

# Exploring Language Variation, Diversity and Change



# Exploring Language Variation, Diversity and Change

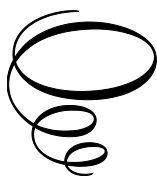
Edited by

Marinela Burada,

Oana Tatu

and Raluca Sinu

**Cambridge  
Scholars  
Publishing**



Exploring Language Variation, Diversity and Change

Edited by Marinela Burada, Oana Tatu and Raluca Sinu

This book first published 2021

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2021 by Marinela Burada, Oana Tatu, Raluca Sinu  
and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-7183-1

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-7183-9

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## **Chapter I: Language Explorations**

Language Explorations: Introduction .....	2
Raluca Sinu	
On the English and Romanian Correlatives ‘both ... and’, ‘atât ... cât’ ....	4
Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru	
On Agreeing and Non-Agreeing Infinitives in Romanian .....	21
Maria Aurelia Cotfas	
<i>Any</i> Problems in Translation?.....	37
Mihaela Zamfirescu	
Pronoun Resolution and the Factors that Influence It.....	58
Sofiana I. Lindemann	

## **Chapter II: Language Use in Professional Settings**

Language Use in Professional Settings: Introduction .....	74
Marinela Burada	
Self-Mention in Academic Writing by In-Service Teachers of English: Exploring Authorial Voices.....	76
Oleksandr Kapranov	
Argumentation in Educational Settings .....	101
Gabriela Chefneux	
Labelling in the Dictionary of the Romanian Language.....	117
Raluca Sinu	

### **Chapter III: Language Teaching and Acquisition**

Language Teaching and Acquisition: Introduction.....	136
Oana Tatu	
English for Medical Purposes: Specific Needs and Challenges .....	139
Ecaterina Pavel	
Learning Task-Types for Engineering Students: From Teacher's Intention to Students' Assessment.....	165
Cristina Silvia Vâlcea	
The Role of Error Correction in English Language Teaching .....	181
Adrian-Florin Buşu	
Virtual Exchange in Education and Beyond: An Overview .....	197
Gabriela Tutunea	
Mobile Technology for ESP Students: Usage and Attitudes .....	213
Alexandra Stan	
List of Contributors .....	231
Index .....	233

**CHAPTER I:**  
**LANGUAGE EXPLORATIONS**

# LANGUAGE EXPLORATIONS: INTRODUCTION

RALUCA SINU

The contributions included in this chapter explore different aspects pertaining to the structure of natural languages. Adopting a contrastive approach, the papers deal with various linguistic constructions and phenomena, such as types of correlative constructions in Romanian and English, infinitival clauses in Romanian, *any* as a polarity sensitive item and as a Free Choice item, the theory of pronoun resolution, analysing their features and mechanisms, and at times assessing their role in language acquisition, or in language teaching and learning.

**On the English and Romanian Correlatives ‘both ... and’, ‘atât ... cât’** (Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru) deals contrastively with two types of correlative constructions: the ‘both ... and’ construction in English and its Romanian equivalent ‘atât ... cât’, but also the conjunction doubling of the type ‘și ... și’ ‘and ... and’. The author attempts to explain the existence in Romanian of two equivalents for the English structure ‘both ... and’ by presenting the differences between the two structures in terms of single/multiple-event reading and of distributivity based on various examples. She highlights the fact that conjunction doubling encodes two events with distributive interpretation, while correlative coordination facilitates the distributive reading.

Concentrating on infinitives in Romanian, **On Agreeing and Non-Agreeing Infinitives in Romanian** (Maria Aurelia Cotfas) discusses the behaviour of infinitival clauses in subject position, more specifically infinitival complements selected by (*fi*-)passivized transitive verbs. The aim of the author is to use the examples in the available corpora in order to distinguish between agreeing/raising vs non-agreeing/control constructions, and to investigate the properties of the complement clause (temporal reference, shared or own subject) in relation to specific triggers and clause-size. The data consists of examples extracted from the CoRoLa corpus and using the Google search engine. Among the results of the analysis, the author shows that, for example, raising variants occur more often not only with typical ECM verbs, but also with futurate verbs.



