss and the former one’

I have argued above that intensional adjectives like *fost* (‘former’) and *biet* (‘poor’) are obligatorily merged as specifiers of functional projections above NP: they never occur postnominally (148a) and they are always excluded from the *cel*-construction (148b).

- (148) a. **omul* *biet*
 man.DEF poor
 b. **omul* *cel biet*
 man.DEF CEL poor

This distribution allows us to identify a precise position of merger for these adjectives, as shown in (149). Under the assumption that the elided noun head is always definite in nominal ellipsis, intensional adjectives will always undergo definiteness agreement with this definite head, being automatically assigned [+a]. They are thus trapped within the ellipsis site⁶⁶, below D_(internal).



Example (147), featuring an intensional adjective as the remnant, is actually underivable.

Definiteness agreement is also behind the exclusion of adjectives suffixed by the definite article as remnants and of the suffixal definite article as a licenser of ellipsis. Recall that the elliptical counterpart of (150a) is (150c), not (150b):

- (150) a. *mere(le)* *roşii*
 apples(.DEF) red
 ‘(the) red apples’

⁶⁶ The NumP projection has been omitted here for the purpose of simplification.

- b. *(*merele* *roşii* *şi*) *galbenele*
 apples.DEF red and yellow.DEF
- c. *merele* *roşii* *şi* *cele galbene*
 apples.DEF red and CEL yellow
 ‘the read apples and the yellow ones’

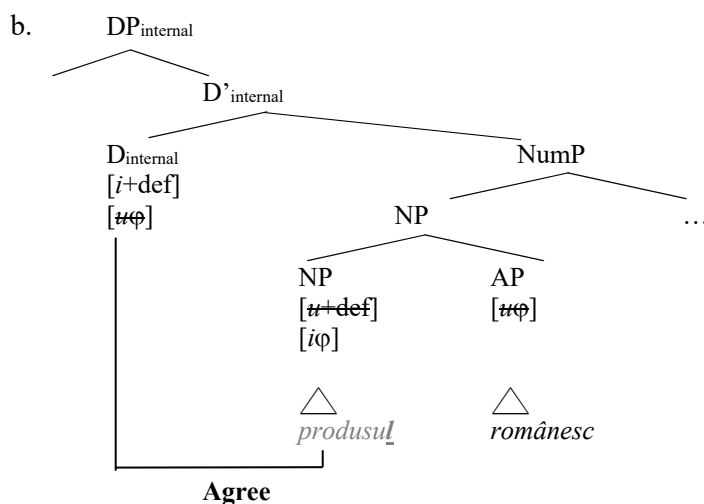
The derivation of (150b) is similar to the same one as in (149): the noun suffixed by the definite article is obligatorily trapped inside the ellipsis site, sharing definiteness with the elided head and being thus marked as [+a] alongside this head.

The next prediction is that, if appropriately marked, constituents can escape the ellipsis site. This is what accounts for the acceptability of relational adjectives (151b) and nominal arguments (152b) as remnants of *cel*-ellipsis, despite their exclusion in the overt *cel*-construction ((151a), (151b)):

- (151) a. **produsul* *cel românesc*
 product.DEF CEL Romanian
- b. *produsul englezesc* *şi* *cel românesc*
 product.DEF English and CEL Romanian
 ‘~the English product and the Romanian one’
- (152) a. **acordarea* *cea* *de burse*
 granting.DEF CEL of scholarships
- b. *acordarea* *de burse* *şi* *cea de distincţii*
 granting.DEF of scholarships and CEL of distinctions
 ‘~the granting of scholarships and the one of distinctions’

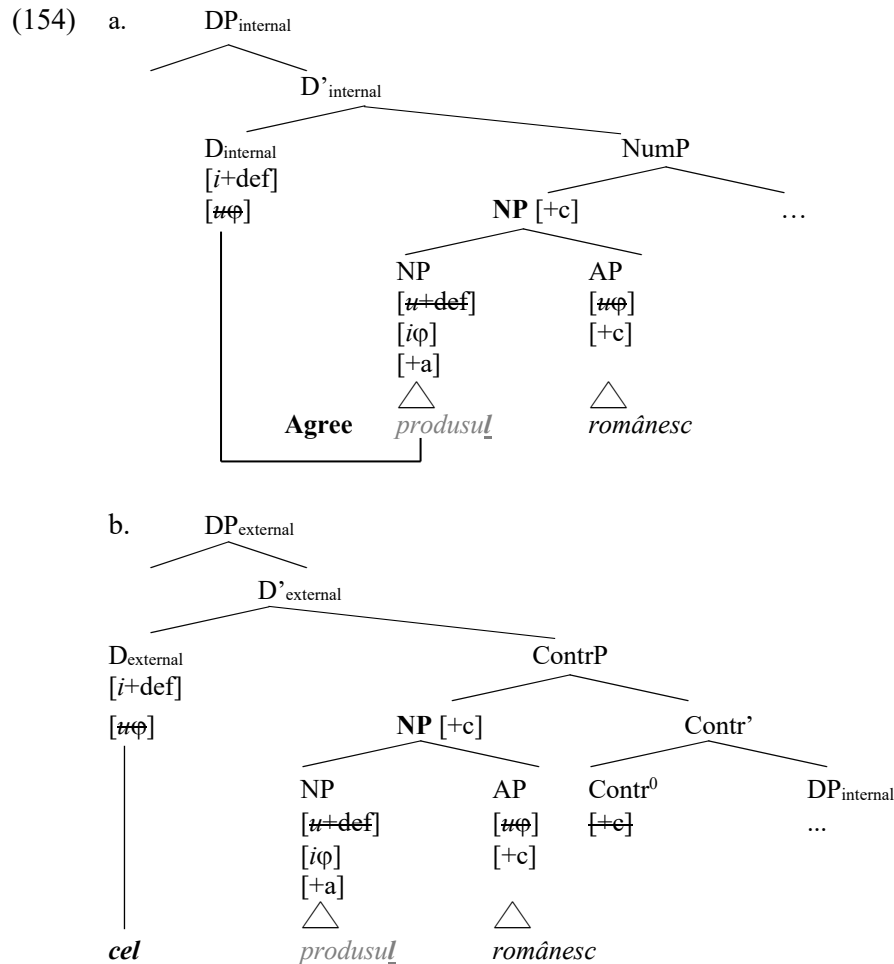
Consider the derivation of (151b). In this configuration, in contrast to prenominal adjectives, the postnominal remnant, a relational adjective, is not in a position in which it may undergo definiteness agreement with the head noun. Anaphoricity cannot thus be grammatically imposed on this constituent (as it is in the case of intensional adjectives), and it may thus be specified as [+c] if it is non-identical to an antecedent. It thus has the feature specification [-a, +c]. As shown by López (2009), [+c] on a constituent triggers focus fronting to the left periphery (in this case, the DP left periphery). Recall that NP-raising to Spec,NumP is assumed in order to obtain a local configuration for definiteness valuation. At this point, the following structure emerges (the [+a] and [+c] features have been omitted on purpose from this configuration); note that this structure depicts the low DP-area; *cel* has not been merged yet, thus the structure consists only of the noun + relational adjective:

- (153) a. <produsul> românesc
 product.DEF Romanian



Also note that the adjective is in an adjunct position and moves together with the noun to Spec,NumP⁶⁷. A non-elliptical derivation would be well-formed in this case, all the features being satisfied. However, recall that ellipsis presupposes structuring the ellipsis site into an anaphoric part (marked as [+a]) and a contrastive / focused part (marked [+c]). Thus, after definiteness valuation, the identical noun is marked as [+a] and may undergo deletion. What about the adjectival adjunct? Being non-identical, it is marked [+c]. The [+c] marking forces movement to Spec,ContrP. However, the adjectival adjunct alone cannot move. Thus, under these conditions, the [+c] feature percolates to the big NP node, boldfaced in representation (154a), and triggers the movement of this bigger constituent to Spec,ContrP. The relational adjective is practically **smuggled** in the sense of Collins (2005) to the left periphery, being trapped within a large contrastive constituent. Finally, *cel* is inserted to type the phrase and express its definiteness. The derivation of *cel*-ellipsis with relational adjective remnants is thus well-formed.

⁶⁷ This is what ensures the word order N > Relational A > Qualifying A and not vice versa: *N > Qualifying A > Relational A, an observation dating back to Iordan (1947).



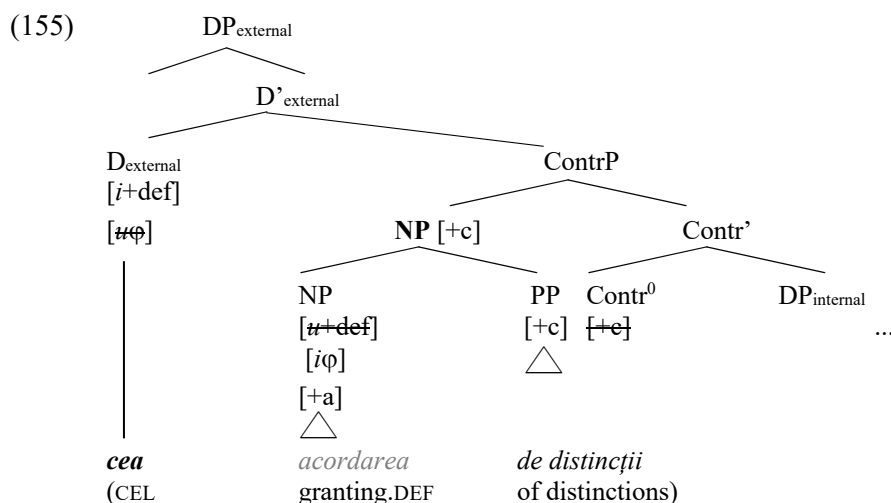
A thorny question concerns the [+c] marking of the big NP node, containing the definite noun and the relational adjective: a legitimate question is why [+c] marking does not affect the [+a] noun, i.e. how come a [+a] constituent is allowed within a bigger [+c] constituent? I believe that the answer is straightforward: it all boils down to the timing of Agree and P-feature marking. As shown above, [+a] is assigned upon definiteness valuation. Assigning [+a] earlier would entail look-ahead. What about [+c]? Ellipsis (nominal ellipsis in this case) consists in comparing two DPs and establishing which part is anaphoric and which part is contrastive (new or simply non-anaphoric), not the other way around. Thus, P-feature assignment also has a particular **timing**: the discourse procedure first determines identity, and only after assessing identity is disparity also assessed and appropriately marked. Thus, if definiteness is valued and [+a] assigned, then [+c] cannot affect a noun already marked for deletion. From a more general conceptual perspective, it

appears that, in the case of ellipsis, assessing identity is more prominent than assessing non-identity.

Similarly to relational adjectives, nominal arguments are robust remnants in *cel*-ellipsis, as opposed to being disallowed in the overt adjectival article construction, as shown in (152), repeated below:

- (152) a. **acordarea* *cea de burse*
 granting.DEF CEL of scholarships
 b. *acordarea* *de burse* și *cea de distincții*
 granting.DEF of scholarships and CEL of distinctions
 ‘~the granting of scholarships and the one of distinctions’

Nominal arguments are allowed to occur as remnants of *cel*-ellipsis precisely because of [+c] assignment: the big DP node within which they are comprised is marked as such, and the entire NP can undergo movement to Spec,ContrP; the noun is marked as [+def, +a], being thus silent. The following configuration underlies (152b):



One may wonder why the overt counterparts of these structures are not also available. Recall that in §II I have explored several cases in which there appear disparities between the ellipsis site and its overt counterpart (EPP-suspension; the *infinitivus pro participio* effect; certain sluicing morphosyntactic disparities). I contend that the assignment of P-features triggers differences between ellipsis sites and their overt counterpart. Let us briefly flesh out this idea. The combined effect of the [+a] and [+def] features mostly concerns the PF-interface: a constituent with this marking will undergo PF-deletion. Assignment of [+c] has a more important effect, which is narrowly syntactic:

it triggers displacement to the left periphery. By contrast, in the overt adjectival article construction, there is merger at the left periphery. As observed in §III.3.3.2, not all constituents may appropriately merge in the left periphery (because of syntax-semantics interface reasons); by contrast, virtually any constituent may be moved to this position as part of a larger constituent⁶⁸, this being an instance of smuggling.

Ellipsis with quantificational remnants is straightforward (156a): in this configuration, quantifiers are forced to directly merge in Spec,ContrP, a possibility also attested in the overt *cel*-construction (156b); as known from the freestanding *cel* construction, the merger of quantifiers below D_{internal} together with a definite noun gives rise to defective intervention effects (156c). Under ellipsis, the head noun is definite: thus, a configuration in which quantifiers are merged below D_{internal} is excluded in ellipsis as well. Marking the remnant quantifier as [+c] does not solve the problem as it does for relational adjective remnants or subcategorized arguments: [+c] assignment is dependent upon [+a] assignment; [+a] assignment is, in its turn, dependent upon definiteness valuation; since quantifiers merged below D_{internal} block definiteness valuation by the suffixal definite article, none of the steps above is allowed to take place (definiteness valuation; [+a] assignment; [+c] assignment). It thus appears that, under ellipsis, like in the adjectival article construction, quantifiers directly merge in the specifier of the DP-internal contrastive focus position, ContrP; this happens with cardinal remnants as well (see §III.3.3.7 below).

- (156) a. *cele două*
 CEL two
 ‘the two ones’
 b. *fetele cele două de la Michigan*
 girls.DEF CEL two from Michigan
 ‘the two girls from Michigan’
 c. **(cele) două fetele*
 CEL two girls.DEF

Finally, a few comments about ellipsis with multiple remnants are in order (this is called *discontinuous ellipsis* in Giurgea 2009). There are situations in which more than one remnant is available, as in the examples below:

⁶⁸ Take the case of relational adjectives (kind-level modifiers): their direct merger in Spec,ContrP (in the overt *cel*-construction) would force them to take scope over an object-level denoting constituent, leading to an infelicitous construction; by contrast, under ellipsis, pied-piping the entire big NP containing the noun and the relational adjective adjunct preserves the adjective’s *sister-to-NP* position, a configuration which is both well-formed and interpretable.

- (157) a. *ambasadorul rus nemilos și cel american cumsecade*
 ambassador Russian ruthless and CEL American nice
 ‘the ruthless Russian ambassador and the nice American one’
- a. *cei trei blonzi de pe strada mea*
 CEL three blonde on street.DEF my
 ‘the three blonde ones (from my street)’
- b. *cei trei care au venit*
 CEL three who AUX.PERF.3PL come.PPLE
 ‘the three ones that came’

In all the cases investigated up to this point, the division of the ellipsis-DP has been an almost trivial one: the part denoting the common topic is definite and may be marked as [+a]; the non-identical part is marked as [+c]. In (157), more than one constituent is left behind by ellipsis. This raises the following questions: which of the constituents left behind is assigned [+c] and moves to the DP-left periphery? The mechanism of P-feature assignment should ensure that, on the one hand, it separates the anaphoric definite noun from the rest, and, on the other hand, it correctly assigns the [+c] feature to the constituent which undergoes focus movement or merger. Since there are several remnants and only the highest one moves, the other remnants are neither [+a] nor [+c]. By virtue of being remnants, they are non-identical, and thus non-anaphoric. It is reasonable to assume that a [-a] feature is assigned to *all* constituents different from the identical definite noun, and [+c] is assigned to the highest [-a] constituent⁶⁹. This is the constituent which gets to occupy the DP-internal left peripheral position.

3.3.6.4. Conclusions

The goal of this section has been to investigate in detail the most complex type of nominal ellipsis in Romanian, ellipsis headed by the adjectival article *cel*.

On the empirical side, I have analysed, on the one hand, elliptical constructions whose overt counterpart is also available, and on the other hand, elliptical constructions which are disallowed when the head noun is overt (constructions in which the remnant is a relational adjective or a nominal argument). Furthermore, I have pointed out that adjectives which merge in the space between D_{internal} and NP are systematically disallowed as

⁶⁹ A similar phenomenon (i.e. superiority), involving the movement of the highest constituent of a given type, is encountered in non-multiple-*wh*-movement languages. For example, oversimplifying, in English, in structures with multiple *wh*-phrases, only the highest one moves, the other ones remaining *in situ*: *Who bought what (for whom)?* / **Who what (for whom) bought?* (see Geană 2012 for multiple *wh*-movement in Romanian). Superiority appears to be at play in the assignment of [+c] to non-identical constituents under nominal ellipsis (Ian Roberts, *p.c.*).

remnants of ellipsis: this is because of the fact that they obligatorily undergo definiteness agreement and are trapped within the ellipsis site. This explanation also correctly rules out the *suffixal* definite article as a licenser of ellipsis: the definite marker on adjectives is part of the same (Agree) chain with the definiteness expressed by the elided head and thus also bears the [+a] feature; thus, adjectives are trapped within the ellipsis site, and obligatorily undergo PF-deletion.

This reasoning also is more in line with the traditional view on PF-deletion (see Roberts 2010a more recently; see also Chomsky 1995, Merchant 2001, Lasnik 2007): elided constituents are present in the syntax; non-pronunciation is the effect of an instruction given to the PF-interface. At the same time, it constitutes direct evidence against more recent perspectives on PF-deletion, like the one expressed in Aelbrecht (2010), namely that PF-deletion is actually a form of blocking vocabulary insertion at PF: if phenomena such as definiteness agreement and adjective placement according to denotation type interfere in such a direct manner with the licensing of ellipsis, ellipsis cannot boil down to a matter of non-insertion. Furthermore, adopting a lexicalist stand on Romanian morphology, the only one able to straightforwardly account for all the phenomena (overt or elliptical) investigated above without additional machinery and stipulation, goes directly against the blocking insertion view on PF-deletion.

Another result arrived at is the extension of López's (2009) theory of the syntax-information structure interface to the analysis of nominal ellipsis. As remarked by in the early work of Williams (1977), ellipsis involves constant access to discourse/information structure. Consequently, elliptical phenomena should be approached in a framework that is able to felicitously integrate the discourse component. López (2009) formulates the conceptual framework that allows the pragmatic component to invasively access narrow syntax and act upon it by endowing phasal heads with the ability to assign P-features; this is permitted if phases are conceived of as spell-out domains. Furthermore, the mechanics provided by López's two feature system allows us to formulate an ellipsis resolution mechanism which first identifies the head which is part of a common discourse topic and is marked [+a], then the non-identical constituents, marked as [-a]; in the event that more than one constituent is [-a], the highest one is marked as [+c], being thus enabled to appear in the DP left periphery.

Finally, what I have called in §II the *syntactically determined PF-deletion approach* to ellipsis is well defended in the analysis of ellipsis headed by *cel*: the constituent undergoing deletion has to be definite in order to receive the appropriate P-feature which determines non-pronunciation. Ellipsis licensing is thus tied to a narrow syntactic licensing factor.

The approach presented here gains more weight if we show that not only ellipsis headed by a definite determiner is derived by assuming that the deleted restriction is always definite, but that it can be extended to indefinite quantificational licensers/remnants.

3.3.7. On nominal ellipsis with cardinal remnants

In this section, I briefly investigate ellipsis with cardinal remnants and show that the same two processes as above are also active in this variety of ellipsis: namely, definiteness valuation and assignment of [+c]. This verifies our proposal and testifies to the uniformity of nominal ellipsis. I will continue to employ the framework sketched above, without alteration.

3.3.7.1. Definiteness of the complement

The most delicate problem is, as expected, the assumption that the complement of a cardinal is a definite description. As insisted in the previous sections, a definite article below a cardinal in overt head constructions generally causes the derivation to crash (158a), irrespective of the presence of a definite determiner (the freestanding article *cel* (158b) / a demonstrative determiner (158c)), because of the presence of a [*u+def*] feature on the noun. As known since Chomsky (2001), non-deleted uninterpretable formal features cause derivations to crash.

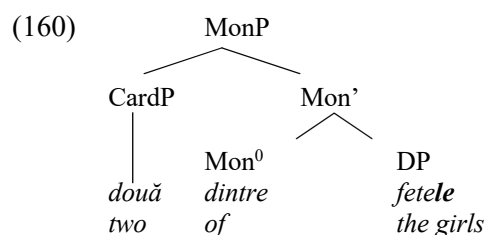
- (158) a. **doi* *oamenii*
 two humans.DEF
 b. **cei* *doi* *oamenii*
 CEL two humans.DEF
 c. **acei* *doi* *oamenii*
 those two humans.DEF

There are, however, constructions in which cardinals are able to directly take a definite DP complement.

The first situation of this type is the partitive construction. In this cross-linguistically available construction, the complement of the cardinal may be a definite DP embedded in a partitive PP:

- (159) a. *două* *dintre fetele* *din clasă*
 two of girls.DEF from class
 ‘two of the girls from the classroom’
 b. *trei* *dintre casele* *de pe stradă*
 three of houses.DEF on street
 ‘three of the houses from the street’

Following Grimshaw (2005), Schwarzschild (2005, 2006), and Cornilescu (2009a), I assume a *one-DP/phrase analysis* of partitives. On the basis of the shared syntactic and interpretative properties of monotonic constructions, with the partitive construction being included in this class, Cornilescu (2009a) argues for the existence of a common functional projection, labelled *Monotonicity Phrase* (MonP). Its specifier accommodates a *measure phrase* hosting constituents denoting sets of degrees / intervals; its complement accommodates a lexical phrase on which degree quantification applies. Mon⁰ is a functional head which assigns a measure theta role to its specifier; this functional head is part of the extended projection of any lexical category which is allowed to surface in monotonic constructions; the Mon⁰ head can be filled by functional prepositions (e.g. the partitive preposition). Applying, like Cornilescu (2009a), this analysis to partitive constructions, the following structure emerges:



In this structure, a cardinal numeral directly precedes a definite description within the boundaries of the same extended projection.

More direct evidence comes from the DPs containing demonstratives and cardinals. Cardinals are allowed both in the prenominal demonstrative construction (161a) and in the postnominal demonstrative construction (161b), as shown below:

- (161) a. *aceste două fete*
 these two girls
 b. *fetele acestea două*
 girls.DEF these two

The construction of interest for us is the second one (161b). As shown in §III.2.2.3.2 above, the postnominal demonstrative construction is derived via head movement of the noun across the demonstrative. This constitutes direct evidence for the fact that, at one point in the derivation, the cardinal selects a definite noun.

3.3.7.2. Analysing nominal ellipsis with cardinal remnants

Let us turn to ellipsis now; assuming that the noun undergoing deletion is definite will yield a correct derivation. The following empirical facts indicate that ellipsis is based on the double definite construction in (161b), and not on the simple definite construction in (161a). Recall that Romanian distinguishes prenominal from postnominal demonstratives by the short form of the former vs. the long form of the latter. Under ellipsis, only the long form of the demonstrative is allowed to surface, the short one being excluded:

- (162) a. **aceste* *două*
 these(SHORT) two
 b. *acestea* *două*
 these(LONG) two
 ‘these two ones’

Word order restrictions point to a similar conclusion. In the prenominal demonstrative construction, in DPs containing prenominal adjectives, the ordering of adjectives and cardinals is freer (163a) / (163b), while in the postnominal demonstrative construction, the cardinal rigidly precedes the adjective (164a) / (164b):

- (163) a. *aceste* ***două*** *importante* *discuri*
 these two important disks
 b. *aceste* *importante* ***două*** *discuri*
 these important two disks
 ‘these two important disks’
 (164) a. *discurile* *acestea* ***două*** *importante*
 disks.DEF these two important
 b. **discurile* *acestea* *importante* ***două***
 disks.DEF these important two

We may conclude that nominal ellipsis can be included in the class of constructions in which cardinals take a definite description as their complement. The derivation of nominal ellipsis with demonstratives and cardinals is very similar to that of ellipsis headed by *cel*. More difficult (and interesting) is the analysis of ellipsis in which only the cardinal surfaces as a remnant. Consider the maximally simple example below:

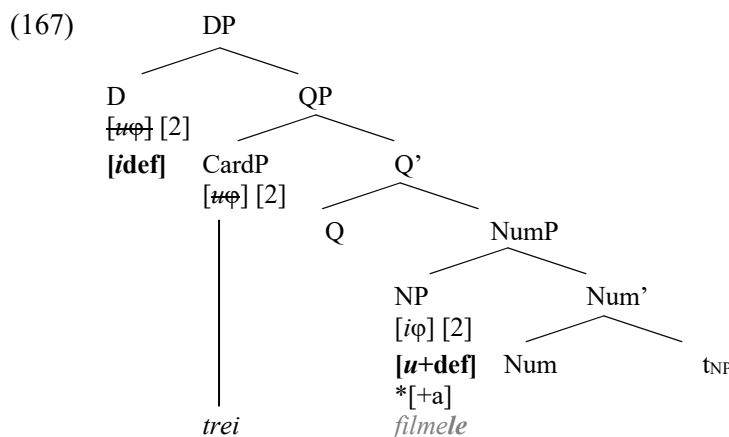
- (165) *Ion a* *văzut* *două* *filme* *și*
 Ion AUX.PERF.3SG see.PPLE two movies and

Maria a văzut trei.
 Maria AUX.PERF.3SG see.PPLE three
 ‘Ion saw two movies and Maria saw three.’

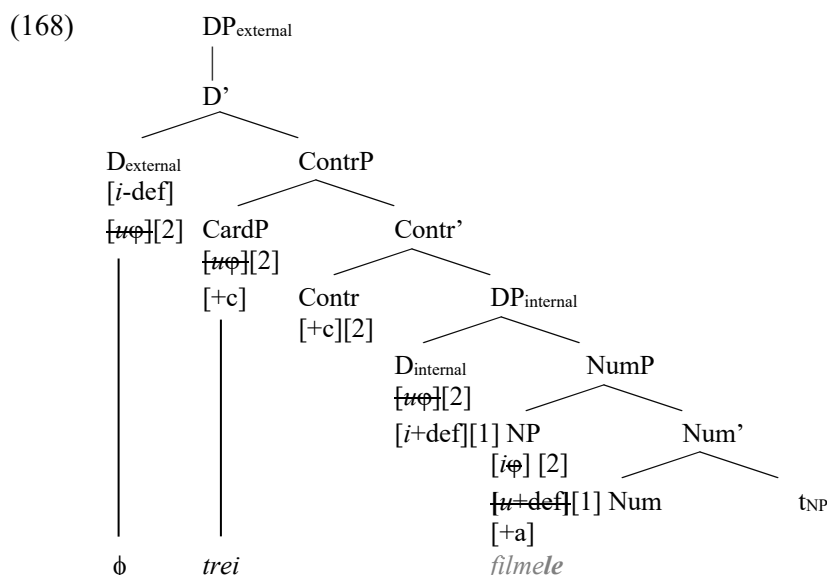
Recall that the hypothesis pursued is that certain heads can be elided if the relevant feature composition is obtained and the P-features are assigned when the phasal head merges. The [+a] feature on a noun / noun phrase is compatible only with a definite noun, a noun inflected for the definite article, specified as [*u+def*], whose definiteness has undergone Agree with a relevant D-head, becoming [*u+def*]. The underlying form of the elliptical phrase in (165) is (166), with the noun *filmele* specified as [*u+def, iφ*]:

(166) *trei* <*filmele*>
 three movies.DEF

Let us assign a structure for (166). As know, from §III.2.2.5, the merger of the quantifier below D_{internal} blocks definiteness valuation. A potential representation as in (167) would not be well-formed: not only is definiteness not valued; anaphoricity cannot be assigned either, because definiteness valuation has not taken place:



As shown in §III.3.3.1 above, cardinals are allowed to appear in the adjectival article construction, to the right of *cel*. Notably, in the adjectival article construction, constituents merge rather than move to the specifier of ContrP. This means that the Spec, ContrP is accessible to cardinal numerals as a first merge position. The fact that cardinals make up scales automatically characterises them as constituents able to bear a [+c] feature. This determines their merger in Spec,ContrP. The following well-formed configuration emerges:



A delicate problem is raised by definiteness valuation in D_{external} . Two solutions present themselves here. One may take a simple stand and consider, as in traditional works, that cardinals themselves are indefinite determiners, endowed with an $[u\text{-def}]$ feature which values the $[i\text{-def}]$ feature of D_{external} . However, Ionin and Matushansky (2006) give evidence against this account, stressing the fact that since *cardinals combine with determiners they are not determiners themselves*. Technically, allowing cardinals to be $[u\text{-def}]$ constituents would lead to great complications (consider, for instance, the derivation of the [freestanding *cel* + cardinal] construction) as it would imply conflicting featural specifications each time a cardinal co-occurs with a definite determiner.

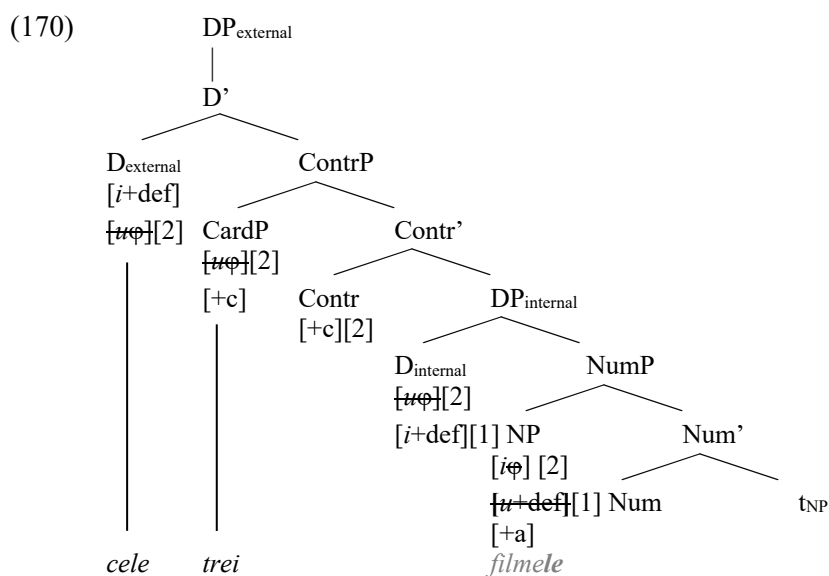
An alternative solution is to appeal to the insights of *Flexible Semantics* (Winter 2005). Researchers like Winter (2002, 2005) and Ionin and Matushansky (2006) notice that indefinite phrases containing cardinals behave to a great extent like indefinites headed by *a* and *some* from a semantic point of view (e.g. their scope-taking abilities). Thus, like *a* and *some*, cardinals may be viewed as *choice functions*, which let an indefinite denote a particular individual (Winter 2002: 503). Technically, a choice function returns a *contextually determined* $\langle e \rangle$ -type plural individual over which the external determiner/quantifier operates (Winter 2005: 769). In the case of nominal ellipsis, this plural individual is supplied by the lower D area (i.e. by the definite noun with its features valued). In conclusion, I will assume that a silent choice function operator ϕ is present in D_{external} ensuring existential force and typing the phrase as indefinite. In the case of the specific example analysed above, ϕ operates on the restricted quantificational range supplied by the common topic, and returns the three individuals denoted by the ellipsis-DP.

By adopting this solution, I avoid postulating an [*i-def*] feature for cardinals and invoking additional machinery to do away with it.

Naturally, cardinal ellipsis can also be definite. If external D were definite, it would call for the insertion of *cel*, as in the example below (169), the definite counterpart of (166) (repeated for convenience), which has the representation in (170):

- (169) *cele trei filmele*
 CEL three movies.DEF

- (166) *trei filmele*
 three movies.DEF

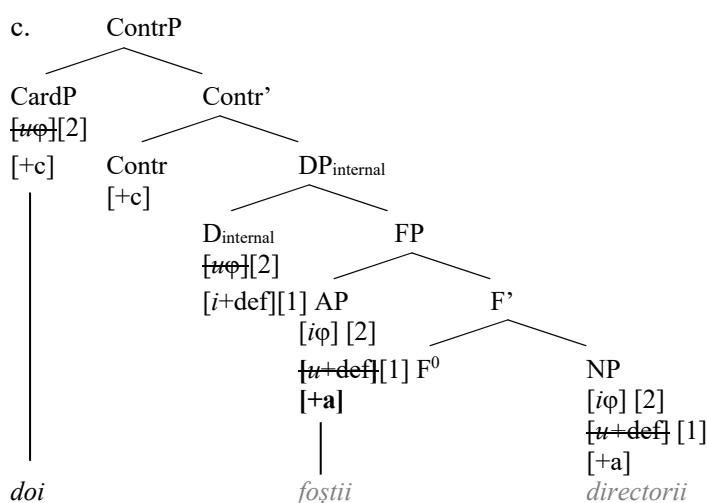


As in the case of nominal ellipsis headed by *cel* (see example (147) above and the discussion surrounding it), intensional adjectives are not good remnants in ellipsis with cardinal remnants as well (171a), although the structure featuring the overt head is well-formed (171b):

- (171) a (*noul* *director* *și*) **doi foști*
 new.DEF manager and two former
 (i.m.) ‘the new manager and the former ones’
- b. *doi foști directori*
 two former managers
 ‘two former managers’

The explanation given above for the exclusion of intensional adjectives carries over here as well: being merged in the prenominal space between DP_{internal} and NP, intensional adjectives systematically undergo definiteness agreement and are therefore trapped within the ellipsis site. The derivation for an illegitimate example like (172a), depicted stepwise in (172b) is given in (172c); the noun targeted for deletion is marked [*u+def*] and is later assigned [*+a*] by the phasal head; NumP and other irrelevant details are omitted for ease of exposure in this derivation.

- (172) a. **doi foști <directorii>*
two former managers.DEF
b. merge *directorii* *directorii*
merge *foști*: *foști directorii*
definiteness agreement applies: *foștii directori(i)*
merge *doi* in Spec,ContrP *doi foștii directori(i)*



While in a very few restricted cases investigated in §III.3.3.7.4, assignment of [+c] can rescue a definite constituent from the ellipsis site by moving it to Spec,ContrP, this solution is not available in this case: Spec,ContrP is occupied by the cardinal remnant and, by virtue of its uniqueness, cannot host another displaced constituent. The intensional adjective remains low and undergoes deletion.

3.3.7.3. Evidence for focus

Evidence that the focus position is occupied in ellipsis with cardinal remnants is provided by word order differences between overt constructions and their elliptical

counterpart. Recall that, by essentially assuming that ContrP is a focus position, we take for granted its uniqueness⁷⁰. This means that only one constituent can occupy it. At the same time, note that according to Cinque (2005) the canonical order provided by UG is Num(eral) > A(djective). In DPs with overt heads and cardinals, alongside the canonical ordering cardinal > adjective (173a), one also encounters the non-canonical ordering adjective > cardinal (173b):

- (173) a. *aceste două simple probleme*
 these two simple problems
 ‘these two simple problems’
 b. *aceste simple două probleme*
 these simple two problems
 ‘these simple two problems’

In the non-canonical ordering (173b), the adjective occupies Spec,ContrP, as it precedes the cardinal (for our purposes here, it is immaterial whether the adjective moves to or merges in this position). However, in the elliptical counterparts (174), only the canonical ordering cardinal > adjective (174a) is permitted (see the ungrammaticality of (174b)).

- (174) a. *acestea două simple*
 these two simple
 ‘these two simple ones’
 b. **acestea simple două*
 these simple two

This disparity encountered in the elliptical structure has a simple explanation. In the derivation of ellipsis containing cardinal remnants, the cardinal is forced to merge in Spec,ContrP; otherwise, it tampers with definiteness valuation of D_{internal}’s [*idef*] feature by the elided and anaphoric definite noun. Under the assumption that the focus position is unique in the DP-periphery, there is no other position that may accommodate the non-canonically placed adjective.

In conclusion, remnants (or at least the highest remnant) occupy the left peripheral DP-internal focus position.

3.3.7.4. Extending the analysis to *unul* (one.DEF)

Important evidence for the analysis presented here, namely for the idea that the ellipsis site is a definite description and that definiteness valuation is obligatory within the

⁷⁰ Rizzi (1997: 290, following Benincà 1988), makes the same uniqueness assumption for sentential focus.

licensing of ellipsis, comes from the existence of a robust class of words whose meaning is indefinite, while their morphology is definite (under ellipsis). This class includes the indefinite *unul* (one.the ‘one’), the indefinite free choice item *vreunul* (formative *vre* + *one* + definite article ‘any’), the negative quantifier *niciunul*⁷¹ (NEG.one.DEF ‘neither, none’), the indefinite alternative determiner⁷² *altul* (other.DEF ‘another (one)’). The full analysis of this class of words is extensively discussed in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011c). For reasons of space, I will stop in this subsection at the analysis of *unul* (one.DEF).

From a functional perspective, *unul* appears either as an *adjectival cardinal*, being opposed to cardinals and other quantificational expressions (175a), or as an indefinite pronoun, being opposed to other indefinites like *alt(ul)* (‘another’) or *celălalt* (‘the other one’) (175b).

- (175) a. *Maria a cumpărat trei pâini și eu*
 Maria AUX.PERF.3SG buy.PPLE three breads and I
am cumpărat una.
 AUX.PERF.1SG buy.PPLE one.DEF(F)
 ‘Maria bought three breads and I bought one.’
- b. *Una s-a făcut ingineră,*
 one.DEF(F) CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3SG make.PPLE engineer(F)
iar alta / cealaltă s-a
 and o ther.DEF / the-other CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3SG
făcut profesoară.
 make.PPLE teacher(F)
 ‘One became an engineer, an another one / the other one became a teacher.’

⁷¹ Rădulescu Sala (2008) discusses from an orthographic perspective the situation of *niciunul* / *nici unul*; similarly to what is remarked for *unul* (namely, that it is interpreted either as an adjectival cardinal or as an indefinite pronoun; see the next paragraph in the main text), *niciunul* / *nici unul* also has two interpretations. What Rădulescu Sala (2008) does is to properly distinguish these two readings and offer a correct account for this homonymy (in GALR I, both instances are bulked together under the heading “quantificational pronouns”), the orthographic problem being in fact a secondary one.

⁷² In Nicolae (2013c), I have proposed to distinguish a robust class of *alternative* and *identity determiners* on the basis of their shared syntactic and interpretative properties, which sets them apart from the other determiners. This class includes definite determiners like *același* (‘the same’) and *celălalt* (‘the other’), and the indefinite determiner *alt(ul)* (‘other’). Syntactically, alternative and identity determiners have an internal non-thematic variable which allows them to license a complement of identity or difference (e.g. *the same as / other than*) (Giurgea 2010: 297), a possibility excluded for demonstratives or other indefinite determiners. For the rough distribution of *alt(ul)* (‘other’), see Nicolae 2013c); for the combination of *alt(ul)* with the indefinite article (*un alt(ul)* a other.DEF ‘another one’) from a historical perspective, see Nicolae (2008); for the examination of ellipsis with *unul* and *altul*, see Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011c).

I will focus on the adjectival cardinal value of *unul* in our analysis; the indefinite value can be accommodated along the same lines (and is historically derivable from its cardinal counterpart).

The special nature of *unul* resides in its featural make-up. On the one hand, it shares the semantics of cardinals, being quantificational; perhaps it is more readily accessible to bear the [+c] feature⁷³, given the fact that it is the head of a scale. On the other hand, *unul* shares the morphology of regular four-form adjectives: this enables it to undergo definiteness agreement and to take over the definite article. In contrast to other quantifiers, *unul* is thus specified [+Q, +A].

Consider example (175c, d):

- (175) c. *Maria a cumpărat trei pâini.*
 Maria AUX.PERF.3SG buy.PPLE three breads
- d. *Eu am cumpărat una.*
 I AUX.PERF.1SG buy.PPLE one.DEF(F)
 ‘Maria bought three breads. I bought one.’

Under the analysis proposed above for nominal ellipsis, the nominal restriction of the elliptical DP in (175d) is the definite DP *pâinea* (bred.DEF). Given its adjectival morphology and the fact that definiteness valuation is not blocked by *un(un)* in the same way it is by other quantifiers, we may assume that *un(un)* merges as the specifier of the QP projection below D_{internal}. In this position, it is free to undergo definiteness agreement with the elided restriction and satisfy the [*idef*] feature of D_{internal}.

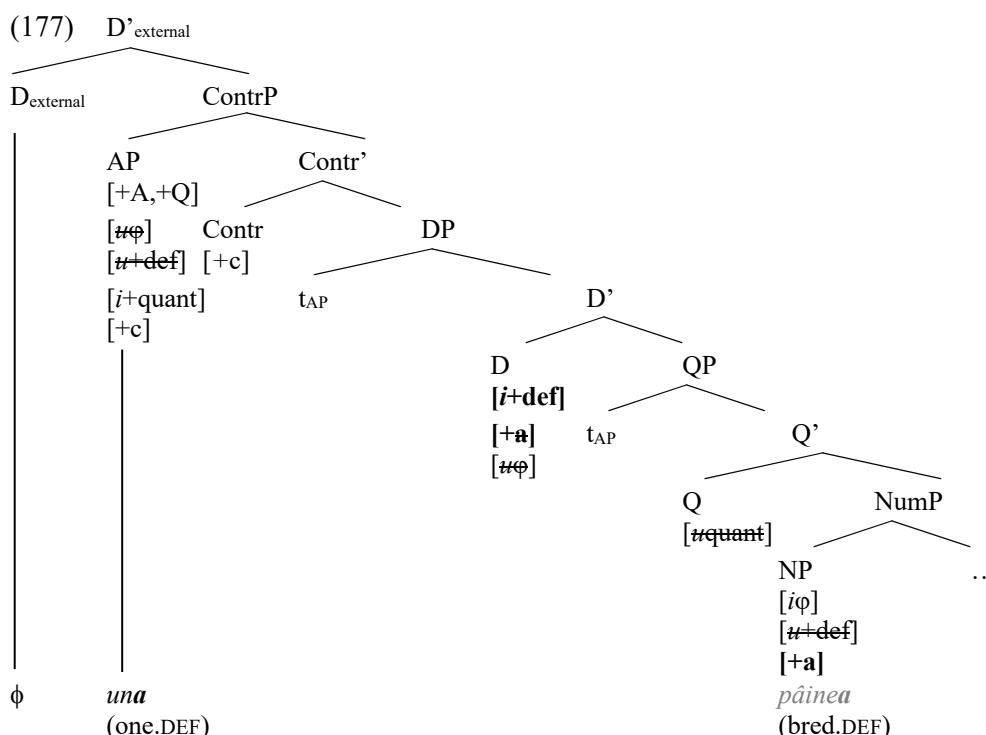
Note at this point that the overt structure is not well-formed (176a), in contrast to its elliptical counterpart (176b).

- (176) a. **una pâine*
 one.DEF(F) bread
- b. *una <pâine(a)>*
 one.DEF bred(DEF)

At the same time, note that the merger of the definite restriction is forced by the elliptical nature of the construction: as insisted, definiteness is a prerequisite for [+a] assignment. Furthermore, if the derivation would close off below D_{internal}, *unul* would have to be trapped within the ellipsis site, being deleted alongside the nominal restriction. Thus, the derivation cannot end at this point. Recall that, through ellipsis, the common-denoting part is silenced, and the remnants are contrasted, the highest one being assigned [+c]. By

⁷³ The same is also true of *alt(un)*: its essence is to express an alternative, i.e. a contrast.

virtue of its cardinal meaning, *unul* is a perfect candidate for being assigned [+c]; [+c] on *unul* determines its obligatory movement to Spec,ContrP. The higher D_{external} merges with a choice function ϕ in it, and determines the final typing of the phrase as indefinite. The final step of the derivation of (176b) is presented in (177). Note that, once definiteness valuation obtains, the [*u*+def] feature present on the adjectival cardinal is inactive and does not tamper with the definiteness specification of D_{external}.



Turning the tables, one might explain in a different manner the derivation of elliptical *unul*: the merger of a definite restriction violates the direct selectional restrictions of *un*; thus, as a last resort strategy, ellipsis applies and identifies the common topic (the definite restriction), and the remnant: assignment of [+c] on the remnant triggers movement and ensures a convergent derivation. From this perspective, in certain configurations like this one investigated in this paragraph or as in *cel*-ellipsis with relational adjective remnants, ellipsis appears to be a last resort strategy, which applies to introduce features which rescue an otherwise illegitimate derivation (recall here the title of Lasnik's (2001) paper: *when can you save a structure by destroying it?*).

Syntax is extremely important in determining what ultimately gets to be deleted. The alternative determiner *alt* ('other') was also present in the list of words acquiring the definite article under ellipsis, *altul* (other.DEF). Similarly to *un(ul)*, it merges in the same

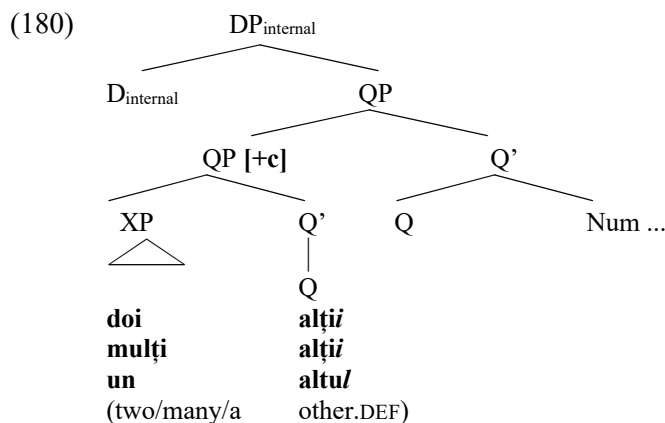
syntactic space as intensional adjectives, the prenominal domain between D_{internal} and NP. However, *alt* may be part of complex quantifier constructions (178), in which it is specified by cardinals (178a), other quantifiers (178b), and the indefinite article (178c) (see Nicolae 2008 on combination of *alt* with the indefinite article); see Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011c) on the possible analyses of these structures; we show there that analysing these constructions as structures in which *alt* is specified correctly accounts for their empirical behaviour.

- (178) a. *doi* *alți* *elevi*
 two other students
 b. *mulți* *alți* *studenți*
 many other students
 c. *un* *alt* *student*
 an other student

Notably, under nominal ellipsis, in all these cases, *alt* gets to be inflected for the definite article (see especially the contrasts in (179c)); this clearly indicates that *alt* is the head of the complex QP, not otherwise:

- (179) a. *doi* *alții*
 two other.DEF
 b. *mulți* *alții*
 many other.DEF
 c. *un altul* c'. **unul altul* c''. **unul alt*
 an other.DEF an.DEF other.DEF an.DEF other

From the point of view of the analysis of ellipsis, the same process accounting for *unul* takes place; in this case, the [+c] feature is assigned to the higher Q node with the *alt(ul)* as its head, and the cardinal / other quantifier / indefinite article (labelled generically XP in the representation below in specifier position (180)). The QP node marked [+c] will undergo movement to the left periphery.



The relevant syntactic result here is that only the head of the complex quantifier gets inflected for definiteness, with its specifier being exempt from this process (see (179c'')). Definiteness valuation, instrumental in the understanding of ellipsis, is thus a nanosyntactically controlled process, whose understanding proves crucial for predicting which elliptical configurations are well-formed and which ones are not ((179c) vs. (179c') and (179c''))⁷⁴.

This basically ends the analysis of ellipsis with cardinals and other quantificational remnants.

In this subsection, I have provided an answer for a long-noted, yet unaccounted for, morphosyntactic puzzle, namely the presence of the definite article on otherwise indefinite words: the definite article is inherited from the elided nominal restriction, and indicates the inclusion of the ellipsis-DP in a common discourse topic.

More generally, this entire section devoted to quantificational remnants has had the goal of showing that the same two process invoked for definite ellipsis, definiteness valuation and contrastivity assignment, are active in indefinite ellipsis as well.

3.4. Conclusions

This section has started identifying what has been first identified as a “robust class” of nominal ellipsis licensors. It has been shown that determiners / quantifiers heading nominal ellipsis sites have to be lexically specified as being narrowly D-linked words in the sense of López (2000): only with the use of narrowly D-linked determiners is the range of entities supplied by the domain of discourse in a given respective context.

⁷⁴ *Alt(ul)* has a much more complex syntax than what has been discussed here; for more details, Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011c) should be consulted.

Based on the interpretation of ellipsis-DPs and their relation with their antecedent, I have introduced the idea that the licensing and resolution of ellipsis does not merely involve the deletion of a head, but, actually, the construction of a common topic, i.e. the entities jointly denoted in the context by the antecedent and the elliptical DP. In order for the ellipsis site to be grammatically related to the antecedent, it has to be definite: only definite phrases can grammatically establish a relation with an antecedent.

From a technical perspective, I have adopted the feature system put forth by López (2009) to deal with information structure phenomena, and adapted it to work for nominal ellipsis. Essentially, when the phase head merges (D_{external} , in our account) an ellipsis procedure takes place: the identical constituent(s) is (are) marked with the feature [+a] and the non-identical constituents are marked as [-a], the highest one also receiving a [+c] feature which triggers its movement or merger in the specifier of the DP left periphery, *ContrP*.

Essentially, [+a] is compatible only with [+definite] phrases whose definiteness has been valued in the lower DP-domain, i.e. below DP_{internal} . A constituent marked as [+a, +def] undergoes PF deletion. This is a syntactic instruction to the PF-component to ban the phonological realization of a phrase marked as such.

This gives us a more accurate characterization of nominal ellipsis: the essential unity of this phenomenon is that it is always *licensed by a (silent) definite article*.

Finally, we may also understand the similarity between ellipsis and the partitive construction, i.e. between great overlap between determiners occurring in partitive constructions and determiners heading an ellipsis site. A first approximation would be that both partitive determiners and ellipsis determiners select a [+definite] complement. This assumption is not correct; as shown by Ladusaw (1982), the constraint on the complement of partitive determiners is that it should be *entity denoting*, i.e. definite or indefinite specific:

(181) *The Partitivity Constraint* (Ladusaw 1982: 238)

The second DP in the partitive construction always denotes an individual.

Quantifiers are systematically excluded from the complement position of partitive determiners since they do not introduce any discourse referent:

- (182) a. *cățiva dintre fiecare
 a-few of every
 b. *unul dintre ambii
 one.DEF of both
 c. *unul dintre doi
 one of two

A determiner introducing a discourse referent surfacing in the complement of a partitive determiner turns the structure into a well-formed one (compare (182b,c) to (183)):

- (183) *unul* *dintre* *cei doi*
 one.DEF of CEL two
 ‘one of the two ones’

As shown in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2010: 101), *ambii* ‘both’, which is quantificational, systematically contrasts to its DP counterparts in the ability to pick up a discourse referent:

- (184) a. *Cei doi au* *reușit* *să urce* *pianul*
 the two AUX.PERF.3PL manage.PPLE SĂ lift.SUBJ piano.DEF
 pe scări împreună.
 on stairs together
 ‘The two ones managed to lift the piano together on the stairs.’
 b. #*Ambii au* *reușit* *să urce* *pianul*
 both AUX.PERF.3PL manage.PPLE SĂ lift.SUBJ piano.DEF
 pe scări (împreună).
 on stairs together

Turning to ellipsis determiners, their complement is always definite, as definiteness valuation is obligatory for the licensing of ellipsis, thus being entity-denoting. This is actually the shared feature of the partitive and ellipsis determiners: the ability to select an entity-denoting complement. The ability of partitive determiners to select specific indefinites as well creates the differences between this class and that of ellipsis determiners.

Let us now turn to a brief analysis of *nominal ellipsis* versus *substantivization* and introduce a diachronic perspective on the licensing of nominal ellipsis. The almost exclusive occurrence of past participles as remnants of nominal ellipsis and not as the base for substantivization offers a solid ground for testing our proposals.

4. Substantivization vs. nominal ellipsis. A diachronic perspective on nominal ellipsis

4.1. Stating the problem: ellipsis with participial remnants from old to modern Romanian

In old Romanian (16th – 18th c.), past participles, either passive (185) or active (186), could be suffixed by the definite article:

- (185) a. *Vindecatul* nu ştia cine iaste (CC¹.1567: 18^v)
cured.DEF(SG) not know.IMPERF.3SG who is
'The cured one did not know who he was.'
- b. *scrisa* prorocilor (CC¹.1567: 212^v)
written.DEF(SG) apostles.DEF.GEN
'the apostles' writing'
- c. *Şi ascunsele* toate descoperi-se-voru (CC².1581: 27)
and hidden.DEF(PL) all discover.INF=CL.REFL=AUX.FUT.3PL
'And all the secrets [lit. the hidden ones] will be revealed'
- (186) a. *Preveşte greşitul* dreptulu (PH.1500-10: 32^r)
regard.IMP.2SG sinned.DEF(SG) right(ADV)
'You should regard the one who sinned in the correct manner'
- b. *Credzuţii* miei, intraţi înăuntru (FT.1570-5: I)
believed.DEF(PL) my enter.IMP.2PL inside
'Those who believe in me, come on in.'
- c. *ferecaţi de oamenii* cea ce fac
happy of people.DEF those who make.IND.PRES.3PL
pacile şi împacă
peace.DEF and reconcile.IND.PRES.3PL
sfădiţii (CS.1590-602: 52^r)
squabble.DEF(PL)
'happy are the people who make peace and reconcile the ones who squabble'

The examples below "translate" into contemporary Romanian the old Romanian examples above⁷⁵; (187), featuring passive participles, corresponds to (185); (187), featuring relative clauses, corresponds to (186).

⁷⁵ I have tampered not only with the underlined participles, but also with the examples as a whole in order to make them acceptable in modern Romanian (clitic doubling and PE-differential object marking is obligatory in certain contexts in modern Romanian).

- (187) a. ***Cel vindecat*** *nu știa* *cine este*
 CEL cured not know.IMPERF.3SG who is
 ‘The cured one did not know who he was.’
- b. ***cea scrisă*** *a* *prorocilor*
 CEL written AL prophets.DEF.GEN
 ‘the prophets’ writing’
- c. *Și* ***cele ascunse*** *toate* *se vor* *descoperi*
 and CEL hidden.DEF all CL.REFL=AUX.FUT.3PL discover.INF
 ‘And all the secrets [lit. the hidden ones] will be revealed.’
- (188) a. *Privește* *pe cel care* *a* *greșit* *drept*
 regard.IMP.2SG PE CEL who AUX.PERF.3SG sinn.PPLE right(ADV)
 ‘You should regard the one who sinned in the correct manner’
- b. ***Cei care credeți*** *în* *mine, intrați*
 CEL who believe.IND.PRES.2PL in me enter.IMP.2PL
 înăuntru
 inside
 ‘Those who believe in me, come on in.’
- c. *ferice de oamenii aceia ce fac*
 joy to people.DEF those who make.IND.PRES.3PL
 pace și împacă pe cei care
 peace.DEF and reconcile.IND.PRES.3PL DOM CEL who
 se sfădesc
 CL.REFL squabble.IND.PRES.3PL
 ‘happy are the people who make peace and reconcile the ones who squabble’

Several comments are in order here. First and foremost, it can be noticed that the suffixal definite article is no longer allowed to adjoin to the past participle in modern Romanian. The old Romanian examples systematically correspond to modern Romanian structures in which the participial phrase is headed by *cel*. The construction [past participle + suffixal definite article] is very frequent in the 16th century and its frequency gradually decreases in the following centuries, when it is replaced by the structure *cel* + past participle, up until the 19th century, when the [past participle + suffixal definite article] is very rare and finally ceases to be productive. The empirical observation to be retained is that the suffixal definite article was allowed to survive the ellipsis site with this variety of remnants in old Romanian; in modern Romanian, it has been systematically replaced by *cel*. Only a few relics of participles suffixed by the definite article remain in modern

Romanian (see also Brăescu 2009): *acuzatii* ('the accused ones'), *invitații* ('the guests; lit. the invited ones').

Secondly, we observe an interesting difference between passive and active participles in modern vs. old Romanian. In the 16th century, both passive and active past participles freely combined with the definite article. By contrast, in modern Romanian, the passive participle allows for a direct relativization strategy (187), without the need to resort to a fully realized relative clause; in opposition to the passive participle, the active participle does not allow this direct relativization strategy (188), necessitating a full relative clause. As in archaic Latin (see Vincent 2011: 429, Fischer 1985: 118-119, Creția 1999: 189), the past participle in old Romanian is *not specified* with respect to voice, being often active, with subject externalization (see Dragomirescu 2016), in contrast with modern Romanian, where the past participle is almost always passive, with object externalization (Pană Dindelegan 2008: 507; 2007: 169, Nicolae and Dragomirescu 2009). What this boils down to is that the difference between the syntax of old vs. modern Romanian past participles is not related to the distribution of the two articles, but to the changes in the syntax of the past participle in and of itself, which progressively and almost completely lost the active value / the possibility of externalizing the subject. Consequently, the passive past participle preserved the direct relativization strategy (without a relative clause); the only difference between old Romanian and modern Romanian is that nominal ellipsis was marked by the suffixal definite article in the old language in contrast to the modern language, where it is headed by *cel*. By contrast, the active past participle lost the direct relativization strategy: while in old Romanian nominal ellipsis was realized by past participle + definite article, in modern Romanian nominal ellipsis with *cel* + active past participle is blocked and the structure *cel* + relative clause is used.

Thus, in the case of active participles, two historical changes combine (loss of direct relativization; replacement of the suffixal article by *cel*) and lead to a bigger difference between old and modern Romanian (189a). By contrast, with passive participles, only the licensing of nominal ellipsis has changed and the relativization strategy remained constant; thus, the change from old to modern Romanian does not appear to be as sharp (189b) as for active participles (compare (189a) to (189b)).

(189)	old Romanian	modern Romanian	
	a. <i>participle</i> + <i>suffixal article</i>	→ <i>cel</i> + <i>relative clause</i>	active participles
	b. <i>participle</i> + <i>suffixal article</i>	→ <i>cel</i> + <i>participle</i>	passive participles

To conclude, the impossibility of the **active** past participle to appear in the structure [*cel* + past participle] in modern Romanian is not related to the licensing of nominal ellipsis.

I will continue to focus especially on passive past participles, as the data can be more easily controlled; the preservation of the same relativization strategy does not create

sharply contrasting examples. Before moving further with the investigation of this problem, it is necessary to mention that other verbal forms may be suffixed by the definite article in old Romanian: the infinitive (Nedelcu 2013: 23-27) and the supine (Gherman 2007, Dragomirescu 2013a: 18-19, 85-100):

- (190) a. *mângâierea* *ta* (PH.1500-10: 80^v)
 solace(INF).DEF your
 ‘your solace’
- b. *învierea* *lu* *Hristos* (DÎ.1587-8: LXXI)
 resurrect(INF).DEF GEN Christ
 ‘the resurrection of Christ’
- (191) a. *ieșitul* *lor* (PO.1581: 5)
 get-out(SUP).DEF their
 ‘their escape’
- b. *răsărita* *soarelui* (CC¹.1567: 102^v)
 rise(SUP).DEF sun.DEF.GEN
 ‘the sunrise’ (lit. ‘the rise of the sun’)

In modern Romanian, the infinitive and the supine preserved the possibility of attaching the suffixal definite article. These are instances of **nominalization** (see Cornilescu 2001): they are independent deverbal nouns which do not involve the deletion of a centre or the presence of a silent noun. We may thus safely exclude these forms from the discussion.

4.2. Putting things into a perspective: the suffixal definite article as a licenser of nominal ellipsis in old Romanian

Participles are not unique in allowing the suffixation of the definite article in nominal ellipsis contexts. Consider the following examples, featuring nominal ellipsis with different types of remnants: adjectives, adverbs and numerals may be suffixed by the definite article (see Stan 2012: 240-241; Giurgea 2015):

- (192) a. *Blânzi^{lor}* *va* *fi* *pământul* (CP¹.1577: 65^r)
 kind.DEF.DAT AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF world.DEF.NOM
 ‘the world will belong to the kind ones’
- b. *Iară de nu și nooa* *se* *va*
 and if not and new.DEF CL.REFL AUX.FUT.3SG

- sparge* (CT.1560-1 : 124^v)
break.INF
'and if the new one (=garment)⁷⁶ will get spoiled'
- c. *întărește derepții Domnul* (PH.1500-10: 31^v)
strengthens right.DEF God
'God strengthens the good ones'
- d. *Și aceia sănt apoi*
and these are then.DEF
ce vor fi întâi (CT.1560-1: 151^v)
that will be firsts.DEF
'And these are the last ones who will be the first ones.'
- e. *tu cunoscși toată apoiă mea*
you knew.PS.2SG all then.DEF my
și demultă mea (PV.1551-8: 40^v)
and langsyne.DEF my
'you knew my entire past (= past life; in the example: *my past one*) and future (= future life; in the example: *my future one*)'

As in the case of the participle examples above, all these old Romanian examples are legitimate in modern Romanian with *cel*, not with the suffixal definite article:

- (193) a. *Celor blânzi le va fi pământul*
CEL.GEN kind.DEF CL.DAT.3PL AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF world.DEF.NOM
'the world will belong to the kind ones'
- b. *Iar dacă nu și cea nouă se va sparge*
and if not and CEL new CL.REFL AUX.FUT.3SG break.INF
'and if the new one (=garment) will get spoiled'
- c. *întărește pe cei drepti Domnul*
strengthens CEL right God
'God strengthens the good ones.'
- d. *și aceia sunt cei de apoi ce vor fi cei dintâi*⁷⁷
and these are CEL DE then that AUX.FUT.3PL be.INF CEL DE-first
'And these are the last ones who will be the first ones.'