The focus in ***Any Problems in Translation?*** (Mihaela Zamfirescu) is on the training of future translators, more specifically on the impact that a sound knowledge of syntax might have on the quality of the translation process. The author proposes a comparison of polarity sensitive *any* and free choice *any* emphasizing their different behavior and distribution. Then she reports on an experiment involving second year students of the Translation and Interpretation study programme at the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Bucharest, aimed at testing the way they cope with the translation into Romanian of sentences containing *any* items. The results of the experiment indicate that students experience problems in the translation of some of the contexts, which prompts the author to conclude that a better understanding of syntax would help students overcome these problems and, thus, improve the quality of their translation work.

In ***Pronoun Resolution and the Factors that Influence It*** (Sofiana I. Lindemann), the author provides an overview of the literature dealing with the intersentential factors involved in pronoun resolution from the point of view of interpretation. She introduces key aspects in the research on pronoun resolution, such as the notions of accessibility, salience and prominence as associated with referents. Then, five of the most discussed factors contributing to the prominence of referents are reviewed, namely givenness, distance, syntactic function, thematic roles and animacy. The paper also argues that the causality implicit in verbs influences the prominence of a referent in terms of likelihood of subsequent pronominalization. As stated by the author, the perspective adopted is concerned mainly with predictions pertaining to the most likely antecedent of an already given pronoun.

# ON THE ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN CORRELATIVES ‘BOTH ... AND’, ‘ATÂT ... CÂT’

MIHAELA TĂNASE-DOGARU

**Abstract:** The present paper investigates two types of correlative constructions: the ‘both ... and’ construction in English and its Romanian equivalent ‘atât ... cât’, on the one hand, and the conjunction doubling of the type ‘și ... și’ ‘and ... and’. It aims at showing that, while English possesses only the ‘both ... and’ type of ‘and’ reinforcement, Romanian has two types of ‘both ... and’ coordination: ‘și ... și’ ‘and ... and’ and ‘atât ... cât’ ‘both ... and’. In Romanian, conjunction doubling is ambiguous between a single-event and a multiple-event reading while the ‘both ... and’ coordination always introduces a multiple-event reading. Similarly, while simple coordination entails a single-event reading and is underspecified for distributivity, initial coordination is either focus-oriented (‘și ... și’ ‘and ... and’) or distributive-oriented (‘atât ... cât’ ‘both ... and’).

**Keywords:** correlative coordination, conjunction doubling, single-event reading, multiple-event reading, distributivity

## 1 Introduction

English, besides simple ‘and’ coordination structures (1a), possesses the correlative structure ‘both ... and’ (1b):

- (1) a. I have visited Mary and John.
- b. I have visited both Mary and John.

Languages like French, Italian, or Serbo-Croatian lack the correlative reinforcing structure of the type ‘both ... and’. On the other hand, these languages possess a strategy known as conjunction doubling (see Progovac 1999):

- (2)
- a. Jean connait et Paul et Marie.  
Jean knows and Paul and Marie.  
'Jean knows both Paul and Marie'
  - b. Sono arrivati e Anna e Roberto  
are arrived and Anna and Roberto  
'Both Anna and Roberto have arrived'
  - c. I Marija i Milan donose vino  
and Mary and Milan bring wine.  
'Both Mary and Milan will bring wine'

In contrast to both types of languages exemplified before, Romanian, besides simple 'și' 'and' coordination structures (3a), has two ways of reinforcing the conjunction 'and': the correlative structure 'atât ... cât' 'both and' (3b) and conjunction doubling 'și ... și' 'and ... and' (3c):

- (3)
- a. Am mâncat mere și pere.  
I-have eaten apples and pears.
  - b. Am mâncat atât mere cât și pere.  
(I) have eaten both apples and pears.
  - c. Am mâncat și mere și pere.  
(I) have eaten and apples and pears.  
'I have eaten both apples and pears'

Therefore, one of the main questions that this paper will be trying to answer is the following: if a language contains both conjunction doubling and reinforcement by 'both and', what is the semantic and syntactic difference between these two structures and how can this difference be grasped?

## **2 Single and multiple-event interpretations of coordinations (Progovac 1999)**

Generally, the literature on coordination assumes a correlation between the presence of an extra conjunction marker and a multiple-event interpretation (see Progovac 1999, Bilbîie 2008, de Vries 2005, Skrabalova 2003).

According to Progovac (1999, 142), there is a systematic semantic difference between coordinations with 'and' and coordinations with 'both ... and'. While 'and' coordinations may involve a single theta-role assignment to a group of individuals, 'both-and' coordinations involve multiple theta-role assignments to each conjunct, which leads to a multiple-event interpretation.