⁷⁶ For the correct resolution of this example, the antecedent was in a previous sentence; for certain religious texts, the referent is typically human, but not necessarily. The inspection of the larger context in order to identify the correct antecedent proves obligatory.

⁷⁷ *Dintâi* < *de* + *întâi*.

Admittedly, the oddest (yet the most interesting) example is (192e), featuring the definite article suffixed on the adverbials *apoi* ('then'), *de mult* 'langsyne, a long time ago'. This example is from *Psaltirea Voroneţeană* (The Book of Psalms from Voroneţ), a text from Moldavia, 1551-1558. The antecedent of the two elliptical adverbials is not mentioned in the previous context; however, by analysing the fragment preceding the example under scrutiny⁷⁸, which represents a praise of God's almightiness, we can deduce that the referent of the ellipsis-DPs is *viaţă* ('life') (the definite article also points to a feminine noun as an implicit antecedent); thus, it can be reformulated as in (193e) below, also with the help of *cel*:

- (193) e. *tu o cunoscusi pe toată cea de apoi şi de demult*
 you CL.ACC.F.3SG knew.PS.2SG pe all CEL DE then and DE langsyne
 'you knew my entire past and future'

Thus, one of the functions of the definite article in old Romanian is the licensing of nominal ellipsis. Gradually, this function has been taken over by *cel*, as an effect of its grammaticalization. The goal of the next subsection is to show that, in old Romanian, *cel* was not a (freestanding or adjectival article), a natural expectation since Agree and movement operated long distance in old Romanian, as shown in §III.2 above. This idea has also been hinted at in §III.2 above.

4.3. On the status of *cel* in old Romanian⁷⁹

In old Romanian, especially in the 16th century, *cel* was a *bona fide* distal demonstrative, as shown by the following facts (reviewed in more detail in Nicolae 2012b).

(i) *Cel* usually appears with a **longer, strong form**, with the enclitic particle *-a*, which distinguishes in modern Romanian long demonstratives from their short counterpart:

- (194) a. *iară popa cela greşitul* (*să*
 and priest CEL.M.SG trespassed.DEF.M.SG SĂ

⁷⁸ "Doamne, ispititu-me-ai şi cunoscutu-me-ai şi cunoscusi şedearea şi scularea mea. Tu înţelegesi gândurile mele de departe. Cărrarea mea şi necălcata mea tu ai sleditu şi toate drumurile mele vădzuşi, că nu iaste hicleşugu în limba mea. Adecă, Doamne, *tu cunoscusi toată apoia mea şi demulta mea*" (PV.1551-8: 40^v). "God, you have tempted me, you have known me, and you have known my being asleep and my being awake. You have understood my thoughts from far away. You have guided my path and seen all my ways, and the fact that I am honest. That is, God, you have known all *my future and past*".

⁷⁹ This status of *cel* in old Romanian is addressed at length in Nicolae (2015c, 2019: 205-216).

- să facă călugăr*) (CPrav.1560-2: 9^r; Prav.1581: 206^v)
 CL.REFL make.SUBJ monk
 ‘and the/that priest who has trespassed should become a monk’
- b. *și cu sfinții cei aleși* (CC².1581: 37)
 and with saints CEL.M.PL chosen.DEF.M.PL
 ‘and with the/those saints who have been chosen’

(ii) old Romanian *cel* can **directly precede nouns** (contrasting in this respect both with the freestanding definite article *cel* and with the adjectival/demonstrative article *cel* of modern Romanian, but patterning with demonstratives):

- (195) a. *cea puțină credință* (CC².1581: 297)
 CEL.F.SG little.F.SG faith
 ‘the/that little faith’
- b. *toate cele lucruri bune* (MI.1630: 191^r)
 all.F.PL CEL.F.PL things good.PL
 ‘all the/those good things’
- c. *cel fecior curvariu* (Ev.1642: 179)
 CEL.M.SG son fornicator
 ‘the/that fornicator son’
- d. *cea neputredă bunătate*
 CEL.F.SG pure kindness
(să dobândim în Hristos Isus) (CC².1581: 50)
 SĂ gain.SUBJ.1PL in Christ Jesus
 ‘so that we gain pure kindness through Christ Jesus’
- e. *den cel lucru rău* (CC².1581: 17)
 from CEL thing bad
 ‘from the/that bad thing’

(iii) old Romanian *cel* can precede relational adjectives, a possibility excluded in modern Romanian:

- (196) a. *cea dumnezeiască viață* (CC².1581: 147)
 CEL.F.SG divine.F.SG life
 ‘the/that divine life’ (*dumnezeiesc* is derived from *Dumnezeu* ‘God’)
- b. *loculu lorușu cela îngeresculu* (CC².1581: 412)
 place.DEF their CEL angelical.DEF
 ‘their angelical place’ (*îngeresc* is derived from *înger* ‘angel’)

(iv) Rarely, old Romanian *cel* may precede an adjective suffixed by the definite article:

- (197) *spre cela bunulu* (CC².1581: 17)
 to(wards) CEL good.DEF
 ‘towards the/that good one’

(v) old Romanian *cel* may occur in the **postnominal demonstrative construction in which definiteness agreement** applies (198); this is characteristic for demonstratives in modern Romanian (see §III.2 above, example (47), repeated here, and the discussion surrounding it); with respect to the modern Romanian *cel*-construction, examples featuring definiteness agreement on the adjective in the *cel*-construction are ungrammatical (see (199)) because of the high merge position of adjectives in this construction, which prevents definiteness agreement from taking place.

- (198) a. *lucrulu cela laudatulu și spășitorulu* (CC².1581: 2)
 thing.DEF CEL praised.DEF and redeeming.DEF
 ‘the/that praised and redeeming thing’
 b. *feciorulu cela bunulu* (CC².1581: 19)
 son.DEF CEL good.DEF
 c. *pământulu cela lucratulu* (CC².1581: 25)
 field.DEF CEL worked.DEF
 ‘the/that ploughed field’
 d. *vântulu cela neopritulu și greulu* (CC².1581: 39)
 wind.DEF CEL unstopping.DEF and heavy.DEF
 ‘the/that heavy and unstopping wind’
 (47) *muncitorul ăla vrednicul*
 worker.DEF that hardworking.DEF
 ‘that hardworking worker’
 (199) **muncitorul cel vrednicul*
 worker.DEF that hardworking.DEF

(vi) In the earliest writings, *cel* is not employed as a last resort to express definiteness in structures in which a quantifier blocks definiteness valuation (as in modern Romanian); quantifiers may precede a noun suffixed by the enclitic definite article (these structures are rare, see Nicolae 2019: 122-123); the modern Romanian equivalent of (200) is (201):

- (200) *arătarea* *a dooa* *venireei* *lui* (CC².1581 : 600)
 appearance.DEF second.F.SG return(F).DEF.GEN his
 ‘the image of his second return’
- (201) *arătarea* *cele* *de a dooa* *veniri* *a lui*
 appearance.DEF CEL DE second.F.SG return(F).DEF.GEN AL his
 ‘the image of his second return’

In conclusion, in old Romanian, the demonstrative *cel* was not grammaticalized as a freestanding definite article (nor as adjectival/demonstrative article); in contrast with modern Romanian, the suffixal definite article was not only a substantivization marker; it also licensed nominal ellipsis (which is possible, in modern Romanian, only with the freestanding *cel*).

4.4. Summary

Up to this point, the following results have been arrived at:

(i) with respect to past participles, there is a great disparity between old and modern Romanian, on two levels:

(a) in nominal ellipsis contexts, the suffixal definite article has been systematically replaced by the freestanding determiner *cel*;

(b) active past participles have changed their externalization strategy: the direct relativization of the subject is no longer possible in modern Romanian; a full relative clause is thus necessary;

(ii) past participles are not unique in displaying a systematic replacement of the suffixal definite article by *cel*: other nominal ellipsis remnants, initially suffixed by the definite article, are allowed only with *cel* in the modern language;

(iii) finally, it has been established that in the earliest surviving Romanian texts of the 16th c., *cel* had not yet grammaticalized as an adjectival article (nor as freestanding definite article).

Let us turn to the situation of modern Romanian, where the suffixation of the article vs. the insertion of *cel* in certain structures with missing heads correlates with the existence of two different processes, *substantivization* and *nominal ellipsis*. Anticipating a bit, the idea I will arrive at is that, given the non-grammaticalized status of *cel* in old Romanian, the suffixal definite article fulfilled both functions: licenser of nominal ellipsis and substantivization marker, as in other (Romance) languages with only one definite article (see, for instance, Sleeman 1996 for a discussion on the systematic ambiguity of Fr. *le malade*).

4.5. Substantivization vs. nominal ellipsis

4.5.1. Substantivization and nominal ellipsis are processes with superficially similar outputs: in the case of both, we understand more than it is uttered; more specifically, a silent head is implicit. I will analyse substantivization as a lexical process which presupposes the incorporation of a silent empty head; my assumptions on nominal ellipsis remain constant: it represents the silencing of a full lexical head, present in the syntax, but not pronounced at PF.

Before I present the syntactic and interpretative diagnostics which distinguish substantivization from nominal ellipsis, it is necessary to mention that the existence of two distinct processes does not go against current theorizing on ellipsis. In analysing gender mismatches in Greek nominal ellipsis, Merchant (2014) arrives at a similar conclusion: “nominal ellipsis has two possible sources: a nominal constituent can be elided (true ellipsis), or a null nominal pro-form can be used (model-theoretic anaphora)”. As will appear from the discussion in this section, the output of substantivization systematically differs from the output of nominal ellipsis; the differences are both syntactic and interpretative. A final comment is in order at this point: since substantivization is not the direct object of our inquiry in this dissertation, the following discussion touches only on what I have considered relevant for the objective at hand, namely the historical perspective on nominal ellipsis.

4.5.2. As shown in §III.3, **nominal ellipsis** is a syntactic phenomenon (taking place in the discourse grammar compartment, see Williams 1977, López 2000, 2009) involving the non-pronunciation at the PF level of an anaphoric DP, which is present in the syntax (Merchant 2001, Rouveret 2012). The presence of this deleted head in the syntax is shown, for instance, by the theta assignment / argument licensing:

- (202) *Dependența de medicamente este neplăcută,*
 dependence.DEF on medicine.PL is unpleasant.F.SG
cea de droguri poate fi fatală.
 CEL.F.SG on drugs can be fatal.F.SG
 ‘The dependence on drugs is unpleasant, and the dependence on drugs can be fatal.’

Substantivization is a lexical process (Sleeman 1996: ch. 5) involving the incorporation of a silent noun (à la Panagiotidis 2003 or Kayne 2005) with a specific meaning – e.g. [HUMAN]: *bolnavul* (‘the sick one’), [COLOUR]: *galbenul* (‘yellow’), [CATEGORY]: *esteticul* (‘the aesthetic’), *sublimul* (‘the sublime’), etc. (see also Giurgea 2009) –, and without observing anaphoric conditioning. According to Panagiotidis (2003), the inventory of silent nouns is language specific, and this leads to considerable cross-

linguistic differences. By means of this process, adjectives and other words with an adjectival behaviour become nouns, e.g. *acuzatii* ('the accused ones'), *invitații* ('lit. the invited / the guests'), *parțialele* ('the partial elections') (see also Brăescu 2009).

In modern Romanian, nominal ellipsis is licensed by the definite article *cel* or by other demonstrative or indefinite determiners (203), whereas the suffixal definite article exclusively licenses substantivization (204):

- (203) *Pe masă erau mai multe mere.* 'There were several apples on the table'
- (a) *L-am luat pe cel / acela galben / *galbenul.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG take.PPLE DOM cel that.one yellow
 yellow.DEF
 'I took the yellow one.'
- (b) *Am luat unul galben.*
 AUX.PERF.1SG take.PPLE one.DEF yellow
 'I took a yellow one.'
- (204) *Galbenul este culoarea mea preferată.*
 yellow.DEF is colour.DEF my favourite
 'Yellow is my favourite colour.'

From a technical perspective, substantivization involves the structure [adjective + silent noun]; it is a mechanism placed in the pre-syntactic component of grammar, i.e. the structure [adjective + silent noun] is taken from the numeration as an independent unit. In the spirit (but not in the letter) of Distributed Morphology, I consider that the pre-syntactic component of the grammar manipulates the same mechanisms as narrow syntax (Harley and Noyer 1998). What actually happens is the **incorporation** of the silent, but contentful noun, into the adjectival host:

- (205) a. *galbenul*
 yellow.DEF
- b.
$$\begin{array}{ccc} & N & \\ & / \quad \backslash & \\ A & & N \\ | & & [+N] \\ [\alpha^{80}] & & ([+def]) \\ & & [i\phi] \end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{ccc} & N [\alpha, i\phi, (+def)] & \\ & / \quad \backslash & \\ A & & N \\ / \quad \backslash & & | \\ N & A & t_N \\ [N] & [\alpha] & [i\phi] \end{array}$$

⁸⁰ α stands for lexical matrix.

Thus, adjectives can be incorporated into definite bare nouns, and this creates deadjectival nouns; the noun brings into the derivation its ϕ -features, its morphological category and the feature [+ definite], whereas the adjective brings its descriptive content (see Sleeman 1996).

As announced, our discussion here is oversimplifying. For instance, it is possible to drop the definite article with certain substantivized adjectives and use the respective noun in an indefinite phrase; this usually happens when the underlying silent noun is [HUMAN], as shown in (206).

- (206) a. *un bolnav*
 a sick
 ‘a sick man’
 b. *un alb*
 a white
 ‘a white man’

By contrast, substantivized adjectives whose underlying silent noun is [CATEGORY] or [COLOUR] are subject to a definiteness requirement; occurrence in an indefinite context is disallowed (207):

- (207) a. **un grotesc* a’. *grotescul*
 a grotesque grotesque.DEF
 b. **un alb* b’. *albul*
 a white white.DEF
 (with the intended meaning ‘colour white’)

This indicates that several configurations for incorporation are available. For our purposes here, structure (205b) is sufficient.

Another argument that structure is highly relevant for incorporation as well comes from the exclusion of certain classes of adjectives from this process: relational adjectives, obligatorily postnominal, are impossible in substantivization. Empirically, there is no reason why the adjective *sufletesc* (‘spiritual’) cannot be the basis for the incorporation of a silent noun like [CATEGORY], like for instance, *estetic* (‘aesthetic’):

- (208) *esteticul* vs. **sufletescul*
 aesthetic.DEF spiritual.DEF
 ‘the aesthetic’

By contrast, nominal ellipsis is a discourse related anaphoric process; presumably, all the adjectives can be remnants in nominal ellipsis⁸¹:

- (209) a. *caietul galben și cel roșu*
 book.DEF yellow and CEL.M.SG red
 ‘the yellow book and the red one’
- b. *armata română și cea bulgară*
 army Romanian.F.SG and CEL.F.SG Bulgarian
 ‘the Romanian army and the Bulgarian one’

Lexical semantics is also very important: only adjectives whose meaning matches the one of the silent noun can undergo incorporation. For instance, ‘the sick’ people constitute a delineable class of individuals, in contrast to the ‘healthy’ people; the Romanian adjective denoting ‘sick’, *bolnav* can be the base of substantivization, as well as the remnant of nominal ellipsis (210a,b); by contrast, the adjective for ‘healthy’, Rom. *sănătos* can only occur in nominal ellipsis (210b), substantivization being blocked (210c); this indicates once more the lexical nature of substantivization.

- (210) a. *bolnavul* b. *cel bolnav*
 sick.DEF CEL.M.SG sick
- c. *?? sănătosul* d. *cel sănătos*
 healthy.DEF CEL.M.SG healthy

The existence of pairs such as (210a–b) *bolnavul* (substantivization) and *cel bolnav* (nominal ellipsis) may cast doubt on our distinction between the two processes. An argument that we are dealing with distinct phenomena comes from the following fact: the noun derived via substantivization obligatorily bears the feature [+HUMAN] (recall that a silent noun specified as [+HUMAN] is available as a lexical formative in Romanian), whereas nominal ellipsis does not involve any semantic restrictions, being a form of pure anaphora:

- (211) *Dintre caii ăștia, nu-l vreau*
 Of horses these not=CL.ACC.M.3SG want.IND.PRES.1SG
*pe cel bolnav / *bolnavul.*
 DOM CEL sick sick.DEF
 ‘Of these horses, I do not want the sick one.’

⁸¹ Except for those obligatorily undergoing definiteness agreement by virtue of their obligatory merge position, i.e. the intensional adjectives: *biet* ‘poor’, *fost* ‘former’ etc.; see §§.III.3.3.3, III.3.3.6.3 above.

A silent noun [ANIMAL] / [MAMMAL] etc. is not available in Romanian; this accounts for the fact that *bolnavul* cannot take [-HUMAN] referent.

4.5.3. Why is the substantivization generally disallowed with past participial adjectives in modern Romanian?

I believe that there are two factors determining the ban on substantivization of participles. The first factor is lexical in nature: substantivization is dependent upon the availability of certain silent empty nouns; as remarked in this section, there exist a few substantivized participles, like *acuzatul* ('the accused one'), *invitatul* ('the invited one'), *pârâtul* ('the denounced one'), *cunoscutul* ('the known one = the person we know, the acquaintance'). All these participial nouns share the [+HUMAN] feature, i.e. they are based on the silent empty noun [HUMAN].

Another factor is syntactic in nature. As remarked in the section devoted to *cel* (§III.3.3.1), adjectival participles are allowed to surface in the overt *cel*-construction, i.e. the contrastive Spec,ContrP position above D_{internal} is accessible to past participles. However, in the space below D_{internal}, they are severely restricted in prenominal position (see (212b), (213b)), being also inaccessible to definiteness agreement (see (213b)):

- (212) a. *un om bătut*
 a man beaten
 'a beaten man'
 b. **un bătut om*
 a beaten man
- (213) a. *omul bătut*
 man.DEF beaten
 'the beaten man'
 b. **bătutul om*
 beaten.DEF man

Thus, when merged below D_{internal}, participial adjectives are coerced into being merged postnominally, similarly to relational adjectives. From this perspective, their exclusion as bases for substantivization (see (214)) is the same one as for relational adjectives: substantivization via incorporation is sensitive to syntactic structure, and it is available only for prenominal adjectives. Note especially (214): even if the intended referent is [+HUMAN], substantivization is still disallowed.

- (214) **bătutul*⁸²
 beaten.DEF
 (i.m.) ‘the beaten one’

At this point, one may ask whether this syntactic factor does rule out the existence of substantivized participles like *acuzatul* (‘the accused one’), *invitatul* (‘the invited one’), *pârâtul* (‘the denounced one’), *cunoscutul* (‘the known one = the person we know’). From my point of view, these few words are conventionalized nominal ellipses which have turned into nouns proper, i.e. they are the relics of an ambiguous 17th–18th grammar, when the switch from the suffixal definite article to the adjectival article *cel* as a licenser of nominal ellipsis took place.

Note, in this connection, that substantivized participles (substantivized adjectives in general) are generally opaque, fully noun-like, structures. In the case of couples like (215a) / (215b), which feature a substantivized participle (215a) versus nominal ellipsis with participial remnants (215b), only in the second construction is the participle able to preserve its fully verbal subordinates (e.g. a *by*-phrase) (see the contrast in (216)):

- (215) a. *cunoscutul*
 known.DEF
 ‘acquaintance / the person we know’
 b. *cel cunoscut*
 CEL known
 ‘the one we know’
 (216) a. **cunoscutul de noi*
 known.DEF by us
 b. *cel cunoscut de noi*
 CEL known by us
 ‘the one known by us’

More generally, degree markers and other adjectival dependents are excluded when substantivization takes place; by contrast, they are allowed to surface with nominal ellipsis:

- (217) a. **mai (bine) cunoscutul*
 more well known

⁸² The word *bătutul* is available in Romanian; it is, however, a supine nominalization, not a substantivized adjectival participle. See §III.4.1 above on the difference between participles suffixed by the definite article and supine nominalizations.

- (218) b. *cel mai (bine) cunoscut*
 CEL more well known
 ‘the one we know better’
- a. **mai bolnavul*
 more sick.DEF
- b. *cel mai bolnav*⁸³
 CEL more sick
 ‘the sicker one’

4.6. Assessing the relevance of the diachronic facts

At this point, we have all the necessary data and theoretical apparatus to discuss the disparity between participles in old versus modern Romanian.

Recall that the suffixal definite article has been systematically replaced by *cel* in the passage from old to modern Romanian in the case of nominal ellipsis with participial remnants⁸⁴ (examples (185a,b) and their modern counterparts (187a,b) repeated below):

- (185) a. *Vindecatul nu știa cine iaste* (CC¹.1567: 18^o)
 cured.DEF(SG) not know.IMPERF.3SG who is
 ‘The cured one did not know who he was’
- b. *scrisa prorocilor* (CC¹.1567: 212^v)
 written.DEF(SG) apostles.DEF.GEN
 ‘the apostles’ writing’
- (187) a. *Cel vindecat nu știa cine este*
 CEL cured not know.IMPERF.3SG who is
 ‘The cured one did not know who he was’
- b. *cea scrisă a prorocilor*
 CEL written.F.SG AL prophets.DEF.GEN
 ‘the prophets’ writing’

This phenomenon is not unique to participial remnants: *cel* has systematically replaced the article in other structures as well (old Romanian (192a,d) vs. modern Romanian (193a,d), repeated for convenience):

⁸³ Note that structures with CEL + the degree marker *mai* (‘more’) are systematically ambiguous between a comparative and a superlative reading.

⁸⁴ Our solution confirms the results of Stan (2012), who analysed successive variants of biblical translations and has shown that in nominal ellipsis constructions the suffixal definite article was systematically replaced by *cel*.

- (192) a. *Blânzilor* va fi pământul (CP¹.1577: 65^r)
 kind.DEF.DAT AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF world.DEF.NOM
 ‘the world will belong to the kind ones’
- b. *Și aceia sânt apoi ce vor fi*
 and these are then.DEF that AUX.FUT.3PL be.INF
întâii (CT.1560-1: 151^v)
 firsts.DEF
 ‘And these are the last ones who will be the first ones.’
- (193) a. *Celor blânzi* le va fi
 CEL.GEN kind.DEF CL.DAT.3PL AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF
pământul
 world.DEF.NOM
 ‘the world will belong to the kind ones’
- d. *și aceia sunt cei de apoi ce vor fi*
 and these are CEL DE then that AUX.FUT.3PL be.INF
cei dintâi
 CEL of.first
 ‘And these are the last ones who will be the first ones.’

Thus, while modern Romanian has specialized the two definite articles for different purposes (the suffixal article for substantivization; *cel* for nominal ellipsis), old Romanian employs the same lexical item, the suffixal definite article, for both processes.

This correlates with the fact that, as shown in §III.4.3 above, *cel* was not grammaticalized as an article, but functioned as a demonstrative in early old Romanian (16th c. – 1640) (the period from which the examples in this section have been taken). The next period, conventionally called late old Romanian (1640 – 1780) presents a dual grammar for *cel* (Nicolae 2015c, 2019: 205-216, characteristic of grammaticalization processes in general (see Roberts 2007).

Note, in this connection, that the structure featuring participles suffixed by the definite article is not syntactically opaque as the participle may preserve its verbal subordinations and other types of prepositional subordinations not specific to nouns (in contrast to participles suffixed by the definite article in modern Romanian, as in examples (215)-(217) above); this is an indication that the underlying structure is based on deletion, not on substantivization:

- (219) a. *Duceți-vă de la mine, [blestemaților]*
 go.IMP.2PL=CL.REFL from me cursed.DEF

- de tatăl meu*], în focul de veac. (CS.1609-18 : 111^v)
 by father.DEF my in fire of ages
 ‘The ones cursed by my father, go into the fire of ages (=to hell).’
- b. *Se dzică* [*izbăviții de Dumnedăzău*] (PH.1500-10 : 92^v)
 SĂ say.SUBJ.3PL saved.DEF by God
 ‘The ones saved by God should speak’

The non-opaque nature of old Romanian constituents suffixed by the definite article is also visible with other remnants of nominal ellipsis; for instance, adjectival heads preserve the degree marker and the full comparative structure (with a degree complement licensed by the degree marker), as shown in (220) (compare this structure with (218a) above):

- (220) *Vai de mine, [mai amărâtul de toți oamenii].* (Ev.1642: 179)
 oh(INTERJ) of me more unhappy.DEF than all people
 ‘Poor me, the one unhappier than all the (other) people.’

As shown in the previous section (see example (218)), in modern Romanian, this structure is exclusively available for nominal ellipsis licensed by *cel*:

- (221) *Vai de mine, [cel mai amărât decât toți oamenii].*
 oh(INTERJ) of me CEL more unhappy.DEF than all people
 ‘Poor me, the one unhappier than all the (other) people.’

Let us now flesh out the implications of these phenomena.

The first implication is that modern Romanian specialized the two definite articles, each one valuing the features of a different D head (D_{internal} for the suffixal definite article and D_{external} for *cel*); by contrast, old Romanian, like the other Romance languages, made use of the suffixal definite article for satisfying the necessities of both D heads. By contrast, in old Romanian, the suffixal article was active on both D cycles.

In relation to this, it is possible that one of the reasons for which *cel* grammaticalized starting with the second half of the 16th century is functional ambiguity of the suffixal definite article, used both for substantivization and nominal ellipsis⁸⁵. The suffixal definite article gave rise to systematically ambiguous constructions, i.e. it allowed for a freer grammar. The emergence of a new determiner allowed DP-syntax to shift diachronically towards a more restricted grammar with fewer ambiguities, probably

⁸⁵ This is only one of the causes that led to the emergence of a novel definite determiner. Other factors have been highlighted in the preceding sections above (see especially §III.3.3.5, III.4.3 above), and see also Nicolae (2015c, 2019: 205-216).

observing the Subset Principle (as formulated in Roberts 2007: 260): “the Subset Principle might [...] lie behind the phenomenon of ‘restriction of function’, whereby in one system a given operation applies more freely than in another”.

I believe that there is also a more interesting theoretical implication for the analysis of nominal ellipsis in general. As argued in the previous two sections (§§III.2, III.3), in modern Romanian, *cel* has two main functions: to be inserted as a last resort freestanding article in DPs in which definiteness valuation is blocked by an intervening quantifier, and to be inserted in a high D-projection as an adjectival article, in a structure with a precise discourse interpretation, which activates the left periphery of the DP. Furthermore, as shown in §III.3, the variety of *cel* surfacing in definite ellipsis headed by *cel* is the adjectival article *cel*. The historical specialization of the suffixal definite article for substantivization versus the specialization of the adjectival article *cel* for nominal ellipsis grants weight to the claim that nominal ellipsis activates the left periphery of the DP. Specifically, the ellipsis procedure consists in comparing the ellipsis-DP and the antecedent-DP with the effect of identifying the common and the contrasting parts. The syntax-pragmatics interface correspondingly marks these parts with appropriate features ([+a] and [+c]), and the assignment of [+c] correlates with a precise nanosyntactic effect: movement of the (highest) remnant to Spec,ContrP. Thus, the selection of the adjectival article *cel* for nominal ellipsis, which in the overt structure determines the activation of the DP left periphery, cannot be coincidental: it indicates that the DP left periphery is always active.

5. Conclusions and further speculations

5.1. This chapter has dealt in an almost exhaustive manner with the syntactic licensing of nominal ellipsis in Romanian, focusing on the syntactic aspects of this phenomenon and on the semantic issues with direct import for the syntax of ellipsis.

Empirically, I have explored in detail the derivation of nominal ellipsis headed by *cel*. Being a functional element specific to Romanian, *cel* presents an idiosyncratic set of properties and a specific distribution, both in overt constructions and under ellipsis. The discussion of *cel* has thus enabled us to highlight certain aspects harder to observe with other types of ellipsis, more widespread cross-linguistically (e.g. demonstrative ellipsis). Other varieties of nominal ellipsis have been explored in order to defend the theoretical ideas put forward.

Two main theoretical ideas have been defended in the chapter.

(i) The idea that, from a syntactic point of view, nominal ellipsis sites are definite descriptions. Solid evidence for this claim comes from ellipsis with cardinal remnants. On the interpretative side, this accounts for the fact that ellipsis sites are interpreted like partitive complements: as members of a contextually constructed superset. On the conceptual side, I believe I have managed to link ellipsis licensing to a (*morpho*)*syntactic*

property. As shown in §II, the parametrizable nature of ellipsis compels one to identify the syntactic properties involved in ellipsis licensing; this enables one to correctly parameterize a given phenomenon.

At the same time, López's (2009) [+a] feature placed on a [+definite] constituent constitutes the correct featural make-up of a constituent undergoing deletion. As soon as this feature composition is ensured, the constituent bearing this featural specification is marked for non-pronunciation at the PF-interface.

(ii) Our proposal also captures a long-noted intuition: the remnant in ellipsis constructions is focused. In order to formally implement this idea, I have adopted López's (2009) [+c] feature: a remnant (the highest one in the case of multiple remnants) occupies the Spec,ContrP position. This position is generally accessible via displacement; however, in a particular case (nominal ellipsis with quantifier remnants), Spec,ContrP gets occupied via direct merger.

Derivationally, nominal ellipsis activates the DP left periphery; in doing so, ellipsis turns out to be a Discourse Grammar phenomenon, as information structure problems are dealt with in the left peripheral component of clauses / DPs.

5.2. Certain aspects, such as the fact that determiners heading ellipsis sites generally alter their basic lexical meaning, have not been discussed here (Giurgea 2008, 2010 discusses in great detail these problems). For instance, Giurgea (2009) discusses from an interpretative perspective paradoxical cases like (222) below in which the ellipsis-DP headed by a demonstrative licenser actually receives the interpretation of a mere (non-demonstrative) definite description:

- (222) *The distribution of bare nouns is more restricted than that of DPs with overt determiners.*

that of DPs with overt determiners = **the** distribution of DPs with overt determiners
 ≠ **that** distribution of DPs with overt determiners

This interpretative contrast carries over to Romanian:

- (223) Distribuția numelor nude este mai restrânsă
distribution.DEF nouns.DEF.GEN bare is more restricted
decât aceea a numelor cu determinant.
than that AL nouns.DEF.GEN with determiner

aceea a numelor cu determinant = **the** distribution of DPs with overt determiners
 ≠ **that** distribution of DPs with overt determiners

According to Giurgea (2009), these alterations can be accounted for with the help of Ariel's (1990, 2001) *Accessibility Theory*. Viewing ellipsis as a Discourse Grammar phenomenon allows for the application of the *Accessibility Theory*, which is essentially a theory that combines modelling discourse structure with natural language processing. In other words, the application of *accessibility* is an invasive process placed at the same syntax/information structure interface level as the assignment of P-features. In our account, which builds on López's (2009) approach to the syntax/information structure interface, nothing prevents the application of *accessibility* in the correct resolution of ellipsis.

5.3. One final comment is in order. As can be noticed, there has been a certain hesitation in the usage of the terms *remnant* and *licenser* of ellipsis. The fact that nominal ellipsis sites are definite description undoubtedly indicates that the **licenser of nominal ellipsis** is a **definite article** always trapped within the ellipsis site (with the exception of ellipsis with *unul* and *altul*, which actually enables us to "see" this silent definite article). What is then the status and role of the determiners or quantifiers which head an ellipsis site? They are not licensors in the genuine sense (the suffixal definite article has this function). Their role seems to be that of creating the appropriate syntactic and semantic configuration that enables ellipsis to take place; actually, they provide the necessary space to accommodate the remnant. Consider *cel*: its explicit role is to split the D-head and create a position that hosts the contrastive remnant.

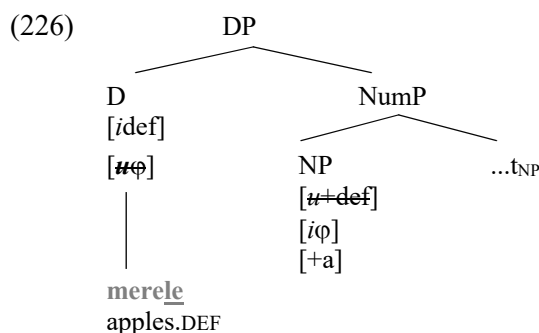
In the absence of *cel*, we may speak of a phenomenon of **total** ellipsis: ellipsis with no remnant. As shown in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2010), ellipsis with no remnants is theoretically important since it unambiguously shows that the nominal does not depend on an overt determiner which should license it. These examples are therefore problematic for the remnant-based theories:

- (224) a. *Ion culege mere, dar nu mănâncă <merele>.*
 Ion cull.IND.PRES.3SG apples, but not eat.IND.PRES.3SG apples.DEF
 'Ion culls apples, but he doesn't eat them.'
- b. *Ion cumpără cărți, iar Petru vinde <cărțile>.*
 Ion buy.IND.PRES.3SG books but Peter sell.IND.PRES.3SG books.DEF
 'Ion buys books, and Peter sells (/them).'

This type of ellipsis should be duly distinguished from null indefinite objects, whose reference is unretrievable in context (see Raposo 1986, Clemens 1994; see especially Campos 1986 for the analysis of null indefinite objects):

- (225) *Ion nu mănâncă* [e] *de obicei la prânz.*
 Ion not eat IND.PRES.3SG usually at lunch
 ‘Ion doesn’t usually eat at lunch.’

The theory of ellipsis put forward here has no difficulty accommodating examples like (224). The anaphoric nominal retrieved in the ellipsis construction is precisely the (unique) plural discourse referent which is the denotation of the elided DP, on the basis of which the common topic is derived. Definiteness of the elided DP is the effect of constructing this discourse topic, as usual. Therefore, it may easily be assumed that the structure of the ellipsis with no remnant is no different from ellipsis that leaves behind a constituent. The minimum syntactic requirement on ellipsis is again valuation of definiteness to secure the assignment of the [+a] feature. The [+a] feature is licensed by the definite determiner as in all the other cases. Note that this configuration does not force D to split; however, since DPs are phases, the highest head (the unsplit D) acts as a phase head and assigns [+a] to the definite description⁸⁶.



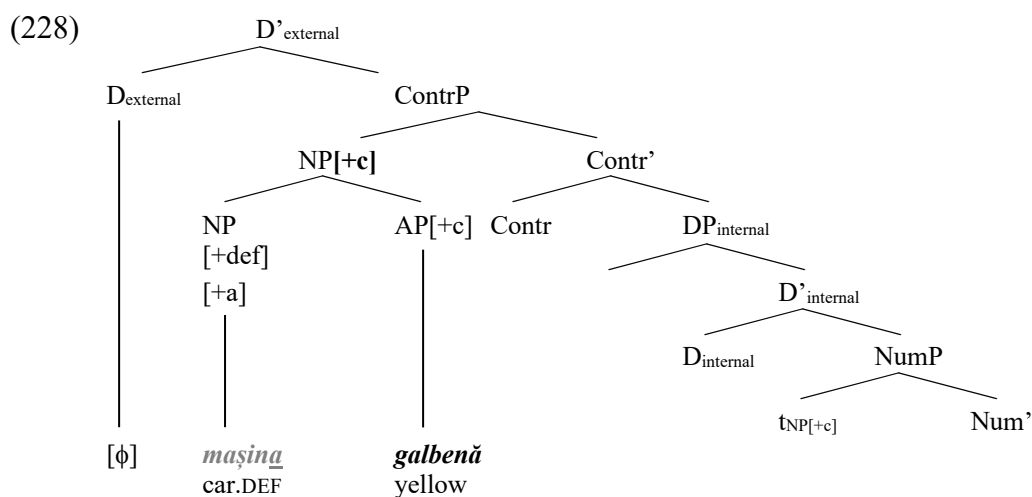
This perspective opens the way of analysing certain varieties of null objects in the same way as Roberts (2010a) does for the null subjects of the Romance languages: as resulting from PF-deletion. From a theoretical point of view, extending the deletion approach is beneficial, as it does away with different types of null elements, a desired conceptual result.

Finally, cases of nominal ellipsis where the remnant is purely lexical and there is no overt functional category are also unproblematic.

⁸⁶ From the more general perspective of the theory of ellipsis, one may wonder whether in such case there exists a focused constituent, so that ellipsis continues to also involve the identification of a non-identical, contrasting part, as insisted above. Presumably in examples of the type considered (i.e. (224)) ellipsis affects the VP-constituent, and it is the verb which is contrasted, while the object is identical and, thus, anaphoric.

- (227) *Ion vrea mașină roșie, iar Petru*
 John want.IND.PRES.3SG car red but Peter
vrea <mașină> galbenă.
 wants.IND.PRES.3SG car.DEF yellow
 ‘John wants a red car, and Peter wants a yellow one.’

Unlike the previous case, here there is a contrastive constituent inside the DP and, in our analysis, the highest [+c] constituent moves to ContrP. Movement is not idle: syntactically, overt movement to Spec,ContrP is a signal that there is structure above D_{internal} , therefore the opening up of the left periphery is signalled. A natural suggestion is that the D_{external} ends up with a choice function, securing the indefinite typing of the ellipsis-DP. Semantically, focalization allows for a natural semantic partition, separating the focused subset out of the common topic.



The hypothesis that nominal ellipsis is always the effect of licensing by a silent definite article, which then triggers the anaphoric/contrastive partitioning, makes a unitary interpretation of ellipsis possible and has superior empirical coverage.

IV. Verb syntax and verbal ellipsis in Romanian

The goal of the present chapter is, first and foremost, to delimit the domain of verbal ellipsis in Romanian. Recall that in §II we have delimited *verbal ellipsis* from other types of elliptical phenomena which involve the verb, most prominently, from gapping and stripping, which are based on a multidominant structure, and not on deletion. In this book, the label *verbal ellipsis* is given to a species of ellipsis which (i) requires the presence of a verbal licenser and (ii) is based on deletion. As will appear from the chapter, in contrast to Verb Stranding VP-ellipsis (=VVPE) languages (in which verbs raise and trigger the deletion of the domain left behind), only a restricted class of licensors are available in Romanian. The chapter is thus devoted to identifying these licensors, on the one hand, and the configurations in which ellipsis is allowed to apply, on the other hand.

The general claim of the literature has been that verbal ellipsis of the English type is not generally available in Romance, as well summed up by the following quote from Busquets (2006: 159): “in the tradition of Generative Grammar, several authors have explained the impossibility of VP-Ellipsis for Romance languages following the hypothesis that VP-Ellipsis in these languages is not licensed by the head of INFL as it is in English”. This vision is also expressed by other authors: “in contrast with other Romance languages, European and Brazilian Portuguese (EP and BP) present VP ellipsis” (Cyrino and Matos 2002: 177). In her seminal work on verbal ellipsis in (European) Portuguese and Galician, Martins (1994) makes a correlation between verbal ellipsis and pronominal enclisis, claiming that “interestingly, VP-deletion occurs in the same set of languages which have enclisis (Portuguese and Galician), and not in the languages which do not allow enclisis in tensed clauses (Spanish, Catalan, French and Italian)” (Martins 1994: 174). The same connection is made by Rouveret (2012) in the analysis of VP-ellipsis in Portuguese and Welsh (and English). As the facts investigated in this chapter will show, the correlation between ellipsis and encliticization is not a direct one as Romanian displays several varieties of verbal ellipsis, yet the general option is pronominal proclisis. However, enclisis is not generalized in Romanian; it only idiosyncratically occurs with the feminine singular third person clitic *-o* (see footnote 15 in §III for on the particular distribution of this clitic pronoun) and in certain varieties of verb verb-auxiliary inversion¹.

¹ Verb-auxiliary inversion is generally obsolete in modern Romanian with the exception of imperatives (i) and inverted subjunctives in imprecations (ii), where it is productive; however, it is well attested in old Romanian (iii) (see Dragomirescu 2013b, Zafiu 2014, Nicolae 2015a, 2019 for old Romanian inversion).

In this connection, one should mention that, despite general agreement on the fact that VP/verbal ellipsis is not allowed in Romance, it has been known as early as Emonds (1978) that French allows the deletion of the complement of modal verbs; French thus possesses a form of verbal ellipsis. The fact that there is a form of TP-ellipsis in Romance has been more seriously discussed in very recent work (see, among others, Busquets 2006, Dagnac 2009, 2010, Authier 2012, Rouveret 2012: fnt. 16).

With this background in mind, this chapter has the following objectives and structure. In §IV.1, I present the main problems to be dealt with in the chapter. Section §IV.2 is devoted to showing that Romanian is not a Verb-Stranding VP-Ellipsis language, and thus the local inspection of the classes of ellipsis licensors is necessary. Section §IV.3 is reserved to the analysis of verbal ellipsis licensed by *be*; the structure and syntax of the Romanian verbal cluster are also extensively discussed here. In §IV.4, I delimit the domain of ellipsis licensed by modal verbs in Romanian. A full discussion of ellipsis with modal licensors requires, on the one hand, the syntactic analysis of Romanian modal verbs, and, on the other hand, the analysis of the syntactic status of the complements of modal verbs in order to determine the internal structure of the ellipsis site; as will be obvious, it is necessary to also briefly discuss the syntax of the Romanian subjunctive for a better understanding of the nature of the ellipsis site in modal complement ellipsis. The 2013 version of my dissertation also contained a section devoted to aspectual-complement ellipsis; this issue has been revisited and addressed in more detail in my 2016 paper (Nicolae 2016). Finally, §IV.5 sums up the general conclusions of the chapter.

1. Setting the picture

First of all, in Romanian there exists a variety of verbal ellipsis licensed by an auxiliary verb. Albeit restricted to passive and copular *be*, Romanian auxiliary complement ellipsis proves relevant as it indicates what an appropriate ellipsis configuration should look like. In order to investigate auxiliary complement ellipsis in Romanian, it is necessary discuss the syntax of verb movement / verb raising in Romanian. For the issue at hand, this contributes to the proper understanding of the configurations where ellipsis is allowed to apply. From a more general theoretical perspective, I will also argue against the

- | | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------------|--|
| (i) | <i>Du-te</i>
go.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG
'Go (and) shoot yourself!' | <i>și</i>
and | <i>împușcă-te!</i>
shoot.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG |
| (ii) | <i>Ducă-se</i>
go.SUBJ=CL.REFL
'Go to hell!' | <i>pe pustii!</i>
on wilderness | |
| (iii) | <i>Pusu-ne-am</i>
put.PPLE=CL.REFL.ACC.1PL=AUX.PERF.1PL
'We have put our fingers below.' (DÎ.1576: V) | <i>și</i>
and | <i>degetele</i>
fingers.DEF
<i>mai jos.</i>
more down |

overgeneralizing account of verb syntax in Giurgea (2011), according to whom a process of *complex head formation* takes place in the syntax and the position of the components within this complex head is determined by post-syntactic, PF-linearization. If, indeed, complex head formation takes place, the contrasts of Romanian auxiliaries under ellipsis are unexpected and unaccounted for (other arguments against this position will be presented in §IV.3.2.3.6 below). Our account of verb morphosyntax will be in line with more traditional works, such as Cornilescu (2000), Alboiu (2002), Biberauer and Roberts (2010), Ledgeway (2015) and Cornilescu and Cosma (2014), and is generally inspired by Migdalski's (2006) work on Slavic and on Harwood's (2013, 2014, 2015) more recent work on the auxiliary system of English. The analysis presented here has been revisited in more detail in Nicolae (2015a, 2019).

Another variety of verbal ellipsis present in Romanian is ellipsis with modal licensors, a variety which is labelled *Modal Complement Ellipsis* (MCE) by Aelbrecht (2010) with reference to Dutch. Several interesting facts, both empirical and theoretical, will follow from the analysis of this variety of ellipsis in Romanian. First of all, this analysis of MCE requires the brief survey of the configurations in which Romanian modals occur. My investigation will show that Romanian modals allow deletion only in certain configurations. Interestingly, one such configuration involves the modal verb *poate* ('can, be able to') + a subjunctive complement. Despite the fact that *poate* may also take a bare short infinitive² in a restructuring context, MCE is generally licensed in the subjunctive configuration, as testified by the general absence of clitics in front of the modal verb under ellipsis (there is clitic climbing only in the restructuring, infinitival configuration).

In order to determine what the nature of the ellipsis site is (CP or TP/IP), one has to take a stand with respect to the syntactic status of Romanian subjunctives. A few comments on the Romanian subjunctive are in order at this point. On the basis of empirical evidence (see §IV.4.3.3.2), I support the analysis of the Romanian subjunctive as a CP in all its occurrences (see Cotfas 2011 and references therein). Discussing the problems raised by raising and control in Romanian, Cotfas (2011) convincingly argues that Romanian subjunctives are CPs in all their occurrences, and shows that apparent variation with respect to the syntactic properties of the subjunctive clause (ranging from full temporal independence to pure anaphoricity) boils down to a proper understanding of *selection*³: Romanian subjunctive triggers can select (i) a fully specified subjunctive clause whose [T] feature present in C is interpretable [*i*T], hence the temporal independence of the

² In order to avoid confusions and following traditional wisdom, I will use the terms *short infinitive* to denote the verbal form preceded by *a* (e.g. *a pleca* 'to depart'), *long infinitive* to denote the infinitive nominalization (e.g. *plecare* 'the departure'), and *bare short infinitive* to denote the *a*-less form of the short infinitive (e.g. *pleca* 'depart').

³ Like Cotfas (2011), I assume the "feature inheritance" hypothesis (Chomsky 2007, 2008, Richards 2007, Biberauer and Roberts 2010), by which the T- (and ϕ -) features of the T-projection are inherited from C.

subjunctive (this is Cotfas' *independent subjunctive*), (ii) a variety of *anaphoric subjunctive* whose [T] feature present in C is uninterpretable [uT], hence the full temporal dependence of this subjunctive on the T-specification of the selecting head, and (iii) a variety of *restricted subjunctives*, whose temporal specification is constrained by the (semantics of the) selecting predicates, while not being temporally anaphoric to it (they are tensed, but specified as [-past]). This varying behaviour of the Romanian subjunctives has led researchers like Jordan (2009) or Bîlbîie and Mardale (2013) i.a. to consider that certain subjunctives are CPs, while others are TPs (/IPs). A close investigation of the particle heading the subjunctive cluster (Rom. *să*) will indicate that this particle is outside of the inflectional cluster, more precisely in Rizzi's (1997) Fin^0 (for novel empirical evidence, see Nicolae 2015a: 104-109). This indicates that Romanian subjunctives are uniformly CPs. It is thus not accidental that in all configurations (except for the main clause subjunctive configurations), the split C structure featuring two complementizers (*ca* in $Force^0$ and *să* in Fin^0 ; see Stan 2007) is allowed to occur.

The status of the Romanian subjunctive is highly relevant for the investigation of ellipsis: it indicates that Romanian genuinely displays a form of CP-ellipsis; connectivity effects, extraction and antecedent-contained deletion indicate that the ellipsis site is a fully articulated syntactic structure, not a variety of Null Complement Anaphora, which lacks internal structure (see Depiante 2000). Turning the tables, from a more general Romance perspective, our analysis also leads to an interesting result. Certain verbs which in Depiante (2000) are taken to be NCA licensers uniformly license verbal ellipsis in Romanian. For example, the Spanish volitional verb *querer* ('want'), the modals *poder* ('can'), *deber* ('must'), *saber* ('to be able to'), and the aspectual verb *empezar* ('start') are characterized by Depiante (2000) as restructuring verbs, unable to license genuine verbal ellipsis (i.e. with a fully articulated ellipsis site); they may, however, take a NCA complement. Their Romanian counterparts, *vrea* ('want'), *putea* ('can, be able to'), *trebui* ('must, have to'), and *începe* ('start') uniformly license verbal ellipsis, as indicated by the aforementioned elliptical diagnostics. According to Depiante (2000), in Spanish these verbs select a (restructuring) infinitive (thus, a complement with a reduced functional structure); their Romanian counterparts select a subjunctive CP (that is, a complement with a fully articulated structure). The contrast between Romanian and Spanish would then boil down to the internal make up of the ellipsis site: in both cases, we are dealing with a form of verbal ellipsis; however, the reduced structure of the ellipsis in Spanish blocks extraction (the main argument for considering that we are dealing with NCA), while the full-fledged, CP nature of the Romanian ellipsis site freely allows extraction (an argument for considering that the ellipsis site has a fully articulated structure). From a technical perspective, the ellipsis site in Spanish does not provide escape hatches for extraction due to its reduced structure, while its Romanian counterpart does, by virtue of being a CP. This brings Spanish closer to Dutch, whose modal verbs also allow the deletion of their

complement, but block extraction because of the TP-status of the ellipsis site, which prevents constituents other than the subject from getting out of the ellipsis site (as in Aelbrecht's 2010 analysis). In other words, at least certain varieties of NCA dissolve into verbal ellipsis proper; we can thus dispense with a null empty category, whose interpretative status is unclear. This position, i.e. dispensing with a null empty category, does not go against the analysis of substantivization from the previous chapter: recall that the silent nouns taken as the basis for creating nouns from adjectives are silent, but *contentful* formatives, which is not the case of NCA, which, from an interpretative perspective, behaves exactly like an ellipsis site, except for its severe extraction restrictions.

Yet another interesting result will come from the investigation of modal complement ellipsis in Romanian. It has generally been claimed in the literature that modal verbs, under the epistemic reading, are not good licensors of ellipsis (see (2ii), (3)). This idea has been present both in the literature on English (see, most recently, Gergel 2009) and Romance (see López 1994), and is exemplified below with examples from Spanish (2) and English (3). Note that Gergel (2009) distinguishes *licensing* from *co-licensing* of ellipsis, and claims that epistemic readings are ruled in only when another auxiliary accompanies the modal verb (4) (in Gergel's 2009: 3 own formulation, the modal "is not a licenser but only co-assists the licensing of the missing VP site").

- (1) *Carlos no pudo salir a esa hora.*
 Carlos not could(PAST) go-out at that time
 'Carlos couldn't go out at that time.'
 (i) = Carlos wasn't able to go out at that time. (deontic)
 (ii) = It isn't possible that Carlos went out at that time. (epistemic)
 (Spanish, *apud* López 1994: 349-350)
- (2) *Carlos pudo salir pero Juan no pudo < >.*
 Carlos could to-go out but Juan not could
 (i) ... Juan was not able to go out.
 (ii) ...*It is not possible that Juan went out.
- (3) a. *John must wash his car every day and Peter must < > too. (* epistemic)*
 b. *John will often sit there and do nothing and Bill will < > too. (* epistemic)*
 (English, *apud* Gergel 2009: 57)
- (4) *You probably have never heard of this factory town in coastal China, and there is no reason why you **should have** < >.*
 (✓ epistemic)
 (English, *apud* Gergel 2009: 3)

Against this background, David Pesetsky (*p.c.*) has suggested that it is possible for an English modal to allow the deletion of its complement and still preserve its epistemic reading, and provided examples like the following ones:

- (5) *Mary asked if it was going to rain, and I said that it **might** < >.*
 (6) *I know you think there couldn't possibly be a rational reason for this, but you're wrong -- there **could** < >!*
 (7) – *Who's likely to know the answer to this question?*
 – *Sue **should** < >, since she has a PhD in linguistics – let's ask her.*⁴

Notably, epistemic readings are not excluded under ellipsis in Romanian either, as shown by examples like the following:

- (8) – *Trebuie să fi ajuns deja.*
 must.3SG SĂ be.INF arrive.PPLE already
 – *Da, **trebuie** < >.*
 yes must.3SG
 ‘– He must have arrived already.
 – Yes, he must have.’
 (9) – *O fi ajuns?*
 PRESUMP be.INF arrive.PPLE
 – ***Trebuie** < >, e trecut deja de prânz.*
 must.IMPERF.3SG is past already of lunch
 ‘– Is it possible that he arrived?
 – He must have, it's already past lunch.’
 (10) – *Se poate să fi spus asta?*
 CL.REFL can.3SG SĂ be.INF say.PPLE this
 – *Sigur că se poate < >.*
 of course that CL.REFL can.3SG
 ‘– Is it possible that he said this?
 – Of course it's possible.’
 (11) – *E posibil să fi ajuns?*
 is possible SĂ be.INF arrive.PPLE
 – ***Ar** fi putut < >.*
 AUX.COND.3SG be.INF can.PPLE
 ‘– Is it possible that he arrived?
 – He might have.’

Thus, in a sufficiently controlled context, which excludes root readings, epistemic readings of modals are preserved under ellipsis. As will be shown in §IV.4, this state of

⁴ David Pesetsky's comment (*p.c.*): “In the sense of *it's most likely that Sue knows the answer*”.

affairs naturally follows from the syntax of Romanian modal verbs: although certain preferences exist (Avram 1999), most syntactic configurations that allow for a root reading also allow for the epistemic reading; in other words, in most relevant contexts, root and epistemic modals share their syntax and, as such, their behaviour under ellipsis is not expected to be divergent.

This ends the presentation of the main problems to be dealt with in this chapter. Before I turn to the analysis of the two types of verbal ellipsis announced above, it is important to decide whether Romanian is a VVPE language in the sense of Doron (1999), Goldberg (2005), Santos (2009), Rouveret (2012), and Gribanova (2013); simply put, if Romanian were such a language, in which all verbs have the ability of deleting their entire domain after having raised, our entire discussion and the identification of distinct classes of licensers would be idle, as verbal ellipsis would be the general option. As will be shown, Romanian is not a Verb-Stranding VP-ellipsis language; identifying robust classes of licensers and their morphosyntactic properties is thus obligatory for a correct characterization of verbal ellipsis in Romanian.

2. Romanian as a Verb-Stranding VP-ellipsis language? Romanian vs. Portuguese⁵

VVPE is defined as a variety of ellipsis in which ellipsis results in configurations where all the internal constituents of the verb get deleted; only the finite verb, obligatorily lexically identical to its antecedent, survives ellipsis after having raised from the lower vP phase (Rouveret 2012). Thus, the verb gets stranded higher in a higher position, and its complement domain gets deleted; hence, the term **Verb-Stranding** VP-ellipsis⁶. According to Rouveret (2012), Semitic languages like Hebrew, Romance languages like European and Brazilian Portuguese⁷, Celtic languages like Irish and Welsh, and Finnic languages like

⁵ I will mostly concentrate on European Portuguese, as the data presented below are extracted mainly from Santos (2009) and Rouveret (2012). According to Kayne (2013), one guiding principle of (micro-)comparative syntax is the comparison of closely related languages in order to do away with the “noise” coming from other interfering phenomena. Of the VVPE languages, (European) Portuguese is the closest to Romanian; thus, comparing Romanian to European Portuguese provides a more accurate result than comparing Romanian to a more distant language.

⁶ As usual, the label *VP-ellipsis* is used in a traditional, loose manner: the domain getting deleted is more extended than the minimal VP; at least the *v* and the Asp projections are trapped within the ellipsis site.

⁷ There are considerable differences between European and Brazilian Portuguese with respect to the licensing of VVPE, as shown by Cyrino and Matos (2002). Essentially, in European Portuguese a complex head formation process takes place; this complex head (which finally gets to occupy T⁰) licenses the elliptical TP in sentences with verb sequences. By contrast, in Brazilian Portuguese complex head formation is not at play (and different functional projections from the extended verbal spine may host clitics and license VPE); what is more, unrestricted generalized verb movement has been lost from this variety. Thus, Cyrino and Matos (2002) point out that while only T⁰ may license VP-ellipsis in European Portuguese, in Brazilian Portuguese the closest functional head from the extended verbal projection which

Finnish are included in the class of VVPE languages; this variety of ellipsis is thus subject to parametric variation and cuts across genealogical families.

The stranded verb in VVPE may be a main verb or an auxiliary (European Portuguese examples from Rouveret 2012: 905, Santos 2009: 1):

- (12) a. *Deste esse livro à Maria ontem*
 gave.2SG that book to.DEF Maria yesterday
e o Luis dará < > amanhã.
 and the Luis give.FUT.3SG tomorrow
 ‘You gave the book to Maria yesterday and Luis will tomorrow.’
 < > = *esse livro à Maria*
 this book to.DEF Maria
- b. A: *A Eva deuo livro à tia de manhã.*
 the Eva gave.3SG book to.DEF aunt in.DEF morning
 ‘Eva gave the book to her aunt in the morning.’
 B: *Mas a Ana não deu < >.*
 but the Ana not gave.3SG
 ‘But Ana didn’t.’
 < > = *o livro à tia de manhã.*
 the book to.DEF aunt in.DEF morning
- (13) A: *A Eva tinha dado o livro à tia de manhã.*
 the Eva had given the book to.DEF aunt in.DEF morning
 ‘Eva had given the book to her aunt in the morning.’
 B: *Mas a Ana não tinha < >.*
 but the Ana not had
 ‘But Ana didn’t.’
 < > = *dado o livro à tia de manhã.*
 given the book to+the aunt in.DEF morning

As shown by Matos (1992), the entire VP is elided, including both the argument of the verbal head, and the VP-adjuncts. Rouveret (2012) indicates that the argument PPs of ditransitive predicates, originating within the VP, get elided alongside the direct argument of the verb and are included in the interpretation of the ellipsis site (example from Rouveret 2012: 926):

c-commands the ellipsis site may license VP-ellipsis. Naturally, this happens as all heads from the extended verbal projection are endowed with verbal features indistinct from [T] or from one another (cf. Biberauer and Roberts 2010).

- (14) *O João comparou esta sonata com uma sinfonia*
 the João compared this sonata with a symphony
e a Mariatambém comparou <>.
 and the Maria also compared
 ‘João compared this sonata with a symphony and so did Maria.’

Cyrino and Matos (2002) (like Santos 2009 and Rouveret 2012) observe that the availability of null definite objects in European Portuguese may sometimes interfere in diagnosing ellipsis (example from Cyrino and Matos 2002):

- (15) *Ela trouxe o computador para a Universidade e ele trouxe _para o escritório.*
 she brought the computer to the University and he brought to the office
 ‘She brought a computer to the University and he brought one to the office.’

However, they note that only direct objects may be dropped; furthermore, canonical cases of null objects can alternate with an overt pronominal (16), while ellipsis cannot (17) (examples from Cyrino and Matos 2002):

- (16) a. *Ela tirou o anel do dedo e guardou(-o) no cofre.*
 she took-off the ring from.DEF finger and put=it in-the safe
 ‘She took off the ring from her finger and put it in the safe’
- (17) a. *Nenhum de nós tinha votado nesse candidate*
 none of us had voted in that candidate
*nem admitiamos que alguém (*o) tivesse.*
 nor admitted that someone (*it) had.
 ‘None of us had voted for that candidate or admitted that someone had it.’

Santos (2009) also coins an interesting diagnostic, which testifies to the fact that, on the one hand, in VVPE the entire verbal domain is deleted and, on the other, that there is a clear difference between VVPE structures and structures with pronominals. Consider the following examples from Santos (2009: 30):

- (18) *O João viu a Teresa bêbeda mas a Isabel não viu <>.*
 the João saw the Teresa drunk but the Isabel not saw
 ‘João saw Teresa drunk but Isabel didn’t.’
 <> = *a Teresa bêbeda.*
 the Teresa drunk
 Readings: (i) Isabel didn’t see Teresa drunk.
 (ii) *Isabel didn’t see Teresa.

- (19) *O Jão viu a Teresa bêbeda mas a Isabel não a viu.*
 the Jão saw the Teresa drunk but the Isabel not her saw
 ‘Jão saw Teresa drunk but Isabel didn’t see her.’
 Readings: (i) ??Isabel didn’t see Teresa drunk.
 (ii) Isabel didn’t see Teresa.

In example (18), featuring ellipsis, the object depictive secondary predicate is preserved in the ellipsis site (reading (i)); Santos (2009: 30) clearly indicates that the reading of the ellipsis site in which the secondary predicate is not recovered is degraded (reading (ii)). By contrast, in (19) ellipsis does not apply, and the direct object surfaces as a pronominal; in this case, the interpretation switches: the reading in which the secondary predicate (reading (ii)) is not implicitly understood is more felicitous than the reading which also recovers the secondary predicate (reading (i)). This goes to show, once again, that ellipsis affects the entire domain; since object depictives, like depictives in general, form a constituent with the host DP on which predication applies, which directly merges in the syntactic position of the host DP (Marušič, Marvin, Žaucer 2008), the natural expectation is that the object depictive be preserved under ellipsis, satisfying Parallelism. The empirical data confirm this prediction. On the other hand, pronominals, by virtue of being self-sufficient nominal expressions with independent reference, are not expected to be subject to such a restriction, a fact confirmed by the empirical data.

Finally, the following set of examples, drawn from Matos (1992), Cyrino and Matos (2002) and Santos (2009), indicate that European Portuguese VVPE behaves, from a syntactic point of view, like English VP-ellipsis and other varieties of elliptical constructions.

VVPE can occur inside islands, similarly to English VP-ellipsis with modals and auxiliaries (examples from Santos 2009: 24):

- (20) *A Ana tinha dado um livro à mãe no Natal*
 the Ana had given a book to.DEF mother in.DEF Christmas
e conhecia uma menina que também tinha dado < >.
 and knew a girl who also had given
 ‘Ana had given a book to her mother at Christmas and she knew a girl who did too.’

VVPE allows extraction from the ellipsis site; this indicates the presence of a fully articulated structure inside the ellipsis site (examples from Santos 2009: 45):

- (21) *Eu tinha convidado algumas pessoas da família,*
 I had invited some people from.DEF family

- mas* *quem_i* *é que* *tu* *tinhas* *< convidado t_i>*.
 but who is that you had invited
 ‘I had invited some people from my family, but who did you invite?’
- (22) *Eu* *entreguei o teste aos* *alunos de Segundo ano na* *segunda*
 I gave the exam to+the students of second year on.DEF Monday
e a quem_i é que tu entregaste_j [*t_j o teste t_i na* *segunada*]?
 and to whom is that you gave the exam on.DEF Monday
 ‘I gave the exam to second year students on Monday, and who did you give the exam to?’

Finally, just like in the case of English VP-ellipsis, extraction out of the ellipsis site in VVPE observes island effects (the intended translations are not well-formed in English either):

- (23) **Eu sei quem tu tinhas convidado* *e quem_i a Ana*
 I know who you had invited and who the Ana
estava lá quando a Mariatinha < convidado t_i>.
 was there when the Maria had invited
 ‘*I know who you had invited and who Ana was there when Maria had.’
- (24) **Eu sei quem tu convidaste para o cinema e quem_j a Ana estava*
 I know who you invited to the movies and who the Ana was
lá quando a Maria convidou_i < t_i t_j para o cinema>.
 there when the Maria invited to the movies
 ‘*I know who you invited to the movies and who Ana was there when Maria did.’

From the brief description of VVPE presented in the preceding paragraphs, one may safely conclude that the phenomenon under scrutiny here is a genuine form of ellipsis, based on the PF-deletion of a fully articulated syntactic domain.

A cursory glance at Romanian indicates that parallel examples are not available: neither full verbs (25a), nor auxiliaries (25b) may trigger the deletion of the entire verbal domain, contrary to what is found in European Portuguese:

- (25) a. **I-am* *dat* *cartea* *Mariei*
 CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG give.PPLE book.DEF Maria.DAT
ieri *și Vasile dă <> /* *va* *da*
 yesterday and Vasile give.IND.PRES.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG give.INF
<> mâine // *a* *dat <>* *alaltăieri*
 tomorrow AUX.PERF.3SG give.PPLE other-day

- b. **Eva i-a* *dat* *cartea* *mătușii*
 Eva CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG give.PPLE book.DEF aunt.DEF.DAT
de dimineață *însă Ana nu*
 in morning but Ana not
- a* <> (past tense auxiliary)
ar <> (present conditional auxiliary)
ar fi <> (perfect conditional auxiliaries)
va <> (future auxiliary)

The only exception to the pattern illustrated above is ellipsis licensed by the verb *fi* ('be'), which will be analysed in detail in the next section.

Ditransitive constructions parallel to (14), featuring a PP-argument and a direct object are not well-formed in Romanian either:

- (26) **Ion a comparat această sonată cu o simfonie*
 Ion AUX.PERF.3SG compare.PPLE this sonata with a symphony
și Maria a comparat <> de asemenea.
 and Maria AUX.PERF.3SG compare.PPLE also
 (i.m.) ‘John compared this sonata with a symphony and so did Maria.’

Verb morphology (i.e. the analytic / synthetic dimension) does not tamper with the licensing of ellipsis; consider the pluperfect counterpart of (27) in (28) below and notice the same ungrammaticality of the example:

- (27) **Ion comparase această sonată cu o simfonie*
 Ion compare.PLUPERF.3SG this sonata with a symphony
și Maria comparase < > de asemenea.
 and Maria compare.PLUPERF.3SG also
 (i.m.) ‘John had compared this sonata with a symphony and so had Maria.’

At this point, it becomes ineffective to try to apply to Romanian the other ellipsis diagnostics employed above to delimit VVPE in European Portuguese; the Romanian data shown above undoubtedly indicate that Romanian is not a VVPE language.

Without speculating on why main verbs and auxiliaries do license VVPE in a language like Portuguese (but see Rouveret 2012 for a well worked out analysis), it may be concluded from the contrast between European Portuguese and Romanian that it is not sufficient for verb raising to apply in order for ellipsis to be licensed, since this presumably happens in all languages with generalized verb movement (i.e. the Romance languages). A straightforward correlation between verb movement and ellipsis, established by authors

like Doron (1999) or, to a certain extent, by Cyrino and Matos (2002), would predict the availability of VVPE in Romanian, which is an inaccurate conclusion. A syntactic characteristic of VVPE languages is that they present generalized enclisis, a fact repeatedly pointed out in the literature (Doron 1999, Goldberg 2005, Rouveret 2012) and elegantly accounted for by Rouveret (2012). Encliticization is present in Romanian in a few contexts (imperatives; the idiosyncratic accusative feminine clitic *o*; obsolete phenomena of verb raising to C), but it is not the general option. Romanian thus conforms to Rouveret's (2012) generalization that non-VVPE languages do not have enclisis as their main option.

The conclusion that Romanian is not a VVPE language compels one to take a different stand on the licensing of ellipsis in Romanian. Namely, one has to concentrate on identifying the relevant classes of verbal licensors of ellipsis in Romanian, by applying the elliptical diagnostics presented in §II in order to locally determine the domain of ellipsis in this language.

3. Verb syntax and auxiliary-complement ellipsis in Romanian

3.1. Delimiting auxiliary-complement ellipsis

3.1.1. No auxiliary-complement ellipsis in Romanian?

Superficially, Romanian is a “well-behaved” Romance language and does not possess ellipsis licensed by an auxiliary verb of the English type. Compare the examples below:

- (28) a. *I went to the cinema, and Bill did <go>, too.*
 b. *I will go to the cinema, and you will <go>, too.*
- (29) *Am mers la școală. *Și tu ai <mers>.*
 AUX.PERF.1SG go.PPLE to school too you AUX.PERF.2SG go.PPLE
**Tu n-ai / nu ai <mers>.*
 you not=AUX.PERF.2SG not AUX.PERF.2SG go.PPLE
 ‘I went to school. (i.m.) You did too’
 ‘You didn’t.’
- (30) *Voi merge la școală. *Și tu vei <merge>.*
 AUX.FUT.1SG go.INF to school too you AUX.FUT.2SG go.INF
**Tu nu vei <merge>*
 you not AUX.FUT.2SG go.INF
 ‘I will go to school. (i.m.) You will too.’
 ‘You won’t.’

The following examples go through the entire set of Romanian auxiliaries, with the exception of passive *be*, and indicate that ellipsis with auxiliary licensors is generally disallowed in Romanian. The following auxiliaries disallow the deletion of their complement (note that the compound past auxiliary *have* and the future auxiliary *voi* have been illustrated with the above examples): the regional future auxiliary *oi* (< *voi* < *vrea* ‘want’) (31), the colloquial future⁸ auxiliary structures *o să* and *am să* ((32), (33)), and the present conditional auxiliary *aș* (whose origin is controversial, Zafiu 2013b: 41) (34).

- (31) *Oi mulge v aca.*
 AUX.FUT.1SG milk.INF cow.DEF
 **Și tu ăi / îi* <*mulge vaca*>.
 too you AUX.FUT.2SG milk.INF cow.DEF
 **Tu n-ăi / n-îi* <*mulge vaca*>.
 you not=AUX.FUT.2SG milk.INF cow.DEF
 ‘I will milk the cow. (i.m.) You will, too.’
 ‘You won’t.’
- (32) *O să merg la cinema.*
 AUX.FUT SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG to cinema
 **Și tu o (să) <mergi la cinema>.*
 too you AUX.FUT SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG to cinema
 **Tu n-o (să) <mergi la cinema>.*
 you not= AUX.FUT SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG to cinema
 ‘I will go to the cinema. (i.m.) You will, too.’
 ‘You won’t.’
- (33) *Am să merg la cinema.*
 AUX.FUT.1SG SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG to cinema
 **Și tu ai (să) <mergi la cinema>.*
 too you AUX.FUT.2SG SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG to cinema
 **Tu n-ai (să) <mergi la cinema>.*
 you not= AUX.FUT.2SG SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG to cinema
 ‘I will go to the cinema. (i.m.) You will, too.’
 ‘You won’t.’

⁸ These auxiliary structures are made up from the invariable particle *o* plus the subjunctive form of the lexical verb or the auxiliary verb *avea* ‘have’ (showing the same forms as the lexical verb *avea* ‘have’) plus the subjunctive. The indication AUX.FUT will be used in the glosses. The *am să* future is traditionally called ‘colloquial’; this future form has been shown to be used in the literary language (Nicolae 2007), so the label ‘colloquial’ is not entirely accurate.

examples below, which show that all the tenses of the indicative (37) and the present (38) and past (39) subjunctive allow the deletion of passive *fi*'s complement.

- (37) b. *Cartea nu fusese adusă; caietul* [pluperfect]
 book.DEF not be.PLUPERF.3SG brought.F.SG notebook.DEF
fusese <*adus*>.
 be.PLUPERF.3SG brought
 'The book had not been brought; the notebook had been.'
- c. *Noi nu eram așteptați de nimeni, însă voi erați* [imperfect]
 we not were expected by nobody but you be.IMPERF.2PL wait.PPLE.M.PL
 'We were not expected by anyone, but you were.'
- d. *El este rugat să parăsească sala.* [present]
 he be.IND.PRES.3SG ask.PPLE SĂ leave.SUBJ.3SG room.DEF
Nu tu ești <*rugat să părăsești sala*>.
 not you be.IND.PRES.2SG asked SĂ leave.SUBJ.2SG room.DEF
 'He is being asked to leave the room. You are not.'
- e. *Cartea va fi adusă. Caietul* [future]
 book.DEF AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF bring.PPLE.F.SG notebook.DEF
nu va fi <*adus*>.
 not AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF bring.PPLE
 'The book will be brought. The notebook will not be brought.'
- (38) *Prizonierii ruși nu au mai fost torturați,* [present subjunctive]
 prisoner.DEF Russian not AUX.PERF.3PL still be.PPLE torture.PPLE.M.PL
însă cei germani au continuat
 but CEL.PL German.PL AUX.PERF.3PL continue.PPLE
să fie <*torturați*>.
 SĂ be.SUBJ.3PL torture.PPLE.M.PL
 'The Russian prisoners have not been tortured anymore, but the German ones have continued to be <tortured>.'
- (39) *nu e rootat și nu știu* [perfect subjunctive]
 not be.IND.PRES.3SG commute.PPLE and not know.IND.PRES.1SG

să fi *fost* <*rootat*>. (internet)
 SĂ be.INF be.PPLE commute.PPLE
 ‘It is not commuted and I don’t know it to have been.’

If we look at copular constructions based on the auxiliary *be*, the same pattern emerges: the copula *be* is a licenser of ellipsis in English and Romanian.

- (40) a. (*I think I inherited my ability for after-dinner speaking from him.*) *I'm quite good at that, and he **was** <quite good at that> as well.* (*The Guardian*, October 22, 2011)
- b. *Morag is a fool, and Rab is <a fool>, too.* (*apud* Thoms 2010)
- (41) a. *Ioana e blondă, însă Maria nu*
 Ioana be.IND.PRES.3SG blonde but Maria not
e <*blondă*>.
 be.IND.PRES.3SG blonde
 ‘Ioana is blonde, but Maria is not.’
- b. *Spitalul era înalt, spre deosebire de catedrală,*
 hospital.DEF be.IMPERF.3SG high in contrast with cathedral
care nu era <*înaltă*>.
 which not be.IMPERF.3SG tall
 ‘The hospital was high, in contrast with the cathedral, which was not’
- c. *Sunt politicienii noștri proști?*
 be.IND.PRES.3PL politicians.DEF ours stupid
Da, sunt <(politicienii noștri) proști>.
 yes be.IND.PRES.3PL politicians.DEF ours stupid
 ‘Are our politicians stupid? Yes they are.’

The pattern displayed by copula and passive *be* also characterises existential constructions. Notice once more the similarity between Romanian and English at this point:

- (42) a. *I'm infatuated with her so couldn't help but wonder, are there any women's fiction books out there with animals? Yes! There **are** <out there women's fiction books with animals>.* (internet)
- b. *–There have been many questions in the conference.* (internet)
*–Yes, there have **been** <many questions in the conference>.*
- (43) a. *Sunt copii în clasă?*
 be.IND.PRES.3PL children in classroom
 ‘Are there children in the classroom?’

- Da, sunt* <copii în clasă>.
 yes be.IND.PRES.3PL children in classroom
 ‘Yes, there are.’
- b. *Au fost vreodată politicieni cinstiți?* *Nu, nu*
 AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE ever politicians honest no not
au fost <politicieni cinstiți>.
 AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE politicians honest
 ‘Have there ever been (=existed) honest politicians? ‘No, there have not been.’
- c. *Au fost multe întrebări la conferință?*
 AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE many questions at conference
 – *Da, au fost <multe întrebări la conferință>.*
 yes AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE many questions at conference
 ‘Were there many questions in the conference? Yes there were.’

The similarity between copular sentences and existential sentences has been long noted. Certain authors insist that these two types of sentences are derivationally related, in the sense that they share the same basic predication structure (Burt 1971, Milsark 1974), while others claim that the similarity between these two types of sentences is accidental (Barwise and Cooper 1981, McNally 1992). The first line of analysis makes more accurate predictions, as will shortly appear. From this perspective, there are two mainstream analyses of existential sentences (Hazout 2004). One of them takes the postverbal phrase to be the embedded subject of a small clause (thus, a clausal structure) which is the complement of the verb *be* (see Chomsky 1991, 1995, Lasnik 1992, Groat 1995 i.a.). The other view on existential sentences (dating back to Jenkins 1975; see Williams 1984, Higginbotham 1987 for the actual analysis) is that the embedded NP is a predicate. Hazout (2004) combines insights from both strands of research and derives existential sentences as being based on a clausal structure (a small clause, labelled PrP, Predicative Phrase), but places the nominal phrase in the predicate rather than the subject position of this embedded clausal structure. In languages with overt expletives, like English, the subject position is occupied by the expletive; in languages like Romanian, the subject is a null *pro* expletive (which may arguably be derived via deletion, as suggested by Roberts 2010a in the analysis of Romance null subjects). Turning to ellipsis now, both the analysis which takes the nominal to be the subject of a small clause and Hazout’s (2004) analysis, which takes it to be the predicate of the small clause, allow one to claim that deletion is indeed at play: the complement of the existential verb has to be a fully structured domain that hosts the trace of the extracted element. In all instances (see (43), the verb displays subject agreement; this indicates that the subject has to be present in the ellipsis site to value the ϕ -features of the existential verb (notice the fact that *be* is in the third person plural).

To cut a long story short, existential constructions are included in the larger class of copular constructions: existential *be* is a copula which takes as its complement a small clause (which has, like in Hazout's analysis, an internal structure different from the prototypical copula). Thus, ellipsis with existential *be* is included under ellipsis licensed by copula *be*, and does not receive a distinct analysis.

Mention should be made of the fact that, similarly to ellipsis licensed by passive *fi*, copula ellipsis licensed by *fi* is available with all finite tenses; for reasons of space, I have chosen not to illustrate it.

To genuinely testify that we are dealing with a form of deletion, notice the following examples which illustrate extraction out of the ellipsis site; the examples in (44) illustrate extraction of dative argument from the ellipsis site with passive *fi*; the examples in (45) show the same extraction possibility for the ellipsis site of the copular construction.

- (44) a. *Sarcina i-a fost dată*
 chore.DEF CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE give.PPLE.F.SG
cuiva. ?Cui i-a
 someone.DAT who.DAT CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG
fost <dată sarcina t_{cuiva}>?
 be.PPLE give.PPLE.F.SG chore.DEF
 'The chore has been given to someone. To whom it has been?'
- b. *Bicicliștilor nu le este acordată*
 cyclists.DEF.DAT not CL.DAT.3PL be.IND.PRES.3SG pay.PPLE.F.SG
atenție, însă pietonilor le este
 attention but pedestrians.DEF.DAT CL.DAT.3PL be.IND.PRES.3SG
<acordată atenție t_{pietonilor}>
 pay.PPLE.F.SG attention
 'Nobody takes care of the cyclists, but some take care of the pedestrians.'
- (45) a. *Asta trebuie să fie sinonimă cu ceva...*
 this must SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG synonymous with something
Oare cu ce să fie <sinonimă t_{cu ce}>?
 INT with what SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG synonymous
 'This should be synonymous with something. I wonder with what...'
- b. *Nu este politicos cu părinții.*
 not be.IND.PRES.3SG polite.M.SG to parents
Dar cu profesorii este <politicos t_{cu profesorii}>.
 but with professor.DEF be.IND.PRES.3SG polite.M.SG
 'He is not polite to his parents. But he is to his professors.'

Note that the examples featuring *wh*-extraction from the ellipsis site are slightly degraded (44a), (45a); this is a natural expectation, as *wh*-phrases are good licensors of sluicing, and, as shown in §II.3.3, operator-variable structures impose a maximality condition, requiring that no unbound variable be left behind, i.e. the MaxElide Constraint. MaxElide blocks VP-ellipsis when sluicing is allowed in the same clause (46) (examples from Hartman 2011):

- (46) a. *Mary was kissing someone, but I don't know who (*she was).*
 b. *You play a wind instrument? Which one (*you do)?*

Thus, the sluiced variant of examples (44a) and (45a) is perfectly acceptable (see (47)) (note that our translation into English of examples (44a) and (45a) is also degraded, owing to MaxElide).

- (47) a. *Sarcina i-a fost dată*
 chore.DEF CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLe give.PPLe.F.SG
cuiva. Cui <i-a fost
 someone.DAT who.DAT CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLe
dată sarcina t_{cuiva} >?
 give.PPLe.F.SG chore.DEF
 'The chore has been given to someone. To whom?'
 b. *Asta trebuie să fie sinonimă cu ceva...*
 this must SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG synonymous with something
Oare cu ce <să fie sinonimă t_{cu ce} >?
 INT with what SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG synonymous
 'This should be synonymous with something. I wonder with what...'

Other diagnostics may be employed at this point to validate the hypothesis that passive and auxiliary *be* licenses ellipsis (e.g. occurrence in islands, split antecedents, etc.), but I believe that extraction is the most relevant one (sufficient to support the claim).

3.1.2.2. Non-agreeing *fi* ('be')⁹

Most notably, the auxiliary *be* does not always license the deletion of its complement. More specifically, as a non-agreeing auxiliary, *fi* does not allow the deletion of its complement. As a non-agreeing auxiliary, *fi* is found in the structure:

⁹ The exact nature of *be* as a non-agreeing auxiliary will be presented in §IV.3.2.3.6.2; for the time being, let us use this term until the exact function of non-agreeing *be* is identified.

(i) of the perfect conditional (48a), perfect subjunctive (48b), future perfect/presumptive¹⁰ (48c),

(ii) of several presumptive periphrastic constructions, based either on the past participial form of the lexical verb (48d) or on the present participial / gerund form of the lexical verb (48e), (48f),

(iii) and of the perfect infinitive (48g).

Note that in neither context is the deletion of *be*'s complement possible:

- (48) a. *Aş fi mers la cinema. *Şi tu* [perfect conditional]
 AUX.COND.1SG be.INF go.PPLE at cinema too you
ai fi <mers>.
 AUX.COND.2SG be.INF go.PPLE
 'I would have gone to the cinema. (i.m.) You would have, too.'
- b. *O fi venit Vasile? *Trebuie* [perfect subjunctive]
 AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF come.PPLE Basil must
să fi <venit>.
 SĂ be.INF come.PPLE
 'Is it possible that Basil has come? (i.m.) He must have.'
- c. *Când vei ajunge tu, el va fi* [future perfect/presumptive]
 when AUX.FUT.2PL arrive.INF you he AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF
*terminat deja. *Şi eu voi*
 finish.PPLE already and I AUX.FUT.1SG
fi <terminat>.
 be.INF finish.PPLE
 'When you get here, he will already have finished. (i.m.) I will have finished too.'
- d. *O fi venit?* [(participial) presumptive]
 AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF come.PPLE

¹⁰ This form genuinely permits a dual analysis, similarly to the compound past, in the case of which two distinct readings are expressed by absolutely the same form: a preterite reading (*Am fost aici ieri* 'I was here yesterday') or a present perfect (*Nu am văzut așa ceva de când sunt* 'I have never seen such a thing as long as I lived'); the default interpretation of the compound past is that of a preterite, while the perfect values are preserved from an earlier stage of development (see Harris 1982 for the initial observation, and Roberts 2012; see Stoicescu 2013: 70-98 for an analysis of the Romanian data).

- **O* *fi* <*venit*>.
 AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF come.PPLE
 ‘Might he have come? (i.m.) He might have.’
 [(gerundial) presumptive]
- e. *O* *fi* *dormind?*
 AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF come.GER
 **Nu ştiu* *dacă* *o* *fi*
 not know.IND.PRES.1SG if AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF
 <*dormind*>.
 sleep.GER
 ‘Might he be sleeping? (i.m.) He might be.’
 [(gerundial) presumptive]
- f. *Va* *fi* *dormind?*
 AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF come.GER
 **Nu ştiu* *dacă* *va* *fi*
 not know.IND.PRES.1SG if AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF
 <*dormind*>.
 sleep.GER
 ‘Might he be sleeping? (i.m.) He might be.’ [perfect infinitive]
- g. *dorinţa de a fi reuşit şi *neputinţa*
 wish.DEF of A_{INF} be.INF succeed.PPLE and inability.DEF
de a fi <*reuşit*>
 of A_{INF} be.INF succeed.PPLE
 ‘(i.m.) the wish to have succeeded and the inability to have done so’

In contrast to the previous examples featuring passive and copular *be*, the examples featuring non-agreeing *be* are downright ungrammatical. Thus, the non-agreeing auxiliary *be* patterns with the perfective auxiliary *have* in that they both disallow the deletion of their complement. To sum up, an appropriate syntactic analysis has to derive the contrast between (49) and (50).

- (49) a. *Am* *mers* *la şcoală* **şi* *tu nu* *ai* <*mers*>.
 AUX.PERF.1SG go.PPLE to school and you not AUX.PERF.2SG go.PPLE
 ‘I went to school. (i.m.) You did too.’
- a. *Aş* *fi* *mers* *la cinema.* **Şi tu* *ai*
 AUX.COND.1SG be.INF go.PPLE at cinema too you AUX.COND.2SG
fi <*mers*>.
 be.INF go.PPLE
 ‘I would have gone to the cinema. (i.m.) You would have, too.’

- (50) *El este rugat să părăsească sala.*
 he be.IND.PRES.3SG ask.PPLE SĂ leave.SUBJ.3SG room.DEF
Nu tu ești <rugat să părăsești sala>.
 not you be.IND.PRES.2SG ask.PPLE SĂ leave.SUBJ.2SG room.DEF
 ‘He is being asked to leave the room. You are not.’

It will be shown that perfective *have* and non-agreeing *be* start out in the same position, and subsequently undergo movement to distinct position on the clausal spine (owing to their different feature composition).

3.2. On the syntax of Romanian auxiliary constructions

3.2.1. *Fi* (‘be’): agreeing and non-agreeing

The survey of the previous two subsections has undoubtedly shown that we are actually dealing with two different instances of *be*. Let us highlight the differences between passive and copular *be* and non-agreeing *be*; some of them are drawn from Avram and Hill (2007), some of them have been coined by me.

The most salient property distinguishing passive and copular *be* from non-agreeing *be* is agreement: except for the cases when passive and copular *be* are part of a non-finite passive or copular construction (e.g. the passive present infinitive) or they are a formative of an analytic mood-tense based on an auxiliary plus a non-finite formative (e.g. the passive future), these varieties of *be* always display tense/mood and subject agreement inflection (illustration only with passive *be*):

- (51) a. *Eu sunt bătut.* (ind., present, person 1)
 I be.IND.PRES.1SG beat.PPLE
 b. *Tu ești bătut.* (ind., present, person 2)
 you be.IND.PRES.2SG beat.PPLE
 (52) a. *Eu eram bătut.* (ind., imperfect, person 1)
 I be.IMPERF.1SG beat.PPLE
 b. *Tu erai bătut.* (ind., imperfect, person 2)
 you be.IMPERF.2SG beat.PPLE
 (53) a. *Eu fusesem bătut.* (ind., pluperfect, person 1)
 I be.PLUPERF.1SG beat.PPLE
 b. *Tu fusesesi bătut.* (ind., pluperfect, person 2)
 you be.PLUPERF.2SG beat.PPLE
 (54) a. *Eu am fost bătut.* (ind., compound past, pers. 1)
 I AUX.PERF.1SG be.PPLE beat.PPLE

- (55) b. *Tu ai fost bătut.* (ind., compound past, pers. 2)
 you AUX.PERF.2SG be.PPLE beat.PPLE
 a. *să fiu bătut* (subj., present, person 1)
 SĂ be.SUBJ.1SG beat.PPLE
 b. *să fi bătut* (subj., present, person 2)
 SĂ be.SUBJ.2SG beat.PPLE

By contrast, as a non-agreeing auxiliary, *be* has the frozen form *fi* and disallows both mood-tense inflection and person inflection:

- (56) a. *Aş fi mers* (cond., perfect, person 1)
 AUX.COND.1SG be.INF go.PPLE
 a. *Ai fi mers* (cond., perfect, person 2)
 AUX.COND.2SG be.INF go.PPLE
 (57) a. *voi fi terminat* (ind., future perfect, pers. 1)
 AUX.FUT.1SG be.INF finish.PPLE
 b. *vei fi terminat* (ind., future perfect, pers. 2)
 AUX.FUT.2SG be.INF finish.PPLE
 (58) a. *Oi fi dansat?* (presumptive, pers. 1)
 AUX.PRESUMP.1SG be.INF dance.PPLE
 b. *Ăi/ei/ii/oi fi dansat?* (presumptive, pers. 2)
 AUX.PRESUMP.2SG be.INF dance.PPLE
 (59) *să fi venit* (subj., perfect, persons 1-6)
 SĂ be.INF come.PPLE

Since the most salient property distinguishing the two varieties of *be* is the availability / non-availability of mood/tense and person variation, for the ease of exposition, it seems fitting that we use the labels **agreeing *be*** for the passive and copular *be* and **non-agreeing *be*** for the other occurrences of *be*. The exact function of non-agreeing *be* will be revealed in §IV.3.2.3.6.2.

Agreeing *be* has thus both tense/mood features (which value the corresponding *interpretable* features of the relevant functional heads) and ϕ -features, in contrast to non-agreeing *be* which has neither.

Let us inventory the distinctions between agreeing and non-agreeing *be*; they will be instrumental in deriving the constructions featuring the two auxiliaries and accounting for the disparity encountered under ellipsis. I will then point out the similarities and differences between non-agreeing *be* and the auxiliary *have*, in order to show that they are merged in the same position but undergo head-movement to distinct positions along the clausal spine (cf. Ledgeway 2015).

One salient property distinguishing agreeing *be* and non-agreeing *be* is the availability of participial agreement with the former, but not with the latter; note that the default form of Romanian (verbal) participles is the masculine one:

- (60) a. *Infractorul* *a* *fost* ***bătut***. [pple. agreement]
 delinquent.DEF AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE beat.PPLE.M
 b. *Victima* *a* *fost* ***bătută***. [pple. agreement]
 victim.DEF(F) AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE beat.PPLE.F.SG
 b'. **Victima* *a* *fost* ***bătut***. [non-agreeing pple.]
 victim.DEF(F) AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE beat.PPLE
- (61) a. *El* *ar* *fi* ***citit***.
 he AUX.COND.3SG be.INF read.PPLE.M
 b. *Ea* *ar* *fi* ***citit***.
 she AUX.COND.3SG be.INF read.PPLE.M
 b. **Ea* *ar* *fi* ***citită***.
 she AUX.COND.3SG be read.PPLE.F

Another important difference between agreeing and non-agreeing *be* is related to subject positions: the former freely allows for the subject to intervene between it and the participle (62a), while the latter does not (62b).

- (62) a. *(Maria) e (Maria)* *invitată* *(Maria)*. [agreeing *be*]
 Maria be.IND.PRES.3SG invite.PPLE.SG
 'Maria is invited.'
 b. *Maria ar (*Maria)* *fi (*Maria)* *venit (Maria)*. [non-agreeing *be*]
 Maria AUX.COND.3SG be.INF come.PPLE
 'Maria would come.'

Avram and Hill (2007) also depict an acceptability difference between the omission of agreeing *be* and non-agreeing *be*, claiming that only the former can be omitted, on the basis of examples like (63).

- (63) a. *Romanul* *a* *fost* *citit* *și (a*
 novel.DEF AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE read.PPLE and AUX.PERF.3SG
fost) *înțeles*.
 be.PPLE understand.PPLE
 'The novel was read and understood.'

- b. *Nu cred* *să fi* *plecat* *și (*să) (*fi)*
 not think.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ be.INF leave.PPLE and SĂ be.INF
uitat de tine.
 forgotten about you
 ‘I don’t think that I/we/(s)he/they left and forgot about you.’
 (apud Avram and Hill 2007: 53)

According to my own native intuitions (also, I have consulted several other native speakers), I did not find this difference as radical as presented by Avram and Hill (2007).

Finally, agreeing *be* and non-agreeing *be* may co-occur, with the latter rigidly preceding the former; agreeing *be* either indicates passive voice or is a copula, and non-agreeing *be* indicates an irrealis reading (the form embedded by the modal verb *trebui* is a perfect subjunctive, an irrealis form *par excellence*); note also that the subject enforces agreement upon the participle/predicative adjective:

- (64) a. *Trebuia* *să fi* *fost*
 must.IMPERF.3SG SĂ be.INF(NON-AGREEING) be.PPLE(AGREEING)
citită nuvela până azi.
 read.PPLE.F novelette.DEF(F) until tomorrow
 ‘The novelette should have been read until today.’
 b. *Maria trebuie* *să fi* *fost frumoasă.*
 Maria must SĂ be.INF be.PPLE beautiful.F.SG
 ‘Maria must have been beautiful.’

To sum up, the following differences between agreeing and non-agreeing *be* have been identified:

	agreeing <i>be</i>	non-agreeing <i>be</i>
ϕ-features	yes	no
mood features	yes	?
tense features	yes	?
participle agreement	yes	no
interposition of the subject	yes	no

TABLE 1 - AGREEING *BE* VS. NON-AGREEING *BE*

3.2.2. Inserting the perfective auxiliary *avea* ('have') into the picture

As claimed above, the perfective auxiliary *have* competes with non-agreeing *be* for the same merge position. Let us see what characteristics they share.

First of all, like non-agreeing *be*, perfective *have* does not possess tense features (Dobrovie Sorin 1994, Avram and Hill 2007, Giurgea 2011), being unable to undergo tense variation, but it does have mood features, being unambiguously specified for the indicative; in this respect, Romanian *have* contrasts with the *have* auxiliary of other Romance languages (for instance, French), which possesses both tense features and may occur in finite moods other than the indicative (Rom. *mânca*, Fr. *manger* 'to eat'; Rom. *mâncat* / Fr. *mangé* – participle). Compare the paradigms of the auxiliary *have* in Romanian ((65)-(66)) and French ((67)-(68)).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|--------------------------------------|
| (65) | a. | <i>am</i> <i>mâncat</i> | (Ro., ind., compound past, person 1) |
| | b. | *<i>aveam</i> (<i>mâncat</i>) | (Ro., ind., imperfect, person 1) |
| | c. | *<i>avusesem</i> (<i>mâncat</i>) | (Ro., ind., pluperfect, person 1) |
| | d. | *<i>voi am</i> <i>mâncat</i> | (Ro., ind., future, person 1) |
| (66) | a. | *<i>să am</i> <i>mâncat</i> | (Ro., subj., person 1) |
| | b. | *<i>aș am</i> <i>mâncat</i> | (Ro., cond., person 1) |
| (67) | a. | <i>j'ai mangé</i> | (Fr., ind., compound past, pers. 1) |
| | b. | <i>j'avais mangé</i> | (Fr., ind., pluperfect, pers. 1) |
| | c. | <i>j'aurai mangé</i> | (Fr., ind., future, pers. 1) |
| (68) | a. | (<i>que</i>) <i>j'aie mangé</i> | (Fr., subj., person 1) |
| | b. | <i>j'aurais mangé</i> | (Fr., cond., person 1) |

From this brief survey, it may be concluded that Romanian perfective *have* is unambiguously specified for the indicative and does not display tense variation.

In contrast to agreeing *be*, but similarly to non-agreeing *be*, the usage of perfective *have* blocks participle agreement (see also (60)-(61) above).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| (69) | a. | <i>El</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>citit</i> . |
| | | he | AUX.PERF.3SG | read.PPLE(DEFAULT FORM) |
| | b. | <i>Ea</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>citit</i> |
| | | she | AUX.PERF.3SG | read.PPLE(DEFAULT FORM) |
| | b. | *<i>Ea</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>citit</i> ¹¹ |
| | | she | AUX.PERF.3SG | read.PPLE.F.SG |

¹¹ Note that Romanian is not a participle agreement language of the French or Italian type.

In contrast to agreeing *be*, but similarly to non-agreeing *be*, the interposition of the subject between perfective *have* and the past participle is disallowed (see also (62) above):

- (70) a. (Maria) ***e*** (Maria) *invitată* (Maria). [agreeing *be*]
 Maria be.IND.PRES.3SG invite.PPLE.F.SG
 b. *Maria a* (*Maria) *venit* (Maria). [perf. *have*]
 Maria (have)AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE

Similarly to non-agreeing *be*, perfective *have* may co-occur with agreeing *be* in passive and copular constructions (see example (64) above):

- (71) a. *Romanele* ***au*** *fost citite*.
 novels.DEF(NEUT) AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE read.PL
 ‘The novels have been read.’
 b. *Maria a* *fost frumoasă*.
 Maria AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE beautiful.F.SG
 ‘Maria was beautiful.’

The only properties that distinguish perfective *have* from non-agreeing *be* are the availability of ϕ -features and of a non-ambiguous indicative mood specification for the former; the paradigm of non-agreeing *be* is illustrated with the perfect conditional. In this respect, the following paradigmatic characteristics should be also mentioned: (i) ϕ -feature agreement in the conditional structure is expressed by the conditional auxiliary, (ii) the paradigm of the conditional auxiliary overlaps in certain positions with the paradigm of the perfective auxiliary *have*, but it is not identical with it¹² (the distinct forms of the conditional auxiliary have been boldfaced).

	perfective <i>have</i>	non-agreeing <i>be</i>
person 1	<i>am citit</i>	<i>aș fi citit</i>
person 2	<i>ai citit</i>	<i>ai fi citit</i>
person 3	<i>a citit</i>	<i>ar fi citit</i>
person 4	<i>am citit</i>	<i>am fi citit</i>
person 5	<i>ați citit</i>	<i>ați fi citit</i>
person 6	<i>au citit</i>	<i>ar fi citit</i>
	‘I... (have) read’	‘I... would have read’

TABLE 2 – PERFECTIVE *HAVE* VS. NON-AGREEING *BE* (INFLECTION)

¹² Some authors have taken this paradigmatic overlap to be due to a historical common origin for the perfective auxiliary and for the conditional auxiliary (see, for instance, Meyer-Lübke 1895); however, Zafiu (2013b: 41) insists on the controversial origin of the Romanian conditional auxiliary.

These minimal differences will account for the differences between perfective *have* and non-agreeing *be*.

To conclude, the following table sums up the similarities and differences between perfective *have* and non-agreeing *be*.

	non-agreeing <i>be</i>	perfective <i>have</i>
ϕ -features	no	<u>yes</u>
mood features	?	yes
tense features	?	no
participle agreement	no	no
interposition of the subject	no	no

TABLE 3 – NON-AGREEING *BE* VS. PERFECTIVE *HAVE*

By adding the previous results on agreeing *be*, the following complex table emerges:

	agreeing <i>be</i>	non-agreeing <i>be</i>	perfective <i>have</i>
ϕ -features	yes	no	yes
mood features	yes	?	yes
tense features	yes	?	no
participle agreement	yes	no	no
interposition of the subject	yes	no	no

TABLE 4 – AGREEING *BE* VS. NON-AGREEING *BE* VS. PERFECTIVE *HAVE*

With these in mind, we can set out to derive the principal auxiliary configurations in Romanian; the contrasting behaviour of auxiliaries under ellipsis should follow from their syntax.

3.2.3. The morphosyntax of the Romanian verb

3.2.3.1. Preliminary remarks

In this section, I present the necessary ingredients that enable us to derive the principal auxiliary configurations of Romanian involving the auxiliaries *have* and *be* (both agreeing and non-agreeing). The following problems will be briefly discussed: the relevant Mood – Tense – Aspect (TAM) phrases that have to obligatorily project in the inflectional

domain of the clausal spine and the appropriate perspective on what verb movement should look like.

My analysis builds on Avram (1999), Cornilescu (2000), Alboiu (2002), Avram and Hill (2007), Midgdalski (2006), Biberauer and Roberts (2010), Giurgea (2011), Tigău (2011), Săvescu-Ciucivara (2011), Cornilescu and Cosma (2013a), Roberts (2013), Harwood (2013, 2014, 2015), and Cornilescu and Nicolae (2013). In later work (Nicolae 2015a, 2019), I have revisited the analysis first put forward in the 2013 dissertation. The most important revisions concern two aspects. The first one is related to the strategy of verb movement: in the 2019 account, I continue to argue that lexical verbs undergo phrasal movement, but I adopt a version of Vicente's (2007) X^0 -to-Spec analysis, a solution which solves the problem of removing all the vP/VP-internal material prior to undergoing verb movement; this problem is encountered in all classical phrasal movement accounts, which are based on remnant movement. The second major revision is actually a simplification of the account of auxiliaries: to cut a long story short, I have given up on Harwood's idea to merge auxiliaries in distinct auxiliary shells; rather, auxiliaries merge in the TAM heads whose value they express (technically, this involves external merge valuation of the interpretable inflectional features with which TAM heads are endowed), and may undergo head movement in the IP-domain; this analysis is discussed in more detail in a forthcoming paper (Nicolae 2020). The account presented here is revised accordingly, but I refer the reader to Nicolae (2019) for more details.

Let us start by mapping out the fine structure of the inflectional domain. In what follows, I claim that Romanian provides evidence for at least the following IP-related projections: a Mood projection, a Tense projection, and an Aspect projection¹³. My argumentation is built on the basis of Baker's (1985) *Mirror Principle*, recently revamped by Harley (2011), according to which there is a mapping between syntactic structure and inflectional structure ("morphological derivations must reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa)", Baker 1985: 375). In her extensive research on verb movement in Romance, Schifano (2018) (among whose references one also finds the 2013 version of this dissertation and my 2015 monograph) shows that the morphological distinctions identified below justify the elaborate phrase structure proposed in the analysis of IP-internal verb raising, as diagnosed by the Cinquean adverbials.

3.2.3.2. Evidence for a Mood projection

Romanian verbs provide overt evidence for a distinct MoodP. Notice the following contrast between the present indicative and the present subjunctive in the third person:

¹³ My analysis is based on the inflectional segmentation model put forward by Guțu Romalo (1968), which remains unparalleled to the present day.

- (72) a. (el) *merge* (present indicative)
 he walks.IND.PRES.3SG
 b. (el să) *merge* (present subjunctive)
 he SĂ walk.SUBJ.3SG

Syncretism is another means of distinguishing the indicative from the subjunctive: while the verbs in the indicative display variable patterns of syncretism, in the case of the subjunctive, the 3rd person sg – 3rd person pl. syncretism is generalised, exceptionless. Let us briefly illustrate this point, as it provides spectacular evidence for my claim.

Let us first look at the indicative. For instance, in the first conjugation¹⁴ (I: -a)¹⁵, the general syncretism is 3SG≡3PL¹⁶:

- (73) I: -a, *lucra* ‘work’ PRESENT INDICATIVE
 person 1SG: *lucrez*
 person 2SG: *lucrezi*
 person 3SG: *lucrează*
 person 1PL: *lucrăm*
 person 2PL: *lucrați*
 person 3PL: *lucrează*
 3SG≡3PL

The second conjugation (II: -ea) establishes a different syncretism, namely, 1SG≡3PL:

- (74) II: -ea, *tăcea* ‘keep silent’ PRESENT INDICATIVE
 person 1SG: *tac*
 person 2SG: *taci*

¹⁴ From a morphological point of view, Romanian verbs are split into five classes, distributed according to the infinitive ending: (I) -a (*lucra* ‘work’), (II) -ea (*plăcea* ‘like’), (III) -e (*merge* ‘walk’), (IV) -i (*dori* ‘wish, want’), (V) -î (*hotărî* ‘decide’). The fifth class (-î) has developed within Romanian; the rest have been inherited from Latin. The second class (-ea) is the most impoverished; no recent loanwords have entered this class, and, furthermore, there have been many passages from this class into the third (-e) class (e.g. *rămânea* → *rămâne* ‘stay, remain’, *ținea* → *ține* ‘keep’, *umplea* → *umple* ‘fill’) and many verbs are used in the spoken (but standard) language in free variation (*plăcea* / *place* ‘like’, *apărea* / *apare* ‘appear’, *tăcea* / *tace* ‘shut up, become silent’). More subclasses are established in terms of their inflections and specific syncretisms.

¹⁵ Conjugation I (I: -a) comprises two subclasses of verbs, which distinguish themselves by the inflection used to mark the present tense: one subclass employs the suffix -ez- in certain paradigmatic positions, the other does not. This distinction is not relevant from the point of view of syncretism.

¹⁶ I have followed here the GR 2013, in employing the symbol ≡ to mark syncretism, reserving the symbol = for marking the separation of a clitic from its host.

person 3SG:	<i>tace</i>
person 1PL:	<i>tăcem</i>
person 2PL:	<i>tăceți</i>
person 3PL:	<i>tac</i>

$1SG \equiv 3PL$

In the fifth (V: *-î*) class, which possesses two subclasses depending on the presence/absence of a suffix (*-ăsc* / *-ăst-*), there is a supplementary distinction between the two subclasses, namely, the distinct syncretisms displayed by them: with verbs taking the suffix (75a), the syncretism is $1SG \equiv 3PL$, whereas with verbs without this suffix (75b), the syncretism is $3SG \equiv 3PL$.

(75) (a) V: *-î*, *hotărî* ‘decide’ (b) *coborî* ‘descend’ – PRESENT INDICATIVE

person 1SG:	<i>hotărăsc</i>	<i>cobor</i>
person 2SG:	<i>hotărăști</i>	<i>cobori</i>
person 3SG:	<i>hotărăște</i>	<i>coboară</i>
person 1PL:	<i>hotărâm</i>	<i>coborâm</i>
person 2PL:	<i>hotărâți</i>	<i>coborâți</i>
person 3PL:	<i>hotărăsc</i>	<i>coboară</i>

$1SG \equiv 3PL$

$3SG \equiv 3PL$

Notice now the syncretism characterizing the subjunctive. The 3rd person singular – 3rd person plural syncretism is generalised, irrespective of the syncretism displayed by the indicative; it may only accidentally match the syncretism displayed in the indicative (if the indicative syncretism is $3SG \equiv 3PL$).

(76) I: *-a* *lucra* ‘work’

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
person 1SG:	<i>lucrez</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>lucrez</i>
person 2SG:	<i>lucrezi</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>lucrezi</i>
person 3SG:	<i>lucrează</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>lucreze</i>
person 1PL:	<i>lucrăm</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>lucrăm</i>
person 2PL:	<i>lucrați</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>lucrați</i>
person 3PL:	<i>lucrează</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>lucreze</i>

$3SG \equiv 3PL$

$3SG \equiv 3PL$ indicative – subjunctive: *matching*

- (77) II: *-ea tăcea* ‘keep silent’
- | | INDICATIVE | SUBJUNCTIVE |
|-------------|------------------|---|
| person 1SG: | <i>tac</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>tac</i> |
| person 2SG: | <i>taci</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>taci</i> |
| person 3SG: | <i>tace</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>tacă</i> |
| person 1PL: | <i>tăcem</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>tăcem</i> |
| person 2PL: | <i>tăceți</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>tăceți</i> |
| person 3PL: | <i>tac</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>tacă</i> |
| | 1SG $\equiv$ 3PL | 3SG $\equiv$ 3PL indicative - subjunctive: * |
- (78) V: *-î hotări* ‘decide’
- | | INDICATIVE | SUBJUNCTIVE |
|-------------|------------------|---|
| person 1SG: | <i>hotărăsc</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>hotărăsc</i> |
| person 2SG: | <i>hotărăști</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>hotărăști</i> |
| person 3SG: | <i>hotărăște</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>hotărăscă</i> |
| person 1PL: | <i>hotărâm</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>hotărâm</i> |
| person 2PL: | <i>hotărâți</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>hotărâți</i> |
| person 3PL: | <i>hotărăsc</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>hotărăscă</i> |
| | 1SG $\equiv$ 3PL | 3SG $\equiv$ 3PL indicative – subjunctive: * |
- (79) V: *-î cobori* ‘descend’
- | | INDICATIVE | SUBJUNCTIVE |
|------------|------------------|---|
| person 1SG | <i>cobor</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>cobor</i> |
| person 2SG | <i>cobori</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>cobori</i> |
| person 3SG | <i>coboară</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>coboare</i> |
| person 1PL | <i>coborâm</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>coborâm</i> |
| person 2PL | <i>coborâți</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>coborâți</i> |
| person 3PL | <i>coboară</i> | (<i>să</i>) <i>coboare</i> |
| | 3SG $\equiv$ 3PL | 3SG $\equiv$ 3PL indicative – subjunctive: <i>matching</i> |

To conclude, inflection and syncretism indicate the presence of a distinct Mood projection in the extended verbal spine. Similar facts result from the indicative / imperative comparison, but I have decided to leave them out for reasons of space.

3.2.3.3. Evidence for Aspect and Tense projections

In the indicative, aspectual distinctions are not systematically marked by inflectional endings. However, the *perfectum* / *imperfectum* distinction (perfective root / imperfective root) has been preserved from Latin and is visible when comparing, for

instance, the indicative pluperfect or the simple past with the imperfect or the present; notice the different root of the pluperfect / simple past (*mers-* / *ars-*) in contradistinction to the root of the imperfect / present (*merg-* / *ard-*); the symbol $\emptyset$ indicates a zero inflectional ending:

(80) *merge* 'go'

	PLUPERFECT	SIMPLE PAST	IMPERFECT	PRESENT
person 1SG	<i>mersesem</i>	<i>mersei</i>	<i>mergeam</i>	<i>mergø</i>
person 2SG	<i>merseseși</i>	<i>merseși</i>	<i>mergeai</i>	<i>mergi</i>
person 3SG	<i>mersese</i>	<i>merse</i>	<i>mergea</i>	<i>merge</i>
person 1PL	<i>merseserăm</i>	<i>merserăm</i>	<i>mergeam</i>	<i>mergem</i>
person 2PL	<i>merseserăți</i>	<i>merserăți</i>	<i>mergeați</i>	<i>mergeți</i>
person 3PL	<i>merseserăø</i>	<i>merseră</i>	<i>mergeau</i>	<i>mergø</i>
	'I had gone'	'I went'	'I was going'	'I am going'

(81) *arde* 'burn'

	PLUPERFECT	SIMPLE PAST	IMPERFECT	PRESENT
person 1SG	<i>arsesem</i>	<i>arsei</i>	<i>ardeam</i>	<i>ardø</i>
person 2SG	<i>arseseși</i>	<i>arseși</i>	<i>ardeai</i>	<i>arzi</i>
person 3SG	<i>arsese</i>	<i>arse</i>	<i>ardea</i>	<i>arde</i>
person 1PL	<i>arseserăm</i>	<i>arserăm</i>	<i>ardeam</i>	<i>ardem</i>
person 2PL	<i>arseserăți</i>	<i>arserăți</i>	<i>ardeați</i>	<i>ardeți</i>
person 3PL	<i>arseseră</i>	<i>arseră</i>	<i>ardeau</i>	<i>ardø</i>
	'I had burnt'	'I burnt'	'I was burning'	'I am burning'

As is obvious from the examples, the root marks the perfective (*mers-* / *ars-*) versus imperfective (*merg-* / *ard-*) character of the predicate; tense and person distinctions are marked by the inflectional endings that follow. As remarked by Zafiu (2013b: 25), the *infectum* / *perfectum* distinction has been gradually jettisoned by the development of new forms for the perfect (i.e. the compound past). However, with verbs no longer distinguishing two roots, the task of creating a perfectum / imperfectum distinction is taken over by the inflectional ending which rigidly comes after the root, namely *-u-*:

(82) *face* 'do'

	PLUPERFECT	SIMPLE PAST	IMPERFECT	PRESENT
person 1SG	<i>făcusem</i>	<i>făcui</i>	<i>făceam</i>	<i>facø</i>
person 2SG	<i>făcuseși</i>	<i>făcuși</i>	<i>făceai</i>	<i>faci</i>
person 3SG	<i>făcuse</i>	<i>făcu</i>	<i>făcea</i>	<i>face</i>
person 1PL	<i>făcuserăm</i>	<i>făcurăm</i>	<i>făceam</i>	<i>facem</i>
person 2PL	<i>făcuserăți</i>	<i>făcurăți</i>	<i>făceați</i>	<i>faceți</i>
person 3PL	<i>făcuseră</i>	<i>făcură</i>	<i>făceau</i>	<i>facø</i>
	'I had done'	'I did'	'I was doing'	'I am doing'

(83) *începe* ‘begin, start’

	PLUPERFECT	SIMPLE PAST	IMPERFECT	PRESENT
person 1SG	<i>începusem</i>	<i>începui</i>	<i>începeam</i>	<i>începø</i>
person 2SG	<i>începuseși</i>	<i>începuși</i>	<i>începeai</i>	<i>începi</i>
person 3SG	<i>începuse</i>	<i>începu</i>	<i>începea</i>	<i>începe</i>
person 1PL	<i>începuserăm</i>	<i>începurăm</i>	<i>începeam</i>	<i>începem</i>
person 2PL	<i>începuserăți</i>	<i>începurăți</i>	<i>începeați</i>	<i>începeți</i>
person 3PL	<i>începuseră</i>	<i>începură</i>	<i>începeau</i>	<i>începø</i>
	‘I had started’	‘I started’	‘I was starting’	‘I am starting’

The analysis of the paradigms above indicates that tense distinctions within the indicative are well marked.

The perfective tenses distinguish themselves by the presence of *-se-* with the pluperfect, absent with the imperfect, and by the usage of distinct inflections for person marking in certain positions (e.g. 1st person singular: *-m-* for the pluperfect vs. *-i-* for the simple past); notably, perfective tenses also display a plural marker, *-ră-*, absent with other tenses. Tenses based on the infectum root also display tense distinctions: *-a-* distinguishes the imperfect from the present; similarly, different person inflections are used in certain paradigmatic positions (e.g. 1st person singular: *-m* for the imperfect, *-ø* for the present).

In conclusion, there is sufficient evidence for postulating the presence of distinct Tense and Aspect heads in the verbal extended projection, as features like [Past] / [Present] or [Perfective] / [Imperfective] need to be valued in distinct discrete functional heads.

3.2.3.4. Summary

The previous sections have investigated verbal synthetic morphology in order to show that there is inflectional evidence for having distinct Mood, Tense, and Aspect projections in the extended verbal projection: distinct sets of inflectional affixes, associated with TAM features, indicate the presence of distinct functional heads against which the respective TAM must be valued. The ordering of the inflectional endings indicates that Mood precedes Tense, and Tense precedes Aspect, so the following ordering obtains: Mood > T > Asp (cf. Baker’s 1985 *Mirror Principle*).

Extending Pesetsky and Torrego’s (2004, 2007) reasoning with respect to the distinction between valuation and interpretability, I assume that functional heads are associated with interpretability, while the lexical verb provides the values for the respective

features. Turning the tables, the functional heads and the inflected lexical verbs¹⁷ are dependent on one another: the functional head provides the necessary *interpretability* component, while the verbal form provides the *value* for the interpretability requirement; on the other hand, the values on the verbal head are *uninterpretable* by themselves, and a process of foot-driven movement causes them to raise (cf. Bošković 2007). Two options present themselves at this point: (i) there is Agree between the functional head and the inflected verb, and then subsequent movement, or (ii) affixal forms impose valuation by Merge, with the inflected form having to move to the functional head in order to value the head's interpretable feature (and undergo incorporation, due to head movement; Roberts 2010b) and delete their uninterpretable features. More empirical evidence has to be gathered to distinguish between these two theoretical options, although the second one might be "more minimalist" in spirit (in the sense of the Bare Phrase Structure hypothesis): if foot-driven movement is at play, then the extension of the verbal projection would be a by-product of the verbal item's need to move up in order to erase its uninterpretable features¹⁸. This is also the solution adopted by Biberauer and Roberts (2010: 267-268) in the analysis of verb movement in Romance¹⁹. In other words, the element moves to satisfy its own necessities; this actually looks quite desirable, if we think of *wh*-words, for instance, whose movement to the left periphery is fed by the sole need to delete their [*u-wh*] feature. Needless to say, Bošković's (2007) *foot-driven* approach is a "contemporary" form of Chomsky's (1995) *Principle of Greed* ("Move α applies to an element α only if morphological properties of α itself are not otherwise satisfied", Chomsky 1995: 201).

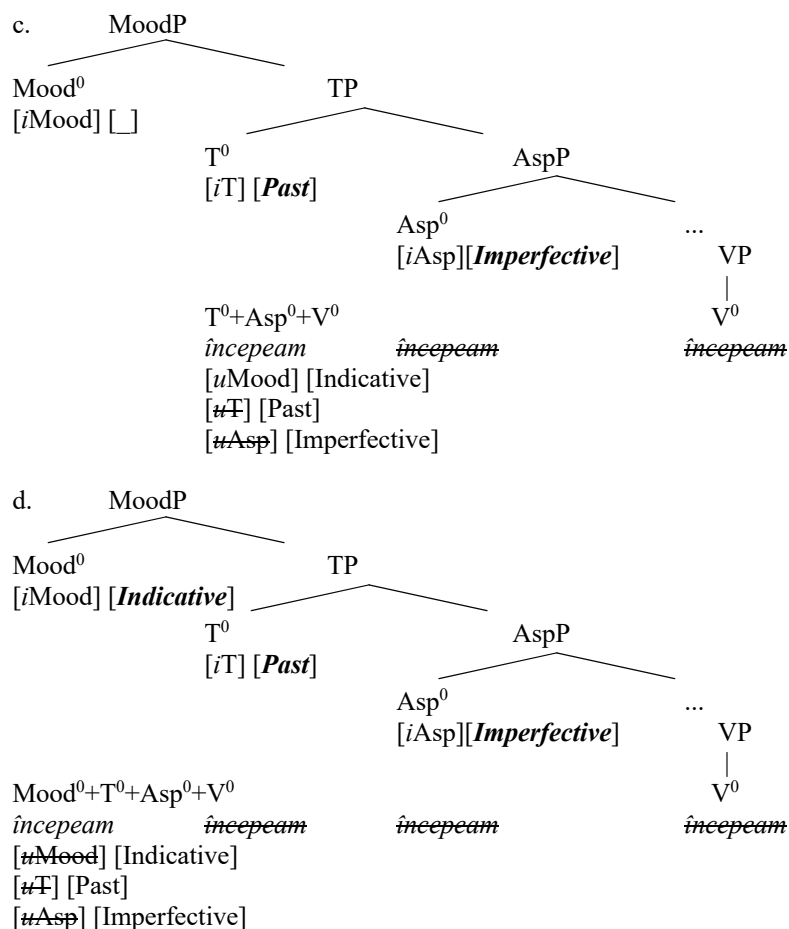
¹⁷ Recall that we are working in a lexicalist framework: forms enter directly inflected in the syntactic derivation. See §III.2 for details.

¹⁸ The following quotes from Bošković (2007: 589) are highly significant: "More generally, Move is always driven by a formal inadequacy (an uninterpretable feature) [...] The system resolves a lookahead problem that arises under the EPP-driven movement approach, where the EPP diacritic indicating that X moves is placed on Y, not X, although X often needs to start moving before Y enters the derivation".

¹⁹ The following quote from Biberauer and Roberts (2010: 267-268) is highly relevant for our discussion: "We need to understand more clearly in what sense the 'richness' of inflection may be connected to movement. In an Agree-based model such as that of current minimalism [...] the connection is, however, less readily captured: in the Agree model, there is no longer any specific reason to assume a correlation between inflectional richness and the presence of a movement trigger (EPP-feature). [...] Here we suggest a relatively informal, non-technical answer to this question which we, however, think is on the right track. Suppose that the presence of 'rich' tense implies that finite verbs in the languages in question are not categorially simple Vs, but are instead compound elements consisting of V and a fully-specified T [...]. This compound is formed in the Numeration; forming it is part of the process of pre-syntactic word-formation. Such a compound element must merge with both the V-complement, in order to form a VP, and the T-complement, forming a TP. The only way to satisfy the properties of the compound V+T element is to first merge it as V [...] and then to raise it, following the standard movement process, to project as what we usually think of as T. [] Movement is thus triggered by the inherent features of the compound V+T element, and 'richness' of tense morphology is what underlies the lexical requirement for the formation of such an element in the Numeration in the first place."

(84) *incepeam* INDICATIVE IMPERFECT Mood: Indicative
Tense: Past
Aspect: Imperfective

- (85)
- a.
- MoodP
- Mood⁰
[iMood] []
- TP
- T⁰
[iT] []
- AspP
- Asp⁰
[iAsp] []
- ...
- VP
- V⁰
- incepeam*
[uMood] [Indicative]
[uT] [Past]
[uAsp] [Imperfective]
- b.
- MoodP
- Mood⁰
[iMood] []
- TP
- T⁰
[iT] []
- AspP
- Asp⁰
[iAsp] [**Imperfective**]
- ...
- VP
- V⁰
- incepeam*
[uMood] [Indicative]
[uT] [Past]
~~[uAsp] [Imperfective]~~



To conclude, these are the main verbal projections present on the clausal spine in Romanian. I assume that these projections are always projected on the finite sentential core in Romanian.

Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) indicates that this perspective entails that inflected verbs will always have a high position in Romanian, which is a correct implication for the finite tenses of the indicative. However, if we look at non-finite forms, for example, at the verbal participle which is accompanied by auxiliary in the structure of periphrastic forms (see §IV.3.2.3.6 below), we observe that the verbal participle does not target the highest position of the inflectional cluster: it is confined to raising up to T and not higher, as it does not possess mood features; the auxiliary accompanying it is merged in a higher Mood projection. Thus, the featural information encapsulated by a synthetic form is crucial in determining the height of verb movement.

The next subsection is devoted to briefly introducing the last two ingredients necessary for the analysis of auxiliary structures, namely the Split-IP parameter and the syntax of Romanian analytic, auxiliary-based, structures.

3.2.3.5. Verb raising and the split IP-parameter

Without entering details, I adopt the Split-IP hypothesis (Pollock 1988; see also Schifano 2018) and I follow Ștefănescu (1997), Cornilescu (2000) and Alboiu (2002) in assuming that Romanian is specified as positive on the *Split-IP parameter* (Thráinsson 1996); thus, the IP-domain consists of several [+V] projections; furthermore, various [-V] projections may be found in the IP-domain (e.g. PersPs hosting pronominal clitics).

Ledgeway (2015) correctly observes that, despite the general claim that verb raising is high in Romanian, certain nominal elements (clitics) and clausal negation may precede the synthetic (86a) or analytic verb (86b):

- (86) a. *Eu nu îl văd.*
 I no CL.ACC.M.3SG see.IND.PRES.1SG
 ‘I don’t see him.’
- b. *Eu nu l-am văzut.*
 I not CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE
 ‘I didn’t see him.’

Ledgeway (2015) also takes into consideration the position of clitic adverbs *cam*, *mai*, *prea*, *tot* for diagnosing verb movement, arguing that the verb does not raise to the topmost position of the inflectional spine (example (18) from Ledgeway 2015):

- (87) *Elevii mei nu le mai văd* [_{v-VP} ~~*elevii mei văd*~~]
 students.DEFmy not CL.ACC.F.3PL again see.IND.PRES.1SG
 ‘My students no longer see them.’

However, in the light of the recent reported in Nicolae (2015a, 2019) and Mîrzea Vasile (2015) on the clitic adverb *mai*, which shows that its position is not as fixed as previously assumed (see, for instance Alboiu 2002), I suspect that clitic adverbs are not actually good markers for the precise indication of the height of verb movement. A cursory glance at the examples below, some taken from Mîrzea Vasile (2015), indicates that (i) with periphrastic forms featuring non-agreeing *be*, the clitic adverbial *mai* may both

precede and follow the auxiliary, or precede the entire verbal cluster (88)²⁰, (ii) with synthetic forms featuring preverbal pronominal clitics, *mai* can appear both in between the verb and the clitic ((89a), (89c)) (the order recommended by normative grammars) and at the left edge of the inflectional cluster, preceding the clitic ((89b), (89d)) (non-standard Romanian, according to normative grammars) (the verbal cluster has been included in square brackets, for convenience)²¹:

- (88) a. *Omul* [ar *mai* fi cerut] o votcă.
man.DEF AUX.COND.3SG MAI be.INF ask-for.PPLE a vodka
- b. *Omul* [ar fi *mai* cerut] o votcă.
man.DEF AUX.COND.3SG be.INF MAI ask-for.PPLE a vodka
'The man would have asked for another glass of vodka.'
- c. [*mai* ar fi fost] pe pământ un cretin
MAI AUX.COND.3SG be.INF be.PPLE on earth a cretin
în minus.
in minus
'There would also have been another cretin less on earth.'
- (89) a. *Nu* [il *mai* înjurați].
not CL.ACC.M.3SG MAI swear.IMP.2PL
- b. *Nu* [*mai* îl înjurați].
not MAI CL.ACC.3SG.M swear.IMP.2PL
'Stop swearing at him'
- c. [*Ne* *mai* trebuie] bani și pentru...
CL.DAT.1PL MAI need.IND.PRES.3SG money also for
- d. [*Mai* ne trebuie] bani și pentru...
MAI CL.DAT.1PL need.IND.PRES.3SG money also for
'In addition we still need money for...'