Coordinations with ‘and’ alone are unspecified for one event or two events readings, the result of the assignment of a single theta-role to the conjunction phrase (Progovac 1999, 142-143)

- (4) [Maria and Peter] will bring a bottle of wine.
- (5) I visited [Maria and Peter].
- (6) I gave a rose to [Maria and Peter]. (Progovac 1999, 142)

In (4), the conjunction phrase ‘Maria and Peter’ sits in subject position, in (5), it sits in object position, and in (6), the conjunction phrase occupies the position of object of preposition. If we assume that the conjunction phrase is assigned a single theta-role (see Link 1983 a.o.), the group made up of the individuals Maria and Peter receives a single theta-role of Agent in (4), Theme in (5), and Goal in (6).

In contrast, the reinforcement by ‘both’ results in an interpretation where the conjunction phrase contains two separate participants in two events (see Lasersohn 1995 a. o.):

- (7) [Both Maria and Peter] will bring a bottle of wine.
- (8) I visited [both Maria and Peter].
- (9) I gave a rose to [both Maria and Peter]. (Progovac 1999: 142)

Again, in (7) the conjunction phrase ‘both Maria and Peter’ sits in subject position, in (6), it sits in object position, and in (7), the conjunction phrase occupies the position of object of preposition. Since an event can have at most one Agent, Theme, or Goal (see Carlson 1982, Chierchia 1984 a.o.), the ‘both-and’ coordinations in the examples (7)-(9) necessarily receive an interpretation involving two grammatically encoded events of wine-bringing, visiting, and rose-giving (Progovac 1999, 143). Therefore, the example in (7), for instance, entails that Maria will bring a bottle of wine and Peter will bring a bottle of wine, while the example in (4), without reinforcement by ‘both’, does not bear such an entailment.

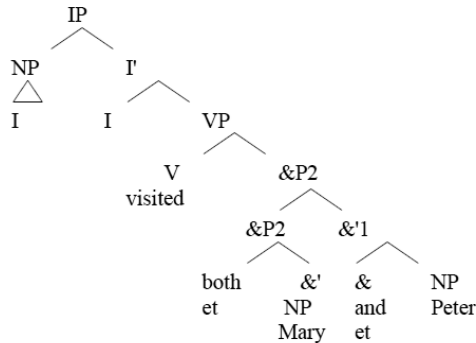
Progovac (1999, 144) concludes that ‘the use of “both” as a correlative partner of the conjunction “and” is never semantically vacuous. Rather, its use always implies separate assignment of theta-roles to each conjunct and thus a multiple-event interpretation.’

It is assumed that the same effect obtains with conjunction doubling in languages like French (10), Italian (11), or Serbo-Croatian (12) (see Progovac 1999, 145-146).

- (10) J'ai visité et Marie et Marcel.  
I have visited and Marie and Marcel.  
'I visited both Marie and Marcel'.
- (11) Sono arrivati e Anna e Roberto.  
Are arrived and Anna and Roberto  
'Both Anna and Roberto have arrived' (Progovac 1999: 146)
- (12) I Marija I Milan donose vino.  
And Mary and Milan bring wine  
'Both Mary and Milan will bring wine' (Progovac 1999:146)

Starting from the observation that the examples involving conjunction doubling have the same interpretation as the examples involving reinforcement by 'both ... and', Progovac (1999, 146) formulates the *n*-Coordination generalization (13):

- (13) *n*-Coordination: Where one-piece coordination (1-coor) is unspecified for the number of events / states, two (or more) - piece coordination (2-coor) necessarily implies multiples events / states.



In Progovac's (1999) view, 2-coor stands for coordination reinforced by correlative 'both' in English or by conjunction doubling in languages like Italian, Serbo-Croatian, or French.

However, languages like Romanian allow both for conjunction doubling (14) and for 'both ... and' reinforcement (15). At this point in the analysis, both (14) and (15) encode multiple events. However, reinforcement by 'both ... and' seems to encode a further aspect, namely focus on each conjunct.

- (14) Au venit și Ion și Maria.  
Have arrived and Ion and Maria  
‘Both Ion and Maria have arrived’
- (15) Au venit atât Ion cât și Maria.  
Have arrived both Ion and and Maria  
‘Both Ion and Maria have arrived’

The rest of the paper is devoted to capturing the syntactic and semantic differences between the two structures.