Giurgea (2011) characterises *mai* as a temporal additive which "introduces the presupposition that there is some other temporal interval in which the event holds" (Giurgea 2011: 273-274) (e.g. *mai merge* 'she goes again'). While it is true that *mai* is indeed an additive, it is not very clear whether it is genuinely temporal; the structures featuring *mai* may be translated into English with the help of *again*, *still*, *continue*, etc. this indicating an

²⁰ Similar facts also arise with other periphrastic structures, but I have refrained from illustrating them for reasons of space.

²¹ Note that all the examples featuring the additive adverbial *mai* are attested, and can be easily found on the internet in great numbers. Since Romanian is not a language of international circulation (like English or French, for example), the internet is a reliable source for examples, as the Romanian samples of language mostly belong to native speakers.

aspectual rather than temporal dimension (i.e. iterativity, continuity). However, Giurgea's characterization of *mai* as an "additive" which takes an interval as its domain indicates that it may have scope either on the *event* interval or on the *reference time* interval, being thus associated either with *tense* or with *aspect* (see Reichenbach 1947 for the distinction between Speech Time / Event Time / Reference Time), as also indicated by its presence on non-finite forms. To cut a long story short, I suspect that the linearization of clitic adverbials is post-cyclical and does not offer a crystal-clear indication with respect to the exact height of verb movement. In any case, *mai* has to be taken as an indication for the presence of a Tense and / or Aspect head in the structure because of the following facts: its cliticization on the bare short infinitive selected by modal verbs in restructuring contexts is blocked (90); and, similarly, its cliticization on adjectival participles in the passive construction is also blocked (91) (despite the fact that it can freely cliticize onto participles).

- (90) a. **Poate mai veni.*
 can.3SG MAI come.INF
 b. √*Mai poate veni.*
 MAI can.3SG come.INF
 'He can still come.'
- (91) a. **Este mai bătut*²².
 be.IND.PRES.3SG MAI beat.PPLE
 b. √*A mai bătut pe cineva.*
 AUX.PERF.3SG MAI beat.PPLE DOM someone
 'He knocked out someone else before.'

In the case of both (90a), (91a), the target of cliticization is lower than Tense / Aspect: in §IV.4.3.2, I argue that in the case of the bare short infinitive modal construction, the verb does not raise higher than Voice⁰; similarly, passive participles satisfy their featural necessities lower in the structure (in opposition to other varieties of participles in periphrastic constructions), and, given their adjectival nature, they can only access [-V] projections via phrasal movement.

From Ledgeway's (2015) observation that clitics and negation precede the verb, coupled with the positive specification of the Split-IP parameter, we may draw the following lessons. Let us focus on clitics first. The positive Split-IP specification indicates that the extended verbal projection contains Agreement (Agr) projections / nominal-like [-V] projections which can accommodate arguments of the verb.

Thus, I will follow Săvescu-Ciucivara (2011) and assume that there is a clitic-accommodating PersonP (PersP)/Person field on top the [+V] projections. Săvescu-

²² The sentence is grammatical when *mai* is read as a degree marker ('more'), not as an additive adverbial.

Ciucivara's (2011) analysis is essentially Kaynean (Kayne 1975), but is modelled on more recent work by Bianchi (2006). For the time being, I will stick to this account as it is the most carefully worked-out account of Romanian clitics, but I do have the intuition of how to recast this analysis in Roberts' (2010b) framework, which is more attractive from a conceptual point of view: in a nutshell, clitics are projected like in Roberts (2010b) as complements to V (or within a big DP in clitic doubling structures), then move to v^{*min} , travel along with the verb up to a certain point, and then, by virtue of their being X^{min}/X^{max} categories, move as XPs to the specifier of PersP, in order to value an [μ Pers]-feature against the [i Pers] feature of Pers⁰.

Auxiliaries and synthetic verb forms cannot raise to the Pers⁰ head(s): the ϕ -features on the auxiliary / synthetic verb are fully interpretable and always license a *pro* (Alboiu 2009), i.e. a pronoun undergoing PF-deletion (Roberts 2010a), which is co-indexed with the lexical / theta-marked subject (Alboiu 2009). Distribution is indicative at this point. Assuming, as I have done throughout the dissertation, that linear order reflects asymmetric c-command (Kayne 1994), if the auxiliary inflected for person or the synthetic verb inflected for person had raised to the highest Pers⁰, it would have to intervene between the clitics in the cluster, as nothing would obstruct cliticization on a verbal form; this prediction is not borne out, as shown by the examples below. Note that the order of projection is PersP(DAT) > PersP(ACC) > MoodP.

- (92) a. *i* *l-am* *dat*
 CL.DAT.3SG CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG give.PPLE
 'I gave it to him.'
- b. **i-am* (*dat*) (*i*)*l* *dat*
 CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG give.PPLE CL.ACC.M.3SG give.PPLE
- (93) a. *i-l* *dau*
 CL.DAT.3SG=CL.ACC.M.3SG give.IND.PRES.1SG
 'I am giving it to him.'
- b. **îi/i-dau* *îl*
 CL.DAT.3SG=give.IND.PRES.1SG CL.ACC.M.3SG

Thus, the verb does not undergo raising to the Person field, despite having ϕ -features. The ϕ -features on the verb are *interpretable* and *valued*; recall that verb movement, as viewed here, is driven by uninterpretable features (Bošković 2007). Therefore, it is natural to expect that the verb does not move to a nominal projection like Person, despite having ϕ -features.

I have little to say about negation at this point, except for the fact that it behaves distinctly from both the verbal and the nominal, Agr-like elements from the extended verbal projection. In contrast to verbal elements (the finite verb or an auxiliary) (94) and nominal

elements (clitics) (95), which generally allow the cliticization of the adverbial additive *mai*, negation unambiguously disallows the cliticization of this adverbial (see (95)) (the grammatical counterparts of (96a), (96b), (96c) are given as ' and " variants):

- (94) a. *mai vine* [cliticization of *mai* on verbal elements]
 MAI come.IND.PRES.3SG
 'he will come again'
- b. *a mai venit*
 AUX.PERF.3SG MAI come.PPLE
 'he was here before'
- (95) a. *mai îl iubesc* [cliticization of *mai*
 MAI CL.ACC.M.3SG love.IND.PRES.1SG on nominal elements in
 'I still love him' substandard Romanian]
- b. *cine mai se află*²³
 who still CL.REFL be(locative, lexical, inherently reflexive).IND.PRES.3SG
 'who is still...'
- (96) a. **mai nu vine* [cliticization of *mai* on negation: *]
 MAI not come.IND.PRES.3SG
- a'. *√ nu mai vine*
 not MAI come.IND.PRES.3SG
 'he is not coming anymore'
- b. **mai nu a venit*
 MAI not AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
- b'. *√ nu a mai venit* [standard Romanian]
 not AUX.PERF.3SG MAI come.PPLE
- b". *√ nu mai a venit* [substandard Romanian]
 not MAI AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 'he didn't show up after all'
- c. **mai nu îl iubesc*
 MAI not CL.ACC.M.3SG love.IND.PRES.1SG
- c'. *√ nu îl mai iubesc* [standard Romanian]
 not CL.ACC.M.3SG MAI love.IND.PRES.1SG
- c". *√ nu mai îl iubesc* [substandard Romanian]
 not MAI CL.ACC.M.3SG love.IND.PRES.1SG
 'I don't love him anymore.'

²³ While some *mai* + clitic combinations are felt as very colloquial, others are not; for instance, this example is extracted from the title of an article from a newspaper with national coverage: <http://www.romanialibera.ro/timpul-liber/calatorii/danemarca-cea-mai-fericita-tara-din-lume-cine-mai-se-afla-in-top-10-260070.html> (consulted 8.11.2013).

Furthermore, negation completely blocks verb-auxiliary inversion, in contrast to clitics and verbal auxiliaries. The examples below illustrate raising of the finite verb across a clitic + auxiliary (97) or across an auxiliary (98). Negation blocks raising in both configurations (99).

- (97) a. *lua-l-ar* *dracu'!*
 take.INF=CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG devil.DEF
 [conditional inversion, imprecation]
- b. *l-ar* *lua* *dracu'!*
 CL.ACC.3SG.M=AUX.COND.3SG take.INF devil
 'May he rot in hell!' [non-inverted structure]
- (98) a. *auzit-ai*
 hear.PPLE=AUX.PERF.2SG
 [compound past inversion]
- b. *ai* *auzit*
 AUX.PERF.2SG hear.PPLE
 'you heard' [non-inverted structure]
- (99) a. **lua-nu-l-ar* *dracu'!*
 take=not=CL=AUX devil.DEF
 [conditional inversion+negation]
- a'. *nu* *l-ar* *lua* *dracu'!*
 not CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG take.INF devil.DEF
 'Wouldn't the devil be nice enough to take him...' [non-inverted structure]
- b. **nu-auzit-ai* [compound past inversion + negation]
 not=hear.PPLE=AUX.PERF.2SG
**auzit-nu-ai*
 heard=not=AUX.PERF.2SG
- b'. *nu ai* *auzit* [non-inverted structure]
 not AUX.PERF.2SG hear.PPLE
 'you didn't hear'

Under the assumption that verb-auxiliary inversion targets the Fin projection (Hill 2013a, Nicolae 2015a, 2019) and that this variety of movement has to be phrasal movement of the sort advocated by Biberauer and Roberts (2005) – because head-movement would give rise to Long Head Movement (Rivero 1993), an operation which is contradictory to

the local nature of head movement²⁴ –, it seems that negation behaves like a specifier which blocks the movement of other specifiers. Romanian imperatives confirm this hypothesis: V-to-C movement of the imperative is blocked by phrasal negation too (compare (100)-(101), where pronominal enclisis diagnoses the application of V-to-C movement, while proclisis shows that the verb remains in the IP). I will take up this issue again below.

- (100) a. *mănâncă-l!* [V-to- C movement]
eat.IMP.2SG=CL.ACC.M.3SG
- b. *nu-l mânca!*
not= CL.ACC.M.3SG eat.IMP.2SG
- (101) a. **mănâncă/mânca nu-l* [V-to-C movement + negation]
eat.IMP.2SG not=CL.ACC.M.3SG
- b. **mănâncă-l nu*
eat.IMP.2SG=CL.ACC.M.3SG not

On the other hand, as known, negation does not block the ascension of *wh*-elements to the clausal left-periphery:

- (102) *Cine nu a venit?*
who not AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
'Who didn't come?'

To sum up, the following conclusions may be tentatively drawn with respect to clausal negation: (i) it closes off the sentential core, preceding all its components; (ii) it seems to have [+V] features, as it causes defective intervention effects for verb movement. Arguments in favour of the second claim can be brought from the passive construction: while negation generally blocks the raising of verbal participles (see (103a), (103b)), it does allow the displacement of *agreeing* (thus, nominalised) past particles to the left-periphery, as testified by examples like the one below (103c):

- (103) a. **nu-auzit-ai* [verbal participle movement + negation]
not=hear.PPLE=AUX.PERF.2SG
- b. **auzit-nu-ai*
hear.PPLE=not=AUX.PERF.2SG

²⁴ Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) drew my attention to the fact that in his recent approaches (Roberts 2010b, 2011) there is no Head Movement constraint; thus, under this approach, Long Head Movement can exist under the right conditions.

- c. *Bătută în cap nu este* [tătuță în cap].
 beat.PPLE.F.SG in head not be.IND.PRES.3SG
 ‘Stupid she is not.’

I will return to negation in §IV.4.3.3.2.2 below when I discuss the Romanian subjunctive.

Ledgeway (2015) concludes that “the Romanian finite lexical verb is generally assumed to raise to a high clausal position [...] [h]owever, it is clear that it does not target the highest available position within the sentential core, since it must follow the negator *nu* (‘not’), pronominal object clitics, and all five of the so-called ‘clitic’ adverbs”. From the perspective of what has been discussed up to this point, Ledgeway’s (2015) conclusion is correct, with the following provisos: it is true that the Romanian synthetic verbal forms and the auxiliaries employed with periphrastic forms do not reach the highest projection of the sentential core (NegP, when it gets projected); however, it is equally true that synthetic forms and auxiliary verbs may be preceded by nominal-like elements such as clitics and by clausal negation (which, as argued above, has verbal features, acting as a defective intervener for verb movement). From this perspective, I believe that a more appropriate interpretation of the data is that verb movement targets the highest *TAM projection* (i.e. specified [+V]) in the sentential core, not necessarily the *highest projection*.

As can be easily observed, my proposal involves a larger number of projections than customarily assumed, giving a “cartographic” (cf. Cinque 1999 and ssq. work) flavour to my account. However, certain boundaries have to be imposed upon the projection of the phrases in the extended verbal spine. I believe that there are two such conceptual boundaries. First, phrases project only if there are elements whose features have to be valued against an interpretable feature or, in other words, the derivation has to have a sort of “last resort” flavour: project only if necessary. Secondly, one has to be aware of the fact that phrases have different natures: phrases associated with nominal information have an essentially nominal nature, and phrases associated with verbal information are verbal in nature; in other words, categorial specification is relevant. The second idea is well-expressed by the following quote taken from Biberauer and Roberts (2010: 271): “formal features such as Aspect and Voice are not distinct from one another in the relevant sense, i.e. they are all V- or T-features”.

This second conceptual desideratum has the following consequence: the phrasal movement to specifiers²⁵ has to target positions associated with the nature of the content of the specifier itself, and is not necessarily Spec-to-Spec (i.e. strictly local). For instance, the

²⁵ Our derivations will make use of a variant of what we may informally call the “Pied-Piping Parameter” of Biberauer and Roberts (2005): the verb has the option of moving as a head or as a phrase along the extended verbal projection. Conceptually, this allows us to dispose of Rivero’s (1993) long-head movement operation, which is a desirable result.

movement of the participle targets different positions depending on the verbal / nominal nature of the phrase: in the next section, devoted to the formalization of the data presented above, it will appear that verbal participles move to specifiers of TAM projections, which are categorially [+V], while adjectival participles (which are nominalized by virtue of possessing nominal agreement features) move to Agr-like specifiers. By parity of reasoning, the same algorithm should be applied to head-movement.

Yet another question is how to derive the obvious clustering effects encountered in the verbal cluster, i.e. the general impossibility for the subject to intervene between the auxiliary and the lexical verb or, in structures with multiple auxiliaries, to intervene between the auxiliaries themselves:

- (104) a. *Maria a (*Maria) venit Maria.*
 Maria AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 ‘Maria came.’
 b. *Maria ar (*Maria) fi (*Maria) venit Maria.*
 Maria AUX.COND.3SG be.INF come.PPLE
 ‘Maria would have come.’

One easy solution to take up Giurgea’s (2011) solution and claim that a process of complex head formation takes place: auxiliaries are analysed as X^0 categories which adjoin to another X^0 inside a complex X^0 , and the burden of linearizing these elements is the post-syntactic PF-component. As simple as it may seem, this solution has serious empirical problems. One consequence is that the verbal cluster always moves as a unit: in the example below, the alleged complex verbal head moves across the subject as a unit, giving rise to the postverbal placement of the subject:

- (105) *A știut el t_a știut.*
 AUX.PERF.3SG know.PPLE he
 ‘He knew.’

However, verb-auxiliary inversion structures are totally unaccounted for, as the verb would have to somehow “excorporate” from the cluster, and undergo movement across the clitic + auxiliary structure:

- (106) *Lua-l-ar dracu’!*
 take.INF=CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG devil.DEF

From my perspective, PF-linearization (or post-syntactic phonology, more widely), the process taken by Giurgea (2011) to account for the ordering of components within a

verbal cluster, should actually handle issues like the establishing onto what head the clitic may phonologically incorporate ((107), (108)) or issues like the placement of light adverbials of the *mai*-type, whose position is not fixed within the verbal cluster (see examples (99)-(100) and (105)-(106) above).

- (107) a. *că îl văd*
 that CL.ACC.M.3SG see.IND.PRES.1SG
 b. *că-l văd*
 that=CL.ACC.M.3SG see.IND.PRES.1SG
 ‘that I see him’
 c. **că l-văd*
 that CL.ACC.M.3SG=see.IND.PRES.1SG
- (108) a. **că îl am văzut*
 that CL.ACC.M.3SG AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE
 b. *că l-am văzut*
 that CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE
 ‘that I saw him’
 c. **că-l am văzut*
 that=CL.ACC.M.3SG AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE

Furthermore, if we dispose of PF-linearization as an option, all the analyses which advocate a form of complex head formation heavily rely on right-adjunction (which is disallowed, cf. Kayne 1994).

In conclusion, complex head formation cannot properly handle the empirical data, and thus it is not a viable solution to deriving verb movement. A more nuanced analysis, which combines the availability of two distinct syntactic types of movement (head-movement for auxiliaries, phrasal movement for the lexical verb in analytic formations) with categorial specification requirements, will be shown to correctly derive the verb movement options of the Romanian inflectional cluster.

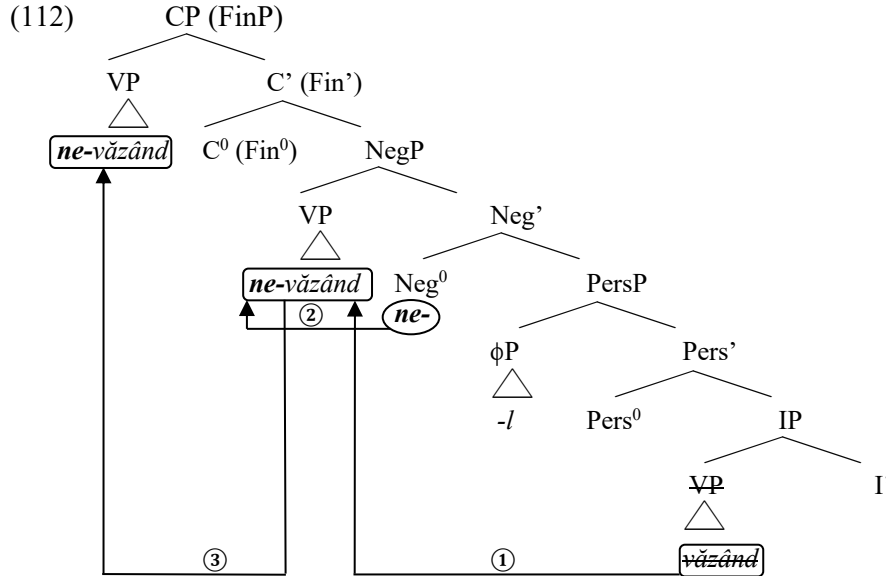
Before moving to the next section, let us briefly bring to the fore two important arguments in favour of a phrasal movement analysis of verb raising in Romanian; the phrasal movement analysis is developed at length in Nicolae (2015a, 2019), so I refer the reader to these works for more details.

The first important piece of evidence comes from the intervention effects encountered in verb raising. Consider negation once again. Recall that the freestanding clausal negator *nu* (‘not’) blocks movement to C (i.e. movement to Fin) of both synthetic (imperatives) verbs (109) and lexical verbs in analytic verb forms (conditional imprecations) (110) (see (109c), (110c)), while the prefixal clausal negator *ne-* does not

block V-to-C movement of gerunds (111); recall that V-to-C movement is diagnosed by pronominal enclisis and/or V-Aux inversion.

- (109) a. *Duceți-vă!* [V-to-C]
 go.IMP.2PL=CL.ACC.2PL
 ‘Go!’
- b. *Nu vă duceți!* [V-to-I]
 not CL.ACC.2PL go.IMP.2PL
 ‘Don’t go!’
- c. **Duceți nu vă!* [V-to-C: blocked by negator *nu*]
 go.IMP.2PL not CL.ACC.2PL
- (110) a. *Lua-l-ar!* [V-to-C]
 take.INF=CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG
 ‘May (s)he be dammed!’
- b. *Nu l-ar lua!* [V-to-I]
 not CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG take.INF
 ‘(lit.) May (s)he not be dammed!’
- c. **Lua-nu-l-ar!* [V-to-C: blocked by negator *nu*]
 take.INF=not CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG
- (111) a. *văzându-l* [V-to-C]
 see.GER=CL.ACC.M.3SG
- b. *nevăzându-l* [V-to-C: not blocked by negator *ne-*]
 NEG.see.GER=CL.ACC.M.3SG

This contrasting behaviour stems from the different nature of the two clausal negators (the analysis of the difference between freestanding *nu* and prefixal *ne-* and its relevance for verb movement is addressed in detail in Nicolae 2017). Freestanding *nu* is a phrasal element which occupies Spec,NegP; as Neg⁰ is categorially [+V], its specifier cannot be bypassed by the lexical verb on its way to the C-domain. By contrast, *ne-* is a head which lexicalizes Neg⁰, which incorporates via left adjunction into the structure of the lexical verb which transits its specifier (step (2) in (112)) and travels along with the verb to the C-domain (step (3) in (112)); for the details of the analysis, see Nicolae (2019: 16-25).



This diagnostic shows that specifiers of [+V] heads induce blocking effects, a clear indication of phrasal movement of both synthetic verbs and of lexical verbs in analytic structures.

The second piece of evidence in favour of the phrasal movement analysis comes from the behaviour of the clitic adverbs (previously discussed above, see (88)-(91), (94)-(96)): clitic adverbs are heads which incorporate into the structure of the lexical verb (similarly to the prefixal negator *ne-*) and are pied-piped by the verb under V-to-C movement (see (113b), (114b) and (115)). The incorporation of clitic adverbs proceeds in the same manner as the incorporation of the prefixal negator *ne-*, i.e. via adjunction to the left of the lexical verb when the verb reaches the specifier of the projection in whose head the clitic adverb is merged. Note in particular the gerunds in (115): the clitic adverbs and the prefixal negator *ne-* which are left adjoined to the lexical verb respect the hierarchical order of projections, i.e. the clitic adverbs (generated in various Asp-heads) are closer to the root than the prefixal negator *ne-*, since Neg is hierarchical higher than Asp.

- (113) a. *L-ar* *mai lua.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG MAI take.INF
 ‘(S)he would still take him.’
- b. *Mai lua-l-ar* *naiba!* [V-to-C]
 MAI-take.INF=CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG devil.DEF
 ‘(S)he should really go to hell!’

- (114) a. *Îmi mai citești?*
 CL.DAT.1SG MAI read.IND.PRES.2SG
 ‘Will you keep on reading to me?’
 b. *Mai citește-mi!* [V-to-C]
 MAI read.IMP.2SG=CL.DAT.1SG
 ‘Keep on reading to me!’
- (115) a. *nemaiîuându-l* [V-to-C]
 NEG.MAI.take.GER=CL.ACC.M.3SG
 ‘no longer taking him/it’
 b. *nepreaavând-o la dispoziție*
 NEG.PREA.take.GER=CL.ACC.F.3SG at provision
 ‘not quite having it available’

This second diagnostic provides precious insights for deciding how phrasal verb proceeds in Romanian. The facts reviewed above strongly indicate that Vicente’s (2007) ‘V⁰-to-Spec’ line of analysis is the correct one: the successive incorporation of heads (clitic adverbs, prefixal negation) into the structure of the lexical verb (which, as shown by the blocking effects illustrated above, moves through specifiers) indicates that X⁰-to-Spec movement is one of the possible types of syntactic movement found in the derivation of verb movement in Romanian.

3.2.3.6. The derivation of periphrastic verbal forms

This section is devoted to the derivation of the principal auxiliary configurations of Romanian; as a working principle, I have omitted certain projections which are irrelevant for the derivation (do not induce blocking effects or the like).

3.2.3.6.1. The compound past configuration

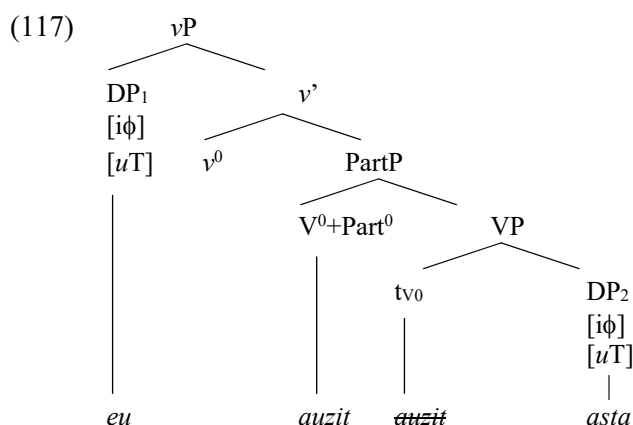
Consider example (116) below, featuring a verb in the compound past, made up of the perfective auxiliary *have* plus a non-agreeing verbal past participle:

- (116) *Eu am auzit asta.*
 I AUX.PERF.1SG hear.PPLE this
 ‘I (have) heard this.’

The derivation starts out in the lower thematic domain, with the direct object projected as a complement to the V⁰ head, and the subject projected as a specifier of vP. Theta-marking is ensured at this step, as the DPs are in appropriate positions (under the

assumption that theta-marking is configurationally determined (see Hale and Keyser 1993 and related work). The DPs are specified as $[i\phi]$ and $[uT]$; the valuation of $[uT]$ against a functional head endowed with valued interpretable T-feature results in case assignment²⁶. (The subject and the direct object have been labelled as DP_1 and, respectively, DP_2 for the case of exposure).

The space between v and V also contains a participle phrase (PartP), and the verb head-moves to PartP to value its participial morphology against an interpretable participial feature (movement for purposes of categorization).



The low thematic domain also contains a VoiceP. A few comments on voice are in order at this point. I follow Merchant (2013), who claims that Voice gets universally projected; this intuition has been implicit since the formulation of UTAH (The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis; Baker 1988) (Ian Roberts, *p.c.*)²⁷. More generally, allowing Voice⁰ to get universally projected captures the insight of the structuralist tradition, which treats voice as a system of binary oppositions (see, for a recent survey, Pană Dindelegan 2006). I follow Baltin (2012), Rouveret (2012) and Roberts (2013) (among other authors) and I assume that Voice rather than v is the clause-internal phase.

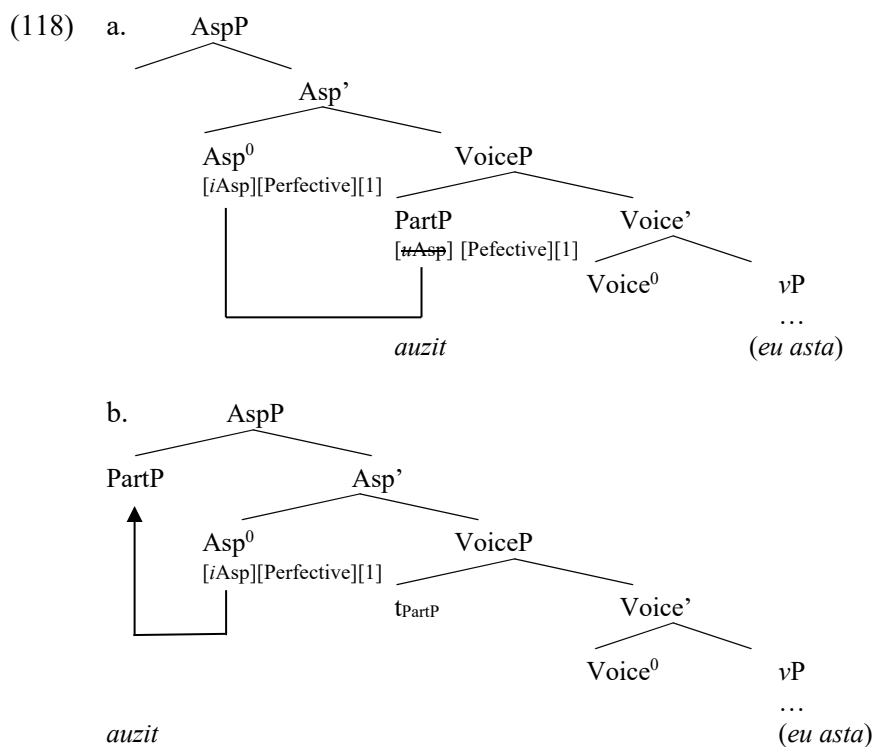
Upon undergoing movement for categorization purposes, the lexical verb undergoes movement to the Voice projection. Biberauer and Roberts (2005) insist that both the option of moving as a head, and the option of moving as a phrase are available in principle. It is not clear whether the movement type chosen is head movement or X^0 -to-Spec movement (as argued in the previous section); for uniformity, I will assume X^0 -to-

²⁶ The term “assignment” is employed in a rather loose manner; case results from the valuation of the $[uT]$ feature of DPs against an $[iT]$ feature of an appropriate head (a T-head or a P-head).

²⁷ Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) drew my attention to the fact that in Collins’ (2005) model, VoiceP projects only with passives.

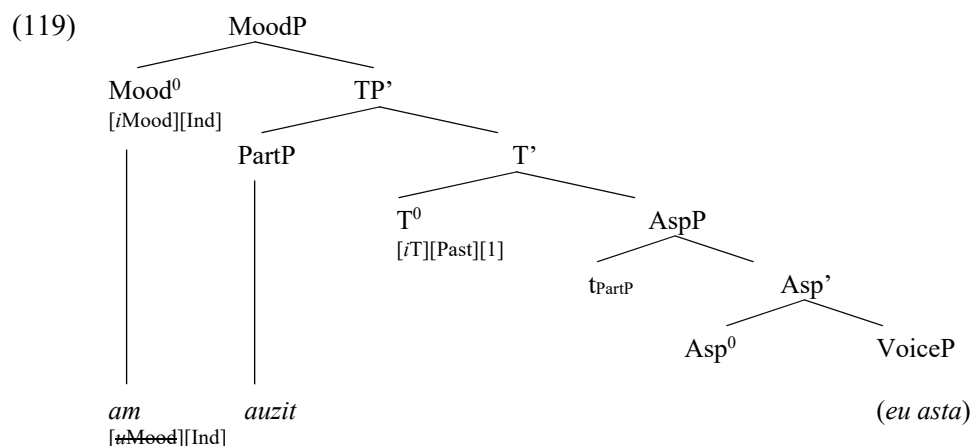
Spec, yet it is important to keep in mind that this particular type of movement is diagnosable in the IP-field with the help of clitic adverbs (see the previous section).

The next step of the derivation concerns the merger of AspP, endowed with an *interpretable* but *unvalued* Asp feature which matches the *uninterpretable*, but *valued* (as Perfective) on the participle; participial morphology encodes the [Perfective] value either through the verb root (for a limited number of verbs which have preserved the infectum / perfectum distinction, e.g. *merge* ‘walk, go’, *spune* ‘say’, *vedea* ‘see’) or through specialized morphemes (-u-). Agree between Asp⁰ and lexical verb takes place (118a), followed by movement of PartP to Spec,Asp (118b).



The next steps of the derivation are as follows: first, similarly to the valuation of aspect features, the lexical verb also values the interpretable unvalued functional feature of T⁰; secondly, the perfective auxiliary *have* is inserted in Mood⁰ and values via merge the interpretable unvalued interpretable [iMood] [__] feature of Mood⁰. Several comments are in order here. Recall that perfective *have* has ϕ -features and mood features (unambiguously indicative), but it is underspecified with respect to tense (in contrast to its French counterpart, see the discussion in §IV.3.2.2 above). The implication of this state of affairs is that the interpretable, but unvalued T-feature of the T⁰ head (i.e. [iT] []) has to

find a different Goal to ensure a proper tense specification. As stated above, the participle is also equipped with a [*uT*] [Past] feature, besides the Perfective aspect feature. The T-head probes the participle and Agrees with it, and PartP then moves to Spec,TP²⁸. The final step of the derivation is representation (119).



However, one of the anonymous reviewers of my 2016 paper (Nicolae 2016) remarked that, in the absence of auxiliaries, Romanian clauses are untensed²⁹. I agree with this observation, especially if we take into consideration the fact that the compound past also has a present perfect reading (see also the discussion below) – which can be accounted for if we assume the auxiliary *have* vestigially preserves its present tense feature. At least in some structures, in addition to mood-marking, the auxiliary is also involved in the valuation of T-features. For my purposes here, I propose a simplified account and assume

²⁸ Importantly, after the [*iT*][] feature of the T⁰ head has received a value, it can probe down and Agree with the subject DP₁, deleting its [*uT*] feature. At this point, the subject need not undergo A-movement to any position in the inflectional spine; it can only undergo movement across negation accessing the left periphery of the clause. Note that the [*uT*] feature on the DP₁ subject might have matched the feature [*uT*][Past] feature of the participle earlier in the derivation, as they have been in certain points of the derivation in a c-command configuration (sufficient to ensure Match, a prerequisite for Agree, cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2001), but the deletion of uninterpretable feature takes place against *interpretable* features; thus, T-insertion is absolutely necessary.

²⁹ Nicolae (2016: 617, fnt. 12) also takes up this issue: “However, as one of the reviewers correctly remarks, in the absence of auxiliaries, Romanian clauses are ungrammatical (untensed). I see two possibilities to solve this problem:

(i) we may preserve the idea that Romanian auxiliaries are Mood markers endowed with an obligatory selection feature (select [*iT*]); hence, participles and infinitives need to be obligatorily selected in order to obtain a converging derivation;

(ii) or we may adopt a split-T hypothesis, roughly modelled on the Reichenbachian distinctions (see Reichenbach 1947, cf. also Giorgi and Pianesi 1997), and allow the auxiliaries to merge in the highest T-head (presumably, the head encoding Speech Time), and subsequently undergo movement to Mood.”

that the lexical verb ensures the valuation of tense and the auxiliary is responsible for the valuation of mood, and leave the exact division of labour (between auxiliaries and lexical verbs) in the valuation of TAM features to future research (I think that by adopting a more detailed cartographic structure along the lines of Cinque 1999 enables one to provide a more accurate solution to this issue).

The net result is that the order Perfective Auxiliary > Participle > Subject is read off the syntactic structure, without the need to stipulate any process of complex head formation process (Giurgea 2011) or specifier-less projections (Avram 1999, Alboiu 2000). The fact that the auxiliary is not directly involved in providing a temporal value for the T-head is straightforwardly shown by the existence of absolute participial constructions, in which nominative assignment takes place **in the absence** of any auxiliary:

- (120) *Odată venit Ion / el, a început spectacolul.*
 once come.PPLE John.NOM / he(NOM) AUX.PERF.3SG begin.PPLE
 show.DEF
 ‘As soon as John / he came, the show began.’

The presence of personal pronouns in this construction, which overtly mark case distinctions, unambiguously shows that we are dealing with genuine nominative case assignment and proves that the auxiliary is not directly involved in Tense/Case valuation; the genuinely tensed element in the Romanian compound past is the participle. This conclusion is supported from a diachronic perspective as well. The Romanian perfective auxiliary *avea* ‘have’ has grammaticalized from the *indicative present tense* form of the lexical verb *avea* (Dimitrescu 1978), undergoing phonological reduction, syntactic impoverishment (loss of theta-marking properties and of the internal eventive argument, see Roberts 2013: 14) and semantic bleaching, with grammaticalization consisting in merger in a higher position (Mood) rather than in the low lexical layer of the clause (cf. Roberts and Roussou 2003); compare the columns of the table below, featuring lexical *avea* and perfective *avea*:

(121)	lexical <i>avea</i>	→	perfective <i>avea</i>
person 1SG:	<i>am</i>	→	<i>am</i>
person 2SG:	<i>ai</i>	→	<i>ai</i>
person 3SG:	<i>are</i>	→ <i>are</i>	→ <i>a</i>
person 1PL:	<i>avem</i>	→ <i>avem</i>	→ <i>am</i>
person 2PL:	<i>aveți</i>	→ <i>aveți</i>	→ <i>ați</i>
person 3PL:	<i>au</i>	→	<i>au</i>

As extensively shown by Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007) (as well as by many other authors), grammaticalization consists of *bleaching* rather than *enrichment* of features; thus, the presence of a [Past] feature on the perfective auxiliary *avea* would be surprising as a past specification was not present on the source of this auxiliary to start with. Rather, with respect to TAM features, the grammaticalization process characterizing *avea* has consisted in removing the tense feature [Present] and preserving the mood feature [+Indicative] and the ϕ -features. The removal of the tense feature [Present] is, however, not complete: although the default reading of the compound past is that of a preterite, in appropriate contexts the present perfect reading is always possible, as shown by the following examples and their English equivalents (Stoicescu 2013):

- (122) a. *Nu am văzut filmul ieri.* [preterite]
 not AUX.PERF.1SG seen.PPLE movie.DEF yesterday
 ‘I didn’t see the movie yesterday.’
 b. *Nu am văzut așa ceva în viața mea.* [present perfect]
 not AUX.PERF.1SG seen.DEF such thing
 in life.DEF my
 ‘I’ve never seen such a thing in my life.’

To sum up, in this section I have derived the compound past configuration, insisting on the following issues:

(i) the participle undergoes movement to the specifier of Tense, a step of movement which ensures that the participle may also access higher positions (V-to-C movement);

(ii) being unambiguously specified for the Indicative mood, the auxiliary merges in Mood⁰; this derives the adjacency effect between the auxiliary and the participle, which undergoes raising to Spec,TP;

(iii) this account also ensures that the auxiliary occupies a high position in the IP.

In conjunction with our overall goals (the licensing of verbal ellipsis), it will be shown that it is the syntactic structure of the compound past that prevents the perfective auxiliary *have* from licensing deletion (example (29), repeated below):

- (123) *Am mers la școală. *Și tu ai [mers].*
 AUX.PERF.1SG go.PPLE to school too you AUX.PERF.2SG go.PPLE
**Tu n-ai / nu ai [mers].*
 you not=AUX.PERF.2SG not AUX.PERF.2SG go.PPLE
 ‘I went to school. (i.m.) You did too.’
 ‘You didn’t.’

3.2.3.6.2. Non-agreeing *be* configurations

Let us look again at the table presented at the end of §IV.3.2.2, which depicts the relevant differences between the three auxiliaries discussed here: perfective *have*, non-agreeing *be*, and agreeing *be*.

	agreeing <i>be</i>	non-agreeing <i>be</i>	perfective <i>have</i>
ϕ -features	yes	no	yes
mood features	yes	?	yes
tense features	yes	?	no
participle agreement	yes	no	no
interposition of the subject	yes	no	no

TABLE 4 – AGREEING *BE* VS. NON-AGREEING *BE* VS. PERFECTIVE *HAVE*

There are two question marks concerning the internal make-up of *fi* in this table: does it have mood features and tense features? Let us look once more at the configurations in which non-agreeing *be* occurs in order to provide answers to these questions. This obligatorily involves reassessing the distribution of non-agreeing *be*.

Recall that negation is the highest head (when it projects) of the IP-domain; elements occurring to the left of negation are C-elements, while elements occurring to the right of negation belong to the inflectional cluster. From this perspective, the distribution of *fi* can be re-evaluated, with the result that the elements selecting *fi* fall into two classes:

- (124 **Class 1:** *fi* is selected by auxiliaries (agreeing elements), which occur below negation

perfect conditional	<u>Nu</u> <i>aş</i> <u>fi</u> <i>mers</i> <i>la cinema</i> not AUX.COND.1SG be.INF go.PPLE at cinema 'I wouldn't have gone to the cinema.'
future perfect	<u>Nu va</u> <u>fi</u> <i>deja</i> <i>terminat</i> . not AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF already finish.PPLE 'He will not have already finished.'
participial presumptive	<u>Nu o</u> <u>fi</u> <i>venit</i> ? not AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF come.PPLE 'Couldn't he have come?'
gerundial presumptive	<u>Nu va</u> <u>fi</u> <i>dormind oare?</i> not AUX.PRESUMP.3SG be.INF come.GER maybe 'Isn't he sleeping maybe?'

- (125) **Class 2:** *fi* is selected by C-heads (non-agreeing elements), which occur above negation

perfect subjunctive	[...]	<i>să <u>nu</u> <u>fi</u> venit</i>	
		SĂ not be come.PPLE	
perfect infinitive	[...]	<i>a <u>nu</u> <u>fi</u> venit</i>	
		A _{INF} not be.INF come.PPLE	

How is this distribution relevant for the nature of *fi*?

First of all, like perfective *have*, non-agreeing *be* does not have a tense value: it may occur in a gerundial presumptive construction, which is unambiguously *present*³⁰; it may also occur in the future perfect, which is a complex form which presupposes the evaluation of a *future* event with respect to another future event, previous to speaker evaluation, thus, the value of the future perfect is *future*; furthermore, it occurs with the perfect subjunctive and infinitive and with the participial presumptive, which are unambiguously *past* forms. Thus, we may safely conclude that *fi* does not have any contribution to the tense specification of the periphrastic form. The tensed element is the participle, contributing a *past* value or *evaluation in the past* in the case of the future perfect, with the exception of the gerundial presumptive, which has present reference; the unique present value given by the gerund is due to its internal make-up: the gerund is based on the *infectum* root, and thus disfavours strictly perfective / past readings.

What is therefore the value contributed by *fi* to the interpretation of these forms? I follow here Avram and Hill (2007), according to whom non-agreeing *be* is an *irrealis* auxiliary.

The realis / irrealis distinction is a mood distinction. Irrealis implies that the proposition with which it associates is nonactual or nonfactual. Certain mood-tense forms like the past tenses of the indicative are by default *realis*; thus a redundancy rule ensures that [Indicative, Realis, Past] → [Indicative, Past]. Other forms, however, overtly mark the distinction between mood in the classical sense (Indicative / Conditional, etc.) and realis/irrealis modality. For example, the perfective auxiliary *have* marks both [Indicative] and [Realis], while the future or conditional auxiliaries mark only [Indicative] / [Conditional], and the realis / irrealis contribution has to come from a different place. Intuitively, the realis / irrealis distinction for mood is similar to the perfective / imperfective distinction for tense.

From a formal perspective, this idea can be captured if we allow the Mood projection to be split into two separate heads; these heads project syncretically when associated with auxiliaries like perfective *have* or with synthetic verb forms, but get split

³⁰ Actually, it is the only *present continuous* form of Romanian!

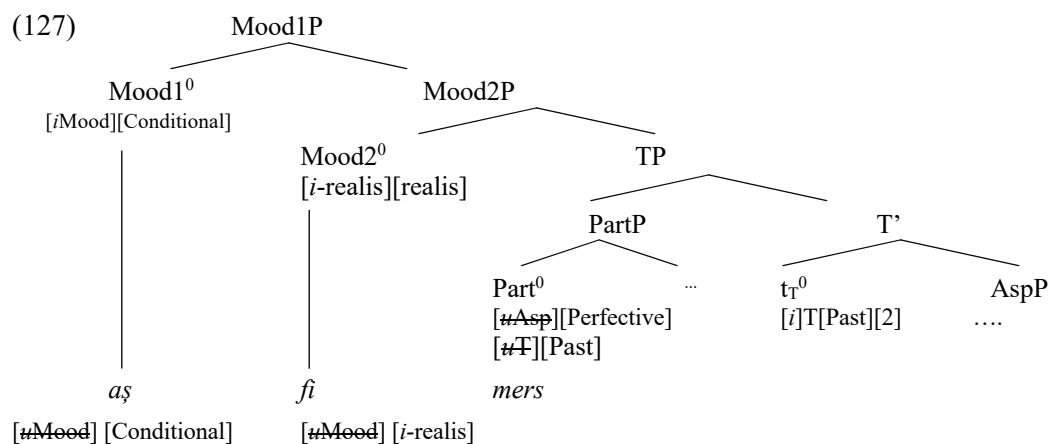
when different elements satisfy, in turn, the [Indicative / Conditional etc.] vs. the [Realis / Irrealis] necessities. These heads are hierarchically ordered, with the head encoding [Indicative / Conditional etc.] features higher than the head responsible for the [realis / irrealis] distinction. Call them Mood1, endowed with [*i*Mood] [_], and Mood2, specified as [*i*realis] [_]. This ordering, obvious in the Class 1 above, is verified empirically: auxiliaries encoding mood in the traditional sense (e.g. the future auxiliary, conditional auxiliary) are always higher than non-agreeing *be*, which encodes *irrealis*.

Let us then derive the two classes of constructions featuring irrealis *be* under these assumptions. Recall that phrasal movement of the lexical verb to a relevant specifier in the inflectional domain is at play. The derivations focus on the higher portion of the sentential core and depict the final stage of the derivation.

Consider example (126), featuring a perfect conditional, made up of the conditional auxiliary *aş*, the irrealis auxiliary *fi* and the (obligatorily non-agreeing) past participle form of the lexical verb.

- (126) *Aş fi mers la cinema.*
 AUX.COND.1SG be.INF go.PPLE at cinema
 ‘I would have gone to the cinema.’

On the basis of the facts presented in §IV.3.2.2 above, I assume that non-agreeing, irrealis *be* merges in the same position as perfective *have*, as a head of a MoodP, the lower Mood2P. When *fi* merges, the participle is in the specifier of TP (having already valued the aspect and tense features). Since the conditional auxiliary has no value other than indicating [Conditional] mood, it will merge as the head of the higher Mood1P, valuing by lexical insertion (i.e. merger) the [*i*Mood] [_] feature of head.



Consider now the perfect infinitive and the perfect subjunctive, illustrating the second class of *fi* constructions; they are made up of the infinitive complementizer *a* / subjunctive complementizer *să* (Fin-heads) + *irrealis* be + the participle form of the verb.

- (128) a. *a* *fi* *venit*
 A_{INF} be.INF come.PPLE
 b. *să* *fi* *venit*
 SĂ be.INF come.PPLE
 ‘to have come’

At this point, a legitimate question is what sort of forms are the perfect infinitive and the perfect subjunctive. The perfect infinitive can never surface in the absence of a selecting head; the perfective subjunctive may independently surface only when the archaic / etymological conditional value of *să* (Lat. *si/se*)³¹ gets activated, namely, in conditional and dubitative non-embedded interrogative sentences when *să* is read as “if”, but not otherwise; importantly, non-embedded non-interrogative sentences are not possible.

- (129) *Să* *fi* *plecat* *trenul?*
 SĂ be.INF leave.PPLE train.DEF
 ‘Is it possible that the train left?’

Thus, both the perfect subjunctive (in its default reading) and the perfect infinitive behave as non-finite forms, despite the fact that they express temporal and aspectual information.

Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to assume that the Mood1P, the projection responsible for establishing grammatical mood, does not project. Instead, the Fin heads *a* and *să* select a Mood2P valued as [i-realis] [irrealis] by non-agreeing *be*, satisfying their c-selectional necessities (probably also encoded as an interpretable, but unvalued [*i-realis*] [] feature).

Thus, the derivation of the examples proceeds as in the previous case, with the exception that Mood1P does not get projected, and the complementizers *a* and *să* are inserted in Fin⁰ (see representation (131)).

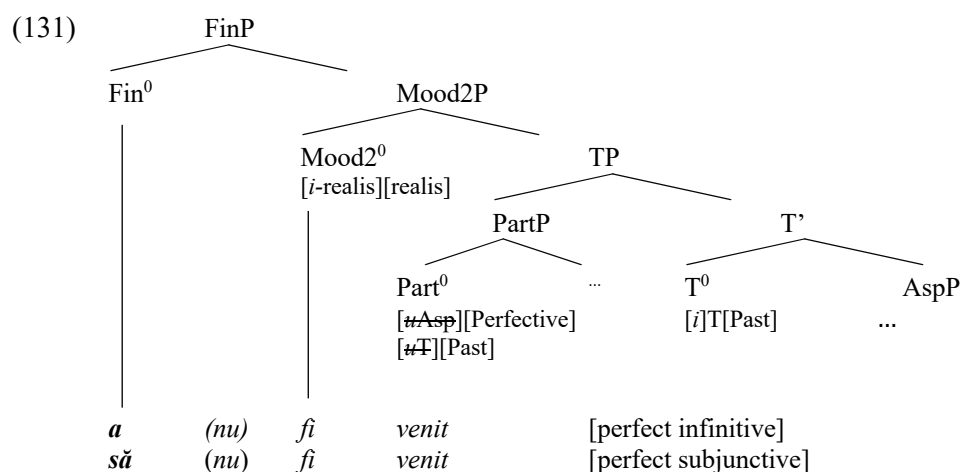
A natural question is what makes it possible for the perfect subjunctive to stand by itself in non-embedded questions (example (129)). Most probably, by virtue of retaining its etymological / archaic meaning, *să* has the possibility to undergo Agree with Force⁰ (the

³¹ This is the most widely accepted etymology: Meyer-Lübke (1900), Densusianu (1961), Dimitrescu (1978), ILR(II), Rosetti (1986), Coteanu (1994); scholars like Ivănescu (1980), Dragoș (1995), Grecu (2004), Frâncu (2009), Philippide (2011) also endorse the traditional etymology.

highest head of the C-domain) for clause typing reasons, i.e. type the phrase as interrogative, with a special dubitative value. Raising *să* in this constructions is not an option, as it would predict that XPs displaced to the left periphery intervene between *să* and the inflectional cluster, a prediction which is not borne out by the empirical data (130).

- (130) **Să trenul fi plecat* t_{trenul} ?
 Să *train.DEF* *be.INF* *leave.PPLE*

As a side note, one should mention that it is possible that infinitival *a* and, in this particular construction, subjunctive *să* head an unsplit CP (themselves actually being C-heads); in Nicolae (2015a) I actually argue that infinitival *a* never allows for a split-C structure, being a Force-Fin complementizer (= a C^0).



In conclusion, in this section I have derived the main configurations featuring non-agreeing / irrealis *fi*, insisting on the following problems:

(ii) the Mood projection may be split into two separate heads, one devoted to the valuation of the features traditionally interpreted as “mood features” (e.g. Indicative, Conditional, Imperative, etc.) and one devoted to the *realis* / *irrealis* division;

(ii) the non-agreeing auxiliary *fi* is an *irrealis* auxiliary, which merges in the Mood2⁰ head of the extended verbal projection;

(iii) I have assumed, as previously, that the lexical verb undergoes XP-movement to the TAM heads; this option provides the correct results with respect to clustering and linearization;

(iv) the syntax of periphrastic constructions without irrealis *fi* (the standard future, and the present conditional) can be accommodated along these lines, provisionally

assuming that the *irrealis* specification is given by the infinitive (which is based on a morphologically imperfective root, as shown by the verbs which still distinguish overtly *infectum* from *perfectum* root³²) in the absence of a different (ir)realis mood marker. Thus, the future and the conditional, which also have an irrealis interpretation, are made up of the same auxiliaries present in their perfect counterparts, *voi* (future) and *aş* (conditional), plus the bare short infinitive, which is based on the *infectum* root. More research has to be done in order to clarify the relation between *irrealis* interpretation and *imperfective* aspect. However, if we think of Smith's (1991) definition of imperfective aspect, the connection between *imperfectivity* and *irreality* seems to be straightforward. According to Smith (1991), sentences in the imperfective viewpoint are "informationally open" or, putting it differently, the imperfective viewpoint does not present a closed event, although it allows inferences about its beginning and/or ending. The connection between a "nonactual / nonfactual" event (irrealis) and an "informationally open event" (imperfectivity) cannot be missed. By contrast, in realis sentences, with analytic tenses, the non-finite form on which the sentence is based is in the perfectum root (i.e. the participle). Perfectum forms, being grammatically marked for perfective aspect, have actuality entailments, which are contradictory with the nonactual / nonfactual nature of irrealis modality. Furthermore, if we think of irrealis forms which are based on lexical verbs in the perfective forms (e.g. the perfect conditional, the future perfect, the participial presumptive), we immediately notice that *fi* is lexically inserted to supersede the realis interpretation provided by the perfective root. The same goes for the irrealis forms based on a Fin /C marker (the perfect subjunctive, the perfect infinitive): *fi* gets inserted to supervene the realis reading of the participle. Recall that certain verbs have preserved the perfectum / infectum distinction in their root (e.g. *merge* 'walk, go', *auzi* 'hear': infectum *merg-* / *aud-*, perfectum: *mers-* / *auz-*), while all the other verbs of Romanian have compensated the loss of the root distinction by inflectional means, a fact which should not be underestimated as it is revealing for the importance of grammatical aspect in Romanian.

Speculating a bit on this problem, it might be the case that there exists a feature hierarchy/geometry (of the sort advocated by Harley and Ritter 2002 for pronouns) among verbal features like [Tense], [Mood], [Aspect], [Irrealis], a hierarchy which allows a certain feature to interpretatively supersede another. For instance, [Past] tense supersedes [Irrealis] in the case of the Romanian imperfect tense, by imposing an actuality entailment. The details of this issue should be elaborated in further work.

I now turn to the agreeing *be* configurations, which differ in relevant respects (ellipsis included) from the configurations analysed so far.

³² I.e. if we take into consideration verbs like *merge* 'go, walk' and *auzi* 'hear' (infectum root: *merg-*, *aud-*; perfectum root: *mers-*, *auz-*), we observe that the infinitives *merge* and *auzi* are based on the infectum root.

3.2.3.6.3. Agreeing *be* configurations: the passive and copular constructions

Let us start by restating the properties of agreeing *be* in contradistinction to non-agreeing *be* and to perfective *have*. I will focus on passive *be* in what follows; copular *be* has an essentially similar behaviour (recall also that the existential constructions have been included in the class of copular constructions). Essentially, in both constructions, agreeing *be* takes a small clause complement; the internal structure of the small clause differs³³ (the copular small clause is surely different from the passive small clause), but their external syntax after the merger of *be* does not. In the derivation of the passive, I will employ Collins' (2005) smuggling approach; in other words, the passive construction is based on an "indirect derivation" (in the sense of Roberts 2013).

First of all, like *have*, but unlike irrealis *be*, agreeing *be* has ϕ -features. As insisted in the section devoted to perfective *have*, ϕ -features on auxiliaries are not relevant in the derivation of verb movement; they are interpretable and may license null *pro* subjects (see Alboiu 2009, Roberts 2010a), but do not have implication for verb movement along the clausal spine.

The relevant properties of agreeing *be* are those that distinguish it from other auxiliaries. First of all, in the synthetic forms, it has Mood, Tense and Aspect features; I have not insisted in the sections devoted to the comparison of agreeing *be* with the other auxiliaries on the presence of Aspect features. The presence of Aspect features is shown by the usage of different roots with perfective and imperfective forms, as indicated by table below³⁴, despite the highly suppletive nature of other synthetic forms (e.g. the present tense).

Imperfective forms:	IMPERFECT: <i>eram, erai, era, eram, erați, erau</i>
Perfective forms:	PLUPERFECT: <i>fusesem, fuseseseși, fusesese, fuseserăm, fuseserăți, fuseseră</i>
	SIMPLE PAST ³⁵ : <i>fusei/fui, fuseși/fuși, fuse/fu,</i> <i>fuserăm/furăm, fuserăți/furăți, fuseră/fură</i>
	PAST PARTICIPLE: <i>fost</i>

³³ However, there are similarities between the passive and the copular small clause: for instance, agreement takes place in both (participle – internal argument agreement; predicative adjective – DP subject).

³⁴ A word of precaution is in order here: from a historical perspective, Romanian *be* has a mixed paradigm (Frâncu 2010: 74), as it has taken certain forms Lat. *fiō, fieri, factus sum* ('to become, to be made') (the third person singular of the present subjunctive). In any case, the perfective / imperfective distinction is clear.

³⁵ Note that *fi* 'be' has two paradigms in the simple past.

The implication of this state of facts is that, like the regular lexical verbs, it has to merge extremely low in the structure (in V) and undergo movement to the topmost verbal projection of the inflectional cluster (MoodP).

Another characteristic that will prove relevant is the fact that the participle in the passive construction is an agreeing participle; the presence of ϕ -features on the participle indicates that it is categorially specified as [+N]: in other words, it can undergo agreement with the internal argument, and, in contrast to the verbal participle of synthetic tenses, it may target the nominal projections scattered along the extended verbal projection. In the account of verb movement developed above, the adjectival participle cannot be probed by verbal heads to satisfy their interpretability requirements, and may as well remain *in situ* after the phrase containing it has been moved to Spec, VoiceP. The fact that the participle does not undergo obligatory movement (however, it may be displaced to the left periphery, for information structure purposes) is shown by the inexistence of clustering effects of the sort depicted with other auxiliaries in the case of the passive construction; compare (132a), a periphrastic passive, with (132b), a (non-passive) compound past.

- (132) a. *Fusese* ***nuvela*** *citită* *deja?*³⁶
 be.PLUPERF.3SG novelette read.PPLE.F.SG already
 ‘Had the novelette been already read?’
- b. **Ai* ***tu citit*** *nuvela?*
 AUX.PERF.2SG you read.PPLE novelette.DEF

The final question is what kind of verb is the passive auxiliary *be* from a syntactic/thematic point of view. To begin with, note that it is usually treated as an unaccusative verb in copular and existential sentences (Rouveret 1998; see, on Romanian, Dragomirescu 2010: 227-235 and references therein); however, it is not a regular unaccusative, which has theta-marking abilities (i.e. theta-marking of the internal argument), but it is a verbal form completely devoid of any type of thematic structure³⁷, i.e. an athematic predicate. I believe that this characterization extends to passive *be* as well, since the thematic relations are established in the VoiceP small clause it selects. This assumption finds support from morphological point of view: inflectionally, at least in Romanian, nothing distinguishes copular vs. passive *be*.

³⁶ Note that the subject bears (contrastive) focus; postverbal subjects are focused in Romanian (Cornilescu 2000).

³⁷ Treating *be* uniformly as a verb devoid of thematic structure in all its occurrences does not go against the non-unifying accounts from the logical tradition. For instance, Frege (1892) distinguishes *predicative* (e.g. *The morning star is a planet*) vs. *identification* (e.g. *The morning star is Venus*) propositions in the class of copular constructions based on *be*; *be* actually has no import on determining the different readings here; by contrast, it is the structure of the small clauses *be* selects that gives rise to the different interpretations. See Rouveret (1998) for details.

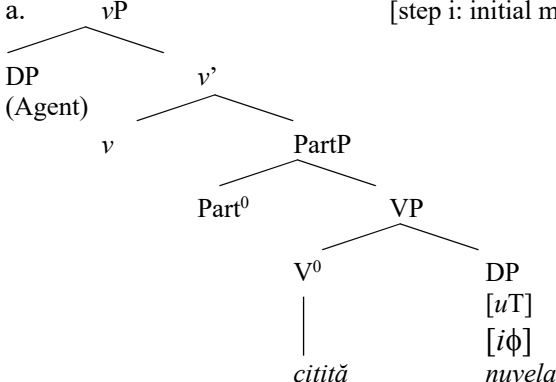
The characterization of *be* as a verb completely devoid of thematic structure has the following semantic and syntactic implications. Semantically, it uniformly selects a saturated expression, with a $\langle t \rangle$ -denotation, as *be* does not tamper with the truth conditions previously established in the small clause it selects. Syntactically, Voice does not need to project in the case of *be*, as *be* has no role to play in determining syntactic relations associated with Voice; Voice relations are determined in the complement domain selected by *be*. Thus, the phasal domain of *be* is νP (or even VP).

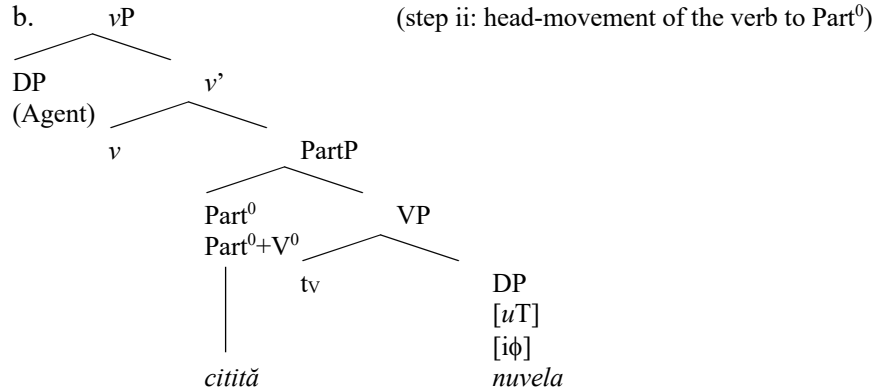
Let us now turn to the syntactic analysis of the passive construction, keeping in mind that the derivation of copular constructions is similar (modulo the different internal structure of the small clause selected by *be*). Consider example (133).

- (133) *Nuvela* *este* *citită* (*de (către)...*).
 novelette.DEF be.IND.PRES read.PPLE.F.SG by
 ‘The novelette is read.’