### 3 Conjunction doubling and distributivity in Romanian

#### 3.1 Initial coordination as AdvP

The descriptive grammar of Romanian assumes that the correlative / initial ‘și’ (‘and’) has a conjunctive value (GALR 2005, 638) (16), to be distinguished from the homonymous form behaving like an adverb (17).

- (16) (Și) Ion și Maria au venit.  
(and) Ion and Maria have come  
‘Both Ion and Maria have come’
- (17) Și Ion a venit.  
And Ion has come.  
‘Ion has come, too’

Moreover, it is seen as a cumulative adverb in groups such as ‘ci și’ (‘but and’) or ‘dar și’ (‘but and’), where the first element behaves as a conjunction while the second as an adverbial.

- (18) Nu numai Ion ci și Maria a venit.  
Not only Ion but and Maria has come.  
‘Not only Ion but also Maria has come’

What we have called conjunction doubling is present in Romance languages, with the exception of Spanish, where the pair ‘y ... y’ is disallowed:

- (19) Extracted from Bilbiu (2008, 29)

French	Italian	Spanish	Romanian
et ... et	sia ... sia	*y ... y	și ... și
à la fois ... et	sia ... che	a la vez ... y	

- (20) Et Jean et Marie sont venus à la fête. (French)  
 Sia Gianni sia Maria sono venuti alla festa. (Italian)  
 Și Ion și Maria au venit la petrecere. (Romanian)  
 \*Y Juan y Maria han venido a la fiesta. (Spanish)  
 ‘Both John and Mary came to the party’ (Bilbiie 2008, 29)

Bilbiie (2008) enumerates several arguments against the conjunctive status of the initial coordinator ‘și’ (‘and’) and in favor of its adverbial status.

First, ‘și’ (‘and’) can be preceded by a coordinating conjunction which can exclusively realize the coordinating relation in other contexts (21):

- (21) Manolescu scrie și poezie [și / dar] și proză.  
 Manolescu writes and poetry [and / but] and prose.  
 ‘Manolescu writes both poetry and prose’ (Bilbiie 2008, 35)

However, the conjunction ‘dar’ (‘but’) can only coordinate sentences and is excluded from nominal coordination structures; it would be safer to assume that, in structures like (21), it is ‘și’ (‘and’) that realizes the coordination relation while ‘dar’ (‘but’) encodes a different semantics, such as focus. Moreover, the pair ‘și ... și’ (‘and ... and’) in structures like (21), though possible in principle, is avoided both in speech and writing for reasons of euphony.

A second argument in favor of the adverbial status of ‘și’ (‘and’) in conjunction doubling structures is its occurrence in structures like (22), where it is assumed to function outside coordinated phrases (Bilbiie 2008: 35):

- (22) La petrecere vor veni și prietenii lui Ion.  
 At party will come and friends.the of Ion  
 ‘Ion’s friends will come to the party, too’

However, although the adverbial status of ‘și’ (‘and’) in structures like (22) is generally acknowledged by Romanian grammars, it might be better to assume that it is a part of a correlative structure where only the first conjunct is pronounced (23). The reason why the second conjunct is not pronounced has to do with old information; the speaker and hearer know that Ion’s parents are going to come to the party and, therefore, the information is backgrounded.

- (23) La petrecere vor veni și prietenii (și părinții) lui Ion.  
 At party will come and friends.the (and parents.the) of Ion  
 ‘Both Ion’s friends and his parents will come to the party’

A third argument concerns the fact that, prosodically, the constituent modified by ‘și’ (‘and’) receives special intonation, in a fashion similar to phrases modified by ‘cam’ (‘rather’), ‘chiar’ (‘even’), ‘doar’, ‘numai’ (‘only’), ‘nici’ (‘neither’), which are called semiadverbs in traditional grammars (Ciompec 1985, Bîlbîie 2008).

- (24) **Chiar** Ion a venit  
Even Ion came
- (25) Am **doar** trei copii  
I have only three children
- (26) **Și** Ion a picat examenul  
Also Ion has failed exam.the  
‘Ion failed the exam, too’

However, if one applies the same line of reasoning as before, ‘și’ (‘and’) in initial position is still a conjunction, which is part of a conjunction phrase with a non-pronounced first conjunct. The only way to understand (26) is by means of (27), which clearly shows that ‘și’ (‘and’) has conjunctive status:

- (27) [[Maria a picat examenul] și [Mihaela a picat examenul]] și Ion a picat examenul.  
Maria has failed exam.the and Mihaela has failed exam.the and Ion has failed exam.the  
Maria failed the exam and Mihaela failed the exam and Ion failed the exam.

From this perspective, initial ‘și’ (‘and’) represents a case of n-coordination (Progovac 2008), where the first conjunct(s) is not pronounced. The reason has to do with general economy principles, captured by Progovac (1999, 149) as (28):

- (28) Minimize Pronunciation: do not pronounce that which is recoverable.

Other arguments for the adverbial status of initial ‘și’ (‘and’) and / or ‘și’ (‘and’) in conjunction doubling structures concern the (im)possibility of inserting incidental elements between ‘și’ (‘and’) and the phrase it modifies. It is assumed (Bîlbîie 2008, 36) that, while incidental phrases can intervene between the correlative ‘fie’ (‘either’) and the phrase it modifies, no such material can intervene between ‘și’ (‘and’) and its phrase, which is taken as an indication of the conjunctive status of ‘fie ... fie’ (29) (‘either ... or’) and the adverbial status of ‘și ... și’ (‘and ... and’) (30).



- (29) Ion vine fie azi fie poate / pare-se mâine.  
 Ion comes either today or perhaps / it-seems tomorrow  
 ‘Ion is coming either today or perhaps tomorrow’
- (30) \*Ion vine și azi și poate mâine.  
 Ion comes and today and perhaps tomorrow  
 ‘Ion is coming both today and perhaps tomorrow’.

However, the judgments of the grammaticality in the cases of (29) and (30) differ dramatically from one speaker to the next. In my dialect, there is nothing wrong with (30), if the incidental material is treated as such and the relevant pause is produced. Similarly, not all native speakers of Romanian would agree with the grammaticality of (29), where even the relevant pause fails to produce acceptability.

From what has been said so far, it seems safe to assume that the difference between simple ‘și’ (‘and’) coordination and conjunction doubling does not necessarily lie in a difference in syntactic status, i.e. conjunction or adverb but rather in the assignment of one versus more than one theta-roles, which in turn results in a single event / state versus a multiple event / state interpretation. In other words, the difference lies in a distributive versus collective interpretation. This receives additional support from coordinate structures involving adjectives:

- (31) E deșteaptă și frumoasă.  
 Is smart.fem and beautiful.fem  
 ‘She is smart and beautiful’
- (32) E și deșteaptă și frumoasă.  
 Is and smart.fem and beautiful.fem  
 ‘She is both smart and beautiful’

In (31), ‘smart and beautiful’ are predicated collectively about her, as if the properties were a package containing a single state; in (32), ‘both smart and beautiful’ are predicated distributively, by means of which process two properties are assigned.

### 3.2 Initial coordination as a distributive operator

Skrabalova (2003) shows that the initial coordinator is a distributive operator, in the sense that its presence always entails a distributive reading. She argues that French initial ‘et’ (‘and’) and Czech ‘i’ (‘and’) are distributive heads.

In French, the initial coordinator forces the distributive reading, a fact which also holds for Romanian, and which becomes evident when using collective predicates:

- (33) Carole et Eric se sont embrassés.  
Carole and Eric refl are kissed  
‘Carole and Eric kissed’
- (34) \*Et Carole et Eric se sont embrassés.  
And Carole and Eric refl are kissed  
‘Carole and Eric kissed’
- (35) Et Carole et Eric sont venus à la conférence.  
And Carole and Eric are come to the conference  
‘Both Carole and Eric have come to the conference’

In Czech, there is a special conjunction ‘i’ which forces the distributive reading, contrary to the conjunction ‘a’ (‘and’):

- (36) Karla a Erik se polibili  
Karla and Erik are kissed  
‘Karla and Erik kissed’
- (37) \*Karla i Erik se polibili  
Karla and Erik kissed.
- (38) Karla i Erik přišli na konferenci  
Karla and.distr Erik came to conference  
‘Both Karla and Erik came to the conference’

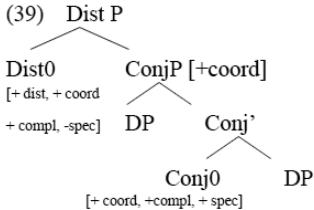
Following Johannesen (1998), who proposes that initial coordinators are adverbs adjoined to the Conjunction Phrase, adverbs which are sensitive to the type of head of the Conjunction Phrase that they attach to, Skrabalova (2003) analyzes initial coordinators as distributive operators which occupy a position wherefrom they c-command the XP they distribute over.