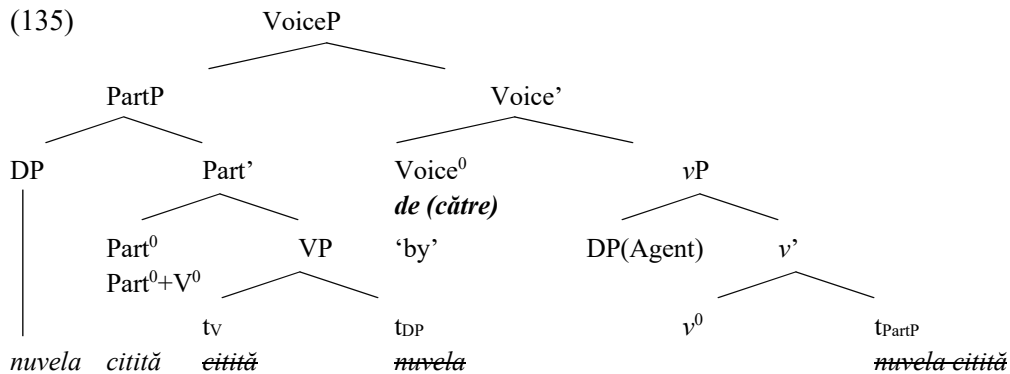
As stated above, I will follow Collins’ (2005) analysis of the passive. Since this is a well-known analysis, the derivations below will be sketchier than the previous ones.

According to Collins, the low area of the clause consists of the νP projection (accommodating the external argument, i.e. the *by*-phrase), taking as a complement a Participle Phrase (PartP); the complement to the PartP is a VP (step i, merger): the lexical verb (inserted in the derivation as a participle), raises to Part^0 to value its participial morphology (step ii). The internal argument (which, as an effect of smuggling, later becomes the subject of the passive construction) merges as a complement to V.

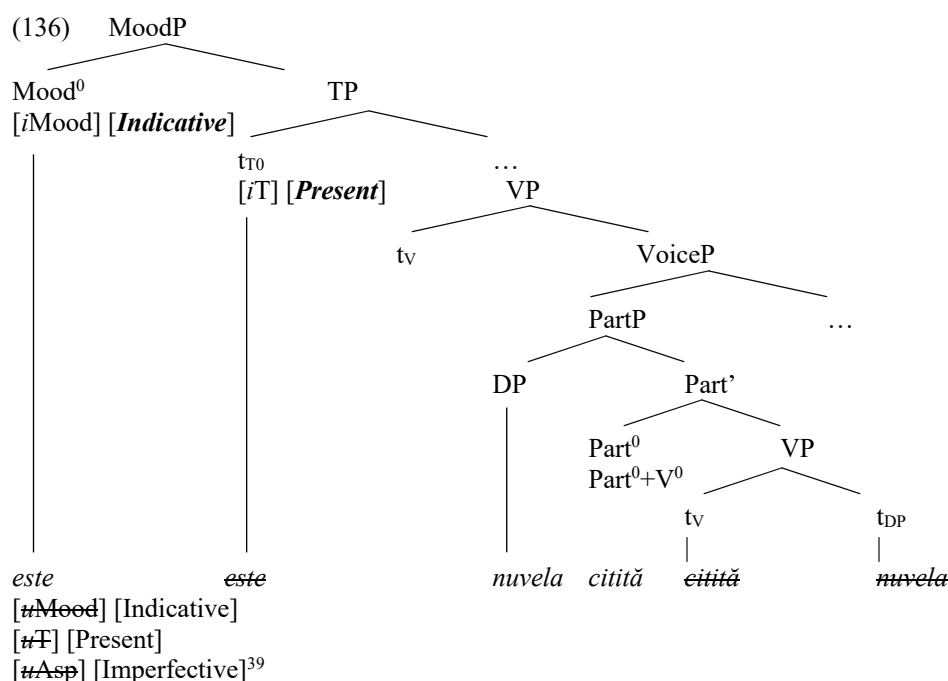
- (134) a.  [step i: initial merger configuration]



Next, the Voice projection is inserted in the derivation; the PartP undergoes movement to Spec,VoiceP, pied-piping along the internal argument, whose [*uT*] (i.e. case) feature is still unvalued. As shown by Collins (2005) on the basis of object shift and other diagnostics, movement of the participle to Voice represents an instance of *phrasal* movement. After the participle has reached Spec,VoiceP, the internal argument is free to escape the PartP through Spec,Part and can undergo further raising in order to value its [*uT*] feature and be assigned nominative. The presence of the DP in Spec,PartP creates a subject-predicate agreement configuration: since the DP c-commands the PartP, the [*uφ*]-features can get valued and the *uninterpretability* component is satisfied. Note that this variety of Agree and valuation is different from the ones characterizing the valuation of verbal features of verbal functional heads: in this case, the DP contributes both the interpretative component necessary to delete the *uninterpretable* diacritic of the Part⁰-head, but also the values for the agreement features acquired by the participle. Thus, in our particular example, DP is [*iφ*] [3SG, F, SG], and the participle is [*uφ*] [_ Person, _ Gender, _ Number] (this step has not been represented below). The structure of the complement of *be* is thus the one below:



At this point, *be* is inserted in the derivation; it is fully equipped with Mood, Tense, and Aspect features; in our example, we are dealing with a third person, present, indicative form of *be*; *be* will undergo raising to the topmost verbal position of the inflectional cluster, i.e. MoodP. Whether *be* undergoes head or phrasal movement is immaterial for the purposes of the present analysis. Also, note that the subject DP raises out of the PartP and accesses a higher position, where it can be assigned nominative case (delete its [*u*T] feature against an instance of [*i*T] [Present] in the current example). Notably, the subject need not raise any further for A-related necessities; it can undergo movement to a topic left periphery³⁸ (or to a different peripheral projection; e.g. it can be a hanging topic: *Cartea #, este citită* ‘The book #, it is being read’). Subject movement out of PartP is not represented in the derivation. The final representation of example (133) is given in (136).



³⁸ According to Cornilescu (2000), preverbal unstressed subjects are topics (recall also that postverbal subjects are foci); actually, if we take into account the fact that Romanian is a null subject language and put to use Alboiu's (2009) idea that the subject of the finite verb is always a *pro* coindexed with the theta-marked subject, then the lexical subject is information-structurally marked in all its positions (see also Cotfas 2011: ch. 4).

³⁹ The present tense is based on the infectum root of verbs; as such, the Asp⁰ head is valued [Imperfective]; however, the imperfective specification of the present tense does not seem to play any crucial role in the interpretation of the Romanian present tense (i.e. it gets interpretatively superseded by other features) (see the discussion in §IV.3.2.3.6.2 above).

The derivation of passive constructions featuring *be* in an analytic form is minimally different and follows the steps sketched for the derivation of non-passive periphrastic constructions (see §IV.3.2.3.6.3 above).

3.2.3.6.4. Deriving periphrastic verbal forms: summary and implications

The previous sections have been devoted to the derivation of periphrastic verbal constructions, based on auxiliaries.

Except for the passive construction, in all the other periphrastic constructions, the lexical verb occurs in a non-finite [+verbal] form (non-agreeing participle or bare short verbal infinitive), and undergoes phrasal movement to the specifier of the projection whose features [interpretable, unvalued] are valued by the [uninterpretable, valued] TAM features on the lexical verb. This is ultimately because Romanian auxiliaries are generally devoid of T-features due to historical reasons: for instance, perfective *have* has grammaticalized out of the indicative present tense of its lexical counterpart; since grammaticalization involves bleaching/impoverishment rather the acquiring of features, it is reasonable to assume that in and of itself it does not possess a [Past] feature (the presence of this feature would imply historical enrichment of formal features), but that it does however preserve its mood feature [Indicative]. The same reasoning applies to all other non-passive auxiliaries, as they all appear to be devoid of T-features in and of themselves: for instance, the future auxiliary and the conditional auxiliary may occur in perfective constructions, this ultimately showing that the auxiliary does not carry a T-feature.

The scheme below summarizes the positions occupied by Romanian (non-passive) auxiliaries (phrasal movement of the lexical verb and the PersP have been omitted in the scheme):

(137) The structure of periphrastic forms with one auxiliary

Mood1	Mood2 (T	AspP	...
<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>		perfective <i>have</i>
	<i>fi</i>		irrealis <i>be</i>
<i>voi</i>			future <i>voi</i>
<i>aş</i>			conditional <i>aş</i>
<i>o</i>			presumptive <i>o</i>

The auxiliary structure of periphrastic forms with multiple auxiliaries is the following (recall that the perfect infinitive and subjunctive have Fin^0/C^0 heads in their internal structure):

(138) The structure of periphrastic forms with multiple auxiliaries

Fin	Mood1	Mood2 (T	Asp ...
	<i>voi</i>	<i>fi</i>	future perfect/ participial presumptive
	<i>aş</i>	<i>fi</i>	perfect conditional
	<i>o</i>	<i>fi</i>	participial presumptive
	<i>o</i>	<i>fi</i>	gerundial presumptive
<i>să</i>		<i>fi</i>	perfect subjunctive
<i>a</i>		<i>fi</i>	perfect infinitive

Several empirical facts can be drawn from this general presentation of the syntax of Romanian auxiliaries.

(i) Only one auxiliary displaying ϕ -feature inflection is allowed per periphrastic verb form; thus auxiliaries specified for person cannot select one another; this is obvious from table (138); similar considerations hold of the relation between auxiliaries and the lexical verb: auxiliaries displaying subject ϕ -features cannot select verbs inflected for ϕ -features; thus, a general selection principle can be imposed: a form endowed with subject ϕ -features cannot select another form endowed with ϕ -features;

(ii) Perfective *have* is unambiguous realis, while irrealis *fi* is unambiguously irrealis; this means that they do indeed compete for the same position, but this position is Mood2⁰: thus, they cannot simulatenously occur in the same structure; however, perfective *have* is also specified as [Indicative], and this allows it to move further up to Mood1⁰ to value mood, while irrealis *be* does not possess mood features and remains *in situ*.

I take (i) to be correct as it is motivated by the empirical data. What could be the source of this selection principle? The answer is trivial: if subject ϕ -feature inflection always generates a *pro* (see Alboiu 2009, Roberts 2010a), then independent syntactic reasons prevent the proliferation of *pros* in the structure. Most probably, case reasons having to do with multiple nominative assignment are at play here: nominative assignment should be unique, as to identify the subject of the clause (except for cases of subject doubling, which should be treated like pronominal object doubling).

The statement in (ii) actually verifies and supports the analysis of auxiliary selection put forth by Ledgeway (2015), according to whom in Romanian, *be* is always lower than *have*. Furthermore, in my account, of the auxiliaries, *have* is the only one that moves.

As can be easily observed from (137) and (138), T never hosts an auxiliary; thus, the burden of providing a value for the [*i*T] feature of T⁰ falls on the lexical verb, which appears as a categorially specified [+V] form (a verbal participle, an infinitive or a verbal

gerund); this goes a long way towards explaining why movement of the lexical verb to Spec,TP is compulsory.

With respect to the agreeing *be* constructions (passive and copular), it suffices to say that the verb *be*, inflected for Mood, Tense, Aspect (and person) behaves like a regular verb and satisfies the necessities of the TAM heads; raising the adjectival participle (or of a constituent from the copular small clause) has no effect with respect to the TAM featural requirements.

Let us now turn to the evaluation of the ellipsis facts.

3.3. Accounting for the auxiliary-complement ellipsis disparities

Recall that the goal of this section was to account for the availability of ellipsis with agreeing *be* in contrast to its non-availability with other auxiliaries (inflected or non-inflected). Consider the examples below, featuring grammatical verbal ellipsis licensed by agreeing *fi* (139) and ungrammatical verbal ellipsis with other auxiliaries (a structure with a single auxiliary (140a), and a structure with two auxiliaries (140b)).

- (139) *Ministrul nu este așteptat la ceremonie.*
 minister.DEF not be.IND.PRES.3SG expect.PPLE at ceremony
Președintele însă este <așteptat>.
 president.DEF however be.IND.PRES.3SG expect.PPLE
 ‘The minister is not expected at the ceremony. However, the president is.’
- (140) a. *Am mers la școală.*
 AUX.PERF.1SG go.PPLE to school
 **Și tu ai <mers>.*
 too you AUX.PERF.2SG go.PPLE
 ‘I went to school. (i.m.) You did too’
- b. *Aș fi mers la cinema.*
 AUX.COND.1SG be.INF go.PPLE at cinema
 **Și tu ai fi <mers>.*
 too you AUX.COND.2SG be.INF go.PPLE
 ‘I would have gone to the cinema. (i.m.) You would have, too.’

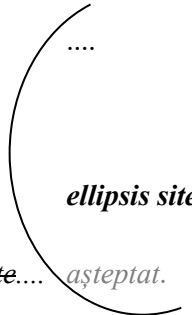
This behaviour under ellipsis receives a maximally simple explanation, deriving exclusively from narrow syntactic facts. Assume, as is usually the case, that the hallmark of ellipsis is T⁴⁰ (see Lobeck 1995, Rouveret 2012 among many other authors; cf. also

⁴⁰ VVPE languages actually indicate that the complement of T gets deleted (see Rouveret 2012). Thoms (2010) provides crucial evidence coming from English that the cut off point of ellipsis is T. In a nutshell,

Emonds 1978) and that all auxiliaries have the virtual ability to delete their complement as they are D-linked (López 2000).

Ellipsis in (140) is ruled out by the fact that the lexical verb obligatorily undergoes raising to T to value the [*i*T] [] features of T. In other words, even if ellipsis of the domain below T applies, it is idle, as the complement of T has been fully voided by the movement of the lexical verb to T⁴¹. See the representations in (141); (141a) corresponds to (140a) and (141b) corresponds to (140a).

By contrast, in (139), the lexical verb does not raise to T, as T's requirements are satisfied by the features of the passive auxiliary itself, properly equipped with TAM features. As soon as it has accessed T, ellipsis can be licensed. Representation (142) corresponds to example (139).

(141)	Mood1	Mood2	Spec,T T	
a.	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>mers</i>	 <i>ellipsis site</i>
b.	<i>ai</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>mers</i>	
(142)	<i>este</i>	<i>este</i>	<i>este....</i>	<i>așteptat.</i>

Licensing ellipsis as soon as auxiliaries are merged (and assuming that the verb has not moved to T, which is not true) is not an option either: as extensively shown by Rouveret (2012), the stranding of uninterpretable features (in this case, the [*u*T][Past] features of the participle) in the ellipsis site is not permitted; see Rouvert's (2012) *Principle of Recoverability* (143), which distinguishes examples like those in (144):

(143) **Principle of Recoverability**

A VP-elided constituent cannot contain any non-recoverable interpretable feature.

only in British English is the main verb *have* allowed to raise to T (e.g. *I **have** not the knowledge to predict*, Winston Churchill, speech on the Korean War, example extracted by me, A.N.; according to Thoms 2010, this construction is ungrammatical in American English); it is only in British English that the ellipsis-containing sentence *Rab has a copy of Lolita, and Morag **has** < > too* (taken from Thoms 2010) is grammatical. Thus, the licensing of ellipsis by the main verb *have* is dependent on the raising of this verb to T.

⁴¹ Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) asks the legitimate question of what happens with direct objects of transitive verbs. I believe that <e>-denoting direct objects are clitic doubled, and thus are recovered (as pronominal clitics); in the case of kind-denoting direct objects, the second occurrence is typically a null object. In §IV.5.1, I suggest an extension of the ellipsis theory put forward here, with a slightly different conclusion than the one suggested in this footnote.

- (144) a. *Peter saw your parents last week, but he hasn't <> since.* <seen>
b. **John won't enter the competition, but Peter is <>.* <entering>

See §II.3.2.2, where the issue of stranding unvalued/uninterpretable features within the ellipsis site has been discussed in detail.

At this point, one may ask a more profound question: why is it generally that Romanian (and Romance) auxiliaries do not allow deletion? I believe that the answer lies within the account of auxiliaries developed above: Romanian auxiliaries do not inherently possess T-features, and this might be due to the fact that they have generally developed out of the present tense of lexical verbs (see the case of perfective *have*; similar considerations might also hold for the future and conditional auxiliaries *voi* and *aş*, although their origin is still controversial; see Zafiu 2013b: 37-43). Syntactic impoverishment has systematically jettisoned the [Present] / [Tense] feature, as this particular feature could be compensated by the lexical verb in a non-finite, non-agreeing form, and systematically preserved Mood distinctions.

There are also morphophonological factors which contribute to the Romanian non-passive auxiliaries' inability to license the ellipsis of their complement: Romanian auxiliaries are clitics (Avram 1999), and a well known feature of clitics is that they need a morphophonological host, which, in this particular case, is the lexical verb.

The relevance of tense in the licensing of ellipsis will be highlighted in the **Conclusions** of this chapter (§IV.5) and in the general conclusions of the book.

4. Ellipsis licensed by modal verbs

The analysis of verbal ellipsis with modal licensors is subject to a complex discussion which has to take into account, from a syntactic perspective, at least the following two facts: the syntactic type of modal verbs (raising or control verbs?) and the structural dimension of the complement of modal verbs (vP, TP, or CP?). Furthermore, the form – modal interpretation correlations are extremely important.

In keeping with the methodological principle stated in §I, namely that elliptical configurations cannot be properly understood if the syntax of the overt structure is not properly analysed, the particularities of ellipsis with modal licensors will be shown to follow from the general syntax of modals and their complements combined with the restrictions imposed by the application of ellipsis, which teases out the anaphoric part from the contrastive/focalized one, and appropriately marks them.

I will focus on the modal verbs *putea* ('can, be able to') and *trebui* ('must, have to'). In her 1956 (republished as 2005a) study on modal verbs in Romanian, Valeria Guţu

Romalo also includes in the class of modals the verb *avea* ('have') in constructions like (145) below and the verb *fi* ('be') in impersonal constructions like (146)⁴²:

- (145) a. *Am de făcut asta până mâine.*
 AUX.PERF.1SG DE_{SUP} make.SUP this until tomorrow
 'I have to do this until tomorrow.'
- b. *Am să fac asta până mâine.*
 AUX.PERF.1SG SĂ make.SUBJ.1SG this until tomorrow
 'I have to do this / will do this until tomorrow.'
- (146) *E de făcut asta până mâine.*
 be.IND.PRES.3SG DE_{SUP} make.SUP this until tomorrow
 'This has to be done until tomorrow.'

These constructions are genuinely modal, featuring root readings, but the modal reading is not necessarily introduced by *avea* ('have') or *fi* ('be'); it is rather induced compositionally by the combination between these verbs and the subjunctive / supine. Thus, *avea* ('have') and *fi* ('be') are not genuinely modal verbs; rather, they are attracted into a modal periphrasis. The form in (145b), featuring *avea* ('have') followed by the present subjunctive, stands a dual interpretation: it may have a modal reading, as its supine counterpart in (145a), or it may have a future reading (GLR 1966, GALR 2008, GBLR 2010, GR 2013); the future reading is historically derived from the modal reading.

4.1. Form – modal interpretation correlations

The main dimension on which modal verbs are distinguished is the root / epistemic distinction. Root modality is associated with notions traditionally grouped under *deontic* modality (obligation, permission and related notions) and under *dynamic* modality⁴³ (intention, willingness, ability); epistemic modality is associated with inferences from known premises.

From the outset, note that the two modal verbs under discussion do not have identical selection properties: *putea* selects a (present) subjunctive or a bare short infinitive (147), while *trebui* selects a subjunctive or a participle / supine (see more below on this

⁴² In the 1956 study on modals, Guțu Romalo also introduces in this class verbs like *veni* ('come') in the construction *veni* + dative + subjunctive (*Îmi vine să plâng* 'I feel like crying) or (impersonal) *fi* ('be') in the construction *fi* + subjunctive (*Era să plâng* 'I almost cried'); in a later study, initially published in 1961 (and republished as 2005b), she includes these verbs in the class of aspectual (semi-)auxiliaries.

⁴³ Dynamic modality is the "least" modal of all types of modality, as it describes a factual situation: *he can speak perfect French*. Not all authors agree with the inclusion of dynamic modals in class of modals.

point) (148); both *putea* and *trebui* may be followed by a *that*-CP with an unambiguous epistemic reading, but, in this construction, their fully verbal status is doubtful (149).

- (147) a. *Pot* *să cânt.* [present subjunctive complement]
 can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ sing.SUBJ.1SG
 b. *Pot* *cânta.* [bare short infinitive complement]
 can.IND.PRES.1SG sing.INF
 ‘I can sing.’
- (148) a. *Trebue* *să cânt.* [present subjunctive complement]
 must.IND.PRES SĂ sing.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I must sing.’
 b. *Trebue* *să fi cântat.* [perfect subjunctive complement]
 must.IND.PRES SĂ be.INF sing.PPLE
 ‘He must have sung.’
 c. *Oda* *trebuie cântată.* [participle complement]
 ode.DEF(F) must.IND.PRES sing.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The ode must be sung.’
- (149) a. *Poate* *că a cântat.* [*that*-complement]
 can.IND.PRES.3SG that AUX.PERF.3SG sing.PPLE
 ‘Maybe he sang.’
 b. *Trebue* *că a cântat.* [*that*-complement]
 must.IND.PRES that AUX.PERF.3SG sing.PPLE
 ‘He must have sung.’

A significant generalization will be shown to emerge: modal verbs uniformly select *phasal domains*⁴⁴. Importantly, this uniformly characterises modal verbs as operators taking scope over a propositional domain given Chomsky’s early definition of phases as complete propositional units (Chomsky 2001).

Note also that *trebui* has a very odd behaviour with respect to subject agreement properties: it has a [+agreement] and a [-agreement] paradigm (person agreement); at first sight, the [-agreement] paradigm seems to correlate with epistemic readings, while the [+agreement] one seems to correlate with root (deontic) interpretations; this generalization has been shown not to hold (Avram 1999: 222, fnt. 222)⁴⁵. In the case of *trebui*, I have chosen to limit myself to follow the recommendations of the Romanian Academy (DOOM²

⁴⁴ I would like to thank to Adam Ledgeway (*p.c.*) for drawing my attention to this very important property of Romanian modals.

⁴⁵ The verb *trebui* is a Slavic loanword; in Church Slavonic it had two complementary paradigms, an agreeing and a non-agreeing paradigm and it seems to have had a varying behaviour throughout the history of Romanian.

and GBLR 2010) with respect to agreement⁴⁶. Given this ambiguity, we have chosen not to give person agreement indications in the glosses.

A final mention on *trebui* is in order at this point: it also has a non-modal version, equivalent to English *need* / *require*. In this configuration, *trebui* has a full argument structure, being built with a Goal / Benefactive in the dative and a Theme subject in the nominative:

- (150) *Îmi trebuie o carte.*
 CL.DAT.1SG need.IND.PRES a book
 ‘I need a book.’

Non-modal *trebuie* will not be of interest for the analysis that follows.

In light of the fact that both *putea* and *trebui* accept both root and epistemic readings, the relevant factor determining a particular reading is the complement of the modal verb: certain combinations genuinely permit a dual reading (when the complement of the modal verb is a subjunctive or a bare short infinitive), while other combinations trigger an unambiguous epistemic or root reading (when the complement is a perfect subjunctive or a participle).

Avram (1999) correctly observes that, except for certain constructions (to be discussed below), the root / epistemic distinction does not correlate with a specific configuration. For instance, modal verbs followed by the present subjunctive may give rise to both root and epistemic readings; take *putea* ‘can, be able to’ first:

⁴⁶ My native intuition is that, except for the case when *trebui* (like *putea*) is followed by a *that*-CP in an exclusively epistemic construction and is morphologically frozen as *trebuie* (present, third person, singular), no other agreement-interpretation correlation may be established. Essentially, *trebui* is an impersonal verb devoid of subject agreement ϕ -features as shown by the fact that, in contrast to the verb *putea*, *trebui* does not accept the impersonal voice clitic *se*:

- (i) a. *Se poate să se citească.*
 CL.REFL can.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ CL.REFL.PASS read.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘One can read.’
 b. *(*Se) trebuie să se citească.*
 CL.REFL must.IND.PRES SĂ CL.REFL.PASS read.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘One must read.’

However, due to the fact that it belongs to a regular inflectional class (the fourth conjugation, IV: *-i*), and that there are 355 other Romanian verbs (statistics based on *Dicționar invers*, 2007) from the same class ending in *-ui* just like *trebui*, which display person inflection besides *tense* and *mood* inflection, *trebui* is sometimes attracted into the paradigm of personal agreeing verbs. Agreement is always accidental (despite the recommendations of the normative grammars / dictionaries!) and is due to the inflectional similarity between *trebui* and the other verbs ending in *-ui* from the same class. This issue should be taken up in future work.

- (151) a. *Nu pot să ridic pachetul.* [root: ability]
 not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ lift.SUBJ.1SG package.DEF
 ‘I can’t lift the package.’
Nu pot să stau până la prânz. [root: permission/ability]
 not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ stay.SUBJ.1SG
 until at lunch
 ‘I am not allowed to / cannot stay until lunch.’
- b. *Opinia mea poate să pară greșită.* [epistemic]
 opinion.DEF my can.IND.PRES.3SG
 SĂ seem.SUBJ.3SG erroneous
 ‘My opinion could seem erroneous.’
Poți să fii acasă. [epistemic]
 can.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ be.SUBJ.2SG at home
 ‘It’s possible that you are home.’ (context: on the phone; one speaker asks the other to guess where he/she is)

The same goes for *trebui* ‘must, have to’ followed by a present subjunctive:

- (152) a. *Trebuie să vii imediat.* [root: obligation]
 must.IND.PRES SĂ come.SUBJ.2SG immediately
 ‘You must come immediately.’
- b. *Trebuie să fie deja acasă.* [epistemic necessity]
 must SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG/PL already home
 ‘(S)he/They must already be home.’

With respect to *putea* followed by a bare short infinitive, the same accessibility of both root and epistemic readings is at play:

- (153) a. *Nu pot ridica pachetul.* [root: ability]
 not can.IND.PRES.1SG lift.INF package.DEF
 ‘I can’t lift the package.’
Nu pot sta până la prânz. [root: permission/ability]
 not can.PRES.1SG stay.INF until at lunch
 ‘I am not allowed to / cannot stay until lunch.’
- b. *Opinia mea poate să pară greșită.* [epistemic]
 opinion.DEF my can.IND.PRES.3SG

- părea greșită.* [epistemic]
 seem.INF erroneous
 ‘My opinion could seem erroneous.’
- Poți fi acasă.* [epistemic]
 can.IND.PRES.2SG be.INF tomorrow
 ‘It’s possible that you are home.’ (context: on the phone; one speaker asks the other to guess where he/she is)

There are, however, specialized configurations in which only one of the two modal readings is available.

The root reading is enforced with *trebui* when it selects a participle / supine⁴⁷. Examples like (174) below can be given only a deontic interpretation; more exactly, these configurations express *obligation*:

- (154) a. *Trebuie stat până la prânz.*
 must.IND.PRES stay.SUP until at lunch
 ‘One must stay until lunch.’
- b. *Romanele trebuie citite până săptămâna viitoare.*
 novels.DEF(NEUT/F.PL) must.IND.PRES read.PPLE.F.PL
 until week.DEF next
 ‘The novels must be read until next week.’

Note also the severe restriction on stative verbs as complements to *trebui* in this configuration; this distributional constraint naturally follows from the fact that states cannot be generally embedded under obligation readings:

⁴⁷ I follow the relevant literature (Pană Dindelegan 1992, Avram 1997, Pană Dindelegan 2008: 509, 524, Dragomirescu 2013a: 35-36) in assuming that *trebui* might be followed by a supine as well when the complement to *trebui* is an intransitive (unaccusative and unergative) verb. Consider example (i) below:

(i) *Trebuie mers la cinema.*
 must walked.SUP at cinema
 ‘One has to go to the cinema.’

According to the authors quoted, the complement of *trebui*, i.e. the form *mers*, is a supine here because (a) it is non-agreeing, and (b) it has an active value. Against this interpretation, one might bring the following arguments: (a) the form *mers* is not preceded by the prepositional complementizer *de*, obligatory with the verbal supine (see Cornilescu and Cosma 2013) and (b) although in a very limited number, active past participles are still available in Romanian (*om băut* man drunk ‘a man that drank’; note that *băut* is a genuine adjectival participle, not an adjective which happens to be homonymous to the past participle; this adjective exists, i.e. *beat* ‘drunken’). Thus, the intransitive complement of *trebui* could be analysed as an active participle, a fact which would allow us to preserve a more restricted selection frame for *trebui*, i.e. *trebui* may select a subjunctive or a participle.

- (155) **Trebuie* *fost* *patriot*.
must be.PPLE patriot

What is relevant here is the obligation reading imposed in this configuration; states are not generally barred from occurring under a root operator; however, root modality means here *necessity* not *obligation* (note that example (156) is ambiguous between deontic and epistemic necessity, similarly to its English translation):

- (156) *Trebuie să fii patriot.* [necessity: root or epistemic]
must.IND.PRES SĂ be.SUBJ.2SG patriot
'You must be a patriot.' [context: in order to be a soldier – root
context: judging from how you behave – epistemic]

By contrast, there are also configurations in which only the epistemic reading is available. One such context involves the *perfect subjunctive*⁴⁸ selected by *trebui* in the present tense: in contrast to *trebui* selecting a present subjunctive, a construction which is systematically ambiguous between a root and an epistemic reading (see (172) and (176) above), *trebui* with a perfect subjunctive complement is unambiguously epistemic:

- (157) *Trebuie să fi venit.*
must.IND.PRES SĂ be.INF come.PPLE
'He/she/they etc. you must have come.'

This construction is also available in the imperfective; third person imperfective *trebui* displays person agreement:

- (158) *Trebuie* *să fi* *venit*.
must.IMPERF.3PL SĂ be.INF come.PPLE
'(Given the circumstances,) they must/should have come.' [epistemic]
'They had to have come.' [root: obligation in the past]

However, when the modal verb is in the imperfect, the construction does not receive an exclusively epistemic reading, but can also express obligation in the past, as also visible from the translations of example (158).

⁴⁸ Recall that the perfect subjunctive is made up of the subjunctive complementizer *să* + the irrealis auxiliary *fi* + the past participle of the verb, and that behaves as a non-finite form; see §IV.3.2.3.6.2. For instance, in example (157), given the absence of person inflection on *trebui* and on the subjunctive and of an overt subject (or any other contextual cues), the sentence can denote any subject.

Putea can take a perfect subjunctive complement only in the imperfective; in this case too, both the epistemic reading and the root reading are available; note that this is an interesting form of “tense agreement” between the selecting predicate and the embedded predicate:

- (159) *Puteau* *să fi* *venit.*
 can.IMPERF.3PL SĂ be.INF come.PPLE
 ‘It was possible that they had come.’
 ‘They were allowed to have come.’

To sum up, when the modal verb is in the imperfect, the construction does not receive an exclusively epistemic reading, but can also express obligation (158) or permission/possibility in the past (159) (root readings).

Another configuration which enforces epistemic readings is the one in which *trebui* and *putea* select a *that*-clause:

- (160) a. *Poate* *că* *a* *venit.*
 can.IND.PRES.3SG that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 ‘It’s possible that (s)he arrived.’
 b. *Trebuie* *că* *a* *venit.*
 must.IND.PRES that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 ‘(S)he must have arrived.’

Let us briefly focus on this construction in which modal verbs take a *that*-clause complement, and properly characterize it.

To begin with, note that in this configuration *putea* and *trebui* have an almost adverbial behaviour. They obligatorily occur with the third person singular form of the present indicative, despite the fact that epistemic modals do allow for person variation (see (151b) and (153b) above, featuring epistemic *putea* inflected for person; as insisted above, the odd morphological behaviour of *trebui* does not allow one to make any certain predictions) and may occur in the imperfect (161) (Avram 1999: 179 for *putea*); as known, imperfective aspect does not eradicate modality in (Hacquard 2009: 280). Thus, in the examples that follow, I have glossed *putea* and *trebui* followed by a *that*-CP as ‘can’ and ‘must’ respectively, in order to highlight their quasiadverbial nature and distinguish them from their fully verbal counterparts.

- (161) a. *Opinia* *mea* *putea* *părea* /
 opinion.DEF my can.IMPERF.3SG seem.INF

- să pară* *greșită.*
 SĂ seem.SUBJ.3SG erroneous
 ‘My opinion could seem erroneous.’
- b. *Trebuie să aibă*
 must.IMPERF SĂ have.SUBJ.3SG
vreo 40 de ani atunci.
 about 40 of years then
 ‘(S)he should have been 40 then.’

When followed by a *that*-clause, *putea* and *trebui* are not allowed to surface in the imperfect:

- (162) a. **Putea(u)* *că au venit.*
 can.IMPERF.3SG/PL that AUX.PERF.3PL come.PPLE
- b. **Trebuiau* *că au venit.*
 can.IMPERF.3SG/PL that AUX.PERF.3PL come.PPLE

Furthermore, despite the fact that negation is generally allowed to combine with modals in epistemic contexts (163), it is generally disallowed with *trebuie* / *poate că* (164):

- (163) a. *Opinia mea nu putea părea /*
 opinion.DEF my not can.IMPERF.3SG seem.INF
să pară corectă.
 SĂ seem.SUBJ.3SG correct
 ‘It was not possible that my opinion seemed correct.’
- b. *Nu trebuie să fi suferit mult*
 not must.IND.PRES SĂ be.INF suffer.PPLE a-lot
din cauza lor.
 because-of them
 ‘He doesn’t seem to have suffered a lot because of them.’
- (164)⁴⁹ a. **Nu poate că a venit.*
 not can that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
- b. **Nu trebuie că a venit.*
 not must that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE

Recall from the discussion in §IV.3.2.3.5 above that clausal negation is “the hallmark” of the verbal inflectional domain and that the clausal negator *nu* has verbal

⁴⁹ These sentences are felicitous only if *nu* is read as a focal constituent negation.

features which block the ascension of other verbal elements to the CP-domain; the restrictions to surface below negation of the forms *poate* and *trebui* unambiguously indicate that these forms are not verbal anymore, i.e. that they underwent reanalysis as epistemic adverbials; epistemic adverbials are constrained to occur in the CP-field of the clause.

Most notably, while the modal operator is morphologically frozen as a third person singular indicative form, the *that*-clause does not show any kind of constraint. The Romanian complementizer *că* ('that') may select an indicative or a conditional TP; the indicative displays tense variation on the past / present / future dimension, while the conditional shows present / perfect variation. All possible combinations are attested in the *that*-clause selected by *trebuie* and *poate*:

- (165) a. *Trebuie / poate că a venit* [ind.; compound past]
 must can that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 b. *Trebuie / poate că vine* [ind.; present]
 must can that come.IND.PRES.3SG
 c. *Trebuie / poate că va veni* [ind.; future]
 must can that AUX.FUT.3SG come.INF
 d. *Trebuie / poate că ar veni*
 must can that AUX.COND.3SG come.INF
 dacă ar avea timp. [cond.; present]
 if AUX.COND.3SG have.INF time
 e. *Trebuie / poate că ar fi*
 must can that AUX.COND.3SG be.INF
 venit dacă ar avea timp. [cond.; perfect]
 come.PPLE if AUX.COND.3SG have.INF time

Thus, the complement to *poate / trebuie că* does not display any morphological restriction, except for observing the selectional properties imposed by *că*.

These diagnostics may be taken to show that, when followed by a *that*-CP, *putea* and *trebui* have undergone reanalysis, turning into epistemic adverbials of the *probabil* ('probable/probably') or *posibil* ('possible/possibly') type. On the other hand, there are clear disparities between the distribution of *poate (că) / trebuie (că)* and the distribution of epistemic adverbs: in contrast to the epistemic adverbs *probabil / posibil*, *poate (că)* and *trebuie (că)* do not accept degree markers and disallow the presence of the copula *fi* 'be' (see the contrasts between (166) and (167), and (168) and (169)):

- (166) a. *Foarte probabil că, după acest comunicat extrem*
 very probable that after this release extremely

- de direct și de onest, se va*
 of violent and of honest CL.REFL AUX.FUT.3SG
*dezlănțui iadul.*⁵⁰
 unleash.INF hell.DEF
 'It's highly probable that, after this extremely direct and honest press release, hell will unleash.'
- b. *Foarte posibil că a venit.*
 very possible that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 'It's highly possible that (s)he has come.'
- (167) a. **foarte poate că...*
 very can that
 b. **foarte trebuie că*
 very must that
- (168) a. *ē probabil că a venit*
 is probable that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 b. *ē posibil că a venit*
 is possible that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 'It's probable / possible that he has come.'
- (169) a. **ē poate că*
 is can that
 b. **ē trebuie că*
 is must that

Taking stock of the facts presented above, a clear stand on the adverbial vs. verbal nature of *poate* and *trebuie* followed by *că* ('that') cannot be taken at this point. Importantly, there are also distributional differences between *poate că* and *trebuie că* themselves (see Zafiu 2006 for details): *poate* allows the omission of *că* and can be inserted as a parenthetical epistemic head in different positions in the clause, while *trebuie* does not display either of these two properties:

- (170) a. *Poate (că) a venit.*
 can that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 'Maybe he came.'
- b. *(Poate) a venit (poate) ieri (poate).*
 can AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE can yesterday can
 'Maybe he came yesterday.'

⁵⁰ <http://ampress.ro/fapt-diversi/bendeac-anunt-soc-foarte-probabil-dupa-acest-comunicat-se-va-dezlantui-iadul/>

- (171) a. **Trebuie* *a* *venit*.
 must AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
- b. *(*Trebuie*) *a* *venit* (*trebuie*)
 must AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE must
 ieri (*trebuie*).
 yesterday must

From this perspective, *poate* is similar, but not identical, to the Italian epistemic head *credo* analysed by Giorgi (2010: 67-78).

To sum up, the following correlations have emerged:

	Modal verb	Modal complement	Root	Epistemic
(i)	<i>putea</i>	present subjunctive	√	√
(ii)	<i>putea</i>	bare short infinitive	√	√
(iii)	<i>trebui</i>	present subjunctive	√	√
(iv)	<i>trebui</i>	participle/supine	√	*
(v)	<i>trebui</i>	perfect subjunctive	*	√
(vi)	<i>trebui</i>	perfect subjunctive	√	√
	(imperfect)			
(vii)	<i>putea</i>	perfect subjunctive	√	√
	(imperfect)			
(viii)	<i>trebuie că</i> <i>poate că</i> (quasi-adverbial expressions)	full CP	*	√
(ix)	<i>poate</i> (epistemic head)	- parenthetical -	*	√

TABLE 5 – FORM – MODAL READING CORRELATIONS

Given their quasi-adverbial nature, the elements placed in the table in positions (viii) and (ix) are not of direct relevance to our discussion of ellipsis with verbal licensors.

Let us now turn to another thorny problem with respect to the syntax of modal verbs: their syntactic type. Are the modal verbs uniformly raising verbs, as claimed starting with Wurmbrand (1999, 2003)? By contrast, is it the case that root modals are control verbs and epistemic modals are raising verbs, as claimed by earlier analyses (Ross 1969, Zubizarreta 1982, Roberts 1985)?

In light of the fact that there is a general consensus on the raising nature of epistemic modals, I will focus in the following section on providing arguments that root modals are also raisers. My result is in line with recent research on Romanian (Alboiu 2007, Cotfas 2011) and on other languages (Dutch, Aelbrecht 2010).

4.2. Raising or control with modal verbs?

4.2.1. Preliminary remarks

I follow recent research on Romanian by Alboiu (2007) and Cotfas (2011)⁵¹, according to whom *obligatory* control in Romanian is resolved via *raising* in the case of modal and aspectual verbs⁵². These classes of verbs are traditionally analysed as obligatory control verbs (see, most recently, Zafiu 2013b: 47-48; Dragomirescu 2013c: 191-201).

Let us focus on modal verbs here (for aspectual verbs, see Cotfas 2011 and Nicolae 2013b, 2016); more specifically, I will focus on biclausal structures featuring a modal plus a subjunctive, as in biclausal configurations can one properly discuss the difference between raising and control. The other relevant configurations featuring modal verbs, *putea* plus bare short infinitive and *trebui* plus participle / supine, are monoclausal configurations (*putea* plus infinitive is actually a restructuring configuration); their syntax will be dealt with in the next sections.

Similarly to Alboiu (2007) and Cotfas (2011), I give a specific understanding to the notion of *raising* with modal verbs: essentially, the subject of a modal construction is base-generated in the complement domain of the modal verb, where it is also theta-marked. What is, however, problematic is nominative assignment to this subject, this being the trigger for raising.

As known from Pesetsky and Torrego (2007, 2011), the choice of nominative morphology on a nominal reflects the fact that the respective nominal has entered an Agree relation with a feature of a relevant T(ense)/T_s(Tense-subject) head. DPs are specified with an [*u*T] feature: establishing Agree within the *v*P phase (against the [*i*T] feature of an T_{Obj} phrase, cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2011) results in accusative assignment⁵³ to the direct object; Agree with an [*i*T] feature in the CP phase (against T / T_s) ensures nominative assignment and proper subject status⁵⁴.

⁵¹ See also Dragomirescu (2011) for a similar analysis of the supine selected by aspectual verbs.

⁵² Alboiu (2007) argues that *implicative* of the *try*-type (*încerca*, *căuta* (*să*), *a se strădui*) verbs taking a subjunctive complement are resolved in the same manner. Cotfas (2011) shows that it is possible for complements to implicative verbs to have disjoint subjects and independent temporal reference (*Eu încerc să vină Maria mâine* ‘~I am trying for Mary to come tomorrow’); informally, this indicates that the subject of implicatives does not obligatorily control the subject of its complement; more generally, implicatives need not be considered obligatory control verbs in the traditional acceptance of this term, and, hence, should not be analysed on the same par with modals.

⁵³ Recall that the term (*case*) *assignment* is used in a loose manner: it reflects the fact that a DP has satisfied its [*u*T] feature against a head with [*i*T] features.

⁵⁴ Pesetsky and Torrego (2007): “nominative case on D[eterminers], N[ouns] and A[djectives] makes no semantic contribution. If we were correct, however, in viewing nominative case as unvalued T in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004), then the same features do make a semantic contribution elsewhere in the structure”.

In the specific case of modal constructions, the complement of the modal verb is unable to provide a case value for the subject, either because it is too small and does not host a relevant T(ense)/Ts(Tense-subject) projection or because it is defective. Both situations are represented (see the next paragraph and the next section). Thus, the subject receives its case from the higher modal verb. Nominative assignment is resolved, as usual, via Agree with the relevant features hosted by the T projection up to which modal verbs raise (from an inflectional point of view, modals behave like all the other lexical verbs, except for the spurious behaviour of *trebui* with respect to subject ϕ -features); subsequent A-bar raising of the subject for pragmatic purposes can take place (Alboiu 2007). Since modal verbs are operator-like, being devoid of theta-marking possibilities, this particular implementation avoids postulating multiple theta-role checking (if theta-roles are conceived of as features, as in Hornstein 1999; recall from §IV.3.2.3 that I have assumed the configurational approach to theta-roles, developed by Hale and Keyser 1993) and any other stipulations.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, there are essentially two situations in which the subject generated in the complement domain of the modal verb cannot have its case feature valued. The first situation of this type is represented by modal verbs selecting a non-finite form; two configurations of this type are available: *putea* selects a bare short infinitive; *trebui* selects a participle/supine. Both the bare short infinitive and the participle/supine do not project a sufficiently extended structure so as to possess a T_(S)-projection (see §§IV.4.3.2, IV.4.3.6). The second situation is more controversial, as it involves the subjunctive. In §IV.4.3.3.2, I will bring arguments for the uniform CP-status of the subjunctive, a fact which, at first sight, would go against the implementation of raising as suggested above. However, in light of the recent developments in phase theory, according to which the T- and ϕ -features of the complements to phasal heads are passed down / inherited from the phase head itself (see especially Chomsky 2007, 2008, Richards 2007; see, for refinements, Ouali 2008, Biberauer and Roberts 2010), I will argue, like Cotfas (2011), that the subjunctive selected by modal verbs is temporally defective; defectivity is formally represented by assuming that the C⁰ heading the anaphoric subjunctive is [*u*T], in contrast to temporally independent varieties of the subjunctive or to indicative *that*-clauses, whose C-head is [*i*T]. The temporal defectiveness of this type of subjunctive involves the necessity of a higher T-projection against whose features the nominative features of the subject get valued. Even if, at first sight, this solution seems odd, it actually constitutes evidence for Roberts' (2010a) claim that inflection manifested on verbs is of two types: person/agreement inflection and tense inflection. Each type of inflection is associated with different functions: richness of person inflection may license null (pronominal) subjects (see also Alboiu 2009), while tense inflection is responsible for nominative valuation. Under these circumstances, the fact that the present subjunctive

selected by modal verbs displays full person inflection is a clear indication that in null subject clauses we are dealing with (little) *pro*, not with (big) PRO; on the other hand, relevant diagnostics point to the fact that this subjunctive is fully anaphoric to the matrix verb, being devoid of its own temporal specification. Section §IV.4.3.3.3 is devoted to the formalization of this intuition.

Let us, for the moment, present a few diagnostics which empirically indicate that modal verbs pattern with raising verbs of the *seem*-type, rather than with control verbs of the *try*-type. As already stated, biclausal configurations are relevant; I will thus focus on *putea* and *trebui* selecting a subjunctive.

A note of caution is in order here: the above description of the Romanian subjunctive has the following implication: obligatory subject control, as conceived in standard GB, is not available in Romanian (in any case, we are not assuming standard GB here). Prototypical control verbs of the *try*-type actually display non-obligatory control, given the possibility of subject disjointness (subject coreference is not forced in any context):

- (172) *Eu* *am* *încercat să vină* *Maria*.
 I AUX.PERF.1SG try.PPLE SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG Mary
 ‘~I have tried for Mary to come.’⁵⁵

Thus, as observed by Cotfas (2011: 9), subject implicative verbs evade both a control proper and a control as raising analysis. The possibility of a disjoint subject in the subjunctive clause testifies to the temporal independence of this variety of embedded subjunctive, dubbed by Cotfas (2011) *restricted*⁵⁶ subjunctive (in opposition to the subjunctive selected by modals and aspectuals, which is an *anaphoric* subjunctive).

Thus, given the absence of *control* in the classical sense, I will proceed like Aelbrecht (2010: 23-31), who systematically compares raising verbs like *lijken* (‘seem’) with control verbs like *proberen* (‘try’) and highlights the differences between them, but we will keep in mind the fact that the Romanian equivalent of English *try* / Dutch *proberen*, namely *încerca* is not an obligatory control verb; the variety of control displayed by this verb is non-obligatory control. The Romanian equivalent of English *seem* is *părea*, a prototypical raising verb (Motapanyane 1995).

⁵⁵ Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) remarks that the marginal acceptability of this example in English indicates that *try* is not an obligatory control verb in English either.

⁵⁶ The label “restricted” indicates that the event in the embedded clause has to be simultaneous with or posterior to the one expressed by the main verb; this follows naturally from the semantics of the selecting heads and needn’t be necessarily encoded by the grammar.

4.2.2. Truth conditions under voice switch

The first and probably the most important diagnostic concerns the preservation of truth conditions under passivization: with raising verbs, truth conditions are not altered under the passivization of the complement of the selecting verb, whereas with control verbs they are. The examples below are from English, Dutch and Romanian, which shows the cross-linguistic validity of this diagnostic (English and Dutch examples from Aelbrecht 2010):

- (173) a. *The police seem to arrest the demonstrators.*
 b. *The demonstrators seem to be arrested by the police.*
- (174) a. *De politie lijkt de demonstranten te arresteren.* (Dutch)
 the police seems the demonstrators to arrest
 ‘The police seem to arrest the demonstrators.’
 b. *De demonstranten lijken gearresteerd te worden door de politie.*
 the demonstrators seem arrested to become by the police
 ‘The demonstrators seem to be arrested by the police.’
- (175) a. *Politia pare să aresteze demonstranții.* (Romanian)
 police.DEF seems SĂ arrest demonstrators.DEF
 ‘The police seem to arrest the demonstrators.’
 b. *Demonstranții par să fie arestați de poliție.*
 demonstrators.DEF seem SĂ be.INF arrest.PPLE by police
 ‘The demonstrators seem to be arrested by the police.’

As can be observed from the examples above, the a-examples are truth-conditionally equivalent to the b-examples; this is a natural expectation, as raising verbs do not possess a theta-role to discard under the passive. Let us now take a look at what happens with subject control verbs, in the same three languages:

- (176) a. *The police try to arrest the demonstrators.*
 b. *The demonstrators try to be arrested by the police.*
- (177) a. *De politie probeert de demonstranten te arresteren.* (Dutch)
 the police tries the demonstrators to arrest
 ‘The police try to arrest the demonstrators.’
 b. *De demonstranten proberen gearresteerd te worden door de politie.*
 the demonstrators try arrested to become by the police
 ‘The demonstrators try to be arrested by the police.’
- (178) a. *Politia încearcă să aresteze*
 police.DEF try.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ arrest.SUBJ.3SG

- demonstranții*. (Romanian)
 demonstrators.DEF
 ‘The police try to arrest the demonstrators.’
- b. *Demonstranții încearcă să fie*
 demonstrators.DEF try.IND.PRES.3PL SĂ be.SUBJ.3PL
arestați de poliție.
 arrest.PPLE by police
 ‘The demonstrators try to be arrested by the police.’

In none of these languages is the a-example equivalent to the b-example from a truth-conditional point of view. The availability of distinct theta-roles for the selecting predicate and for the selected predicate gives rise to this radical change of truth conditions. Furthermore, the a-examples and the b-examples give rise to completely different inferences. For example, one potential inference of (178a) is “because they were disorderly” in contrast to (178b) whose most salient inference is “because they want to make a case out of it”. By contrast, although not giving rise to fully equivalent inferences due to the active/passive switch, the examples featuring raising verbs do admit potentially equivalent inferences; for example, both (175a) and (175b) can felicitously followed by “because they were disorderly”.

Consider the following example, featuring the modal verb *putea*. Essentially, (179) is truth-conditionally equivalent to (180), but a few comments are in order at this point. Avram (1999: 183-184) observes that while the active sentence in (199) is subject to both an ability reading (dynamic modality) and a permission reading (deontic modality), the ability⁵⁷ reading disappears in the passive variant (180).

- (179) *Ion poate spăla cămașa.*
 Ion can.IND.PRES.3SG wash.INF shirt.DEF
 ‘Ion has the physical ability to wash the shirt.’
 ‘Ion may wash the shirt.’
- (180) *Cămașa poate fi spălată de Ion.*
 shirt.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG be.INF wash.PPLE by Ion
 ‘The shirt may be washed by Ion.’

Avram (1999) takes this as evidence against the raising status of *putea* as an ability modal. While I believe that her empirical assessment of the data is correct, and that the

⁵⁷ Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) indicates that, in an English example like *English can be heard all over the world these days*, ability is ascribed to the passive implicit argument; thus, ability readings do not genuinely vanish in the passive.

ability reading is genuinely eliminated, I also believe that this empirical fact cannot be taken as an argument against the raising nature of root modals. Consider the following pair:

- (181) a. *Sondele pot extrage țiteiul.*
 oilers.DEF can.IND.PRES.3PL extract.INF oil.DEF
 ‘The oilers can extract the oil.’
- b. *Țiteiul poate fi extras de sonde.*
 oil.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG be.INF extract.PPLE by oilers
 ‘The oil can be extracted by the oilers.’

The examples in (181) are equivalent from a truth-conditional point of view. However, given the non-animacy of the subject (*oilers*), one cannot speak of genuine *ability*, neither in (181a), nor in (181b); rather, we are dealing with circumstantial possibility. Thus, if we look at (179a) again, we observe that a third root modal reading is available, namely circumstantial possibility: “given the circumstances, Ion has the possibility of washing the shirt”. This reading is also preserved under passivization: “circumstances are such that they enable the shirt to be washed by John”.

Why is then the ability reading eliminated under passivization? Simply put, the agent has to be in construction with the verb (VP) in order to license a genuine ability reading, distinct from the closely related circumstantial possibility reading. In passive sentences, the agent is not in construction with the VP. Note that Collins’ (2005) account of the passive, according to which the passive has an underlying active structure, does not straightforwardly account for this problem. However, Collins’ (2005) theory does not more generally account for the interpretative disparities between active and passive sentences: for instance, the long noted intuition that in the passive the agent is not as obligatory as it is in the active, and can be easily dropped, is not given an explanation. Consider also the following observation from Keenan and Dryer (2007: 332): “[...] it is also generally the case that agentless passives are preferred even when the language syntactically permits agent phrases. [...] text counts for various languages ([English, Dutch, Chamorro, Modern Greek]) show agented passives as much less frequent than agentless ones, even though agented ones are fully grammatical”.

I conclude that, despite the slight disparity concerning the ability reading, passive sentences featuring the modal *putea* are truth-conditionally equivalent to their active counterpart. The modal *trebui* is subject to absolutely the same treatment, but I have chosen not to illustrate its behaviour for reasons of space. This diagnostic indicates that modal verbs are raising verbs.

4.2.3. Inanimate subjects

Another diagnostic which distinguishes raising and control verbs is the availability of inanimate subjects: raising verbs can easily take a non-animate subject which surfaces with the theta-role assigned by the selected predicate, while control verbs assign their own theta-role, and inanimate subjects are degraded (as they are not good controllers; see also footnote 58). Consider the Romanian verbs *părea* and *încerca*, taken as prototypical representatives of each class (see Aelbrecht 2010: 24 for Dutch):

- (182) a. *Mașina pare să fie spălată.*
 car.DEF seem.IND.PRES.3SG SA be.SUBJ.3SG wash.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The car seems to be washed.’
 b. **Mașina încercă să fie spălată.*
 car.DEF try.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG wash.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘*The car tries to be washed.’⁵⁸

The examples in (182) feature a derived subject (a passive subject); the disparity between raising and control verbs also extends to other inanimate derived subjects, e.g. unaccusative subjects:

- (183) a. *Laptele pare să expire.*
 milk.DEF seem.IND.PRES.3SG SA expire.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘The milk seems to expire.’
 b. **Laptele încercă să expire.*
 milk.DEF try.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ expire.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘*The milk tries to expire.’

This pattern also extends to non-derived subjects, e.g. to inanimate subjects of transitive verbs:

- (184) a. *Microfonul pare să*
 microphone.DEF seem.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ

⁵⁸ There is, indeed, the possibility of constructing felicitous examples with inanimate DP as subjects to English *try* / Romanian *încerca*: *The car tries to go straight ahead* (internet) / (Rom.) *Mașina încercă să vireze la dreapta* (‘The car tries to swerve to the right’). However, in this case we are dealing with a ‘reification’ of *the car*: *the driver tries to take the car straight ahead*; the inanimate DP *the car* is unable to control the *trying* action, as it is unable to control the *going straight ahead* action.

- amplifice* *vocea.*
 amplify.SUBJ.3SG voice.DEF
 ‘The microphone seems to amplify the voice.’
- b. * *Microfonul* *încearcă* *să amplifice*
 microphone.DEF try.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ amplify.SUBJ.3SG
 vocea.
 voice.DEF
 ‘*The microphone tries to amplify the voice.’⁵⁹

To conclude, control verbs differ from raising verbs in that they do not accept inanimate subjects; the subject of control verbs has to be animate in order to be able to control the subject of the selected predicate.

Importantly, modal verbs pattern with the raising verb *părea* in allowing the subject to be an inanimate DP:

- (185) a. *Mașina poate* *să fie* *spălată.*
 car.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG wash.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The car can be washed.’
- b. *Laptele poate* *să expire.*
 milk.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG SA expire.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘The milk may expire (if you don’t drink / use it soon).’
- c. *Microfonul poate* *să amplifice*
 microphone.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG SA amplify.SUBJ.3SG
 vocea.
 voice.DEF
 ‘The microphone can amplify the voice.’
- (186) a. *Mașina trebuie să fie* *spălată.*
 car.DEF must SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG wash.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The car must be washed.’
- b. *Laptele trebuie* *să expire.*
 milk.DEF must.IND.PRES.3SG SA expire.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘The milk has to expire (in 21 days).’
- c. *Microfonul trebuie* *să amplifice*
 microphone.DEF must.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ amplify.SUBJ.3SG

⁵⁹ A reification process might improve grammaticality judgements here as well, still to a lesser extent (see the previous footnote).

vocea.

voice.DEF

‘The microphone must amplify the voice.’

The availability of inanimate subjects also indicates that modal verbs pattern with raising rather than with control verbs.

4.2.4. Idiom chunks

Another piece of evidence for the distinction between raising and control comes from the compatibility of raising verbs vs. the incompatibility of control verbs with idiom chunks (see Cotfas 2011: 181 for Romanian, on aspectual verbs).

Observe the following contrast between example (187a), featuring the raising verb *părea* ‘seem’ inserted in the structure of an idiom chunk, and example (187b), with the control verb *încerca* ‘try’ in the same context:

- (207) Idiom chunk: *Norocul îi* *surâde*
 luck.DEF CL.DAT.3SG smile.IND.PRES.3SG
 ‘Fortune smiles on him/her.’
I-a *mâncat pisica limba.*
 CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG eat.PPLE cat.DEF tongue.DEF
 ‘The cat has got his tongue.’
- a’. *Norocul pare să îi surâdă.*
 luck.DEF seem.IND.PRES.3SG SA CL.DAT.3SG smile.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘Fortune seems to smile on him/her.’
- a’’. *Pisica pare să îi fi mâncat limba.*
 cat.DEF seem.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ CL.DAT.3SG be.INF eat.PPLE
 tongue.DEF
 ‘The cat seems to have eaten his tongue.’
- b’. ??/* *Norocul încearcă să îi surâdă.*
 smile.DEF try.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ CL.DAT.3SG smile.SUBJ.3SG
- b’’. *Pisica încearcă să îi mănânce limba.*
 cat.DEF try.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ CL.DAT.3SG eat.SUBJ.3SG
 tongue.DEF
 ‘The cat tries to eat his tongue.’

The following contrast emerges when raising and control verbs intervene in the structure of idioms. In combination with the raising verb *părea* ('seem'), which is essentially an epistemic lexical verb, the idiomatic meaning of the expression is not affected (187a',a''). By contrast, the combination with the control verb *încerca* 'try' may have one of the following results: it either affects the felicity of the expression, as in (187b'), or, when the subject of the idiom is an animate entity which may act as an agent, the idiomatic meaning of the expression is altered (eliminated).

Let us see how we can implement this diagnostic with modal verbs. Recall that we have assumed, following the relevant bibliography, that epistemic modals are raising verbs and I have set my goal to defend the idea that Romanian root modals are also raising verbs. A slight complication emerges when trying to apply idiom chunk diagnostic to test the raising nature of root modals: namely, due to the generic nature of idioms, when they combine with a modal operator, the most prominent reading is the epistemic one⁶⁰; one must thus seek to find examples with idiom chunks which also allow a root interpretation besides the epistemic one.

This task is easier with the modal verb *trebui*: one of its prominent root readings is obligation, and in the appropriate context, an obligation reading can be forced upon an idiom, allowing the preservation of the idiomatic reading. Consider the idiom chunk in (208):

- (188) *I se îneacă corăbiile.*
 CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL drown.IND.PRES.3PL ships.DEF
 'Lit. His ships are drowning / sinking. → He is feeling down.'

The insertion of *trebui* in the structure in the appropriate context has a felicitous root interpretation, preserving the idiomatic nature of the construction:

- (189) *După ce a făcut în seara asta, vor*
 after what AUX.PERF.3SG do.PPLE in evening this AUX.FUT.3PL
trebui să i se înece corăbiile
 must.INF SĂ CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL drown.SUBJ.3PL ships.DEF
 'Lit. After what he has done tonight, his ships will have to drown / sink. → After what he has done tonight, he will have to feel down.'

In the case of *putea*, we have identified the idiom felicitous under a circumstantial possibility reading. Consider example (190):

⁶⁰ Cotfas (2011) does not encounter this complication, as she applies this diagnostic to aspectual verbs. Wurmbrand (1999) and Aelbrecht (2010) do not apply this diagnostic.

- (190) *Mortul de la gropă nu se mai întoarce.*
 dead.DEF from grave not CL.REFL still come-back.IND.PRES.3SG
 ‘Lit. The deceased man does not come back from the grave anymore. → The situation is irreversible.’

The insertion of *putea* in the structure favours the preservation of the idiomatic meaning and introduces a circumstantial possibility reading:

- (191) *Mortul de la groapă nu poate să se mai întoarcă.*
 dead.DEF from grave not can.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ CL.REFL still
 come-back.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘Lit. The deceased man cannot come back from the grave anymore. → Under the current circumstances, the situation cannot be changed.’

To conclude, while it is harder to obtain felicitous root readings with idiom chunks, it is not altogether impossible; the compatibility of root modals with idiom chunks indicates that they behave like raising verbs.

4.2.5. Scope properties

Wurmbrand (1999) imports a diagnostic from the classical debate on raising and control to defend the raising nature of modal verbs. In a nutshell, in raising constructions, the subject may have both high scope (scope over the matrix predicate) and low scope (scope over the embedded predicate); control constructions do not allow the subject to take narrow scope with respect to the matrix verb. According to Wurmbrand (1999), who follows previous literature on this topic, the two scopal positions in raising constructions indicate the availability of a lower position for the subject at LF in raising constructions (but not in control structures).

Consider the following Romanian example in (192), modelled on example (207) in Wurmbrand (1999):

- (192) *Cineva din București trebuie să fi câștigat la Loto.*
 somebody from Bucharest must.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ be.INF win.PPLE
 at lottery
 ‘Someone from Bucharest must have won the lottery.’

Like Wurmbrand's analogous English example, this example has two readings, one in which the subject has low scope (193a) and one in which the subject has high scope (193b):

- (193) a. In view of the evidence available, it is necessarily the case that somebody from Bucharest has won the lottery.
 b. There is somebody from Bucharest and in view of the evidence available it is necessarily the case that he won the lottery.

Note that in example (192) above the complement of the modal verb *trebui* is a perfect subjunctive; recall from the previous section (§IV.4.1) that the configurations in which *trebui* is followed by a perfect subjunctive complement are unambiguously epistemic. This interpretation is clear in (193). As already discussed, there is agreement on the fact that epistemic verbs are raising verbs. What is thus at stake here is to show that root modals are raising verbs as well. Let us see how we can import this duality of readings to the root domain.

Wurmbrand (1999) correctly observes that, in contrast to epistemic constructions like (192) above, root configurations are not necessarily ambiguous with respect to the high / low scope of the subject. In contrast to the epistemic domain, in root configurations, both high and low readings of the subject are possible, but not necessarily in the same context. Put differently, the context favours one or the other reading. Consider the following set of Romanian examples, modelled on the examples in Wurmbrand (1999); the hash sign (#) indicates that the reading marked as such is not the preferred one:

- (194) *Doi schiori români trebuie să câștige*
 two skiers Romanian must.IND.PRES.3PL SĂ win.SUBJ.3PL
cursa următoare (pentru ca fiecare dintre ei
 race.DEF next in order for either of them
să câștige Cupa Mondială).
 SĂ win.SUBJ.3SG coup.DEF mondial
 a. #It is necessary that two Romanian skiers win the next race.
 b. There are two Romanian skiers and for each of them it is necessary to win the next race.
- (195) *Un schior român trebuie să câștige*
 a skier Romanian must.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ win.SUBJ.3SG

*curşa următoare*⁶¹ (pentru ca România să aibă
 race.DEF next in order for Romania SĂ have.SUBJ.3SG
cele mai multe medalii).
 the more many medals

- a. It is necessary that a Romanian skier (whoever he/she is) win the next race.
 b. #There is a Romanian skier and it is necessary that he wins the next race.

Similar examples may be built with the modal verb *putea*.

In conclusion, Romanian presents availability for two scope positions for the subject of a root modal construction, similarly to what has been depicted for English by Wurmbrand (1999). Raising (but not control) verbs generally manifest this property (see Wurmbrand 1999 and the references therein); the manifestation of this property with Romanian modal verbs also includes them in the class of raising predicates.

4.2.6. Other diagnostics

Besides the diagnostics reviewed above, other tests have been put forward to support the claim that modal verbs, both root modals and epistemic modals, are raising verbs. The two important diagnostics left out in our discussion are (i) compatibility with expletives and (ii) preservation of quirky case. These diagnostics are inapplicable in Romanian.

Diagnostic (i) is inapplicable because Romanian does not possess (locative) expletives like Dutch *er* / English *there*; these expletives behave rather like surface subjects and it is easy to understand why they can be used to diagnose the raising nature of a given construction.

Diagnostic (ii) is a little bit more controversial. Agreement has not yet been reached as to whether the construction in (196) below, featuring the verb *plăcea* ('like') with a dative Experiencer and a nominative Theme, is a construction similar to the Icelandic one (note that the verb displays person agreement with the nominative Theme):

- (196) *Îmi place el.*
 CL.DAT.1SG like.IND.PRES.3SG he(NOM)
 'I like him.'

⁶¹ Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) has also pointed out the following English example, *Dogs must be carried on the escalator* (a real notice on the London Underground), which illustrates the high scope of the subject "It is necessary that dogs be carried on the escalator".

Authors like Alboiu (2007) and Cotfas (2011) consider that configurations like (196) are genuine quirky subject constructions and employ them in the raising vs. control debate. Recent traditional work (GR 2013) does not classify the construction in (196) as a quirky subject construction. It is not clear at all that the quirky dative is actually a subject in Romanian; it fails to pass any subjecthood test: it can't be passivised; it is never agentive, it can never impose subject agreement upon the verb, etc. This quirky dative is actually an indirect object. Furthermore, in contrast with the differences between *părea* ('seem') and *încerca* ('try') depicted above, there is no significant difference between *părea* ('seem') and *încerca* ('try') when embedding a *plăcea*-construction, a fact which once again indicates that this construction is not a quirky subject construction.

I believe that the diagnostics discussed in the previous sections provide sufficient evidence for arguing that root modals are raising verbs. Whether *plăcea*-constructions are genuinely quirky subject constructions should be addressed in future more detailed work.

4.2.7. Summary: the syntactic nature of raising verbs

In this section, I have presented a series of diagnostics that indicate that modal verbs are raising predicates. Following older results (Ross 1969, Zubizarreta 1982, Roberts 1985), I have taken for granted the assumption that modal verbs are raising verbs under the epistemic reading. The focus of the section has been to show that modal verbs are raising verbs under root readings as well. In order to verify this claim, we have systematically compared root modals with prototypical raising and control verbs by applying a series of diagnostics: preservation of truth conditions under passivization; the availability of inanimate subjects; felicitous combination with idiom chunks; scope properties.

The uniform behaviour of modal verbs as raising verbs has the following implications:

(i) modal verbs are a special variety of unaccusative verbs, unable to take their own subject;

(ii) modal verbs have a propositional complement in the domain of which the subject of modal verbs is merged and thematically marked.

A few comments on the "unaccusative" status of modal verbs are in order at this point. Note that I have employed the label "special" in the above characterization.

The unaccusative status of modal verbs is shown by the fact that they cannot be passivized (197b), (198b); the passive is exclusively expressed by the complement of the modal verb (197c), (198c):

- | | | | | |
|-------|----|--|--|--------------------------|
| (197) | a. | <i>Poate</i>
can.IND.PRES.3SG
'He can read.' | <i>să citească /</i>
SĂ read.SUBJ.3SG | <i>citi.</i>
read.INF |
|-------|----|--|--|--------------------------|

- b. **Este* *putut* *să citească /* *citi.*
 be.IND.PRES.3SG can.PPLE SĂ read.SUBJ.3SG read.INF
- c. *Romanul* *poate* *să fie* *citit /*
 novel.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG SA be.SUBJ.3SG read.PPLE
 fi *citit.*⁶²
 be.INF read.PPLE
 ‘The novel can be read’
- (198) a. *Eu* *trebuie* *să citesc* *romanul.*
 I must.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ read.SUBJ.1SG novel.DEF
 ‘I must read the novel.’
- b. **Romanul este* *trebuie* *să fie*
 novel.DEF be.IND.PRES.3SG must.PPLE SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG
 citit *de mine.*
 read.PPLE by me
- c. *Romanul* *trebuie* *să fie* *citit* *de mine.*
 novel.DEF must.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG read.PPLE by me
 ‘The novel must be read by me.’

Passivization is exclusively blocked by syntactic reasons; the formation of participles from modal verbs is freely allowed, as testified by their occurrence in analytic tenses based on the past participle:

- (199) a. *Am* *putut* *să merg.*
 AUX.PERF.1SG can.PPLE SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I was able to go.’
- b. *A* *trebuie* *să merg.*
 AUX.PERF.3SG must.PPLE SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I had to go.’

On the other hand, they are not *bona-fide* unaccusatives either: like transitives, prototypical unaccusatives have an internal argument, and this is shown by the fact that the participle of unaccusative verbs can have an adjectival usage, permitting the externalization of their internal argument; for Romanian, the *adjectival participle* diagnostic has been shown to uniformly diagnose the class of unaccusative verbs (Dragomirescu 2010: 202-205; 277-338):

⁶² Note that the present infinitive may occur in the passive voice; the passive voice of the present infinitive consists of the passive auxiliary *fi* (‘be’) in the infinitive plus the past participle of the lexical verb.

- (200) a. *picior amorțit* (Rom. *amorți* ‘get benumbed’)
 leg get-benumbed.PPLE
 ‘a numb leg’
- b. *om plecat (la munte)* (Rom. *pleca* ‘leave’)
 man leave.PPLE at mountain
 ‘a man who has left (to the mountainside)’
- c. *țară fostă comunistă*
 country be.PPLE.F.SG communist.F.SG
 ‘a former communist country’

The participle of modal verbs systematically resists adjectivization; if modals were genuine unaccusative verbs, then their should have allowed adjectival participles (Romanian unaccusatives generally accept the adjectivization of their participle; see Dragomirescu 2010):

- (201) a. **explicație putută*
 explanation(F) can.PPLE.F.SG
- b. **casă trebuită*
 house(F) need.PPLE.F.SG

The combination of these two diagnostics helps us clarify certain claims made in the literature. Let us take *putea* and *trebui* in turn.

On the basis of examples like (202) below, Avram (1999: 174, 178) claims that *putea* also has a lexical, theta-assigning version:

- (202) a. *Acum văd eu ce poate femeia.*
 now see.IND.PRES.1SG I what can.IND.PRES.3SG woman.DEF
 ‘Now I see what a woman can do.’
- b. *Așa ceva nu pot.*
 such thing not can.IND.PRES.1SG
 ‘I cannot do such a thing.’

At first sight, these examples would seem to feature a transitive *putea*, with an agentive subject and direct object (underlined). Under these circumstances, nothing would prevent the passivization of the modal verb and the externalization of the direct object. However, this prediction is not borne out: as indicated above, the participle of the modal verbs cannot be adjectivised.

The correct evaluation of the examples in (202) involves the ellipsis of the complement of the modal verb *putea* (see Zafiu 2008: 704 for this interpretation). Arguably, it is a rather odd form of deletion, as it does not necessarily require the presence

of an antecedent (see also §II.2.2.4; see also Pullum 2000 on exophoric ellipsis); however, the ellipsis site can be interpreted only as containing the verb *face* ‘make / do’ (as also visible from the translations).

- (203) a. *Acum văd eu ce poate*
 now see.IND.PRES.1SG I what can.IND.PRES.3SG
să facă femeia.
 SĂ make.SUBJ.3SG woman.DEF
 ‘Now I see what a woman can do.’
- b. *Așa ceva nu pot să fac.*
 such thing not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ make.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I cannot do such a thing.’

As shown by Pullum (2000), certain cases of exophoric (antecedentless) verbal ellipsis are possible, but in these cases, the retrieved meaning of the ellipsis site is rather conventionalised. In the Romanian examples above, the resolution of the ellipsis site always retrieves the verb *face* ‘make/do’. Thus, under these premises, the alleged direct objects (underlined in the examples) are actually remnants of ellipsis.

In more canonical cases of verbal ellipsis (i.e. in the presence of an antecedent), any kind of remnant is possible:

- (204) a. *Trebuie să învinuiesc pe cineva, (DO remnant)*
 must.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ blame.SUBJ.1SG DOM someone
dar nu pot să te învinuiesc
 but not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ CL.ACC.2SG blame.SUBJ.1SG
pe tine / dar pe tine nu pot să
 DOM you but DOM you not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ
te învinuiesc.
 CL.ACC.2SG blame.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I have to blame someone, but I cannot blame you.’
- b. (Profesor) *Trebuie să dau cuiva (IO remnant)*
 professor must.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ give.SUBJ.1SG someone.DAT
o notă mică; nu pot să îți dau
 a grade small not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ CL.DAT.2SG give.SUBJ.1SG
ție / ție nu pot să îți
 you.DAT you.DAT not can.ind.pres.1SG SĂ CL.DAT.2SG
dau.
 give.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I must give a small grade to someone, but I can’t give it to you / to you I can’t.’

We may safely conclude that the verb *putea* is not theta-assigning in any context; the contexts in which it apparently has a full argument structure are actually derived by deletion.

What about *trebui*? In §IV.4.1 above, we have insisted on the fact that *trebui* also has a lexical version with full argument structure, being roughly equivalent to English ‘need/require’:

- (205) *Îmi trebuie o carte.*
 CL.DAT.1SG need.IND.PRES.3SG a book
 ‘I need a book.’

We believe that, in contrast to *putea*, this configuration is not derived via deletion, but genuinely features a lexical variant of *trebui*: semantically, *trebui* here only means *need/require*, and does not have any modal flavour (it does not even express dynamic modality, being, however, still intensional) (see, for the same interpretation, Zafiu 2013b: 579). The application of syntactic diagnostics (e.g. passivization, etc.) which would determine more precisely its syntactic nature is blocked by its subcategorization frame: lexical *trebui* takes a dative Experiencer and a nominative Theme, exactly like the verb *plăcea*, which is known to resist passivization and other argument alternation processes. This sharply contrasts with the deletion possibilities of *putea* show above. In other words, lexical *trebui* behave like genuine dative Experiencer verbs.

Returning to our discussion related to the syntactic type of modal verbs and eliminating the lexical variant of *trebui* from the picture (which is not a modal form), we can draw the following conclusions with respect to the syntactic type of modal *putea* and *trebui*: they do not theta-mark their subject (because they are raising verbs and do not have their own agentive subject), and they do not license internal arguments (see also Hill 2012: 272 for a similar conclusion). From this perspective, they are similar to passive and copular *be* in lacking the lower phasal head responsible for argument-alternations: they are athematic predicates and VoiceP does not project. Their thematic hollowness⁶³ uniformly characterises them as *operators*. In the next section, I deal with the syntax of the principal modal configurations, endeavouring to show that modal verbs select phasal domains, i.e. complete propositional units, whose denotation is $\langle t \rangle$ (see Butler 2003, on English modals, for the same idea). The uniform characterization of the complements of modal verbs as $\langle t \rangle$ -denoting domains makes sense if we think of the diagnostics above which indicate that truth conditions are not altered by modal selectors. Crucially, the syntax of modal constructions presented in

⁶³ Zafiu (2008: 704) captures what I have informally called ‘thematic hollowness’ by proposing that “the [modal verb + modal complement] forms a syntactic-semantic unit”.

the next sections not only verifies this claim, but also makes the correct predictions with respect to the ellipsis behaviour of Romanian modal complement ellipsis (e.g. extraction) in contrast to other languages.

Let us thus turn to the investigation of the syntax of modal constructions.

4.3. The syntax of modal constructions

4.3.1. Preliminary remarks

Recall from §IV.4.1 above that *putea* and *trebui* can have different types of complements. Of the configurations reviewed in §IV.4.1, I will focus on the structures in which *putea* and *trebui* are fully verbal, namely, the configurations in which they take a subjunctive complement (both *putea* and *trebui*), and the configurations in which they select a non-finite propositional complement, a bare short infinitive (*putea*) and, respectively, a participle / supine (*trebui*).

- | | | | | |
|-------|----|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (206) | a. | <i>Pot</i>
can.IND.PRES.1SG
'I can read the novel.' | <i>să citesc</i>
SĂ read.SUBJ.1SG | <i>romanul.</i>
novel.DEF |
| | b. | <i>Trebuie</i>
must.IND.PRES.3SG
'I must read the novel.' | <i>să citesc</i>
SĂ read.SUBJ.1SG | <i>romanul.</i>
novel.DEF |
| (207) | a. | <i>Pot</i>
can.IND.PRES.1SG
'I can read the novel.' | <i>citi</i>
read.INF | <i>romanul.</i>
novel.DEF |
| | b. | <i>Romanul</i>
novel.DEF | <i>trebuie</i>
must.IND.PRES.3SG | <i>citit.</i>
read.PPLE |

I have chosen to exclude the *poate că* / *trebuie că* and parenthetical *poate* structures as they show clear signs of adverbialization, and my focus here is the investigation of ellipsis with verbal licensors.

It is important to mention that, in the chosen configurations, the modal verbs morphologically behave like regular verbs in that they have full paradigms with all finite tenses.

	<i>putea</i>	<i>trebui</i>	
(208) a.	<i>pot</i>	<i>trebuie</i>	(indicative; present)
b.	<i>am putut</i>	<i>a trebuit</i>	(indicative; compound past)
c.	<i>putusem</i>	<i>trebuișe</i>	(indicative; pluperfect)
d.	<i>putui</i>	<i>trebui(i)</i>	(indicative; simple past/preterite)
e.	<i>voi putea</i>	<i>va trebui</i>	(indicative; future)
f.	<i>voi fi putut</i>	<i>va fi trebuit</i>	(indicative; future perfect)
g.	<i>aș putea</i>	<i>ar trebui</i>	(conditional; present)
h.	<i>aș fi putut</i>	<i>ar fi trebuit</i>	(conditional; perfect)
i.	<i>(să) pot</i>	<i>(să) trebuiască</i>	(subjunctive; present)
j.	<i>(să) fi putut</i>	<i>(să) fi trebuit</i>	(subjunctive; perfect)

The fully inflected paradigm of *putea* and *trebui* indicates that they observe the regular constraints characterising the synthetic and analytic verbal forms of Romanian: movement to the highest verbal projection in the inflectional domain (synthetic forms) and, respectively, insertion of the auxiliary in a high TAM projection and the raising of the lexical verb (periphrastic forms) (see §IV.3.2.3.4 for synthetic forms, and §IV.3.2.3.6 for analytic forms). At least in the three configurations analysed here, there is no reason to assume that *putea* or *trebui* have been reanalysed as functional elements (cf. Hill 2012 for *putea*).

Putea also displays person variation; person variation is restricted (one might say accidental) with *trebui*. However, in the approach to raising presented in the beginning of the previous section, in order to assign nominative case to the subject, the important feature is the T-feature, not the person feature. This supports once again Roberts' (2010a) distinction between T-features / tense-inflection and person features / person inflection and the association of different roles for these two types of inflection (*case* for tense inflection, and *null subjects* for person inflection).

Guțu Romalo (1956/2005a) uses the label “modal semi-auxiliary” for the Romanian modal verbs *putea* and *trebui*; however, this label is not intended to denote the fact that *putea* and *trebui* have undergone syntactic reanalysis, but that they are devoid of thematic roles (similarly to auxiliaries). Hill (2012) works on the assumption that modal interpretation is directly read off the syntactic structure, and claims that *putea* has been reanalysed; she follows the spirit but not the letter of Roberts and Roussou's (2003) account of grammaticalization by proposing that, in a rich Cinquean cartographic perspective which assumes the presence of a series of distinct modal heads ($\text{Mod}_{\text{abil/permission}}$, $\text{Mod}_{\text{alethic}}$, etc.), *putea* has changed its merger site from a lower modal projection (e.g. $\text{Mod}_{\text{abil/permission}}$) to a higher one (e.g. $\text{Mod}_{\text{alethic}}$). However, as stated above, most of the configurations in which the fully verbal modal verbs *putea* and *trebui* occur are ambiguous between a root and an epistemic reading; furthermore, they are fully inflected for tense in these configurations

and there is no empirical way (e.g. adverb placement and similar tests) to diagnose the presence of different modal heads of the sort advocated by Hill (2012).

The remainder of this section devoted to the syntax of verbal modal constructions is structured as follows: I will first present the analysis of the bare short infinitive modal construction, featuring the verb *putea*; I will then analyse the particularities of the subjunctive modal construction, focusing on *putea* first, and then extending the analysis to *trebui* + subjunctive; finally, the *trebui* + participle/supine construction is briefly dealt with.

4.3.2. *Putea* + bare short infinitive

The sentences in (209) below illustrate this configuration:

- (209) a. *Pot citi romanul.*
 can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF novel.DEF
 ‘I can read the novel.’
- b. *Îl pot vedea pe Ion.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.1SG see.INF DOM Ion
 ‘I can see John.’
- c. *Le poți da prăjituri copiilor.*
 CL.DAT.3PL can.IND.PRES.2SG give.INF cookies
 children.DEF.DAT
 ‘You can/might give cookies to the children.’

The following problems have to be dealt with in the analysis of this construction:

- (i) the clausal status of the combination (mono- or biclausal), (ii) the status of the infinitive; (iii) the derivation of the construction.

As stated in §IV.4.2 above, in this configuration, *putea* can have both a root and an epistemic reading; therefore, the epistemic / root divide is not important at this point⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ In order to obtain the different modal readings, one can assume, like Hill (2012, who follows Cinque 1999), that the inflectional domain above *v/V* contains different modal projections associated with different modal readings (*Mod_{abil/permission}*, *Mod_{alethic}*, etc.); the internal or external merger of the modal verb in such a designated projection yields the different relevant modal interpretations. See the previous subsection for discussion.

4.3.2.1. Monoclausal or biclausal?

From a syntactic perspective, this configuration is a *restructuring configuration* (Motapanyane 1995, Avram 1999, Hill 2012)⁶⁵. Restructuring is a process by which operations associated with the lower predicate (cliticization, auxiliary selection etc.) are extended to the domain of the higher predicate; restructuring configurations are monoclausal (Rizzi 1978, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004). The diagnostics reviewed below verify the claim that the configuration analysed here is a restructuring configuration.

First of all, in this configuration, all types of clitics raise out of the infinitive domain and adjoin to the modal verb:

- (210) a. *Îl poți citi.* (acc. clitic raising)
 CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.2SG read.INF
 ‘You can read it.’
- a’. **Poți îl citi.*
 can.2SG CL.ACC.M.3SG read.INF
- b. *Le poți da cărțile.* (dat. clitic raising)
 CL.DAT.3PL can.IND.PRES.2SG give.INF books.DEF
 ‘I can give them the books.’
- b’. **Poți le da cărțile.*
 can.IND.PRES.2SG CL.DAT.3PL give.INF books.DEF
- c. *Se poate citi aici.* (voice clitic raising)
 CL.REFL.IMPERS can.IND.PRES.3SG read.INF
 here
 ‘One can read here.’
- c’. **Poate se citi aici.*
 can.IND.PRES.3SG CL.REFL.IMPERS. read.INF here

Note especially example (210c), which features the passive-impersonal voice clitic SE: the fact that this voice clitic raises and adjoins to the tensed modal verb indicates that the voice properties of the lower predicate are taken over by the higher predicate.

Secondly, negation can be exclusively expressed by the high predicate:

⁶⁵ Adina Dragomirescu in GR (2013: 194-197) analyses the bare short infinitive modal construction as a “complex predicate” construction.

- (211) a. *Nu poți citi.*
 not can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF
 ‘You cannot read.’
- b. **Pot nu citi.*⁶⁶
 can.IND.PRES.1SG not read.INF

The modal verb and the bare short infinitive share their subject; disjoint subjects are never possible:

- (212) ***Eu pot citi tu.*
 I can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF you

Furthermore, the infinitival complement does not have any type of temporal independence; it is never possible to insert adverbs with disjoint temporal reference in the structure:

- (213) **Azi nu pot citi mâine.*
 today not can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF tomorrow

Restructuring is possible only in the absence of the infinitival complementizer *a*⁶⁷ (hence the label *bare* short infinitive for the infinitival complement of *putea*). In principle, it is possible to topicalize the infinitival complement of modal verbs, but topicalization is permitted only when the infinitival complementizer *a* is present in the structure (Guțu Romalo 1956/2005a: 161)⁶⁸; compare (214a) with (214b).

- (214) a. *A citi poți, a înțelege, nu.*
 A_{INF} read.INF can.IND.PRES.2SG A_{INF} understand.INF not
 ‘You can read, but you cannot understand.’
- b. **Citi poți.*
 read.INF can.IND.PRES.2SG

⁶⁶ This example has a certain degree of felicitousness just in case *nu* is parsed as a marker of constituent negation, obligatorily in contrastive structures: ?*Pot nu citi, ci scrie* (‘~I can not write, but read’); example (211b), as it stands, is however, unacceptable, as the second member of the contrastive pair is not present.

⁶⁷ See §IV.3.2.3.6.2 above, Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000) and Nicolae (2015a) for arguments that the infinitival marker *a* is a complementizer; the key distributional factor is the fact that *a* obligatorily precedes the clausal negator *nu*.

⁶⁸ Note that the topicalization of the short infinitive is obsolete in contemporary day Romanian; it is, however, well-attested in the language of the 19th c. Thus, for present-day native speakers, all the examples featuring short infinitives preceded by *a* are odd, felt as bookish, but not ungrammatical.

(215) *A-l citi nu poți.*⁶⁹
 A_{INF}=CL.ACC.M.3SG read.INF not can.IND.PRES.2SG
 ‘You cannot read it.’

(216) *A nu-l crede pot.*
 A_{INF} not=CL.ACC.M.3SG believe.INF can.IND.PRES.1SG
 ‘I can not⁷⁰ believe him.’

(217) *Nu pot a nu-l crede.*
not can.IND.PRES.1SG A_{INF} not=CL.ACC.M.3SG believe.INF
'I cannot not believe him.'

(218) a. *A exprimat azi dorința*
AUX.PERF.3SG express.PPLE today desire.DEF

⁷⁰ *Not* should be read here as constituent negation, affecting the infinitive *believe*, not taking scope over *can* as well.

- de a citi mâine.*
 DE A_{INF} read.INF tomorrow
 ‘He expressed today the desire to read tomorrow.’
- b. **Azi poți citi mâine.*
 today can.IND.PRES.2SG read.INF tomorrow

The fact that *a*-infinitives are independent from a temporal point of view is also shown by the fact that they can take their own subject, disjoint from the main clause subject (239a) (vs. (239b), featuring a bare short infinitival construction, in which disjoint subject reference is disallowed):

- (219) a. (*Eu*) *mi-am exprimat dorința*
 I CL.REFL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.1SG express.PPLE desire.DEF
de a citi el mâine.
 DE A_{INF} read.INF he tomorrow
 ‘I expressed my desire that he reads tomorrow.’
- b. **Tu poți citi el.*
 you can.IND.PRES.2SG read.INF he

To conclude, the bare short infinitive construction is a monoclausal restructured configuration, in contrast to the *a*-infinitive construction, which shows all signs of biclausality.

From a syntactic perspective, the contrasts between the *a*-infinitival construction and the *a*-less infinitival construction indicates that the former has a structure extended enough to host clitics and negation, in contrast to the former. This is ensured by the insertion of the (formerly prepositional) complementizer *a* in the derivation, which ensures the functional extension of the syntactic tree (and thereby makes the complement a CP). The fact that the insertion of elements like negation and complementizers extend the domain of a non-finite form is indicated by contrasts like the ones below, involving gerunds, participles/supines⁷¹:

- (220) a. *nemaivăzut*
 NEG.MAI.see.SUP/PPLE
 ‘unseen before’

⁷¹ Outside of a context and in the absence of agreement, it is impossible to decide whether the form is a participle or a supine, as the supine and the participle employ the same formatives.

- b. *nemaivăzând*
NEG.MAI.see.GER
'not seeing anymore'
- (221) a. **maivăzut*
see.SUP/PPL
b. **maivăzând*
MAI.see.GER

The question is thus what allows the cliticization of the additive adverbial *mai* only in the presence of negation⁷² (220), disallowing it otherwise (221). The answer is straightforward: negation extends the domain of the participle/supine or gerund, allowing the projection of T/Asp, onto which *mai* may cliticise⁷³ (Cornilescu and Cosma 2014). This explanation also carries over to Romanian bare short infinitives: the absence of negation (example (211) above), clitics (example (210) above), and of the adverbial *mai* (example (225) in the next section) in the bare short infinitival construction indicates that the topmost position arrived at by the bare short infinitive is lower than the positions which would accommodate negation (NegP)⁷⁴, clitics (PersP), and the adverbial *mai* (TP/AspP); by contrast, the insertion of the non-finite infinitival complementizer *a* allows the extension of the domain of the infinitive, allowing therefore the accommodation of negation (example (217) above), of clitics (example (215) above) and of the additive adverbial *mai* (example (227) in the next section) within the *a*-infinitival clause.

The biclausal *a*-infinitive modal configuration is obsolete in contemporary Romanian, being systematically replaced by the subjunctive. The replacement of the infinitive by the subjunctive is visible since the earliest attested writings of the 16th c. (early old Romanian) (cf. Frâncu 1969). Hill (2012) offers an insightful answer to a long-standing question of Romanian linguistics: why is it that the *putea* + bare short infinitive is so robust throughout the history of Romanian, so why is it that the infinitive has not been replaced by the subjunctive in this configuration as well? She correctly observes that, for two structures to be in competition, they have to have the same phrasal/syntactic status. To be more precise, the *a*-infinitive as a complement to *putea* has been replaced because it is a CP; the subjunctive is also a CP (see §IV.4.3.3.2) and this has allowed replacement to take place. From these assumptions, it results that the bare short infinitive has to have a structure

⁷² See Cornilescu and Cosma (2014) for arguments that, despite the fact that it is affixal, the negative prefix *ne-* is a clausal negator.

⁷³ Ian Roberts asks the legitimate question of why *mai* cannot extend the functional structure of the bare short infinitive. A potential answer is the following one: *mai* does not project itself T / Asp, but adjoins to T / Asp when T / Asp gets projected.

⁷⁴ Another legitimate question (Ian Roberts, *p.c.*) is why negation cannot extend the functional structure of the bare short infinitive. A possible answer is that negation does not have the function of extending the functional structure, but, rather, negation selects a verbal cluster closed off by T/Asp.

more reduced than a CP; the immediate goal of the next subsection is to determine the status of the bare short infinitive.

Summing up on the bare short infinitive modal construction, the following picture has emerged:

- (i) it is a restructuring configuration;
- (ii) the modal verb and the infinitival complement share their subject;
- (iii) the bare short infinitival complement does not show any sign of temporal independence.

This indicates that the bare short infinitive is unable to assign nominative case to its complement, and that the higher modal head is responsible for nominative assignment. We will see in the next section how we can formalize this intuition.

A comment is in order here. Hill (2012: 272-273) analyses *putea* in the restructuring configuration as a “modal auxiliary” which merges directly in the inflectional domain (in a Cinquean ModP) and raises to T. This conclusion is directly contradicted by the following empirical fact: in the restructuring configuration, *putea* is not frozen at all: it displays person variation and can virtually occur in any synthetic⁷⁵ (222) or analytic form (223).

- (222) *mobila* *pe care* *nu* *o*
 furniture.DEF DOM which not CL.ACC.F.3SG
putusem *muta*
 can.PLUPERF.1SG move
 ‘the furniture I couldn’t move’
- (223) a. *Îl* *voi* *putea* *cuceri?*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG AUX.FUT.1SG can.INF seduce.INF
 ‘Will I be able to seduce him?’
- b. *L-am* *putut* *cuceri!*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG can.PPLE seduce.INF
 ‘I was able to seduce him!’

Occurrence in periphrastic constructions is highly important for our purposes here: it indicates that *putea* undergoes head movement for categorization purposes, to value its morphology. Like Collins (2005)⁷⁶, I assume that categorizing morphological heads are comprised between *v* and *V* in the lower phase. Thus, *putea* in bare short infinitival

⁷⁵This is true also of passive and copular *be*; as argued in §IV.3.2.3.6.3, this auxiliary has to start extremely low and undergo raising just like regular verbs; the same is true for *putea* in restructuring configurations.

⁷⁶ See also §IV.3.2.3.6.2 above, where we derive the perfective *have* (compound past) configuration and we assume the same movement (*V*⁰-to-Part⁰), following Collins (2005).

construction must start low, in the lexical phase, and undergo regular verb movement higher up in the structure. In other words, except for the fact that it is stripped of theta-assigning possibilities (and, presumably, does not project Voice), nothing qualifies it as an auxiliary merging directly in the inflectional domain. Furthermore, in the bare short infinitive construction, *putea* may precede the adverbial *des* ‘often’, a fact which indicates that movement from the lexical domain has taken place:

- (224) *Am putea des merge la cinema, dar preferăm*
 AUX.COND.1PL can.INF often go.INF at cinema but prefer.IND.PRES.1PL
la teatru.
 at theatre
 ‘We could often go to the cinema, but we prefer to go to the theatre.’

Thus, in keeping with the assumptions on verb movement adopted in §IV.3.2 above and with the assumption that modal verbs do not project Voice as they are devoid of thematic structure, in the bare short infinitive construction, *putea* will merge low in the structure and undergo movement like all the other regular verbs.

4.3.2.2. The syntactic status of the bare short infinitive

The application of the classical diagnostics allows one to precisely determine the syntactic status of the bare short infinitive.

First of all, the temporal additive clitic adverbial *mai* and other clitic adverbials are incompatible with the post-modal bare short infinitive (Avram 1999: 183):

- (225) **Poți mai veni.*
 can.IND.PRES.2SG MAI come.INF

When present in the structure, *mai* may only adjoin to the modal verb:

- (226) *Mai poți veni.*
 MAI can.IND.PRES.2SG come.INF
 ‘You can/may still come // you can/may come again.’

Note that the cliticization of *mai* onto the infinitive is not blocked for morphological reasons, as shown by the example below, featuring *mai* cliticized onto a full-fledged *a*-infinitive:

- (227) *obligația de a mai veni la control*
 obligation.DEF DE A_{INF} MAI come.INF at control
 ‘the obligation to still present oneself for inspection’

If the analysis of Romanian verb syntax presented in §IV.3.2 above is correct, this distribution of the clitic adverbial *mai* indicates that the bare short infinitive has to be lower than Tense/Aspect: recall that *mai* is an additive which “introduces the presupposition that there is some other temporal interval in which the event holds” (Giurgea 2011: 273-274), marking, essentially, aspectual dimensions (iterativity, continuity, etc.). Thus, an upper boundary has been set on the bare short infinitive, i.e. it has to be lower than Tense/Asp. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that projections which usually come higher than Mood/Tense/Aspect are conspicuously absent from the bare short infinitive phrase: negation and clitics are disallowed, as shown by the examples above (see example (210)-(211)).

Let us see whether a lower boundary for the bare short infinitive can be established. Assume, as usual, that the lexical verb merges in the V-domain. In order to value its infinitival morphology, the verb undergoes movement to an InfP which selects VP. The position of the participle relative to the adverbial *des* ‘often’ indicates that the infinitive has further undergone raising, from Inf⁰ at least to v^0 , as shown in (248):

- (228) *Eu pot merge des la cinematograful.*
 I can.IND.PRES.1SG go.INF often at cinema
 ‘I can often go to the cinema.’

The final landing site of the bare short infinitive cannot, however, be v^0 . If modals are genuinely raising verbs, devoid of the possibility of having their own subject, then the subject of the modal infinitival construction has to be merged in the specifier of the v^0 projection. In light of the fact that the bare short infinitive may precede its subject (229), one has to assume that it has raised further than v^0 ; in keeping with its postverbal position, the subject is focused in the example below (recall that Cornilescu 2000 shows that postverbal subjects are focused in Romanian):

- (229) *Pot merge eu la cinematograful.*
 can.IND.PRES.1SG go.INF I(NOM) at cinema
 ‘I can go to the cinema.’

The idea that the bare short infinitive raises higher than v^0 is supported by the fact that it may precede floating quantifiers.

- (230) *Studenții mei pot merge toți la cinematograful.*
 students.DEF my can.IND.PRES.3PL go.INF all at cinema
 ‘My students can all go to the cinema.’

As known at least since Sportiche (1988), floating quantifiers diagnose subject positions; thus, the bare short infinitive must have raised higher than v^0 , as it may precede its subject / the floating quantifier diagnosing a subject position.

Taking stock of the upper and the lower boundaries set with the help of the syntactic diagnostics invoked above, we may conclude that the final landing site of the bare short infinitive is the Voice projection, a site higher than vP and lower than Asp.

The fact that the bare short infinitive has to reach the Voice projection naturally follows from the fact that in the bare short infinitive modal construction, Voice is exclusively expressed by the infinitival complement since the modal verb *putea* is a raising verb with a sentential complement which cannot be passivised:

- (231) a. *Eu pot citi nuvela*
 I can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF novelette.DEF
 ‘I can read the novelette.’
 b. *Nuvela poate fi citită de mine.*
 novelette.DEF(F) can.IND.PRES.3SG be.INF
 read.PPLE.F.SG by me
 ‘The novelette can be read by me.’

Having established that the position targeted by the lexical verb is Voice⁰ and that, from a morphosyntactic point of view, modal verbs exhibit the syntax of regular verbs, we can set out to derive the bare short infinitive modal construction.

4.3.2.3. Deriving the bare short infinitive modal construction

Let us derive a minimally simple example featuring a bare short infinitive modal construction by employing a minimal set of functional projections (notably, the step of movement for purposes of categorization, V^0 -to- Inf^0 is glossed over, as it does not make any significant contribution to the problems discussed here):

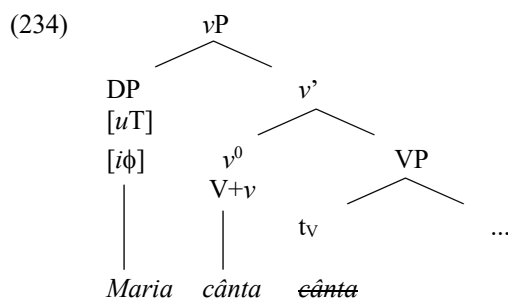
- (232) *Maria poate cânta.*
 Mary can.IND.PRES.3SG sing.INF
 ‘Mary can sing.’

Note that the subject may occupy different positions in the clausal hierarchy:

- (233) a. **Maria** poate cânta.
 Mary can.IND.PRES.3SG sing.INF
 b. Poate **Maria** cânta.
 can.IND.PRES.3SG Mary sing.INF
 c. Poate cânta **Maria**.
 can.IND.PRES.3SG sing.INF Mary

If, as stated, there is verb-raising above v^0 , then the postverbal position of the subject in (253c) is not problematic; actually, the subject has the possibility of occupying various specifier positions along the extended verbal spine (see §IV.3.2 above). In the analysis of analogous cases, Alboiu (2007) and Dragomirescu (2011) insist that the position occupied by the subject along the extended clausal spine correlates with different information structure readings, i.e. the position where the subject is lexicalized is determined pragmatically, but has scopal implications (Avram 1999: 186).

The derivation⁷⁷ starts out by merging the lexical verb *cânta* as a V-head; as insisted above, the verb first raises up to (to Inf^0 and then to) v ; the subject merges in the Spec, $v\text{P}$, where it is thematically marked. Following Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), DPs are endowed with $[\text{uT}]$ features (and with $[\text{i}\phi]$ features). In order to be assigned nominative case, the $[\text{uT}]$ feature has to establish an Agree relation with the T / T_s head.

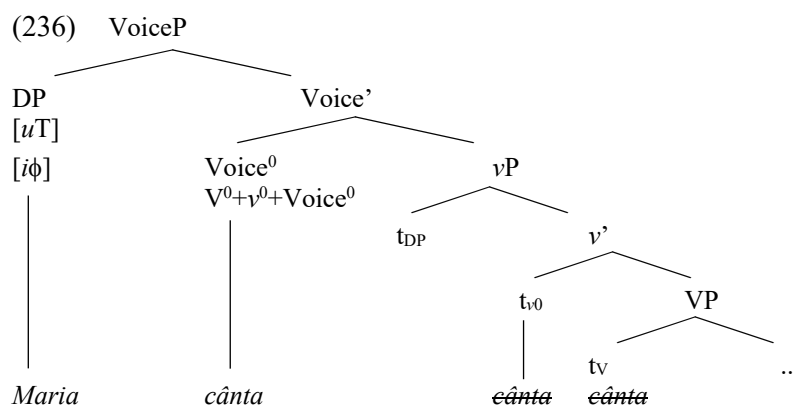


⁷⁷ I leave out certain theory-internal problems. For instance, Alboiu (2007) expresses the idea that domains unable to provide a case value for the subject are taken to be non-phasal. I disagree with this intuition: while it is true that certain phasal domains are unable to provide the feature $[\text{iT}]$, necessary for nominative assignment to the subject, it is equally true that this does not make them non-phasal; rather, it expresses the intuition that the subject is still an active Goal, awaiting an appropriate probe to value its $[\text{uT}]$ feature. Movement to the highest specifier of the lower phase makes it apt for Agree (by virtue of being on the edge; cf. Svenonius 2004). Subsequent A-bar-raising to a specifier in the higher phasal domain is always possible and is associated with a specific pragmatic interpretation.

As already stated, the final landing site of the bare short infinitive is Voice⁰. Note that the Romanian infinitive is based on the *infectum* stem of the verb. In her analysis of Romanian *putea*, Hill (2012: 268) correctly observes the *infectum* stem is associated with active voice, not necessarily with a [-perfective] interpretation of the infinitive⁷⁸. This idea has been expressed in traditional grammars (see, for instance, GR 2013). As shown by the pair of examples below, the construction can occur both in perfective and in imperfective constructions:

- (235) a. *A putut citi cartea.* [compound past, perfective]
 AUX.PERF.3SG can.PPLE read.INF book.DEF
 ‘He was able to read the book.’
 b. *Putea citi cartea.* [imperfect, imperfective]
 can.IMPERF.3SG read.INF book.DEF
 ‘He could read the book.’

Thus, the next step of the derivation is the merger of the Voice⁰-head; the bare infinitive undergoes raising to Voice⁰; at the same time, the DP subject raises to Spec, VoiceP:



Recall that we are following here Collins (2005) and, more recently, Baltin (2012) and Roberts (2013) in assuming that VoiceP rather than vP is the clause-internal phasal head when VoiceP projects. This intuition can be well-captured by Den Dikken’s (2007) *Phase Extension Theory*⁷⁹ or by Gallego’s (2010) *Phase Sliding Theory*. The theories

⁷⁸ As also highlighted in the final part of §IV.3.2.3.6.2, the role of the category of aspect has been largely ignored; up to this point, besides the perfective/non-perfective distinction, we have also established a correlation between *irrealis* mood and imperfective aspect.

⁷⁹ **Phase Extension** (Den Dikken 2007: 1): “Syntactic movement of the *head* H of a phase α up to the head X of the node β dominating α extends the phase up from α to β ; α loses its phasehood in the process,

proposed by Den Dikken (2007) and Gallego (2010) differ in crucial respects, but both authors share the intuition that head movement extends the domain of a phase, pushing the phasal boundary upwards. Thus, by virtue of the fact that v^0 reaches Voice^0 , the v^* -domain is extended up to Voice. This idea finds support in early work in the minimalist framework: in Chomsky (1995), head movement is taken to extend the domain of the head.

Several questions are in order at this point. First of all, why does the subject move to the highest specifier of its domain? The most reasonable assumption is to adopt, like before, a version of Bošković's theory of foot-driven movement: the $[\mu T]$ feature on the subject drives movement.

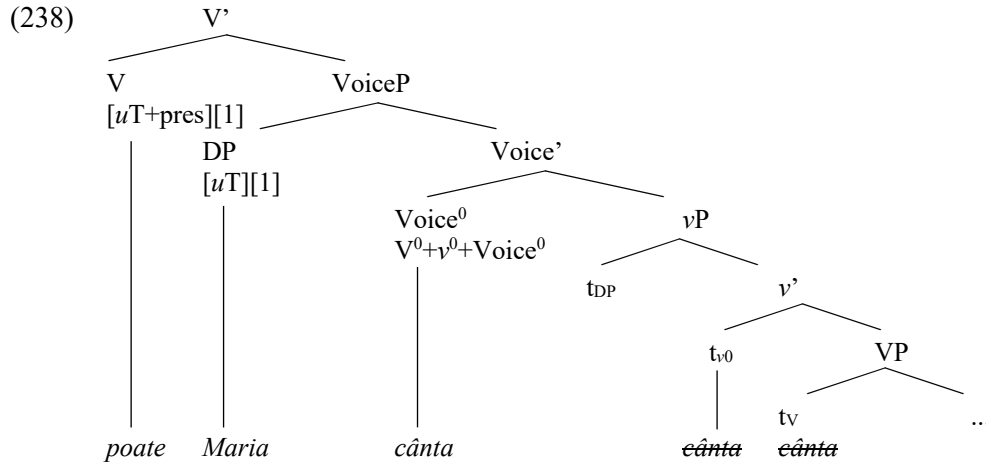
Another potential question is why does v -raising to Voice^0 take place? Following Merchant (2013), we may assume that there is an interpretable voice-related feature on the Voice-head, which probes down and undergoes Agree with the active specification of the lexical verb, triggering subsequent head movement (recall Hill's 2012 intuition that the *infectum* root on infinitives correlates with active voice).

If we look at what the structure looks like at this point, we observe the following problem: the subject's $[\mu T]$ feature has not undergone Agree; thus, the derivation cannot stop at this point, as an unvalued feature is present on an item in the derivation, and needs valuation. Recall that the example to be derived is (237) below:

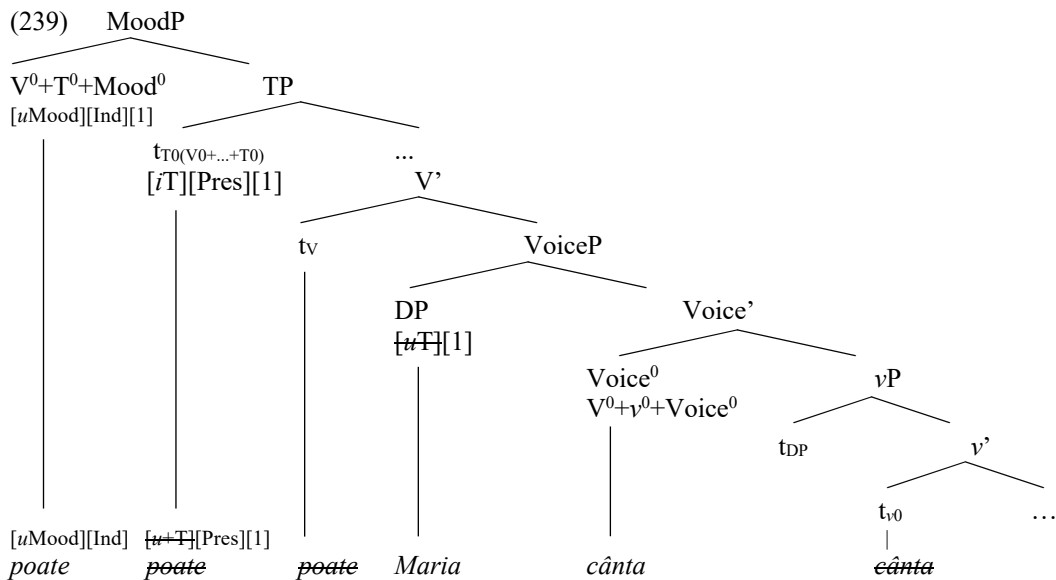
- (237) *Maria poate cânta.*
 Mary can.IND.PRES.3SG sing.INF
 'Mary can sing.'

In keeping with our lexicalist perspective on morphology (Lasnik 1995, Pesetsky and Torrego 2004), the verb *putea* merges specified with an uninterpretable, but valued tense feature (the present tense in this case) (the form *poate* is $[\mu T]$ [Present]) in V^0 . In this configuration, T-Agree (or simple Match) may take place between the features of the subject and the features of the verb, given that the subject is placed on the edge of the selected phase and the verb directly c-commands it. An Agree chain in the sense of Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) is established between the $[\mu T]$ feature on the subject DP and the T-feature on the higher verb; however, in neither case can the T-feature be deleted, as they are both *uninterpretable*:

and any constituent on the edge of α ends up in the domain of the derived phase β as a result of Phase Extension".



Building on the system developed in §IV.3.2 above and omitting irrelevant details, there is verb raising of *putea* towards the T-head; T is endowed with an interpretable, but unvalued T-feature, [*i*T] [_]. [*i*T] on T gets valued, and the verb moves higher up, ultimately stopping in Mood⁰ (other features, irrelevant for our discussion here, have been omitted from the representation). Note that the [*u*T] feature of the subject DP is related to the T-feature on the lexical verb via Agree: at this point, all *u*T-features which are part of the same Agree chain get deleted, and nominative assignment on the subject DP is ensured.



What is, however, crucial is that the modal verb *putea* is not a transitive verb. If *putea* were a transitive verb, an accusative-assigning T_{Object} projection (see Pesetsky and

Torrego 2004, Gallego 2010) sandwiched between the *v* and the *V* projections of the modal verb *putea* were present in the structure. Syntactically, this *T_{Object}* head is responsible for Accusative assignment. Thus, the Agree configuration between this *T_{Object}* head and the DP present on a c-commanded specifier would have obtained; we would arrive at an Exceptional Case Marking configuration, with the external argument of the embedded predicate bearing Accusative case, contrary to fact (see Gallego 2010: ch. 3 for ECM configurations in Romance).

To sum up, the [*uT*] feature of the DP subject is deleted against the *T*-head of the selecting modal predicate, as its own domain does not show any sign of temporal independence.

Importantly, the fact that the bare short infinitival complement of *putea* is a VoiceP verifies the claim that modal verbs are operators taking scope over a propositional domain, as the relevant subject-predicate configuration is established before the insertion of the modal verb into the derivation.

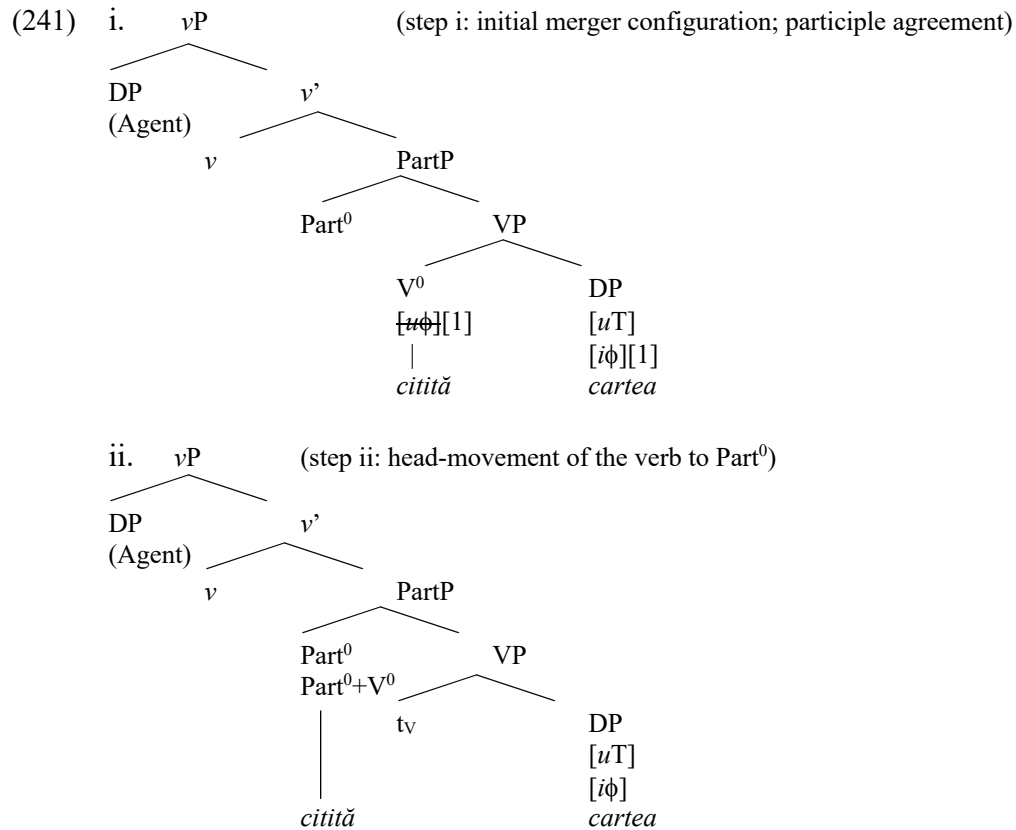
4.3.2.4. The passive bare short infinitival construction

In the derivation of the passive, no other assumption different from the ones above is necessary. Consider the maximally simple example below:

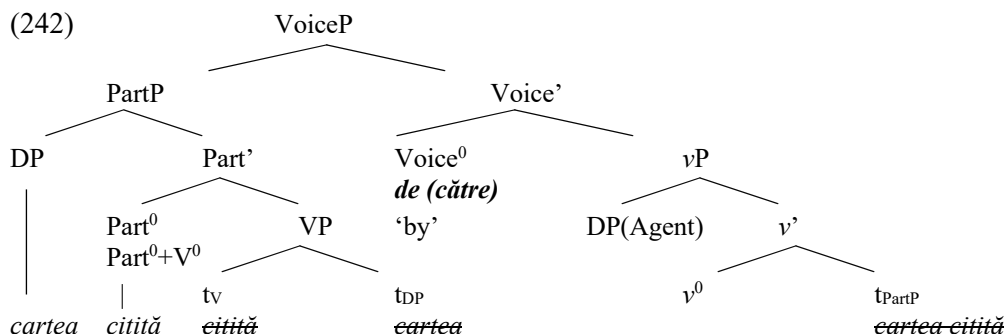
- (240) *Cartea poate fi citită de mine.*
 book.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG be.INF read.PPLE.F.SG by me
 ‘The book can/may be read by me.’

From a morphological perspective, *putea* preserves its c-selection features: the passive auxiliary *fi* ‘be’ obligatorily surfaces as an infinitive which takes an agreeing participle as its complement (*citită*).

For reasons of space, I will only sketch the derivation of the passive bare short infinitive modal constructions, which is based on Collins’ (2005) analysis and mirrors the one presented for inflected passive constructions presented in §IV.3.2.3.6.3 above. The low area consists of the *vP* projection (accommodating the external argument, i.e. the *by*-phrase), taking a Participle Phrase (PartP) as a complement; the complement to the PartP is a VP (step i, merger): the lexical verb (inserted in the derivation as a participle), raises to Part⁰ to check its participial morphology (step ii). The internal argument (which, as an effect of smuggling, later becomes the subject of the passive construction) merges as a complement to *V*.



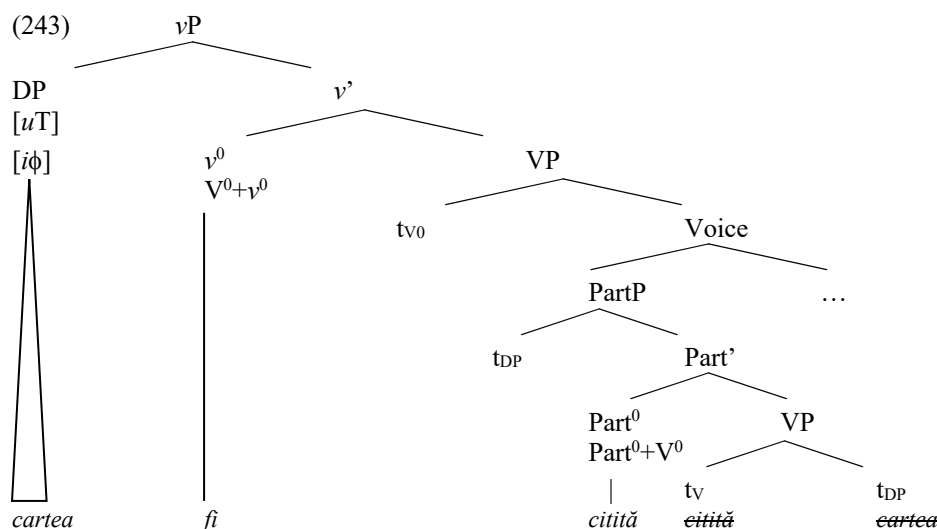
Next, the Voice projection is inserted in the derivation; the PartP undergoes movement to Spec,VoiceP, pied-piping along the internal argument, whose [*uT*] (i.e. case) feature is still unvalued. As shown by Collins (2005) on the basis of object shift and other diagnostics, movement of the Participle to Voice represents an instance of *phrasal* movement. After the participle has reached Spec,VoiceP, the internal argument is free to escape the PartP, through Spec,Part and can undergo further raising in order to value its [*uT*] feature and be assigned nominative. Note that the [*uT*] DP subject escapes the lower domain via phrasal movement through the specifier of PartP; the presence of the DP in Spec,PartP ensures the subject-predicate agreement step, securing participle agreement (the agreeing participle is merged in the derivation as [*uφ*] [_]; the presence of the [*iφ*] [FEM, SG] DP in the specifier of PartP, in a c-command configuration, ensures that the features of the participle are valued and the *uninterpretability* component is removed):



At this point, the passive auxiliary *fi* ('be') is free to merge in the structure as a V^0 head; *fi* ('be') does not impose any selectional requirements on its complement (Collins 2005). Recall that, in this construction, *fi* ('be') is a bare short infinitive; as such, it undergoes the same derivational steps as its counterpart in the active construction, reaching v^0 via head-movement. Importantly, recall that VoiceP does not project with the copula *be*.

Notably, the smuggling step and the raising of the internal argument DP out of the participial phrase ensures further movement to the specifier of the v -phrase projected by *fi* ('be'), reaching the same position as the external argument in the active construction. It is essential that the derivation proceeds as such: if the internal argument were extracted earlier, it would have reached the lower spec, v P position, a step which is disallowed: merger of the internal argument as a complement to V ensures its thematic marking (in our example, it is a Theme); if it were to undergo extraction out of the participle prior to the participle's phrasal movement to spec,Voice, it would have eventually reached Spec, v P, which is also a θ -position; movement from one theta-position to another θ -position represents an instance of improper movement, which is disallowed. Thus, the internal argument cannot undergo movement out of the PartP prior to movement of the PartP itself.

Note that the movement of the active ($[uT]$) DP subject is contained within a phrase which occupies the specifier of the phasal edge; as such its ascension to higher position is not inhibited by any locality principle, edge positions being known to be escape hatches (see Svenonius 2004).



If we examine the configuration above, we observe that we have obtained exactly the same configuration as for the active construction investigated in the previous subsection: a participle in the Voice⁰ head and a DP with an unvalued T-feature in the specifier of the vP of the auxiliary *be*. The modal verb *putea* is inserted in the derivation; it takes a bare short infinitive complement, satisfying its c-selectional requirements, and the derivation proceeds exactly as in the case of the active construction: the [*u*T] feature of the DP gets deleted against the [*i*T] feature of the T head of the modal, ensuring nominative assignment, and the derivation is well-formed.

4.3.2.5. The bare short infinitive modal construction: results

In the previous subsections, I have dealt with the syntax of the bare short infinitival modal construction, both in its active and in its passive form. The syntactic diagnostics have indicated that this is a restructuring configuration. Importantly, the passive construction gives us a precious indication as to where restructuring occurs. Recall from §IV.4.3.2 that it is impossible to topicalize the bare short infinitive in this construction:

- (244) a. *Eu pot citi romane.*
I can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF novels
'I can read novels.'
- b. **Citi romane (eu) pot.*
read.INF novels I can.IND.PRES.1SG

The passive construction presents us with the following contrast: the participle alone can be topicalised, but the bare short infinitival complement cannot:

- (245) a. *Pot* *fi citite* (*romane*).
 can.IND.PRES.1PL be.INF read.PPLE.PL.F novels(F)
 ‘Novels can be read.’
- b. *Citite*, *pot* *fi*.
 read.PPLE.PL.F can.IND.PRES.3PL be.INF
 ‘They can be read.’
- c. **Fi citite*, *pot*.
 be.INF read.PPLE.F.PL can.IND.PRES.3PL

This behaviour indicates that *restructuring* is a property of the selecting head and must take place as soon as the modal verb *putea* has been inserted into the derivation. From a syntactic perspective, restructuring is correlated with the fact that the infinitive is tagged along by the modal verb, almost forming a compound unit with it. Assuming, as customarily, that short infinitives are verbal categories, they are endowed with [*uT*] features⁸⁰; the fact that in the bare short infinitival construction the CP-domain does not get projected forces the infinitive to establish a strong syntactic connection with the selecting modal head. This connection manifests as a form of structural adjacency: while it is true that the space between the modal selecting head and the bare short infinitive may be broken by subjects (246a) (Avram 1999: 184), floating quantifiers (246b), and direct objects (247) (the direct object is not very felicitous here), it is equally true that the bare short infinitive cannot be extracted and topicalized (see examples (244b), (245c) above):

- (246) a. *Poate* *el veni*.
 can.IND.PRES.3SG he come.INF
 ‘He can come.’
- b. *Puteți* *toți* *veni*.
 can.IND.PRES.2PL all come.INF
 ‘You can all come.’
- (247) *?Îl* *pot* *pe el* *provoca*.
 CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.1SG DOM him challenge.INF
 ‘~It is him that I can challenge.’

⁸⁰ Recall from examples like (219) above that short infinitives preceded by the complementizer *a* may have their own subject in non-selected contexts.

Informally, the impossibility to displace the bare short infinitive indicates that the infinitive has to undergo movement along with the verb. What about the intervention of subjects, floating quantifiers and direct object in between the modal verb and the bare short infinitive? I believe that this poses no threat to the idea that the infinitive must travel along with the modal selecting head: the infinitive reaches Voice⁰, and, under the assumption that Voice⁰ is a phase (Baltin 2012, Roberts 2013), the positions targeted by these elements are periphery positions of the Voice phase.