Skrabalova (2003) proposes an analysis of conjunctions and distributive operators in terms of the semantic features [coordinated / coordinating], [distributive], and [additive] as well as the formal features [complement] and [specifier].

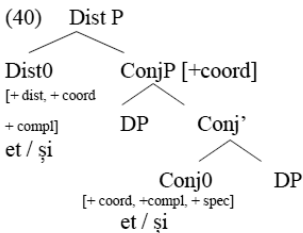
It is the features [coord] and [dist] which allow us to distinguish between the coordinating and the distributive ‘et’ in French, ‘sia’ in Italian, and ‘și’ in Romanian. The feature [+ coord] entails the features [+ compl] and [+ spec], because a conjunction has two arguments. The feature [+ dist] entails the features [+ compl] and [- spec], with the feature [+ coord] on the complement. The feature [additive] allows us to distinguish between simple coordinating ‘and’ and initial non-distributive ‘and’.

The syntactic structure proposed by Skrabalova (2003) captures both the semantic features that characterize distributive heads versus

conjunctions and the intuition according to which distributive operators are distinct heads which take coordinations as complements.



In French and Romanian, the ‘and’ which has the [+ coord] feature will be generated in the position of the conjunctive head, while the initial ‘and’, having the feature [+ dist], will be generated in the position of the distributive head (40):



#### 4 The correlatives ‘atât...cât’ ‘both...and’ and distributivity

The vast majority of the literature on correlative conjunctions makes little distinction between conjunction doubling and ‘both ... and’ reinforcement. De Vries (2005, 84) treats on a par all types of coordination with initial coordinators in Dutch:

- (41) Hij is en slim en knap  
He is and smart and handsome.  
‘He is both smart and handsome.’
- (42) Je moet kiezen: of (wel) dit, of (wel) dat.  
You must choose: either this or that
- (43) Hij is zowel voorzitter als penningmeester.  
He is both chairman and treasurer.

- (44) Hij is noch snel, noch precies.  
He is neither fast nor meticulous.
- (45) Hij is niet alleen goedgekleed, maar ook rijk.  
He is not only well-dressed but also rich. (de Vries 2005, 84)

According to de Vries (2005, 85), initial coordinators are not conjunctions, in the sense that not each conjunct is in its own coordination phrase, and not in the sense that these initial coordinators do not do the coordinating job.

First, an initial coordinator sometimes has a form which differs from the conjunction, as in the case of ‘neither ... nor’ and ‘both ... and’. Second, in the case of multiple coordination, the conjunction is repeated, not the initial coordinator (which he calls INICO), which suggests that there is a difference in status encoding a difference in semantics between simple and multiple coordination.

- (46) He is neither smart nor handsome nor rich.
- (47) Ik zag zowel Joop als Jaap als Joep als Job  
I saw INICO Joop and Jaap and Joep and Job (de Vries 2005, 84)

Romanian does not fit nicely in the picture, however, for a number of reasons. In the cases of multiple coordination, the conjunction is repeated, unlike in Dutch, English, etc. (40). Similarly, the equivalent of (47) is ungrammatical in Romanian, where ‘atât ... cât’ (‘both ... and’) is limited to two conjuncts, encoding duality (49).

- (48) Nu e nici deștept, nici frumos, nici bogat.  
Not is neither smart, neither handsome, neither rich  
‘He is neither smart, nor handsome, nor rich’
- (49) I-am vizitat atât pe Ion cât și pe Maria \*cât și pe Silvia cât și pe Mihaela  
CL.acc.pl-have visited both DOM Ion and and DOM Maria \* and and  
DOM Silvia and and DOM Mihaela  
‘I have visited both Ion and Maria \*and Silvia and Mihaela’

Thirdly, an initial coordinator takes scope over the coordination as a whole, i.e. it is monovalent, while a conjunction is bivalent. Fourthly, an initial coordinator always triggers focus, while a conjunction is neutral.