To cut a long story short, the properties manifested by the bare short infinitive modal construction indicate that this is a restructuring configuration; in informal terms, this means that the infinitive has to move along with the modal selecting head, awaiting the insertion of an *interpretable* T-feature, a point at which the *u*T specifications of the verbal heads (the modal verb and the infinitive) may get deleted, ensuring well-formedness. If this approach is on the right track, it accounts for why the bare short infinitival modal construction does not feed ellipsis (see §IV.4.4.2 below) and, more, generally, for the fact that restructuring configurations generally resist ellipsis (see Rizzi 1982, Depiante 2000). From the point of view of the ellipsis behaviour of auxiliaries accounted for in §IV.3.3 above, the fact that restructuring configurations cannot feed ellipsis is straightforwardly accounted for: the verbal cluster is pied-piped above the cut off point of ellipsis, and thus ellipsis is idle. This confirms the relation between verb raising and ellipsis, already discussed in §IV.3.3 above.

4.3.3. *Putea* + subjunctive

Let us now turn to the derivation of the subjunctive modal construction. In this construction, the modal verb *putea* selects a subjunctive. I will proceed exactly as in the case of the infinitival modal construction: I will analyse the status of the construction as a whole, then determine the nature of the subjunctival complement, and finally turn to the syntax of the construction. Cotfas' (2011) work has been of high importance in this respect. The subjunctive modal construction represents a second situation in which the subject DP cannot resolve its case-related problems inside the complement of the modal verb; this calls, once again, for the insertion of a higher head, endowed with the necessary feature to ensure nominative assignment.

4.3.3.1. Monoclausal or biclausal?

In contrast to the construction previously analysed, the subjunctive modal construction shows all signs of biclausality (this expected, as we will show in the next section that subjunctives are uniformly CPs); i.e. it is a non-restructuring construction (recall that we have associated restructuring to monoclausality).

First of all, clitic climbing out of the subjunctive clause is disallowed:

- (248) a. *Pot* *să-l* *citesc.*
 can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ=CL.ACC.M.3SG read.SUBJ.1SG
 'I can read it.'
- b. **Îl* *pot* *să citesc.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ read.SUBJ.1SG
- c. **Îl* *pot* *să-l* *citesc.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ=CL.ACC.M.3SG read.SUBJ.1SG

Secondly, both the modal verb (249a) and the subjunctive complement (249b) can take its own negation; two clausal negations may co-occur within the boundaries of the same construction (249c):

- (249) a. *Nu pot* *să citesc.*
 not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ read.SUBJ.1SG
- b. *Pot* *să nu citesc.*
 can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ not read.SUBJ.1SG
 'I can not⁸¹ read.'
- c. *Nu pot* *să nu citesc.*
 not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ not read.SUBJ.1SG
 'I cannot not read.'

On the other hand, similarly to the construction previously analysed, the subjunctive does not show any sign of temporal independence. To begin with, adverbials with different temporal specifications are disallowed:

- (250) a. **Azi nu pot* *să merg* *mâine.*
 today not can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG tomorrow
- b. **Ieri nu am* *putut* *să vin* *azi.*
 yesterday not AUX.PERF.1SG can.PPLE SĂ come.SUBJ.1SG today

Subject disjointness is disallowed in this construction (251), despite the fact that subjunctive triggers freely allow subject obviation in Romanian (252):

⁸¹ The negator *not* has to be interpreted as having narrow scope over *read* in order to reflect the translation from Romanian.

- (251) a. ***Eu** pot să vii tu.
 I can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ come.SUBJ.2SG you
 b. ***Noi** putem să ne întâlnim (tu).
 we can.IND.PRES.1PL SĂ CL.ACC.1PL meet.SUBJ.2PL you
- (252) a. **Eu** vreau să vii tu.
 I want.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ come.SUBJ.2SG you
 ‘I want you to come.’
 b. **Eu** îți ordon să vină
 I CL.DAT.2SG order.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG
Maria.
 Maria
 ‘I am ordering you to make Mary come.’

The impossibility of the subjunctive clause to have its own subject and its impossibility to have disjoint reference indicates that this variety of subjunctive is an *anaphoric* subjunctive. From a technical perspective, this indicates that the T head of the subjunctive selected by the modal verb *putea* is [*u*T]; the absence of an [*i*T] feature in the extended verbal projection of the subjunctive translates as the impossibility of this clausal domain to ensure nominative assignment to the subject. The outcome of this situation is that the higher modal verb will provide the [*i*T] feature necessary to ensure nominative assignment to the subject. Hence, raising is at play once again.

To sum up, the configuration *putea* + subjunctive is a biclausal configuration. However, the subjunctive clause is fully anaphoric to the modal verb or, in other words, it does not have its own T-chain (in the sense of Guéron and Hoekstra 1988).

The next steps of the argumentation are the following ones: first, arguments have to be provided that the subjunctive embedded by the modal verb is a full CP; then, building on recent results in phase theory (especially on Chomsky 2007, 2008, Richards 2007, Ouali 2008, Biberauer and Roberts 2010), crystallized as the “feature inheritance” hypothesis, I will argue that the tense-anaphoric status of a domain does not involve assuming a non-CP status for the respective domain; on the contrary, phase theory provides an elegant solution to this problem.

Note that the status of the subjunctive complement is highly relevant for the correct assessment of verbal ellipsis licensed by modal verbs.

4.3.3.2. The status of the Romanian subjunctive: CP or TP?

The Romanian present subjunctive is made up of the inflected form of the lexical verb (overlapping in certain paradigmatic positions with the present indicative paradigm) plus the “particle” *să*; the subjunctive also has a perfect subjunctive variety, which is made

up of the perfective auxiliary *fi* ('be') plus the past participle of the verb. For reasons of space, only occasional reference will be made to the perfect subjunctive here; recall, however, from §IV.3.2.3.6.2 that the perfect subjunctive displays the behaviour of a non-finite verbal form, despite its being preceded by *să*.

(253) *merge* ('go')

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE

1SG *să merg*

2SG *să mergi*

3SG *să meargă*

1PL *să mergem*

2PL *să mergeți*

3PL *să meargă*

1SG

2SG

3SG

1PL

2PL

3PL

să fi mers

In order to account for the fully anaphoric nature of the Romanian subjunctive embedded by modal and aspectual verbs, at least a group of researchers (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Barbosa 1995, Bîlbîie and Mardale 2013) have assumed that subjunctives are uniformly TPs. The direct entailment of this assumption is that the "particle" *să* is part of the inflectional cluster. Against this conclusion, I will argue, following essentially Stan (2007), that *să* is a Fin⁰-head. This corresponds to older intuitions expressed in Cornilescu (2000)⁸² and Isac and Jakab (2004).

This section is devoted to arguing that subjunctives are uniformly CPs, irrespective of the head that selects them. As also observed by Cotfas (2011), a correct understanding of selection (rather than internal structure assumptions) accounts for the diverging behaviour of the distinct types of subjunctive.

The first set of arguments concerns the subjunctive verbal morphology. In the next subsection, I argue that subjunctival morphology is different from indicative morphology. Thus, the morphological composition of the subjunctive allows us to properly delimit it from the indicative, and to establish it as an independent mood without resorting to considering *să* a "subjunctive marker" (Manea 2008b: 384, GBLR 2010: 235), i.e. an inflectional marker of the subjunctive. In line with more traditional accounts, it will result that *să* is a complementizer, with specific selectional characteristics⁸³.

⁸² In Cornilescu (2000), *să* occupies the highest position in the inflectional cluster, a Mood² head, which is placed above clausal negation; Alexandra Cornilescu (*p.c.*) informs me that the Mood² head of Cornilescu (2000) corresponds to Rizzi's (1997) Fin-head.

⁸³ The Academic Grammar (GALR 2008) terms it "a mobile component" (Rom. *component mobil*), the Basic Grammar of Romanian (GBLR 2010) reserves the labels "conjunction" and "morpheme" for *să*;

Owing to its invariability, the perfect subjunctive is not very helpful in this respect.

4.3.3.2.1. Morphology at play: the subjunctive value is encoded by the verb morphology itself

Recall from §IV.3.2.3.2 above that I have systematically compared indicative morphology to subjunctive morphology in order to provide evidence for a distinct mood specification, hence a distinct mood projection, with finite verbs in Romanian. Crucially, the properties with respect to which the subjunctive differs from the indicative are the following ones:

- the usage of distinct inflectional endings for the indicative and for the subjunctive in certain paradigmatic slots (3rd person singular and plural);

- (254) (*el*) *merge* [present indicative]
 he walks.IND.PRES.3SG
- (255) (*el*) *să* *merge* [present subjunctive]
 He SĂ walk.SUBJ.3SG

- the general 3SG≡3PL syncretism of the subjunctive morphology; in the case of the indicative, syncretisms are differently distributed across inflectional classes (see examples (76)-(79) above).

Additional evidence in favour of a robust inflectional disparity between the indicative and the subjunctive also comes from the following facts:

- the choice of a different inflectional pattern for the subjunctive with the verb *trebui* ‘must, need to’ – the pattern with the suffix *-ăsc* in the subjunctive as opposed with the suffixless pattern in the indicative (both patterns are available with fourth conjugation verbs, yet, with the exception of the verb *trebui*, verbs in this class either choose the pattern with the suffix or the suffixless pattern systematically throughout their entire inflection, irrespective of mood);

- (256) *trebui*
- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | INDICATIVE | SUBJUNCTIVE | |
| (3SG) | <i>trebuie</i> | ?(<i>să</i>) <i>trebuie</i> | [non-standard Romanian] |
| | <i>trebuiește</i> [obsolete] | (<i>să</i>) <i>trebuiască</i> | |

the earlier grammar of the Academy (GLR 1966), *să* is considered a subordinating conjunction with distinct functions; the traditional scholars (e.g. Avram 1997) dub it “a conjunction”.

• the existence of suppletive paradigms (the verb *be*), which is due to the fact that Romanian *fi* ('be') merges the paradigms of two Latin verbs (see footnote 34 above for details);

(257) *fi* 'be'

INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
<i>sunt</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>fiu</i>
<i>ești</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>fii</i>
<i>este</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>fie</i>
<i>suntem</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>fim</i>
<i>sunteți</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>fiți</i>
<i>sunt</i>	(<i>să</i>) <i>fie</i>

• the usage of morphophonological alternations to distinguish the subjunctive from the indicative; thus the third person singular inflectional difference between the indicative and the subjunctive is systematically doubled for certain verbs by vowel (258) or vowel + consonant (259) alternations; consonant and vowel alternations occur not only within the root, but also within the mood-tense suffixes (260)-(261):

(258) *începe* ('begin, start')

INDICATIVE 3SG: *începe* [inčɛpe]

SUBJUNCTIVE 3SG: *înceapă* [inčapə]

(259) *trece* ('pass')

INDICATIVE 3SG: *trece* [treče]

SUBJUNCTIVE 3SG: *treacă* [trɛakə]

(260) *lucra* ('work')

INDICATIVE 3SG: *lucrează* [lukrɛazə]

SUBJUNCTIVE 3SG: *lucreze* [lukreze]

(261) *citi* ('read')

INDICATIVE 3SG: *citește* [čiteʃte]

SUBJUNCTIVE 3SG: *citească* [čiteaskə]

We may safely conclude that it is not *să* that makes a verbal form a subjunctive, but the verbal form in and of itself is *the* subjunctive.

The next set of arguments concerns the status of *să*: if *să* were a particle, a member of the inflectional cluster below the CP, we would expect it to behave like the other auxiliaries and particles of the inflectional cluster, a prediction which is not borne out.

4.3.3.2.2. Negation and clitics

The inclusion of *să* in the inflectional cluster has the effect of conceiving the present subjunctive as an analytic form. However, there are important differences between the subjunctive and the other analytic moods and tenses of Romanian with respect to the position of negation.

Consider the paradigms in (262). All the analytic forms of standard contemporary Romanian are exemplified here (only the first and second person sg. are given in the table):

(262) *Analytic verbal forms in Romanian* (merge ‘go’)

COMPOUND PAST (INDICATIVE)		<i>am mers</i> <i>ai mers</i>
FUTURE <i>VOI</i> -FUTURE (INDICATIVE)	(standard)	<i>voi merge</i> <i>vei merge</i>
	<i>OI</i> -FUTURE (regional)	<i>oi merge</i> <i>ăi/ei/îi/ii/oi merge</i>
	<i>O SĂ</i> -FUTURE (colloquial)	<i>o să merg</i> <i>o să mergi</i>
	<i>AM SĂ</i> -FUTURE (colloquial)	<i>am să merg</i> <i>ai să mergi</i>
FUTURE PERFECT		<i>voi fi mers</i> <i>vei fi mers</i>
FUTURE IN THE PAST		<i>aveam să merg</i> <i>aveai să mergi</i>
PRESUMPTIVE	PRESENT (a)	<i>oi merge</i> <i>ăi/ei/îi/ii/oi merge</i>
	PRESENT (b)	<i>oi / voi fi mergând</i> <i>ăi / vei fi mergând</i>
	PAST	<i>oi / voi fi mers</i> <i>ăi / vei fi mers</i>

CONDITIONAL	PRESENT	<i>aş merge</i> <i>ai merge</i>
	PERFECT	<i>aş fi mers</i> <i>ai fi mers</i>

Consider the position of negation with these analytic forms:

(263) *Negating the analytic verbal forms in Romanian* (merge ‘go’)

COMPOUND PAST (INDICATIVE)		<i>nu am (*nu) mers</i> <i>nu ai mers</i>
FUTURE <i>VOI</i> -FUTURE (INDICATIVE)	(standard)	<i>nu voi (*nu) merge</i> <i>nu vei (*nu) merge</i>
	<i>OI</i> -FUTURE	<i>nu oi (*nu) merge</i>
	(regional)	<i>nu ăi/ei/îi/ii/oi (*nu) merge</i>
	<i>O SĂ</i> -FUTURE	<i>nu o (*nu) să (*nu) merg</i>
	(colloquial)	<i>nu o (*nu) să (*nu) mergi</i>
	<i>AM SĂ</i> -FUTURE	<i>nu am (*nu) să (*nu) merg</i>
	(colloquial)	<i>nu ai (*nu) să (*nu) mergi</i>
	FUTURE PERFECT	<i>nu voi (*nu) fi (*nu) mers</i> <i>nu vei (*nu) fi (*nu) mers</i>
	FUTURE IN THE PAST	<i>nu aveam (*nu) să (*nu) merg</i> <i>nu aveai (*nu) să (*nu) mergi</i>
PRESUMPTIVE	PRESENT (a)	<i>nu oi (*nu) merge</i> <i>nu ăi/ei/îi/ii/oi (*nu) merge</i>
	PRESENT (b)	<i>nu oi / voi (*nu) fi (*nu) mergând</i> <i>nu ăi / vei (*nu) fi (*nu) mergând</i>
	PAST	<i>nu oi / voi (*nu) fi (*nu) mers</i> <i>nu ăi / vei (*nu) fi (*nu) mers</i>
CONDITIONAL	PRESENT	<i>nu aş (*nu) merge</i> <i>nu ai (*nu) merge</i>
	PERFECT	<i>nu aş (*nu) fi (*nu) mers</i> <i>nu ai (*nu) fi (*nu) mers</i>

What emerges from the table in (263) is that with analytic forms, clausal negation can never intervene between the components of the verbal cluster; instead, it has to precede

the entire verbal cluster. Even with forms whose internal structure contains the subjunctive (the *o să*-future, the *am să*-future, the future in the past), negation is still disallowed within the verbal cluster: *nu o (*nu) să (*nu) merg* (*o să*-future), *nu am (*nu) să (*nu) merg* (*am să*-future).

By contrast, with the subjunctive, clausal negation systematically comes after *să*:

- (264) a. *să nu merg* [present subjunctive]
 SĂ not go.SUBJ.1SG
 b. *să nu fi mers* [perfect subjunctive]
 SĂ not be.INF gone.PPLE

Notice, in particular, the position of negation with the perfect subjunctive: negation precedes the inflectional cluster consisting in the irrealis auxiliary *fi* ('be') and the past participle; placing negation between these two formatives of the perfect subjunctive yields ungrammaticality:

- (265) **să fi nu mers*
 SĂ be.INF not go.PPLE

Negation can also be placed in front of *să*; however, the negator *nu* ceases to function here as a marker of clausal negation, but, instead, it functions as a marker of constituent negation⁸⁴ (266); the fact that two instances of *nu* can occur with the same verbal form verifies this assumption: *nu* preceding *să* marks constituent negation, whereas *nu* preceding the verbal cluster marks the clausal negation (267):

- (266) a. *Trebuie nu să merg, ci să stau acasă.*
 must not SĂ go.SUBJ.1SG but SĂ stay.SUBJ.1SG home
 'I must not leave, but stay home.'
 b. *Trebuie nu să fi plecat, ci să fi stat acasă.*
 must.IMPERF not SĂ be.INF leave.PPLE but SĂ be.INF stay.PPLE home
 'I should have not left, but stayed home.'
- (267) a. *Trebuie nu să nu plec, ci chiar să plec*
 must not SĂ not leave.SUBJ.1SG but even SĂ leave.SUBJ.1SG

⁸⁴ As shown in footnote 66, constituent negation *nu* creates a contrastive focus structure: *nu X, ci Y* 'it is not (that) X, but (that) Y'.

mai repede.

more quick

‘It is not that I must not leave, but that I must leave quicker’

- b. *Trebuia nu să nu fi plecat, ci chiar să fi plecat mai repede.*
 must.IMPERF not SĂ not be left but even SĂ be left more quick
 ‘It wasn’t that I should not left, but that I should have left quicker’

To this end, it is obvious that with respect to clausal negation, *să* does not behave like the other elements of the verbal cluster; instead, its distribution is similar to that of the complementizer *că* ‘that’, which rigidly precedes clausal negation:

- (268) a. *că nu a venit*
 that not AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
 ‘that he didn’t come’
 b. **nu că a venit* [* when *nu* is a clausal negator]
 not that AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE

Similarly to *să*, *că* may be preceded by constituent negation:

- (269) *Mi-a spus nu că a cântat, ci că a dansat.*
 CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG tell.PPLE not that AUX.PERF.3SG
 sing.PPLE but that AUX.PERF.3SG dance.PPLE
 ‘She told me not that he danced, but that he sang.’

In conclusion, with respect to clausal negation, *să* does not behave as an element from the inflectional cluster. Instead, it displays the behaviour of a complementizer, rigidly preceding clausal negation. This can be considered an indication of its Fin-head status. Recall from §IV.3.2.3.5 that negation systematically closes off the sentential core of Romanian:

- (270) Fin > Neg > Mood - T - Asp
să nu verb

Similar results emerge when we take into consideration the behaviour of pronominal clitics. With analytic tenses, the pronominal clitic systematically precedes the auxiliary, targeting a Person projection (Săvescu-Ciucivara 2011). Interestingly, owing to their insufficient grammaticalization, the future forms based on the subjunctive (the *o să*-future, the *am să*-future, and the future in the past) disallow clitic climbing across *să*. In

this point, the behaviour of clitics diverges from negation: clausal negation always precedes the entire analytic verbal cluster. Consider the table below, illustrating the analytic verbal forms of Romanian; the intransitive verb *merge* ‘go’ has been replaced with *vedea* ‘see’ (illustrations for the first and second person singular), which accepts a direct object that can also be realized as a pronominal clitic; for the ease of exposure, we have employed the accusative third person singular masculine clitic *îl* / *l-* / *-l*.

(271) *Analytic verbal forms in Romanian* (*vedea* ‘see’)

COMPOUND PAST (INDICATIVE)		<i>l-am văzut</i> <i>l-ai văzut</i>
FUTURE <i>VOI</i> -FUTURE (INDICATIVE)	(standard)	<i>îl voi vedea</i> <i>îl vei vedea</i>
	<i>OI</i> -FUTURE (regional)	<i>l-oi vedea</i> <i>l-ăi vedea</i>
	<i>O SĂ</i> -FUTURE (colloquial)	<i>o să îl văd</i> <i>o să îl vezi</i>
	<i>AM SĂ</i> -FUTURE (colloquial)	<i>am să îl vezi</i> <i>ai să îl vezi</i>
	FUTURE PERFECT	<i>îl voi fi văzut</i> <i>îl vei fi văzut</i>
	FUTURE IN THE PAST	<i>aveam să îl văd</i> <i>aveai să îl vezi</i>
PRESUMPTIVE	PRESENT (a)	<i>l-oi vedea</i> <i>l-ăi vedea</i>
	PRESENT (b)	<i>l-oi / îl voi fi văzând</i> <i>l-ăi / îl vei fi văzând</i>
	PAST	<i>l-oi / îl voi fi văzut</i> <i>l-ăi / îl vei fi văzut</i>
CONDITIONAL	PRESENT	<i>l-aş vedea</i> <i>l-ai vedea</i>
	PERFECT	<i>l-aş fi văzut</i> <i>l-ai fi mers</i>

By contrast, with the subjunctive (present or past), *să* systematically precedes the pronominal clitic; furthermore, *să* may also serve as a phonological host for cliticization:

- (272) a. *să îl /* *să-l* *văd*
 SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG SĂ=CL.ACC.M.3SG see.SUBJ.1SG
să îl / *să-l* *vezi*
 SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG SĂ=CL.ACC.M.3SG see.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘to see him’
- b. *să îl /* *să-l* *fi văzut*
 SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG SĂ=CL.ACC.M.3SG be.INF see.PPLE
 ‘to have seen him’

To conclude, the fact that clitics are unable to precede *să* (similarly to negation) indicates that *să* is an element of the inflectional domain; in my view, the correct characterization of *să* is the following: *să* is not an inflectional marker of the subjunctive, but a complementizer selecting a verb in the subjunctive. This sets the higher boundary on *să*: it is placed in the C-domain, as it precedes all the elements of the IP domain and elements typically adjoining to the inflectional domain cannot adjoin to *să*. It will be shown in the next sections that the setting of a lower boundary on the placement of *să* is also possible: as mentioned, *să* is placed in the bottom-most position of the C-domain, i.e. in Fin^0 .

In the next subsection, I show that the verbal cluster may raise to Fin^0 only when *să* is absent. In other words, the non-realization of *să* vacates Fin^0 and makes it available to host the raised verbal cluster. Distributional evidence shows that the landing site for the V-to-C movement is Fin, not higher.

4.3.3.2.3. *Să*-omission

The complementizer *să* may be omitted in the present-day language in two situations (as obvious from the examples, the verbal form is inflected for the subjunctive):

- (i) either in a frozen expression, translatable into English as ‘be it’:

- (273) *În sfârșit, fie cum spui tu!*
 in final be.SUBJ.3SG how say.IND.PRES.2SG you
 ‘In the end, be it as you say.’

- (ii) or in imprecations or imperative expressions:

- (274) *Facă el ce o vrea!*
 make.SUBJ.3SG he what AUX.FUT want.INF
 ‘He is free to do whatever he wants!’

I will focus on the second bare subjunctive construction; its non-frozen status allows one to make grammaticality predictions and judgements. Furthermore, in non-frozen contexts, it is equally possible to employ the full subjunctive, which allows us to properly distinguish the constructions.

A strong piece of evidence supporting the idea that the *să*-less subjunctive ends up in the C-domain is given by its distribution in imprecations (275) or in prayers (276). As shown by the examples below, the *să*-less subjunctive gives rise to encliticization:

- (275) a. *Ducă-se* *pe pustii!* [imprecations]
 go.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL on wilderness
 ‘Go to hell!’
- b. *Aleagă-se* *praful de el!*
 become.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL dust.DEF of him
 ‘Rot in hell!’
- (276) a. *sfîntească-se* *numele tău* (Our Father)
 hallow.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL name.DEF your
 ‘hallowed be your name’
- b. *facă-se* *voia ta*
 make.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL will.DEF your
 ‘may your will be done’

This distribution mirrors the behaviour of imperatives. In the positive imperative, the verb raises to C, leaving behind all its dependents and, when cliticization is involved, gives rise to encliticization (277)⁸⁵. Only vocative phrases (278), heavily focused adverbials (279), 2nd person pronominal subjects information-structurally marked as contrastive foci (280), and interjectional vocative particles such as *ia* and *hai* (281) (see Hill 2013b for a comprehensive analysis) may precede the verb, any other constituent being barred in preverbal position:

- (277) a. *Caută-mă!*
 look-for.IMP.2SG=CL.ACC.1SG
 ‘Look for me.’

⁸⁵ Ever since Kayne (1991), it has been standardly assumed that encliticization results from the movement of the verb past the functional head which hosts the clitic. By assuming that the clitic is left-adjoined to a lower head rather than right-adjoined to the verb, the Kaynean proposal preserves the antisymmetric nature of syntax (Kayne 1994), which bans adjunction to the right.

- b. *Adu-mi-l!*
bring.IMP.2SG=CL.DAT.1SG=CL.ACC.M.3SG
'Bring it to me'
- (278) *Ioane, vino!*
Ion.VOC come.IMP.2SG
'John, come!'
- (279) a. *MĂINE vino!*
tomorrow come.IMP.2SG
b. *Acum vino!*
now come.IMP.2SG
- (280) *TU vino, nu EL!*
you come.IMP.2SG not he
'You come, not he!'
- (281) a. *Hai, vino!*
HAI come.IMP.2SG
b. *Ia vino!*
IA come.IMP.2SG
'Hey, come (here)!'

To conclude, if enclisis and the very limited possibility for the preverbal area to host constituents are taken as evidence for verb raising to C, it results that the subjunctive verb form has raised to the C-domain (similarly to the imperative one).

The relevance of să-omission for the syntax of subjunctives. As shown above, similarly to imperatives, bare subjunctives are sentence-initial, with a few limited exceptions (i.e. of constituents marked from the point of view of information structure). This indicates that bare subjunctives undergo movement to C. At the same time, the regular subjunctive has a more canonical distribution: enclisis is ruled out (282) and the position of the subject (and of other constituent) is freer (283) in the presence of *să*:

- (282) a. *Să se ducă pe pustii!*
SĂ CL.REFL go.SUBJ.3SG on wilderness
'Go to hell!'
b. *Să se facă voia ta!*
SĂ CL.REFL make.SUBJ.3SG your will
'Your will shall be done.'
- (283) a. *El să vină.*
he SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG

- b. *Să vină* *el.*
 SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG he
 ‘Let him come.’
- c. *Voia* *ta* *să se* *facă.* (compare with (282a))
 will.DEF your SĂ CL.REFL make.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘Your will shall be done.’

The conclusion that can be drawn from these distributional facts is that the non-realization of *să* vacates the Fin position allowing the verb to move here. The verbal form inflected for the subjunctive remains in the inflectional domain below negation and clitics in the presence of *să*. When *să* is realised, the verbal cluster cannot raise to Fin⁰ and incorporation into *să* is banned, owing to independent factors⁸⁶:

- (284) a. **ducă-să*⁸⁷
 go.SUBJ.3SG=SĂ
- b. **vină-să*
 come.SUBJ.3SG=SĂ
- c. **fie-să*
 be.SUBJ.3SG=SĂ

Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (*p.c.*) asks why it is the case that, with regular lexical verbs, only the third person (singular and plural) is allowed to raise to Fin⁰ (285), while other persons are excluded (286):

- (285) *Să-l* *văd!*
 SĂ=CL.ACC.M.3SG see.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘Let me see him’
- (286) **Văd-l!*
 see.SUBJ.1SG=CL.ACC.M.3SG

I believe that there is a functional principle at work here: in the case of the other persons, syncretism with the indicative or with the imperative (for the second person plural)

⁸⁶ In Nicolae (2019), I have developed an analysis of verb movement which exclusively relies on phrasal movement. The unavailability of the particle *să* when the subjunctive verb undergoes movement to Fin is explained as an effect of a (*Generalized*) *Doubly-Filled COMP Filter* (see Nicolae 2019: 22-25) for details.

⁸⁷ The phonological segment [*ducă-să*] is grammatical, but *să* represents here a phonological alteration of the reflexive pronoun SE; examples (10b,c), which exclude the presence of the reflexive marker SE are indeed ungrammatical under any reading.

prevents raising; the form undergoing raising has to be distinctively marked for the subjunctive, and this happens only in the third person⁸⁸.

4.3.3.2.4. The *ca (...)* *să* structure

A final piece of evidence for the CP status of the Romanian subjunctive is given by the existence of the *ca (...)* *să* structure. If *să* is indeed a Fin⁰ head, one remaining possibility that has to be dismissed is that Romanian subjunctives are FinPs, not full CPs (closed off by a Force projection). Stan (2007) unambiguously shows that the complementizer *ca* occupies the Force⁰ head, closing off the embedded subjunctive clause.

Let us focus here on the anaphoric subjunctive, the subjunctive variety selected by modal (and aspectual) verbs. All anaphoric subjunctives have the possibility to fully actualize their left periphery (see also Coftas 2011), with both Force and Fin being lexicalized by different elements, *ca* and *să*⁸⁹. Thus, the *ca (...)* *să* structure is always available ((287)-(290)); interestingly, there are (quite numerous) instances in which *ca* and *să* are not separated by any constituent and may cluster together (290):

- (287) *Trebuie înțeles foarte clar că nu putem ca o*
 must understood.SUP very clearly that not can.IND.PRES.1PL CA a
problemă internă a unui partid
 problem.F internal.F AL.F a.M.GEN party
să o transferăm în CJ (internet)
 SĂ CL.ACC.F.3SG transfer.IND.PRES.1PL in CJ
 ‘One must clearly understand that we can’t transfer an internal problem of a party in the CJ (County Council).’
- (288) *Trebuie ca pe durata celor 10 zile să se consume*
 must CA during the.GEN 10 days SĂ CL.REFL consume.SUBJ.3PL

⁸⁸ This conjecture finds support in the following empirical fact: as shown above (see example (257)), the verb *fi* (‘be’) has specific suppletive subjunctive inflection, distinct from indicative inflection; distinctive inflection in the subjunctive explains why *să* may be dropped with persons other than the third person in spoken Romanian: (*Să fim noi sănătoși!* (‘May we be healthy!’)).

⁸⁹ I have taken the examples below from the internet, in order to validate their existence, as it has been often claimed in the literature (see Barbosa 1995, Dobrovie Sorin 2000: 59-60, for instance) that the *ca (...)* *să* structure does not always get activated (e.g. when the subjunctive is selected by modal verbs); this proposal is empirically inadequate (and the allegedly ungrammatical examples discussed by Dobrovie Sorin 2000: 59-60 are considered by all the native speakers I have consulted as being fully grammatical). This has been wrongly taken as an argument for the non-CP status of the subjunctive selected by modal verbs.

- exclusiv cereale.*
 exclusively cereals
 ‘During the ten days, one must exclusively eat cereals.’
- (289) *Iată ce nu trebuie ca tu să știi.*
 here-is what not must CA you SĂ know.SUBJ.2SG
 ‘Here is what you mustn’t know.’
- (290) *Unde putem ca să mai construim o biserică,*
 where can.IND.PRES.1.PL CA SĂ more build.IND.PRES.1PL a church
să o construim
 SĂ CL.ACC.F.3SG build.IND.PRES.1PL
 ‘We should build a new church wherever we can build one.’

The possibility to activate both the Force⁰ and the Fin⁰ head in the case of the anaphoric subjunctive selected by modal verbs indicates that the subjunctive uniformly has a CP-status (i.e. ForceP, or, at any rate, a full left periphery), and is not subject to structure variation depending on the selecting head.

4.3.3.2.5. Summary and implications

In the preceding subsections, I have focused on bringing arguments that subjunctive clauses are full CPs. My argumentation has mainly consisted in showing the following: inflection alone characterises the lexical verb as being a subjunctive; the element heading the subjunctive cluster is a Fin-head, a fact which automatically turns subjunctive clauses into CPs; and, finally, it is always possible to activate both C-heads in a Rizzian split-C perspective, filling them with different elements, *ca* (Force⁰) and *să* (Fin⁰).

My account of verb-movement presented in §IV.3.2.3 above and the specific approach to subjunctives developed here also solves a very thorny problem: the fact that *să* shows displays adjacency to the inflectional cluster, disallowing the presence of the subject in between *să* and the lexical verb (291), contrasting in this respect with other complementizers (292):

- (291) **Poate să el vină.*
 can.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ he come.SUBJ.3SG
 (i.m.) ‘He can come.’
- (292) *Mi-a spus că el vine.*
 CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG say.PPLE that he come.IND.PRES.3SG
 ‘S(h)e told me that he is coming.’

Recall that (i) I have argued that the final argumental position available for subjects in Romanian is situated below T; (ii) preverbal subjects in Romanian are displaced to the left periphery as they occur above negation (they are preverbal topics in the unmarked reading); (iii) the Romanian synthetic verb raises up to the highest verbal projection of the inflectional cluster, being preceded only by PersPs hosting clitics and by negation. Taking stock of all these results and of the fact that *să* is a Fin^0 element, the impossibility to interpolate the subject in between *să* and the verbal cluster follows naturally from the absence of subject position between Fin and Mood; if projection is fed by a last resort principle of disposing of unvalued features (Bošković 2007), then there is no need for the subject to undergo further A-movement, as its [uT] feature has been deleted against the [iT] [valued] feature of the T head. In other words, the movement of the subject across T and Mood would be idle.

(293) FinP > Mood > T >... (subject position)

In any case, the fact that Fin^0 -heads display a greater degree of coherence with the inflectional cluster has been observed as early as Rizzi (1997) and has been given a more recent account by Sainz (2013), who applies Ouali's (2008) typology of feature-inheritance relations. According to Ouali (2008), if indeed the ϕ - and T-features of T are inherited by T from C (Chomsky 2007, 2008, Richards 2007), there are actually three possible relations between C and T: (i) C transfers its features to T; (ii) C does not transfer its features to T, (iii) features are transferred from C to T, but a copy of the set of features is preserved by C as well. These three options are called DONATE, KEEP, SHARE. Sainz (2013) brings to the fore a series of data that imply SHARING between C and T and claims that *adjacency* is a side effect of the sharing relation that holds between C and T. Whether *adjacency* is genuinely a side effect of SHARING or just a mere stipulation (Ian Roberts, *p.c.*) remains to be established by further research.

Other interesting arguments for the Fin^0 -head status of *să* come from subjunctive headed relatives and from the history of Romanian. One brief mention should be made in connection with this latter point. Traditional (Avram 1960) and more recent (Sava 2013) research on *să* and on the general evolution of the subjunctive clause (Hill 2013b) has highlighted the fact that in the earliest attested writings of early old Romanian *să* permits a dual analysis: it is either an *irrealis* subjunctive complementizer (as in the modern Romanian subjunctive) *or* a conditional conjunction ('if'); by regular mechanisms of syntactic change, the conditional conjunction usage has been eliminated and *să* has been fully reanalysed as a non-conditional Fin^0 head. The assumption that *să* is a member of the inflectional cluster in the present stage of Romanian (and not a C/Fin head) would lead us to assume that this element has undergone a very curious path of historical evolution: it

would imply “downwards grammaticalization”. As extensively shown by Roberts and Roussou (2002), grammaticalization is always “upwards” movement on the clausal spine.

A few comments on this organization of the material are in order here: why have I chosen to present such a detailed syntactic structure of the subjunctive clause? In other words, what is the direct relevance to the topic of my investigation, namely ellipsis licensed by modal verbs? As will be shown in §IV.4.4.2, devoted to the study of ellipsis with modal licensors, in the case of ellipsis licensed by *putea*, only the non-restructuring, subjunctive configuration is an appropriate ellipsis site. The correct understanding of the structure of the ellipsis site allows us to account for the disparities between Romanian and other languages with respect to modal complement ellipsis. For instance, the possibilities to extract elements from the ellipsis site are much more generous in Romanian than in other languages featuring the same phenomenon, Germanic or Romance (see, for Dutch, Aelbrecht 2010, and for Romance, Dagnac 2009, 2010, Authier 2012).

At this point, we may return to the syntax of the subjunctive modal construction, as we have all the necessary ingredients for the analysis.

4.3.3.3. Deriving the *poate* + subjunctive construction

4.3.3.3.1. Tackling the data

Recall that the configuration *putea* + subjunctive is a biclausal construction, and that the subjunctive is a fully-fledged CP. Recall also that, despite the fully-fledged CP status of the subjunctive, the configuration under analysis shares two crucial properties with the bare short infinitive modal construction: full temporal anaphoricity to the selecting modal predicate and inability to assign nominative case to its subject.

As visible from the examples below, it is impossible to have different subjects in the embedded and in the matrix clause (cf. (294a) vs. (294b)). The examples in (294c) and (294d) indicate that it is also impossible to have diverging subjects that imply one another (person 2 plural → person 2 singular or viceversa).

(294)	a.	<i>Poți</i> can.IND.PRES.2SG 'You can read.'	<i>să citești</i> SA read.SUBJ.2SG	<i>tu.</i> you(SG)
	b.	* <i>Poți</i> can.IND.PRES.2SG	<i>să citească</i> SĂ read.SUBJ.3SG	<i>el.</i> he
	c.	* <i>Puteți</i> can.IND.PRES.2PL	<i>să citești</i> SĂ read.SUBJ.2SG	<i>tu.</i> you(SG)
	d.	* <i>Poți</i> can.IND.PRES.2SG	<i>să citiți</i> SĂ read.SUBJ.2PL	<i>voi.</i> you(PL)

Any type of temporal mismatch between the matrix and the embedded predicate is disallowed with anaphoric subjunctives:

- (295) a. **Azi poți* *să citești* *măine*. [present / future]
 today can.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ read.SUBJ.2SG tomorrow
- b. **Azi începi* *să citești* *măine*.
 today begin.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ read.SUBJ.2sg tomorrow

Furthermore, the perfect subjunctive is disallowed as a complement to modal (and aspectual, cf. (296b)) verbs.

- (296) a. **Poți* [present] *să fi* *venit* (*ieri*).
 can.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ be.INF come.PPLE yesterday
- b. **Începi* [present] *să fi* *citit* (*ieri*).
 begin.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ be.INF read.PPLE yesterday

The obvious result of this brief presentation is that the impossibility of having a different subject in the matrix clause and in the embedded subjunctive clause goes hand in hand with the temporally dependent nature of the subjunctive in this context: raising is again at play, as the subordinate domain is unable to provide an [*i*T] feature which deletes its subject [*u*T] feature, resulting in nominative assignment.

How does one get out of this apparently contradictory state of affairs: a fully-fledged CP without its own T-specification⁹⁰?

I will next briefly introduce the relevant elements from the *feature inheritance* hypothesis and argue, like Alboiu (2007), Cotfas (2011), and Landau (2013), that the solution to this apparent paradox lies in assigning the correct featural make-up to the C-domain of the embedded subjunctive.

4.3.3.3.2. *Feature inheritance at play*

In keeping with the idea that T-features are inherited from C, I will assume that the T-feature hosted by the C-domain of the anaphoric subjunctive (inherited by / shared with the T head of the subjunctive CP) is uninterpretable, i.e. [*u*T]. Like Cotfas (2011), I assume

⁹⁰ Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) indicates that this account is slightly contradictory as it entails A-bar raising out of finite clauses; actually, I believe that, since the subjunctive selected by modals is fully anaphoric to the selecting predicate, this variety of subjunctive is not properly a “finite subjunctive”.

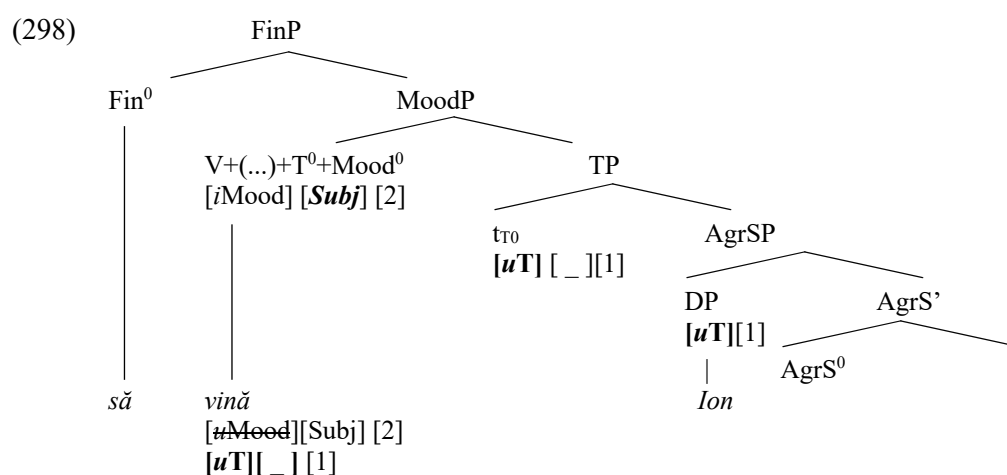
that this is a selectional property of the selecting modal head: *putea* selects C specified as $[uT]$ ⁹¹.

The consequences of this state of affairs are two-fold: i) the $[uT]$ feature of the subject DP cannot be deleted or, in other words, nominative assignment is blocked in the lower domain; thus, the subject DP is still an active Goal and ii) the verb's necessities are not solved either, as the subjunctive morphology does not find an appropriate head against whose $[iT]$ feature may delete its own $[uT]$ feature.

Consider example (297) below for illustration:

- (297) (Ion) poate (Ion) să vină (Ion).
 Ion CAN.IND.PRES.3SG Ion SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG Ion
 'Ion can come.'

The present subjunctive is a synthetic form; as such, it undergoes movement up to MoodP, valuing the features of all the verbal heads along the way (Asp^0 , $Mood^0$), except for the T-head: as an effect of selection and inheritance, T is also $[uT]$, like the lexical verb itself; the lexical verb may undergo Match / Agree with the feature on T, but this does not solve the necessities of either. Ignoring the lower portion of the clause, the emerging syntactic structure is the following one:



A comment is in order here: a fact that has been implicit in the discussion above is that, since the present subjunctive systematically takes over the temporal specification of the higher selecting predicate and shows no signs of temporal independence, the

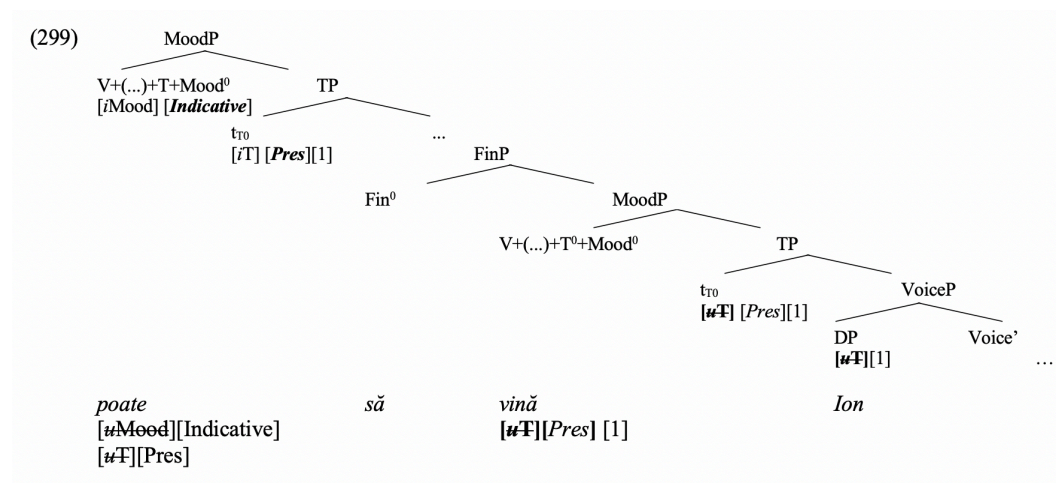
⁹¹ This selection property might follow from the fact that modals are fully devoid of thematic structure, as claimed above.

subjunctive morphology is genuinely underspecified, thus [*uT*] [_]. The subjunctive thus contrasts with other inflected morphological forms, which have an inherent temporal value, despite being uninterpretable in the absence of a relevant heads against which the offending [*uT*] feature can be erased. More generally, the subjunctive seems to be fully dependent on the context where it is embedded. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that subjunctive morphology, despite being in many respects similar to the indicative one, does not also contribute a temporal value (of the type [Past] / [Present] etc.). Assuming that the subjunctive is fully devoid of temporal specification elegantly accounts for the fact that the present subjunctive may occur in independent clauses with an hortatory or an epistemic value (Zafiu 2011), may be embedded by verbs which do not impose any temporal restriction upon it (e.g. complement to volitional and desiderative verbs like *a vrea* ‘want, wish’, *a dori* ‘wish’, *a prefera* ‘prefer’, *a spera* ‘hope’, *a se aștepta* ‘expect’) (Cotfas 2011) or complement to modal and aspectual verbs, which impose their own temporal specification upon the subjunctive clause. In other words, subjunctive morphology does not play any role tense-wise; the temporal interpretation of the verb in the subjunctive is dictated by the specifications provided from above. A radical way out of this paradoxical behaviour would be to assume that, with subjunctives, T does not project; however, this is not an appropriate solution, as the subjunctive does indeed shows visible signs of a T-projection by having its own nominative subject (in non-anaphoric embedded and matrix contexts contexts).

The examination of the structure in (298) reveals the following things: i) the [*uT*] feature on the DP is still active (necessities: an [*iT*] feature against which it can be deleted); ii) the features on the T head are both uninterpretable and unvalued, [*uT*] [_] (necessities: a value and an *iT* specification). Note that the T-features are linked, forming an Agree chain in the sense of Pesetsky and Torrego (2004).

The next step consists in the merger of the modal head: the modal verb is morphologically specified with unvalued interpretable features, [*uT*] [Pres] in the present example. Agree between the T-features of the modal head and the features below takes place; all instances of T are at this point related by the same Agree chain; the interpretability component is ensured by the T-head from the extended projection of the modal verb; recall also that the modal verb is devoid of theta-marking and accusative case assignment properties, and, as such, prior to the insertion of the higher T-head, nothing tampers with nominative case assignment to the subject DP (deletion of [*uT*]); if the modal verb had been endowed with grammatical transitivity, a T_{Obj} phrase comprised within *v* and V would have deleted the [*uT*] feature of the lower DP, this resulting in accusative assignment. The final step of the derivation is represented below, with the lexical verb having raised to T, valuing T’s [*iT*] [] necessities as [Present]; upon Agree with the [*iT*] feature of the higher T, the entire array of [*uT*] features related by the Agree chain get deleted; no offending non-erased *unvalued* feature remains, and the derivation is convergent; most notably, the CP-status of

the subjunctive complement allows the DP subject to escape the complement domain and move higher up in the domain of the modal verb, with the CP edge functioning as an escape hatch. The final step of the derivation is depicted by the representation below:



In conclusion, the subjunctive modal construction represents a second case in which the $[uT]$ feature of the subject is not satisfied within the domain in which the subject merges and is theta-assigned; the merger of a higher $[iT]$ head is necessary to delete the $[uT]$ feature of the subject and ensure nominative assignment. This solution elegantly accounts for the subject raising properties displayed by modal verbs.

4.3.4. Summary

In the two previous sections (§§IV.4.3.2, IV.4.3.3) I have dealt with the derivation of the verbal modal constructions featuring the modal *putea*, arriving at the following results:

(i) the bare short modal infinitival construction is a monoclausal restructuring configuration; selection by the modal verb *putea* ensures nominative assignment to the subject theta-marked by the infinitival complement;

(ii) the subjunctive modal construction shows all signs of biclausality; however, despite being biclausal, it shows all the signs of subject raising; nominative assignment on the subject theta-marked by the lower predicate is ensured by the higher modal verb.

The theoretical option of choosing, like Alboiu (2007) and Cotfas (2011), to analyse subjunctive modal construction as involving raising rather than control is justified if we look at the internal inflectional make-up of the present subjunctive verbal cluster: the verb in the subjunctive displays person variation, distinguishing all six grammatical

persons (with person 3 singular being syncretic with person 3 plural). As claimed by Roberts (2010a) (who builds on earlier work by Taraldsen and Rizzi), person inflection on verbs licenses *pro* subjects; as such, theoretically, it is inappropriate to discuss about the *control* of a (small) *pro* (see also Rizzi 1982).

Another result that has emerged from our discussion is that the modal verb *putea* has a special selectional property: it selects a complement which is temporally dependent on it. In the case of the bare infinitive construction, temporal dependence results from the size of the complement: in the absence of the prepositional complementizer *a*, the infinitive does not project a structure extended enough to ensure that its subject gets nominative case. With subjunctives, temporal dependence translates as a selectional feature: *putea* selects a subjunctive CP specified as [*uT*].

The similarities and differences between the two complements selected by *putea* have been highlighted throughout the preceding sections. I would like, however, to insist on the fact that the bare short infinitive cannot be topicalized across the modal verb, while the subjunctive can be:

- (300) a. **Citi* *poți* t_{citi}.
 read.INF can.IND.PRES.2SG
- b. *Să citească* *pot* t_{să citească}.
 SĂ read.SUBJ.1SG can.IND.PRES.1SG

This disparity, which has been taken above to indicate that the bare short infinitive is tagged along by the modal verb as an effect of restructuring, will be instrumental in understanding why the bare short infinitival construction does not feed ellipsis.

Let us now turn to the modal verb *trebui*, discussing first the subjunctive modal configuration with this verb.

4.3.5. *Trebui* + subjunctive

The analysis presented in §IV.4.3.3 above for the *putea* + subjunctive combination carries over to the construction investigated here as well. In a nutshell, in a construction like (301) below, systematically ambiguous between a root and an epistemic interpretation, nominative assignment to the DP subject is ensured by the [*iT*] feature of the modal verb *trebui* (see §IV.4.3.3.2 above for the particular derivational steps, which are identical in the case of (301) below). I will not insist on this issue.

- (301) *Trebuie* *să vină* *Mihai*.
 must.IND.PRES SĂ come.SUBJ.3SG=3PL Mihai(NOM)
 ‘Mihai must come / be coming.’

A thorny problem (not discussed by Cotfas 2011, the most extensive work dedicated to the syntax and interpretation of the embedded subjunctive, or by Avram 1999) is the context in which the modal verb *trebuie* embeds a perfect subjunctive, this giving rise to an exclusively epistemic reading when *trebui* is in the present tense:

- (302) *Trebuie să fi venit Mihai.*
 must.IND.PRES SĂ be come.PPLE Mihai
 ‘Mihai must have come.’

The situation is further complicated by the fact that *trebui* may also select a rather odd form, a gerundial presumptive selected by the Fin-head *să* (this has been noticed, but not accounted for, by Avram 1999: 223):

- (303) *La început gândea că preoteasa trebuie*
 at beginning think.IMPERF.3SG that priest-wife.DEF must.IND.PRES
să fi ocărând pe Catinca.
 SĂ be.INF scold.GER DOM Catinca
 ‘In the beginning, he thought that the priest’s wife must have been scolding Catinca.’

If one looks at example (302), the first intuition⁹² is that there is a disparity between the tense of the modal *trebui* (present) and the temporal value of the embedded subjunctive (?past). However, if we apply the syntactic diagnostics employed to test the temporal (in)dependence of the matrix and of the embedded predicate, we immediately observe that the embedded subjunctive does not temporally diverge from the temporal value expressed by the matrix predicate, as diverging temporal adverbials are disallowed:

- (304) * *Azi trebuie să fi venit Mihai ieri.*
 today must.IND.PRES SĂ be.INF come.PPLE Mihai yesterday

Furthermore, the presence of the gerundial presumptive preceded by *să* (303) in this construction points to a similar conclusion; recall from the discussion in §IV.3.2.3.6.2 that the gerundial presumptive is a present/future oriented form.

Note also that, even if diverging adverbials are disallowed, it is possible to modify the construction both with present and with past adverbials:

⁹² I am aware of the fact that the following explanation borders on speculation, but I think that it is on the right track; in any case, I am not aware of a better explanation proposed by the previous literature.

- (305) a. *Azi trebuie să fi venit Mihai (azi).*
 today must.IND.PRES SĂ be.INF come.PPLE Mihai today
 b. *Ieri trebuie să fi venit Mihai (ieri).*
 today must.IND.PRES SĂ be.INF come.PPLE Mihai yesterday

A potential solution would be to consider that *trebuie* behaves like an epistemic adverbial here. However, this solution is directly contradicted by the fact that the modal can be preceded by negation (306a) and can be inflected for tense (306b); thus, *trebui* is fully verbal here.

- (306) a. *Ea nu trebuie să fi avut vreodată legătură cu alt bărbat.*
 she not must.IND.PRES SĂ be.INF have.PPLE ever relation.DEF
 with other man
 ‘She must have never had a relation with another man.’
 b. *Va trebui să fi spus asta.*
 AUX.FUT.3SG must.INF SĂ be.INF say.PPLE this
 ‘~He will have to have been said this.’

What is then the interpretation of (302)? I believe that we are dealing here with a form which has a very complex temporal-aspectual reading. The fact that diverging adverbials are disallowed (304) indicates that we cannot properly speak of divergent temporal specification. Rather, both the modal verb and the participial (or gerundial, cf. (303)) contribute their own specification to the interpretation of this construction: in a Reichenbachian framework, which distinguishes Speech Time [ST] / Reference Time [RT] / Event Time [ET], the temporal dimension (i.e. the relation ST-RT) is given by the tense on the modal verb, while the aspectual dimension (i.e. the relation RT-ET) is given by the subjunctive complement, more exactly, by the past participle formative, as non-agreeing *be* simply contributes an *irrealis* dimension. In other words, in examples (302) or (306), we are dealing with the present evaluation of a past event. The combination resembles to a certain extent the interpretation elicited by the English perfect tenses (past perfect, and present perfect) or with the Romanian future perfect, which activate both the temporal and the aspectual axis from an interpretative point of view. On the other hand, when the perfect subjunctive periphrasis is based on a gerundial form (example (303)), no such disparity

emerges, as the gerundial component more closely matches the temporal specification of the modal selector (present / future-oriented)^{93,94}.

I believe that historical linguistics verifies this proposal. In her extensive survey of verb morphology in old Romanian, Zamfir (2005) shows that the perfect subjunctive developed out of a periphrasis involving copular / passive *be* plus a past participle, as shown in the examples below (taken from Zamfir 2005: 410-413):

- (307) a. *să nu fie născutu* (DRH. A XIX/259, 342: 11)
 SĂ not be.SUBJ.3SG born
 b. *să hims luaŭ* (TB II 248: 2, Cod. Tod. 36^v: 6)
 SĂ be.SUBJ.1PL take.PPLE
 c. *să fiu spus z* (ÎL 701: 37)
 SĂ be.SUBJ.1SG say.PPLE

If my proposal that the grammaticalization of the Romanian auxiliaries has systematically involved the elimination of the tense features (see §IV.3.2.3.6.1 above) is on the right track, then the examples from old Romanian, featuring a periphrasis with *be* inflected for person and present subjunctive verify the claim that the T-feature is genuinely absent with the modern Romanian perfect subjunctive; the perfective reading of the construction is given by the past participle.

Further research is needed to pin down more accurately the temporal-aspectual interpretation of these examples; in any case, the unavailability of diverging temporal adverbials and of disjoint subjects indicates that the overall analysis put forward in the preceding section is on the right track. In any case, Avram's (1999) conclusion that *trebui* is "the most «unstable» of them all!" proves to be correct.

Let us now turn to the combination *trebui* + participle/supine.

⁹³ A legitimate question at this point is why the present subjunctive does not give rise to such disparities. If we agree with the idea defended in the previous section, namely that the present subjunctive is fully devoid of T-features (i.e. fully underspecified), the contrast between the present subjunctive and the periphrastic past subjunctive follows naturally: the lexical verb present within this periphrastic form has an aspectual contribution of its own, encoded by participial or gerundial inflection. Commenting on this problem (with respect to a different construction), Cotfas (2011: 207) reaches the same conclusion: "[perfect subjunctives] their temporal independence is encoded by lexical means and they consequently lack morphological/syntactic tense, displaying semantic tense only".

⁹⁴ In relation to the previous footnote, Ian Roberts (*p.c.*) suggests a simpler explanation, which essentially boils down to the nature of epistemic vs. root modality: root / deontic modality cannot be outside the scope of the past (as obligation cannot be imposed on the past), but epistemic modality can.

4.3.6. *Trebui* + participle / supine

The verb *trebui* also combines with a participle / supine. According to traditional grammars (GALR 2008, GBLR 2010), when the lexical verb is transitive, the phrase selected by *trebui* is a participle (308); when the lexical verb is intransitive, the phrase selected by *trebui* is a supine (309). Note that the construction based on the participle is exclusively passive (308), and that the participle agrees with the externalized internal argument, while the supine construction is active and impersonal, and the supine is non-agreeing (309).

- (308) *Nuvela trebue citită.*
 novelette.DEF(F) must.IND.PRES read.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The novelette must be read.’
- (309) a. *Trebue mers la cinema.*
 must.IND.PRES go.SUP at cinema
 ‘One / we must go to the cinema.’
- b. *Trebue ajuns devreme la școală.*
 must arrive.SUP early at school
 ‘One / we must arrive early at school.’

I believe that, similarly to the bare infinitival construction, this construction is a monoclausal restructuring configuration as well and that *trebui*, like *putea* in the mentioned construction, selects a VoiceP complement. The diagnostics employed above (§IV.4.3.2) to diagnose restructuring are, however, harder to implement here.

Notice, from the beginning, that the voice specifications are provided exclusively by the selected non-finite participle/supine. How about the other diagnostics?

Negation also points to this conclusion, as the negator *nu* surfaces exclusively on the modal verb (even if the supine virtually has the possibility to express clausal negation by means of the negative prefix *ne-*)⁹⁵:

- (310) *Nuvela nu trebue citită.*
 novelette.DEF(F) not must.IND.PRES read.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The novelette must not be read.’
- (311) a. *Nu trebue mers la cinema.*
 not must go.SUP at cinema
 ‘One / we must not go to the cinema.’

⁹⁵ See Cornilescu and Cosma (2013a) for solid evidence that the negation affixed onto a supine is clausal.

- b. *Nu trebuie ajuns devreme la școală.*
 not must arrive.SUP early at school
 ‘One / we must not arrive early at school.’

The third diagnostic, clitics, is harder to implement because of the syntactic nature of the selected complement. In the participial construction, the participle is passive (hence, no direct object clitics); however, if we look at a double object verb like *da* ‘give’, which takes a direct object and an indirect object (and we eliminate from the discussion the direct object which gets externalised), examples bordering on the verge of grammaticality like the one below may be provided, with the indirect object (unaffected by passivization) being doubled by a clitic which is adjoined to the verb *trebuie*:

- (312) *?Fetelor le trebuie date note bune.*
 girls.DEF.DAT CL.DAT.3SG must.IND.PRES give.PPLE.F.PL good grades
 ‘Girls must be given good grades.’

In the case of the supine intransitive construction, cliticization is independently excluded by the fact that clitic doubling is totally excluded with verbal supines (see Dragomirescu 2013a for details).

To conclude, the syntactic diagnostics presented indicate that we are dealing with a restructuring configuration.

Before I present the derivation of each construction in turn, one other potential analysis has to be eliminated: the presence of a silent copula/passive auxiliary in the structure. Transitive verbs are not extremely helpful in this respect, as a copula may always be inserted in between *trebui* and the agreeing participle:

- (313) *Nuvela trebuie (să fie) citită.*
 novelette.DEF(F) must.IND.PRES SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG read.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The novelette must be read.’

However, assuming a derivation of this sort would predict that the complement to *trebui* is always a participle: when preceded by agreeing *be*, unaccusative verbs allow for the externalization of their internal argument, and give rise to agreeing participial constructions:

- (314) *Fata trebuie să fie venită.*
 girl.DEF must.IND.PRES SĂ be come.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The girl must have come.’

If we silence *be* in example (314) above, we arrive at an ungrammatical example:

- (315) **Fata trebuie venită.*
 girl.DEF must.IND.PRES come.PPLE.F.SG

The presence of a silent *be* in this configuration is thus excluded.

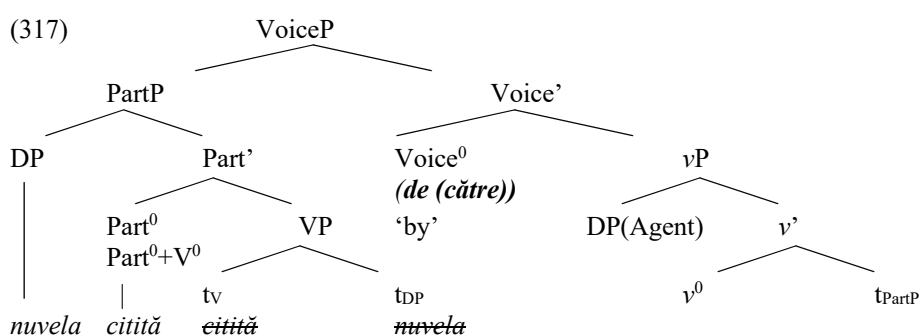
We may safely conclude that *trebui* has the ability to select a participle or a supine; the height of the complement is Voice, the cut off point of restructuring (as shown for the bare infinitive construction analysed in §IV.4.3.2 above).

The derivation of the two constructions is different. Let us start with the participial configuration, which is always passive.

The passive construction is based on a passive / indirect derivation (in the sense of Roberts 2013) similar to the one presented above in §IV.3.2.3.6.3. Consider, for illustration, example (316).

- (316) *Nuvela trebuie citită.*
 novelette.DEF(F) must.IND.PRES read.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘The novelette must be read.’

The low VoiceP selected by *trebui* is identical to the one selected by the passive auxiliary *be*: after the lexical verb has raised to Part⁰, the PartP containing the internal argument is displaced to the specifier of VoiceP (this step ensures the smuggling of the internal argument out of the lower domain, and enables it to undergo further movement to satisfy its case necessities).



In the next step, the verb *trebui* is merged; it undergoes head movement up to the highest position in the inflectional cluster. The [*u*T] feature of the internal argument is deleted and nominative assignment is ensured. The derivation is convergent.

A comment is in order at this point. Treating this construction as a restructuring configuration is apparently contradicted by the fact that, contrary to the bare short infinitive, the participle does not have a rigid position; in other words, the participle can be displaced to the left periphery (319), in contrast to the bare short infinitive (318):

- (318) */? *Citi* *nuvela* *puteți* *t_{citi}*.
 read.INF novelette.DEF can.IND.PRES.2PL
- (319) *Citită* *trebuie* *nuvela* *t_{citită}*, *nu romanul*.
 read.PPLE.F must.IND.PRES novelette.DEF not novel.DEF
 ‘It is the novelette that must be read, not the novel.’

This problem is easily circumvented if we think of the passive bare short infinitive construction (320): recall that, in this construction, the participle can be easily displaced (320b), but the passive auxiliary has to remain *in situ* ((320b) vs. (320c)) because of the application of restructuring.

- (320) a. *Nuvela* *poate* *fi* *citită*.
 novelette.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG be.INF read.PPLE.F.SG
- b. *Citită*, *nuvela* *poate* *fi* *t_{citită}*.
 read.PPLE.F.SG novelette.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG be.INF
 ‘The novelette can be read.’
- c. **Fi* *citită*, *nuvela* *poate* *t_{fi} citită*.
 be.INF read.PPLE.F.SG novelette.DEF can.IND.PRES.3SG

In other words, the agreeing nature of the participle and the position occupied (Spec, VoiceP) make it apt for displacement, despite the application of restructuring (see, for details, §IV.4.3.2.4).

This reasoning can be extended to the participial *trebui* construction: despite the application of restructuring, the passive participle is free to move out of the complement domain of *trebui*. In other words, the possibility to displace the participle across the modal verb does not contradict the restructuring analysis; by contrast, the cut off point of restructuring (VoiceP) is fully emptied when the participle raises, and this gives the superficial impression that restructuring does not apply.

The supine *trebui* configurations (322)-(323) can be accommodated in a similar manner, except for the fact that in this case, there is no reason to assume an indirect derivation. Rather, the verb undergoes movement up to the cut off point of restructuring (Voice). Since head movement rather than phrasal movement is involved, the prediction is that, like in the other restructuring configuration which is based on head movement, the **active** bare short infinitive construction, the verb cannot be displaced across the modal.

This prediction is indeed borne out: both the displaced bare short infinitives (321), and displaced supines (322)-(323) are equally infelicitous.

- (321) */? *Citi* *nuvela* *puteți* t_{citi} .
 read.INF novelette.DEF can.IND.PRES.2PL
- (322) * *Mers* *trebuie* t_{mers} *la cinema*.
 go.SUP must.IND.PRES at cinema
- (323) * *Ajuns* *trebuie* *devreme la școală*.
 arrive.SUP must.IND.PRES early at school
 ‘One / we must arrive early at school.’

Other problems, such as the impersonal/subjectless nature of the supine modal construction, follow directly from the syntax of the supine itself and do not directly concern the modal construction: supine phrases are unable to take lexical subjects due to the internal nature of the supine construction itself (Dragomirescu 2013a, Cornilescu and Cosma 2014, i.a.); expectedly, they should not take lexical subjects when embedded by other verbs, a prediction which is borne out in the modal construction analysed here⁹⁶.

To sum up, the following facts have been discussed in this section:

(i) *trebui* can take a participle or a supine complement; the participial construction is passive and is always based on an indirect derivation; the supine construction is active and impersonal, and is based on a direct derivation;

(ii) in both cases, restructuring is at play, as shown by the fact that operations associated with the lower head are transmitted to the higher head (voice, negation, and, marginally, cliticization);

(iii) the different nature (direct / indirect) of the derivations involved in the participial and supine modal constructions accounts for the different displacement possibilities encountered in these constructions.

4.3.7. Summary

In this larger section, I have investigated the syntax of the overt modal constructions, headed by the modal verbs *putea* and *trebui*, arriving at the following results:

(i) the modal verbs *putea* and *trebui* occur in two main configurations:

⁹⁶ I would not go as far as saying that the supine modal construction “is not a raising construction as there is no subject to be raised in the first place”; Dragomirescu (2013a) and Cornilescu and Cosma (2014) analyse the subject of the supine as a big PRO, which turns the supine construction in a construction with an implicit subject. The unavailability of an overt lexical subject with supines is due to the internal structure of the supine clause.

(a) a biclausal configuration, in which they select a subjunctive and impose their temporal representation upon it; in a very limited number of cases, *trebuie* may select a periphrastic subjunctive which superficially seems to impose a perfective reading;

(b) a monoclausal restructuring configuration, in which they select a non-finite form (*putea* - a bare short infinitive; *trebuie* - a participle / supine) whose maximal extension is VoiceP; the impossibility of displacing the complement of the modal verb under restructuring (in contrast to felicitous displacement of the subjunctive) indicates that, under restructuring, the modal verb pipes along its non-finite complement;

(ii) despite having a heterogeneous syntactic selection frame (subjunctives, infinitives, participles, supines), modal verbs have a uniform semantics: they are thematically hollow and select a full propositional complement.

Let us now turn to ellipsis with modal licensors and see whether it is a special variety of ellipsis (as argued by Aelbrecht 2010), with its own idiosyncratic properties, or whether we can include it in the larger class of ellipsis with verbal licensors. The first option involves assuming that there is a special variety of the E-feature, whose presence on a designated head targets the deletion of the respective head's complement. As argued in §II, a solution of this type is undesirable.

4.4. Modal complement ellipsis

In what follows, I will avoid using the verbs *trebui* and *putea* in the third person singular, present tense, as they are, in this context, formally identical with *trebuie că* and *poate (că)*, which show certain signs of adverbialization (see §IV.4.1); furthermore, due to the fact that *trebui* does not display person variation and in the present tense its paradigm is morphologically identical with the paradigm of the epistemic adverbial *trebuie că*, it is safer to employ forms inflected for other tenses.

4.4.1. Diagnosing ellipsis

In order to show that we are genuinely dealing with ellipsis, it is necessary to resort to what we have called “reliable diagnostics”, which have been presented in §II.2.2: extraction, connectivity effects, and antecedent-contained deletion. Let us take each diagnostic in turn and apply it to both verbs.

Extraction and connectivity. As remarked by Aelbrecht (2010), extraction is a unidirectional diagnostic; if an element can be extracted out of the ellipsis site, then there is

solid evidence for internal structure. Connectivity is a by-product of extraction: the extracted phrase observes the conditions (case, agreement etc.) imposed within the ellipsis site.

The extraction of non-*wh*-objects is valid both with *putea* and with *trebui*:

- (324) a. *Trebuie să învinuiesc pe cineva,*
must.IND.PRES SĂ blame.SUBJ.1SG DOM someone
dar chiar pe tine nu pot < >. [DO extraction]
but just DOM you not can.IND.PRES.1SG
'I have to blame someone, but I cannot blame you.'
- b. (Profesor) *Trebuie să dau cuiva o notă*
professor must.IND.PRES SĂ give.SUBJ.SG someone.DAT a grade
mică; ție nu pot < >. [IO extraction]
small you.DAT not can.IND.PRES.1SG
'I have to give a small grade to someone, but I can't give it to you.'
- (325) a. Professor: *Pe cine voi examina mâine?*
DOM whom AUX.FUT.1SG examine.INF tomorrow
Pe mine va trebui < >, *pentru că nu am notă.*
DOM me AUX.FUT must.INF because not have.1SG grade
'Who will I examine tomorrow? You will have to examine me, because I do not have a grade yet.'
- b. *Am putea să dăm distincții tuturor,*
AUX.COND.1PL can.INF SĂ grant.SUBJ.1PL distinctions everyone.DAT
însă ar trebui numai celor care s-au
but AUX.COND must.INF only CEL.DAT who CL.REFL=aux.PERF.3PL
remarcat < >.
remarked
'We could award distinctions to everyone, but I think we should grant distinctions only to those who distinguished themselves.'

With respect to the extraction of *wh*-phrases, it is important to choose an antecedent which is not fully parallel to the ellipsis site, as the application of MaxElide would favour sluicing over verbal ellipsis:

- (326) a. *Nu știu pe cine vrea să invite,*
not know.IND.PRES.1SG DOM whom wants.3SG SĂ invite.SUBJ.3SG
dar știu pe cine va trebui < >.
but know.IND.PRES.1SG DOM whom AUX.FUT must.INF
'I don't know who he wants to invite, but I do know who he has to.'

- b. *Nu știu* *cui* *a* *vrut*
 not know.IND.PRES.1SG who.DAT AUX.PERF.3SG want.PPLE
să-i *spună,* *dar știu* *cui*
 SĂ=CL.DAT.3SG tell.SUBJ.3SG but know.1SG who.DAT
a *trebuie* < >.
 AUX.PERF.3SG must.PPLE
 ‘I don’t know to whom he wanted to tell this, but I do know to whom he had to.’
- (327) a. *Nu știu* *pe* *cine* *vrei* *să*
 not know.IND.PRES.1SG DOM whom want.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ
invit, *însă eu știu* *pe* *cine*
 invite.SUBJ.1sg but I know.IND.PRES.1SG DOM whom
pot < >.
 can.IND.PRES.1SG
 ‘I don’t know who you want me to invite, but I do know who I can invite.’
- b. *Știi* *cui* *a* *trebuie* *să*
 know.IND.PRES.2SG who.DAT AUX.PERF.3SG must.PPLE SĂ
îi *spun* *secretul* *și și* *cui*
 CL.DAT.3SG tell.SUBJ.1SG secret.DEF and also who.DAT
n-am *putut* < >.
 not=AUX.PERF.1SG can.PPLE
 ‘You know to whom I had to tell the secret, and also to whom I couldn’t / I wasn’t allowed to.’

To conclude, extraction of elements out of the ellipsis site indicates that we are dealing with ellipsis.

Antecedent-contained deletion is considered another relevant diagnostic for diagnosing ellipsis (see §II.2.2.3 for discussion). As can be easily observed, both *putea* and *trebui* freely occur in antecedent-contained deletion contexts:

- (328) a. *Eu* *citesc* *orice* *pot.*
 I read.IND.PRES.1SG whatever can.IND.PRES.1SG
 ‘I read whatever I can.’
- b. *Am* *citit* *tot ce am* *putut.*
 AUX.PERF.1SG read.PPLE all what AUX.PERF.1SG can.PPLE
 ‘I read everything I could.’
- c. *Ați* *discutat* *cu cine ați* *putut.*
 AUX.PERF.2PL talk.PPLE to whom aux.PERF.2PL can.PPLE
 ‘You talked to whom you were able to / could.’

- (329) a. *Eu voi citi orice va trebui.*
 I AUX.FUT.1SG read.INF whatever AUX.FUT must.INF
 ‘I will read whatever I’ll have to / must.’
- b. *Tu ai citit tot ce a trebuit.*
 you AUX.PERF.2SG read.PPLE all what AUX.PERF.3SG
 must.PPLE
 ‘You read whatever you had to.’
- c. *Discutau cu cine trebuia(u).*
 talk.IMPERF.3PL to whom must.IMPERF(.3PL)
 ‘They were talking to whom they were supposed to.’

4.4.2. Configurations feeding ellipsis

Arguably, not all the configurations in which modal verbs occur feed ellipsis. Most notably, the restructuring configuration does not feed ellipsis. The verb *putea* provides the crucial piece of evidence for this claim.

If we examine a configuration like (330) below, we cannot decide whether the domain targeted by deletion is subjunctive (330b) or a bare short infinitive (330b):

- (330) *Eu înot. Și tu poți <>.*
 I swim and you can.IND.PRES.3SG
 ‘I am swimming. You can, as well.’
- a. *poți <să înoți>*
 can.IND.PRES.2SG SĂ swim.SUBJ.2SG
- b. *poți <înota>*
 can.IND.PRES.2SG swim.INF

Recall that clitic climbing is permitted only in the restructuring configuration (331); in the subjunctive configuration, the clitic cannot adjoin to the modal verb (333), being blocked within the embedded subjunctive (332):

- (331) a. *Îl pot citi.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG can.ind.pres.1SG read.INF
 ‘I can read it.’
- b. *Le pot oferi flori.*
 CL.DAT.F.3PL can.IND.PRES.1SG offer.INF flowers.ACC
 ‘I can give them flowers.’

- (332) a. *Pot* *să îl* *citesc.*
 can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG read.SUBJ.1SG
 'I can read it.'
- b. *Pot* *să le* *ofer* *flori.*
 can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ CL.DAT.F.3PL offer.SUBJ.1SG flowers.ACC
 'I can give them flowers.'
- (333) a. **Îl* *pot* *să îl*
 CL.ACC.3SG.M can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG
citesc.
 read.SUBJ.1SG
- b. **Le* *pot* *să le* *ofer*
 CL.DAT.F.3PL can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ CL.DAT.F.3PL offer.SUBJ.1SG
flori.
 flowers.ACC

Consider now modal complement ellipsis: when the complement to the modal verb gets deleted, the clitic cannot adjoin to the modal verb (335) (vs. (334)); (337) (vs. (336)). Note that the antecedent of ellipsis may even be a bare short infinitive modal construction (335b); clitic climbing out of the ellipsis site is still disallowed.

- (334) a. *Eu pot să îl* *citesc,* *și* *și tu*
 I can SĂ CL.ACC.3SG.M read.SUBJ.1SG and also you
poți < >.
 can.IND.2SG
 'I can read it and you can, as well.'
- b. *Eu îl* *pot* *citi,* *și și*
 I CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF and also
tu poți < >.
 you can.IND.PRES.2SG
 'I can read it and you can, as well.'
- (335) a. **Eu pot* *să îl* *citesc,*
 I can SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG read.SUBJ.1SG
și și tu îl poți < >.
 and also you CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.2SG
- b. **Eu îl* *pot* *citi,*
 I CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.1SG read.INF
și și tu îl poți < >.
 and also you CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.2SG

- (336) *Eu le-am oferit flori; și și*
 I CL.ACC.F.3PL=AUX.PERF.1SG offer.PPLE flowers.ACC and also
voi puteți.
 you can.IND.PRES.2PL
 'I gave them flowers and you can, as well.'
- (337) **Eu le-am oferit flori; și și*
 I CL.ACC.F.3PL=AUX.PERF.1SG offer.PPLE flowers.ACC and also
voi le puteți < >.
 you CL.ACC.F.3PL can.IND.PRES.2PL

This clearly indicates that the ellipsis is fed by the subjunctive modal construction; thus, the ellipsis site in the examples above is a subjunctive CP, not a bare infinitive VoiceP. Restructuring bleeds ellipsis.

An even more direct piece of evidence that ellipsis cannot be fed by a restructured configuration is given by the participial and supine *trebui* modal constructions. Recall that the participial construction (338) is always passive, while the supine construction (339) is impersonal, disallowing the presence of a lexical subject due to the internal structure of the supine complement.

- (338) *Nuvela nu trebuie citită.*
 novelette.DEF(F) not must.IND.PRES read.PPLE.F.SG
 'The novelette must not be read.'
- (339) a. *Nu trebuie mers la cinema.*
 not must.IND.PRES go.SUP at cinema
 'One / we must not go to the cinema.'
- b. *Nu trebuie ajuns devreme la școală.*
 not must.IND.PRES arrive.SUP early at school
 'One / we must not arrive early at school.'

If we look at examples featuring ellipsis licensed by *trebui*, we immediately observe the following things. First of all, despite the fact that the antecedent of ellipsis is an intransitive verb (*veni* 'come') the construction is not impersonal (*Ion* is the subject) (340). Thus, the supine configuration does not feed ellipsis.

- (340) *Ion nu a venit când a trebuit*
 Ion not AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE when AUX.PERF.3SG must.PPLE
 <*să vină*>.
 SĂ come.PPLE
 'Ion didn't come when he had to / should have / was supposed to.'

Secondly, the ellipsis site may be active (341a) or passive (341b), depending on the antecedent. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the participial construction does not feed ellipsis either:

- (341) a. *Cine va executa lucrarea?*
 who AUX.FUT.3SG execute.INF commission.DEF
Constructorul va trebui <>.
 constructor.DEF AUX.FUT.3SG must.INF
 ‘Who will execute the commission? The constructor will have to.’
- b. *De către cine va fi executată lucrarea?*
 by whom AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF execute.PPLE.F.SG
De către constructor va trebui <>, conform contractului.
 commission.DEF by constructor AUX.FUT.3SG must according.to contract.DEF.DAT
 ‘By whom will the commission be executed? The commission will have to be executed by the constructor.’

The empirical facts reviewed here point to the conclusion that, in the case of *trebui* too, the domain targeted by deletion is a subjunctive CP, not a participial / supine complement.

To conclude, this brief survey verifies Depiante’s (2000) conclusion that restructuring configurations do not feed ellipsis. Ellipsis is based on the biclausal, non-restructuring configuration, in which the complement to the modal verb is a subjunctive CP. This fact will be accounted for in §IV.4.4.4 below.

4.4.3. The range of readings

The fact that root readings are preserved under ellipsis has been long noted; in fact, authors like Gergel (2009) (for English), Aelbrecht (2010) (for Dutch) and López (1994) (for the Romance languages) claim that only the root reading is preserved under ellipsis. The entire array of root readings of the modal verbs are allowed under ellipsis: ability (342a); permission (342b); obligation and necessity (343).

- (342) a. *Ion a ridicat pachetul. Eu*
 Ion AUX.PERF.3SG lift.PPLE package.DEF I
n-am putut <>.
 not=AUX.PERF.1SG can.PPLE
 ‘Ion lifted the package. I wasn’t able to.’

- b. [Parents:] *Vasile poate să stea*
 Vasile can.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ stay.SUBJ.3SG
până la ora şapte. Şi voi puteţi < >.
 until hour seven and you can.IND.PRES.2PL
 ‘Vasile can/is allowed to stay until seven o’clock. You can, as well.’
- (343) a. *Vasile va trebui să plece imediat.*
 Vasile AUX.FUT.3SG must.INF SĂ leave.SUBJ.3SG immediately
Şi eu va trebui < >.
 and I AUX.FUT.3SG must.INF
- b. *Ar fi trebuit să rezolve toate problemele. Da, într-adevăr, ar fi trebuit < >.*
 AUX.COND.3SG be.INF must.PPLE SĂ solve.SUBJ.3SG all
 problems.DEF Yes, indeed, AUX.COND.3SG be.INF must.PPLE
 ‘He should have solved all the problems. Yes, indeed, he should have.’

However, contrary to what has been previously claimed in the literature, epistemic readings can be preserved under ellipsis in Romanian⁹⁷; it is true that the epistemic reading is available more rarely than the root reading, but a sufficiently controlled context favouring evidence-based readings and the placement of the modal verb in the conditional or in the imperfect preserves the epistemic value under ellipsis; here are a few examples:

- (344) *Maria se întreba dacă ar putea să plouă, şi eu am spus că ar putea < >.*
 Maria CL.REFL wonder.IMPERF.3SG if AUX.COND.3SG can.INF SĂ
 rain.SUBJ.3SG and I AUX.PERF.1SG say.PPLE that AUX.COND.3SG
 can.INF
 ‘Mary asked if it was going to rain, and I said that it might.’
- (345) *Ştiu că tu crezi că n-ar putea să existe un motiv raţional pentru asta,*
 know.IND.PRES.1SG that you think.IND.PRES.2SG that not=AUX.COND.3SG
 can.INF SĂ exist.SUBJ.3SG a reason rational for this

⁹⁷ I would like to thank to David Pesetsky who was very surprised when I asked him if he could think of a reason why epistemic readings are ruled out under ellipsis, and immediately came up with the examples presented in §IV.1. He made me reassess the idea that I had previously taken for granted from the literature, namely that epistemic readings are ruled out under ellipsis.

- însă te* but CL.REFL.ACC.2SG *înșeli:* are-wrong *ar* AUX.COND.3SG *putea < >!* can.INF
 ‘I know you think there couldn’t possibly be a rational reason for this, but you’re wrong – there could!’
- (346) – *Cine o* who AUX.PRESUMP *fi* be.INF *știind* know.GER *rezolvarea* solution.DEF *la problema* to problem.DEF
asta? – *Maria ar* this Maria AUX.COND.3SG *trebui < >;* must.INF *ea a* she AUX.PERF.3SG *terminat* graduate.PPLE
matematica. mathematics
 ‘Who’s likely to know the solution to this problem? Mary should, as she is a maths graduate.’
- (347) – *O* AUX.PRESUMP *fi* be.INF *ajuns?* arrive.PPLE
 a. – *Trebuia < >,* must.IMPERF.3SG *e* be.IND.PRES.3SG *trecut deja de prânz.* past already of lunch
 ‘– Is it possible that he arrived?
 – He must have, it’s already past lunch.’
 b. – *Putea < >,* can.IMPERF.3SG *e* be.IND.PRES.3SG *trecut deja de prânz.* past already of lunch
 ‘– Is it possible that he arrived?
 – He could have, it’s already past lunch.’

This puzzle receives a straightforward explanation: as seen in Table 5, presented at the end of §IV.4.1, and throughout the section, in most syntactic configurations, except for two⁹⁸, modal verbs are systematically ambiguous between receiving a root or an epistemic reading; furthermore, from a syntactic perspective, under both readings, the constructions have a similar derivation. In other words, the same syntax underlies both epistemic and root modals; thus, naturally, epistemic readings should be an option under ellipsis, a prediction which is borne out. What remains to be done in further research is to pin down more accurately what contexts and grammatical forms favour the epistemic reading over the root reading or vice versa.

⁹⁸ *Trebui* (present) + perfect subjunctive, which is exclusively epistemic, and *trebui* + participle / supine, which is exclusively deontic.

4.4.4. Accounting for the elliptical puzzles

Assume, like in the case of passive and copular *be*, that modal verbs are good licensors of ellipsis by virtue of being narrowly D-linked⁹⁹ elements in the sense of López (2000). Furthermore, assume, like before, that the hallmark of ellipsis is T (Lobeck 1995, Thoms 2010, Rouveret 2012, among many others).

At this point, recall that from a morphosyntactic point of view, modal verbs behave exactly like all the Romanian regular verbs; *trebui* does not display person variation, but it does, however, inflect for mood and tense. The direct implication of this inflectional behaviour of Romanian modal verbs indicates that they undergo raising just like all the other verbs of Romanian:

i) the synthetic forms undergo head-to-head movement up to Mood⁰ (representation (350a) for example (269)), valuing along the way the interpretable features of the verbal functional heads;

ii) in the case of analytic forms, the auxiliary gets merged high in the structure (in Mood⁰), and the lexical verb (a participle, in the case of the compound past, or an infinitive, with the standard future or present conditional) undergoes phrasal movement to Spec,TP, to value the *i*T [] feature of the T-head (representation (350b) for example (349)).

In other words, the following configuration obtains (350), for the examples below, featuring ellipsis licensed by *putea* in the present tense (a synthetic form) and *trebui* in the future (an analytic form):

- (348) *Vasile poate să stea până la ora șapte.*
 Vasile can.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ stay.SUBJ.3SG until at hour seven
Și voi puteți < >.
 and you.PL can.IND.PRES.2PL
 ‘Vasile can/is allowed to stay until seven o’clock. You can, as well’
- (349) *Vasile va trebui să plece imediat.*
 Vasile AUX.FUT.3SG must.INF SĂ leave.SUBJ.3SG immediately
Și eu va trebui < >.
 and I AUX.FUT.3SG must.INF

⁹⁹ I will advance a suggestion as to how to do away with the “narrow D-linking” feature of López (2000) in the conclusions of this chapter.

(350)	Mood	Spec,T	T	
a.	<i>puteți</i>			Subjunctive CP
b.	<i>veți</i>	<i>putea</i>		Subjunctive CP
c.	<i>(am</i>	<i>putut)</i>		<i>ellipsis site</i>

In other words, the modal verb is always outside of the domain targeted by deletion. This proposal accounts for the following facts.

i) For the systematic inability of modal verbs in restructuring configurations to license ellipsis:

- (351) *Eu pot* *să îl* *citesc,*
 I can.IND.PRES.1SG SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG read.SUBJ.1SG
 a. *și și tu poți < >.* [non-restructuring, ellipsis: √]
 and also you.SG can.IND.PRES.2SG
 ‘I can read it and you can, as well.’
 b. **și și tu îl poți < >.* [restructuring, ellipsis: *]
 and also you CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.2SG

The disparity between restructuring and non-restructuring configurations is obvious from couples like the one below:

- (352) a. **Citi,* *nu îl* *puteți* *t_{citi}.*
 read.INF not CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.2PL
 [restructuring, displacement: *]
 b. *Nu îl* *puteți* *citi.*
 not CL.ACC.M.3SG can.IND.PRES.2PL read.INF
 ‘You can’t read it.’
 (353) a. *Să îl* *citiți,* *puteți* *t_{să...}*
 SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG read.SUBJ.2PL can.IND.PRES.2PL
 [non-restr., displacement √]
 b. *Puteți* *să îl* *citiți.*
 can.IND.PRES.2PL SĂ CL.ACC.M.3SG read.SUBJ.2PL
 ‘You can’t read it.’

Intuitively, in restructuring contexts, the restructured complement is tagged along by the restructuring verb itself, systematically escaping the ellipsis site¹⁰⁰. Thus, similarly to (say) the perfective auxiliary *have* (see representation (350c), even if ellipsis applies, it is idle, as there is nothing to delete since the ellipsis site has been fully evacuated. This account predicts that the lexical verb (an agreeing past participle) can be deleted in the passive bare short infinitival modal construction, as restructuring targets only the infinitival passive auxiliary, to its auxiliary, as visible from the contrasts below (the participle can be displaced (354b), while the aux + participle sequence cannot (354c)):

- (354) a. *Pot fi citite (romane).*
 can.IND.PRES.1PL be.INF read.PPLE.PL.F novels(F)
 ‘Novels can be read.’
- b. *Citite, pot fi.*
 read.PPLE.PL.F can.IND.PRES.3PL be.INF
 ‘They can be read.’
- c. **Fi citite, pot.*
 be.INF read.PPLE.F can.IND.PRES.3PL

This expectation is borne out by the data; note that the passive auxiliary raises alongside the modal verb outside the domain of ellipsis (355a); the preservation of the auxiliary within the ellipsis site leads to an ungrammatical example (355b) ((355b) can only have an active reading).

- (355) *Fata a fost bătută de hoț.*
 girl.DEF(F) AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE beat.PPLE.F by thief
 ‘The girl was beaten by the thief.’
- a. *Și tu puteai fi <bătut de hoț>.*
 also you can.IMPERF.2SG be.INF beat.PPLE by thief
 ‘You could have been, too.’
- b. **Și tu puteai <fi bătut de hoț>.*
 also you can.IMPERF.2SG be.INF beat.PPLE by thief

2) Assuming that the ellipsis site uniformly embeds a CP (a subjunctive clause) accounts for the fact that in Romanian, in contrast to other languages, elements can be freely extracted out of the ellipsis site. For instance, Aelbrecht (2010) observes a difference between

¹⁰⁰ I am aware of the fact that a more serious formal account has to be presented to properly account for this phenomenon, but I believe that the basic intuition that the restructured complement moves along with the modal verb, escaping the ellipsis site is correct.

object extraction and subject extraction in Dutch modal complement ellipsis, with object extraction being severely restricted; this is illustrated by the pair below (examples taken from Aelbrecht 2010):

- (356) a. ?* *Ik weet niet wie Kaat wou uitnodigen, maar ik*
 I know not who Kaat wanted invite but I
 weet wel wie ze moest <twie uitnodigen>
 know AFF who she must.PST invite
 ‘I don’t know who Kaat wanted to invite, but I do know who she had to.’
 b. *Deze rok mag wel gewassen worden, maar ik weet*
 this skirt may AFF washed become but I know
 niet welke nu ook weer NIET mag <twelke gewassen worden>.
 not which now also again not may washed become
 ‘This skirt can be washed, but I don’t know which one can’t be again.’

As has been illustrated in §IV.4.4.1 above, Romanian freely allows the extraction of objects out of the ellipsis site, including *wh*-objects:

- (357) *Nu știu pe cine vrea să*
 not know.IND.PRES.1SG DOM whom want.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ
 invite, dar știu pe cine va trebui <>.
 invite.SUBJ.3SG but know.IND.PRES.1SG DOM whom AUX.FUT.3SG must.INF
 ‘I don’t know who he wants to invite, but I do know who has to.’

This has a very straightforward explanation: the left periphery of the CP trapped within the ellipsis site provides escape hatches for extraction; by contrast, if Dutch modal complement ellipsis is a form of TP ellipsis, the only position through which (focused) remnants may move is Spec,TP, which is not an appropriate landing site for ellipsis (see Aelbrecht 2010 for a detailed account).

3) Furthermore, in contrast to the other Romance languages, which also allow the deletion of the complement of modal verbs (see Dagnac 2009, 2010, Authier 2012), voice mismatches are severely restricted or even ungrammatical under ellipsis (French, Italian and Spanish examples from Dagnac 2010):

- (358) a. Fr. **Ce problème aurait dû être résolu, mais*
 b. It. ??*Questo problema avrebbe dovuto essere risolto, ma*
 c. Sp. ??*Esta problema debería haber sido solucionado, pero*
 this problem must-be-PAST-COND solved but

<i>visibilement</i>	<i>personne</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pu.</i>
<i>evidentemente</i>	<i>nessuno</i>		<i>ha</i>	<i>potuto.</i>
<i>parece que</i>	<i>nadie</i>		<i>ha</i>	<i>podido.</i>
obviously/appears	nobody	not	has	can.PST
'This problem should have been solved, but obviously nobody could.'				

Parallel Romanian examples are fully grammatical:

- (359) *Această problemă trebuia rezolvată dar*
 this problem must.IMPERF.3SG solve.PPLE.F.SG but
evidentă că nimeni nu a putut < >.
 obviously that nobody not AUX.PERF.3SG can.PPLE
 'This problem should have been solved, but obviously nobody could.'

The explanation for this state of facts is straightforward: despite the fact that the cut-off point of ellipsis is T, the ellipsis site embeds a CP; within a clause, a full, i.e. propositional, domain, voice alternations are fully resolved; thus, nothing prevents voice mismatches. The importance of the dimension of the ellipsis site has been highlighted by Merchant (2013).

4.4.5. Summary

The previous subsections have dealt with the analysis of modal complement ellipsis in Romanian. The following results have been arrived at:

i) This phenomenon is robustly represented in Romanian; reliable diagnostics such as extraction, connectivity, and antecedent contained deletion indicate that we are dealing with a phenomenon of PF-deletion;

ii) Romanian modal verbs have been shown to appear either in a restructuring construction, taking a VoiceP complement, or in a non-restructuring biclausal configuration, taking a subjunctive complement. It is the second one, the biclausal configuration, which feeds ellipsis; the fact that restructuring bleeds the application of ellipsis had been noticed ever since Depiante (2000) and Romanian verifies it.

iii) The dimension of the ellipsis site allows us to understand why in certain respects (extraction, voice mismatch) Romanian systematically contrasts with other languages which possess the same phenomenon (Dutch, the Romance languages).

Let us now turn to the analysis ellipsis with aspectual verbs. Interesting phenomena will be shown to arise in these cases.

5. Verbal ellipsis: conclusions

As in the case of the previous chapter, in this chapter I have guided myself by the principle that the correct understanding of ellipsis requires first and foremost a correct understanding of the non-elliptical counterparts on which ellipsis is based. As such, from a descriptive point of view, the following general issues in the syntax of Romanian have been dealt with: (i) the syntax of verb movement and auxiliary configurations in Romanian and (ii) modal verb configurations.

5.1. Auxiliary complement ellipsis and its relevance

With respect to the first point, I have put forward a new account for the derivation of verb movement in Romanian which solves clustering and adjacency problems, without stipulating that a complex head formation process takes place or that certain heads do not project specifiers.

Of the Romanian auxiliaries, only copular and passive *be* allow the deletion of their complement. In contrast to all the other auxiliaries, these varieties of *be* are merged low in the structure and satisfy the featural necessities of the higher heads by themselves, without the necessity to pied-pipe along their complement. By contrast, all the other auxiliaries are tense-deficient; as such, the lexical verb, surfacing as a non-finite form, moves higher up in the structure.

If the cut off point of ellipsis is T, then the disparity between copular/passive *be* and all the other auxiliaries with respect to the licensing of ellipsis has a straightforward explanation: copular and passive *be* are the only auxiliaries that may leave behind their complement; with all the other auxiliaries, even if ellipsis applies, it is idle, as the verb is in T or above T and there is nothing to delete lower in the structure.

This perspective might open a new avenue for understanding clitic doubling without the doubled correlate: if ellipsis is an option, upon establishing parallelism with an antecedent, the domain below T may be deleted, silencing also the DP correlate of the clitic:

- (360) a. *–L-ai* *văzut* *pe* *Ion?*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.2SG see.PPLE DOM Ion
 –L-am *văzut* *pe Ion.*
 CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE DOM Ion
 ‘Did you see John? Yes, I did.’

b.	PersP	MoodP	Spec,TP	T	(lower domain)
	<i>I-</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>văzut</i>		<i>pe Ion</i> <i>ellipsis site</i>

(361) a.	– <i>Îi</i>		<i>vorbești</i>		<i>Mariei?</i>
	CL.DAT.3SG		speak.IND.PRES.2SG		Maria.DAT
	<i>Da,</i>	<i>îi</i>	<i>vorbesc</i>		<i>Mariei.</i>
	Yes	CL.DAT.3SG	speak.IND.PRES.2SG		Maria.DAT

b.	PersP	MoodP/T	(lower domain)
	<i>îi</i>	<i>vorbesc</i>	<i>Mariei</i> <i>ellipsis site</i>

Thus, we end up with a very Rouveretian (Rouveret 2012) theory, although the first part of this chapter (see §IV.2) seemed to show the opposite. In any case, there is a question of principle here, which remains to be sorted out in future work: how permissive should ellipsis be allowed to be?

5.2. Modal complement ellipsis

Modal verbs have been known for quite a while to be robust licensors of ellipsis in Romanian (see Guțu Romalo 1956/2005a). Thus, in §IV.4, I set my goal to present the main modal verb configurations, arriving at the conclusion that we can speak of two main modal configurations: (i) a biclausal configuration, in which the modal verbs *putea* and *trebui* select an anaphoric subjunctive, and (ii) a monoclausal, restructuring configuration, in which the modal heads take a non-finite complement that raises to Voice (directly in the bare short infinitival *putea* construction and in the supine *trebui* construction, and indirectly, in the participial construction). Empirical data unambiguously show that only the biclausal configuration may feed ellipsis. The question is why this is so. In spite of the fact that I have not managed to offer a technical answer to the question of how restructuring works, the intuition is that the restructured complement is tagged along by the modal verb, and systematically escapes the ellipsis site. This intuition is empirically verified by the fact that the restructured complement cannot be displaced (in opposition to the subjunctive complement, which can be).

The possibility to displace the complement that gets deleted (a subjunctive in Romanian) has prompted authors working on other languages to put forth the idea that verbal ellipsis is a form of VP-topicalization (the original idea is due to Johnson 2004 for English, and has been applied in the analysis of French modal complement ellipsis by Authier 2012). However, research after Johnson (2004) (by Aelbrecht and Haegeman 2012) has shown that verbal ellipsis is available in a range of contexts in which VP-topicalization is not available, and, as such a one-to-one mapping between verbal ellipsis and VP-topicalization is not correct. The similarity between VP-topicalization and verbal ellipsis naturally follows from the anaphoric, topic-like nature of both phenomena.

There is another interesting empirical fact that has resulted from our discussion of modal complement ellipsis: both root and epistemic readings may be preserved under ellipsis. The general claim in the previous literature (e.g. López 1994 on the Romance languages, Gergel 2009 on English, and Aelbrecht 2010 on Dutch) was that epistemic readings are ruled out when the complement of the modal verb gets deleted. The Romanian data show that this conclusion is not correct; furthermore, since most of the modal configurations are ambiguous between a root and an epistemic reading (in other words, the root / epistemic distinction is not encoded syntactically), the natural expectation is that the epistemic reading be preserved in contexts which favour / force an epistemic reading, a prediction which is borne out.

Finally, the internal make-up of the ellipsis site, i.e. the fact that the domain embedded under ellipsis is a CP, allows one to understand why extraction and voice mismatches are more freely allowed under ellipsis in Romanian in contrast to other languages (e.g. Dutch or other Romance languages).

5.3. The relevance of Tense

Almost all the authors working on verbal ellipsis (at least those quoted in my bibliography) have established a connection between the presence of Tense in the syntactic structure and ellipsis. However, this connection has been more often than not stipulated, rather than straightforwardly explained. I believe that Rouveret (2012) has managed to offer the least stipulative answer to this long noted intuition, as shown by the following quote: “the existence of this chain (a Tense-chain) is what guarantees the access of the elided phrase to the periphery [...]”. Two questions arise at this point: why should access to the left periphery be important and why is it that tense is so important?

In order to answer the first question, recall what has been shown in the previous chapter on nominal ellipsis: nominal ellipsis always involves the activation of the left periphery of the DP, as clearly shown by the empirical data reviewed there. Why is then the activation of the left periphery so important? Because it allows the invasive pragmatic/discourse component (the Discourse Grammar component in the sense of López

2009) to inspect the syntactic structure and decide which component is anaphoric/redundant and can be left out, and which component is new, and must be focused, focus allowing it to escape the ellipsis site. When does the left periphery get activated? When the phasal head is inserted into the derivation. Phasal heads have the unique possibility to relate the syntactic structure to the discourse by virtue of being spell-out domains, and ensure the appropriate marking of the components which are relevant from an information structure point of view. Recall that a constituent is suitable to be a topic or a focus (and undergo the operations characterizing elements marked as such) only in an appropriate context/discourse. The varieties of ellipsis derived by deletion (see §II for gapping-like ellipses) are highly sensitive to discourse structure, and, as such, they should be included in the class of information structure phenomena (recall that Williams 1977 explicitly distinguishes Sentence Grammar Phenomena and Discourse Grammar Phenomena). Thus a phasal head always needs to be present in the structure in order to mediate between syntax and discourse, and to mark what gets deleted and what gets pronounced.

How does tense secure this connection? Recent developments in phase theory, most notably, the *Feature Inheritance* hypothesis, have introduced the idea that the T-features (alongside ϕ -features) are introduced by the phasal heads, and are not inherent properties of T-projection. The idea that C is responsible for temporal specification is briefly mentioned in Chomsky (2005: 18): “C [is] the true locus of tense”, and more seriously explored in Chomsky (2008), from which the following quote is taken:

- (362) “[F]or T, ϕ -features and Tense appear to be derivative, not inherent: basic tense and also tense-like properties (e.g., irrealis) are determined by C (in which they are inherent: “John left” is past tense whether or not it is embedded) or by the selecting V (also inherent) or perhaps even broader context. *In the lexicon, T lacks these features. T manifests the basic tense features if and only if it is selected by C (default agreement aside); if not, it is a raising (or ECM) infinitival, lacking ϕ -features and basic tense. So it makes sense to assume that Agree- and Tense-features are inherited from C, the phase head.*” (Chomsky 2008: 143–144, highlight ours, Alexandru Nicolae)

To conclude, I believe that the connection between Tense and the left periphery/C is straightforward, and the relevance of tense for ellipsis follows from this connection: since tense is a property of C, the necessity that the licenser be a tensed element follows from the fact that tense ensures the connection with C, the activation of the left periphery and of the discourse procedure teases apart the anaphoric (i.e. old and deletable) part and non-anaphoric, hence contrastive part, ensuring an appropriate treatment of these parts at the

PF-interface. In other words, tense is instrumental in anchoring the ellipsis site and the licenser to the left periphery, and hence to the discourse/context.

A reconsideration of ellipsis along these lines is a step further in dispensing with an unmotivated feature such as Merchant's E-feature.

5.4. Semantics is important

With respect to the semantic issue of ellipsis licensing, the examination of the contexts in which ellipsis is licensed in Romanian has revealed an extremely interesting parallelism between nominal and verbal ellipsis. Recall that the domain targeted by deletion in nominal ellipsis is a definite description, an $\langle e \rangle$ -denoting expression. The result obtained for verbal ellipsis is isomorphous: the domain targeted by deletion is a proposition, an $\langle t \rangle$ -denoting expression. This result is essentially the same as the one obtained by Elbourne (2008: 191): "silent VPs and NPs [are] higher order definite descriptions that can be bound into". Deletion is thus not random, and systematically targets a complete propositional expression.

V. Conclusions and open ends

1. The goal of this book has been to investigate “licensed” verbal and nominal ellipsis in Romanian. I have started with a general introduction devoted to the typology of elliptical structures and subsequently narrowed down the domain of inquiry, choosing to study nominal and verbal ellipsis. An important point of the argumentation has consisted in systematically comparing *gapping* (and related phenomena) with *VP-ellipsis* (and related phenomena) in order to validate Chao’s (1988) observation¹ that different processes underlie a superficially similar outcome: the absence of a portion of structure. Following the relevant recent literature, I have argued that varieties of ellipsis such as *VP-Ellipsis*, *nominal ellipsis*, and *sluicing* are based on a PF-deletion process. As indicated by their radically different behaviour, *gapping* and related phenomena seem to have a different source; in this respect, I have taken up Citko’s (2005, 2011a, 2011b) suggestion to analyse this second class of elliptical phenomena as being based on a multidominant structure. The main focus of the book has been the study of licensed ellipses.

2. With respect to nominal ellipsis, I started from the empirical observations that all instances of nominal ellipsis have a double definite counterpart and that Romanian possesses certain words like *unul* and *altul*, with an overt definite morphology but an obvious indefinite meaning. Following previous literature (mainly Elbourne 2008 and Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012a), I assumed that the nominal undergoing deletion is always definite; in other words, the ellipsis site is a definite description. I investigated ellipsis licensed by the adjectival article *cel*, ellipsis licensed with demonstrative remnants (in these instances, the element left behind by deletion is a definite determiner), but also ellipsis with cardinal and other quantificational remnants (the element being left behind is an indefinite), and I have shown that the assumption that a definite article is always present in the ellipsis site is valid. At the same time, I argued that the left periphery of the DP is always activated when ellipsis gets licensed.

Another problem that has been made explicit in §II is that we should look for an alternative to the mechanism of ellipsis licensing proposed by Merchant (2001) and taken over by subsequent research (e.g. Aelbrecht 2010), namely, that we should dispense with

¹ Actually, this observation is older than Chao (1988), but Chao (1988) is the first one to systematically throw into prominence the disanalogies between *gapping*-like ellipses and *VP-ellipsis*-like ellipses. Lobeck (1995) and López (2000) make the same divide.

the E-feature, which has no correlate other than ellipsis licensing (in particular, it never has a morphological / inflectional realization, nor does it trigger movement). Building on William's (1977) intuition that ellipsis is a Discourse Grammar phenomenon which activates the pragmatic / information structure component, I have adopted and adapted López's (2009) theory on the pragmatics/syntax interface. According to López (2009), upon the merger of phasal heads, the pragmatic component may inspect the syntactic structure and appropriately mark the constituents. López's reasoning goes as follows: a constituent is not inherently a topic or a focus, but rather the information packaging of the clause determines the topical or focal nature of the respective constituent². Thus, pragmatics invasively acts upon syntactic structure, assigning features that have narrow syntactic and interface correlates. For example, a contrastively focused constituent is assigned a [+c] ([c] = contrast) feature, which triggers its movement to the left periphery; the correlate of [+c] assignment is thus twofold: nanosyntactically, [+c] triggers movement; interpretatively, marking as focus entails opening up a variable and simultaneously resolving it³. The same reasoning has been applied in the derivation of nominal ellipsis structures: as soon as the phasal head is merged, the discourse component is able to inspect the syntactic structure and to mark (i) for deletion the identical components, (ii) as foci (non-anaphoric) the non-identical part(s), ensuring that it/they escape(s) the ellipsis site; as shown in §III, the assignment of a contrastive feature on the remnants has empirically observable consequences (disparities between overt / elliptical structures). In this sense, *ellipsis is phasal*, as the insertion of the phasal head ensures appropriate marking.

By adhering to the split-D hypothesis, we also solve the thorny problem of indefinite quantificational remnants, as, at first sight, the assumption that the ellipsis site contains a definite article goes against the existence of ellipsis with indefinite remnants. If the D-head is split into two D-projections, these projections get associated with different roles, just as in the case of Rizzi's scission of C into Force and Fin; Rizzi (1997: 283-284) elegantly shows that Force faces the outside of the clause, while Fin faces the inside, the IP content embedded under it. Recall that, in his system, the higher Force projection is essentially associated with clause-typing (in the sense of Cheng 1991) or specification of Force (Chomsky 1995) (indicating whether a clause is declarative, interrogative, etc.), while the Fin head selects an IP "with the familiar characteristics of finiteness: mood distinctions, subject agreement licensing nominative case, overt tense distinctions" (Rizzi 1997: 284). By parity of reasoning, we can look at the DP in the same manner: when D

² López (2009: 19): "some crucial grammaticality contrasts cannot be accounted for if constituents are drawn into the derivation with those features [i.e. [+a], [+c]] (or features such as [±topic] or [±focus]) already in tow or if the derivational system interfaces with interpretative systems each time a syntactic derivation applies".

³ By contrast, clitic left dislocation implies a constituent that is both contrastive and anaphoric; thus, [+c] opens up a variable whose value is resolved by the antecedent (see López 2009: 17).

does not split, the non-split D-head faces both the outside of the phrase and the content embedded under it. However, when D gets split, the low D_{internal} / D head faces the content embedded under it, essentially providing a definite / indefinite description (an $\langle e \rangle$ -denoting constituent), and the high D_{external} head faces the outside of the clause, being responsible for what we may call “phrase typing”. In the case of ellipsis, several options are attested: the “definite” reading given by the low domain may be preserved, if D_{external} ’s [idef] feature is satisfied by a definite determiner as well (a demonstrative, a definite identity determiner, the adjectival article *cel*) or if the contrastive remnant is not a determiner⁴. Another possibility is that a quantifier, merged in the peripheral domain (in between D_{internal} and D_{external} , in a ContrP), may supersede the definite reading provided by the low determiner; when this occurs, the lower D projection is associated with the $\langle e \rangle$ -denoting component of the phrase⁵, and the higher D-projection types the phrase as indefinite⁶. Note that the possibilities encountered under ellipsis are in most cases the same ones as those encountered in the overt counterpart of the elliptical structure; the disparities between the elliptical construction and its overt counterpart come about as the effect of focus assignment on the remnants.

The final part of §III has been devoted to the delineation of a process related to, but not identical with nominal ellipsis. Following previous literature, I have dubbed this process *substantivization*. Essentially, substantivization is based on the incorporation of silent/empty, but contentful nouns into an adjectival matrix. The silent noun contributes a general meaning (e.g. [CATEGORY], [COLOUR], [HUMAN], etc.), while the adjective acts as a host, imposing upon the silent noun its specific semantics and its phonological matrix; for example the combination between [CATEGORY] plus the adjectives *grotesc* ‘grotesque’, *frumos* ‘beautiful’, *sublim* ‘sublime’, *tragic* ‘tragic’, etc. gives us the classical aesthetic categories: *grotescul* ‘the grotesque’, *frumosul* ‘the beautiful’, *sublimul* ‘the sublime’, *tragicul* ‘the tragic’, etc. Romanian proves to be very interesting in this respect: the fact that it possesses two definite articles has enabled it to systematically distinguish

⁴ Recall that nominal ellipsis with purely lexical remnants is an option:

(i) *Ion vrea mașină roșie, iar Petru vrea <mașina> galbenă.*
 John want.IND.PRES.3SG car red, but Peter want.IND.PRES.3SG car.DEF yellow
 ‘John wants a red car, and Peter wants a yellow one.’

⁵ Recall that, in certain languages like St’át’imcets (Lillooet Salish) this is the only option: quantifiers systematically take an $\langle e \rangle$ -denoting complement (Matthewson 2001). Although Matthewson focuses on St’át’imcets (Lillooet Salish), she insists on the fact that other languages also present this unique option: Straits (Salish), Mohawk (Iroquoian), Newari (Tibeto-Burman), Asurini de Trocará (Tupi-Guarani), and Tohono O’odham (Uto-Aztecan) (Matthewson 2001: 146). Romanian also instantiates this option in the quantificational postnominal demonstrative construction (*copiii aceștia doi* t_{copiii} children.DEF these two ‘these two children’).

⁶ In order to avoid a technical complication, we have assumed that existential closure and phrase-typing in quantificational DPs is ensured by a choice-function in the sense of Winter (2005); in other words, quantifiers never raise to D, but ensure an indefinite reading by existential closure.

between substantivization (e.g. *grotescul* ‘the grotesque’) and nominal ellipsis (e.g. *cel grotesc* ‘the grotesque one’ = ‘the one who/which is grotesque’). Since in the earliest Romanian writings of the 16th c., *cel* is not grammaticalized a freestanding definite article (it is instead a weakened distal demonstrative), this prediction has been tested with the help of past participles, which are good remnants of nominal ellipsis (but are very restricted as bases for substantivization). The net result in this respect is that Romanian overtly distinguishes two different structures which have the same form in other languages. Sleeman (1996) noticed the ambiguity (nominal ellipsis / substantivization) of formations like *le malade*; Romanian overtly distinguishes *bolnavul* (substantivization; ‘the sick man’) from *cel bolnav* (nominal ellipsis; ‘the sick one’, where *one* may stand for any [+animate] antecedent, man, animal, etc.).

3. With respect to the verbal domain, I have started from delimiting the licensors of verbal ellipsis⁷, and reached the conclusion that at least the following classes of verbal licensors of ellipsis may be delimited: the agreeing auxiliary *be* (passive or copula), modal verbs, and aspectual verbs. It is necessary to locally inspect the classes of licensors in languages which do not have generalized (verb stranding) verbal ellipsis (e.g. Portuguese, Hebrew); Romanian is such a language.

Agreeing *be* is unique among the verbal auxiliaries with respect to having the ability of licensing the deletion of its complement. Thus, the first task has been to analyse the system of Romanian auxiliaries and, more generally, verb movement in Romanian. Of the Romanian auxiliaries, agreeing *be* is unique in that, in and of itself, it carries all the necessary morphosyntactic information necessary to ensure a convergent derivation in contradistinction to all the other auxiliaries, which are tense deficient and trigger the pied-piping of the lexical verb (surfacing as a non-finite form) to a higher position on the verbal spine. In other words, agreeing *be* is the only auxiliary able to leave behind its complement and trigger its subsequent deletion. By contrast, the tense deficiency of all the other auxiliaries systematically forces the lexical verb to escape the ellipsis site; put differently, ellipsis may apply, but it is idle. This result is thus maximally Rouveretian (Rouveret 2012).

Modal verbs represent another case in which the verb raises above the cut off point of ellipsis and leaves behind its complement which, upon establishing parallelism, may be elided; this result is convergent with what has been shown for auxiliaries. Uncontroversial evidence for an account along these lines comes from restructuring configurations involving modal verbs: under restructuring, ellipsis is systematically blocked (this is also Depiante’s 2000 conclusion). The elision of restructured complements is blocked because

⁷ Recall that I have proposed to employ the term *verbal ellipsis* instead of VP-Ellipsis, TP-ellipsis, etc. because: (i) it is not always clear what gets deleted; (ii) the licensor of ellipsis is uniformly a verbal element (an auxiliary, a modal verb, an aspectual verb; or a main verb in VVPE languages).

the restructured complement is systematically tagged along by the verb. Thus, like in the case of auxiliaries other than agreeing *be*, the domain targeted for deletion systematically escapes the ellipsis site. Another interesting by-product of my inquiry is that, contrary to what has been claimed with respect to other Romance or Germanic languages, epistemic readings are preserved under ellipsis. This naturally follows from the fact that epistemic and root configurations have essentially the same syntax.

In contrast to nominal ellipsis, not much has been said in the chapter on verbal ellipsis about the ellipsis procedure. Presumably, all types of ellipsis based on deletion are based on the same discourse procedure of teasing out the anaphoric part (and tagging it for non-realization in the postsyntactic PF-component) and appropriately marking the non-anaphoric component in order to ensure that it is not trapped within the ellipsis site (violating the parallelism condition on ellipsis). I have not insisted much on this point, but a vigilant reader might have observed the following: (i) remnants of verbal ellipsis (irrespective of the licenser) are usually accompanied by a focusing adverbial like *chiar* ('even, just') (e.g. example (324a), §IV), *și* ('also') (e.g. example (327b), §IV); (ii) remnant subjects are typically postverbal (the postverbal domain is focal in Romanian, see Cornilescu 2000); (iii) when multiple remnants are extracted out of the ellipsis site, the clause containing the ellipsis site is typically placed in an adversative, contrastive structure. All these indicate that focus marking has taken place. Thus, the discourse procedure advocated for nominal ellipsis presumably works for verbal ellipsis as well, with the important difference that in the case of nominal ellipsis the licenser (the definite article) is always trapped within the ellipsis site (and only residual phenomena like the manifestation of definiteness on *unul* and *altul* make it visible), while in the case of verbal ellipsis the licensers are systematically outside the ellipsis site.

4. My inquiry has also validated Rouveret's (2012) insightful correlation between tense and ellipsis⁸: essentially, according to Rouveret, a tensed licenser enables the ellipsis site to access the left periphery. Why is it that the left periphery is so relevant for the licensing of ellipsis? I believe that not the left periphery *per se* is important, but rather the insertion of the phasal head into the derivation. Phasal heads have peripheries, spaces devoted to dealing with the information structure of sentences / phrases. Since ellipsis is also an information structure / discourse grammar phenomenon, then the insertion of a phasal head into the derivation is crucial in order to enable the discourse component to inspect the syntactic structure and apply the ellipsis procedure. What is the role of tense in this story? If Chomsky's recent proposal on feature inheritance (T- and ϕ -features are passed down from C to T) is on the right track, then a tensed licenser forces the insertion

⁸ This intuition is much older than Rouveret (2012), but Rouveret (2012) is the first one to propose that a tensed licenser enables the ellipsis site to access the left periphery.

of phasal head. In other words, a tensed licenser signals the insertion of a phasal head via feature inheritance. Much work remains to be done in this direction, as feature inheritance is poorly understood as it stands now⁹. In any case, tense (the *interpretability* component of tense projections) is *the* deictic category *par excellence*, ensuring the anchoring of the syntactic structure into the discourse as well as the satisfaction of truth-conditions and the semantic felicitousness of sentences.

López's (2000) intuition¹⁰ that the licenser of ellipsis has to be a *narrowly D-linked* constituent is thus revived in the present context: a *narrowly D-linked* constituent is a constituent which relates syntactic structure to discourse structure, in other words, a constituent which is able to entertain a relation with a phasal head.

5. If we apply the same reasoning to the nominal domain, we might speculate that if DPs are phases too, then the counterpart of T in the nominal domain is definiteness. In other words, feature inheritance relativized to the nominal domain entails that *definiteness* (alongside ϕ -features) is inherited in this case.

6. Finally, an issue that has been alluded to throughout the dissertation is that there is an essential semantic uniformity of the ellipsis¹¹: the domains targeted by deletion are semantically complete expressions, with $\langle e \rangle$ and $\langle t \rangle$ denotations; in other words, they are domains which can be quantified over. Besides providing a uniform semantic nature for deletion, this result also enables us to understand: (i) why ellipsis sites may have split antecedents¹² (see §II.5.2) and (ii) why ellipsis-contained antecedents are possible (see

⁹ Essentially, the authors working on feature inheritance (Chomsky, Richards, Biberauer and Roberts, Ouali, Den Dikken i.a.) accept feature inheritance *per se* because it is very attractive from a conceptual perspective, but virtually nobody has proposed a technical account to deal with this problem (how do the features of C get to T, by means of which process...?).

¹⁰ López's (2000) analysis is insightful in many other respects; however, it has been largely ignored due to the fact that López advocated an empty category approach to ellipsis at the time when Merchant's (1999/2001) work had just revived the deletion approach.

¹¹ I would like to thank to Jason Merchant (e-mail correspondence) for prompting me to think more seriously about this problem.

¹² For example:

(i) *I can [walk]₁ and I can [chew gum]₂. Gerry can $\langle \rangle$ too, but not at the same time.*
 $\langle$ walk and chew gum $\rangle$

(ii) *Vasile aduce prăjituri_i cu nucă și bomboane_j cu vanilie.*
 Vasile bring.IND.PRES.3SG cookies with nut and bonbons with vanilla
Pe cele_{ij/i+j} cu ciocolată le aduce Ion.
 DOM CEL with chocolate CL.ACC.F.3PLbring.IND.PRES.3SG John
 'Vasile is bringing nut cookies and vanilla bonbons. The ones (cookies/bonbons/cookies and bonbons) with chocolate are brought by Vasile.'

§II.5.2 on this point as well)¹³. Ellipsis does not apply by observing a “blind” application of parallelism; rather, the ellipsis discourse procedure picks up the information of utmost importance from the antecedent discourse, and construes a common topic that gets silenced. Importantly, complete propositional expressions must be manipulated to be able to perform the construction of a common discourse topic, as the expressions not fully saturated cannot be quantified over and combined in this manner.

7. In keeping with the methodological principle that ellipsis cannot be properly apprehended in the absence of understanding how the overt counterpart of the elliptical structure works, I have also dealt with a series of problems in the syntax of the Romanian nominal and verbal phrase. What we believe to be the most relevant results is summarized below.

- Building on previous individual and joint work, I believe that I have offered a more accurate characterization of the syntax of Romanian definite phrases; furthermore, many theoretical problems have been supported with arguments coming from the history of Romanian; the data which indicate how the article *cel* has grammaticalized (both as a freestanding definite article in complementary distribution with the suffixal definite article, and as an adjectival article) are new and have not been put in this perspective before.

- The ideas on verb movement and on the structure of the Romanian finite and non-finite clause developed here, which necessitate more work before they crystallize into a self-standing account, might solve many of the otherwise puzzling properties of the Romanian verbal cluster, without invoking questionable solutions like “complex head formation” based on right adjunction or specifier-less projections. In this respect, the history of Romanian has been of crucial importance: the necessity to raise the lexical verb high up in the structure is due to the fact that the grammaticalization of the Romanian auxiliaries has systematically involved the loss of the tense feature.

With respect to the inflectional make up of the verbal system of Romanian, the role of the category of aspect has been systematically highlighted. I believe that future research will prove how relevant aspect really is. The fact that, upon the removal of the root infinitum / root perfectum distinction (with the exception of a few verbs), Romanian has systematically developed an aspectual distinction with the help of inflectional endings cannot be accidental.

¹³ The interpretation of sentence (i) below is the one in (ii), not the one in (iii), expected if one would apply a “blind” parallelism constraint on ellipsis resolution:

- (i) *When John has to cook he doesn't want to < >, and when he has to clean, he doesn't < > either.*
- (ii) *When John has to cook he doesn't want to <cook>, and when he has to clean, he doesn't <want to clean> either.*
- (iii) *When John has to cook he doesn't want to **cook**, and when he has to clean, he doesn't **clean** either.*

- Finally, some new ideas on the status of modal verbs have emerged throughout the dissertation. In particular, I have argued for a more uniform status of modal verbs, both from a syntactic and a semantic perspective. Modal verbs are thematically hollow / athematic raising verbs which systematically select a domain whose θ -necessities have been already satisfied, a VoiceP or a CP; in this sense, they are semantic operators which take scope over a propositional domain. Furthermore, I have put forth the idea that the configurations involving *trebui* ('must') plus a non-finite form (participle or supine) are also restructuring configurations; the restructuring analysis had been previously put forward for the structure *putea* ('can') plus infinitive (see Alboiu and Motapanyane 2000), but not for the *trebuie*-configurations.

8. To this end, it would be instructive to indicate a series of problems that have to be dealt with in future research.

With respect to ellipsis licensing, the ellipsis algorithm put forth for the derivation of nominal ellipsis has to be extended to verbal ellipsis as well; certain suggestions have been made in §IV, but the extension is by no means complete.

With respect to the syntax of Romanian, I see two main problems which should be addressed:

- The exact contribution of the lexical verb and of the auxiliary to the mood-tense-aspect specification of the clause should be better delimited. In the same spirit, the role of the category of (grammatical) Aspect is, to this day, insufficiently explored.

- Another problem which needs to be obligatorily solved is how restructuring actually works. The empirical behaviour of what I have labelled as restructuring configurations is the following one: they are monoclausal configurations; the verb seems to pied-pipe the restructured complement. The immediate task is to propose a technical mechanism which should capture these two distributional characteristics of restructuring constructions. A correct derivation of restructuring constructions will show why the restructured complement cannot undergo deletion.

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