A fifth argument listed by de Vries (2005, 85) is the fact that initial coordinators can be found in different positions (higher up in the clause, inside the first conjunct, or directly preceding the conjunction), while the conjunction immediately precedes the second conjunct.

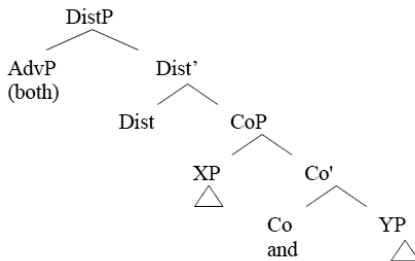
- (50) Noch heeft hij gezegd [dat ze moet blijven], noch dat ze weg moet gaan.  
Neither has he said that she has to stay, neither that she away has-to go  
'Neither has he said that she has to stay, nor that she has to go away'
- (51) [Joep leest en een boek] en [hij schrijft een brief]  
Joep reads and a book and he writes a letter  
'Joep is both reading a book and writing a letter'
- (52) Hij leest [boeken] zowel als [tijdschriften]  
He reads books as well as magazines

Even more importantly for the purpose of the present paper, an initial coordinator triggers an obligatory distributive reading (see also Progovac 1999). In (54), no collective reading is available.

- (53) Bill and Anna are going to be married. (one or two weddings)  
(54) Both Bill and Anna are going to be married. (two weddings)

Following Skrabalova (2003), who, as we have seen, argues that French initial 'et' and Czech 'i' are distributive heads, de Vries (2005) argues that there is a functional projection Distributive Phrase DistP on top of the Conjunction Phrase, which can host an adverbial phrase. Some initial coordinators are the head of the Distributive Phrase Dist; others are Adverbial Phrases and surface in the specifier of the Distributive Phrase. The Conjunction Phrase CoP is selected by the distributive head Dist, which is in a specifier head relation with the Adverbial Phrase.

Furthermore, if either the head Dist or the specifier of the Distributive Phrase is filled, the coordination is interpreted as obligatorily [+distributive], which is the case of initial coordinators, as in (56). If there is no initial coordinator, the head Dist or the specifier of the Distributive Phrase is lexically empty and the coordination is lexically underspecified for distributivity and, therefore, ambiguous. The coordination may be interpreted as either [+ distributive] or [- distributive], as in (55).



The feature [+/- distributive] is believed to reside in the head Dist.

- (55) John and Anna are getting married - either distributive or collective  
 (56) Both John and Anna are getting married - only distributive

## 5 Back to the issue

The paper started from the assumption that Romanian possesses three modes of ‘and’ coordination: simple ‘and’ coordination, initial ‘and’ coordination, and a type of ‘both and’ coordination (see the examples in (3), repeated here for convenience as (57 a-c)).

- (57) a. Am mâncat mere și pere.  
 (I) have eaten apples and pears.  
 b. Am mâncat atât mere cât și pere.  
 (I) have eaten both apples and pears.  
 c. Am mâncat și mere și pere.  
 (I) have eaten and apples and pears.  
 ‘I ate both apples and pears’

While the semantics of the simple ‘and’ coordination is straightforward, the question addressed in the paper concerns the differences between initial ‘and’ coordination and the ‘atât ... cât’ ‘both and’ coordination.

The results of the analysis so far can be summarized as follows: simple ‘and’ coordination entails one event, which can be interpreted either collectively or distributively, depending on the type of the predicate involved (see Skrabalova 2003), or which is lexically underspecified for distributivity (see de Vries 2005):

- (58) I-am vizitat pe Ion și pe Maria. - as a group or in turns  
 CL.acc.pl-have visited DOM Ion and DOM Maria  
 ‘I visited Ion and Maria’  
 (59) Ion și Maria s-au întâlnit în parc. – only as a group  
 Ion and Maria refl-have met in park  
 ‘Ion and Maria met in the park’

The example in (58) may have a collective or a distributive interpretation, while (59), because it involves a collective predicate, can only have a collective interpretation.

A second result of the analysis is the fact that initial coordination is seen as encoding two events with distributive interpretation. The example in (60) shows initial coordination with subject conjuncts that receive Agent theta-roles, the example in (61) shows initial coordination with object conjuncts that receive Theme theta-roles, while the example in (62)

shows initial coordination with indirect object conjuncts that receive Goal theta-roles.

- (60) Au venit și Ion și Maria.  
have come and Ion and Maria  
'Both Ion and Maria have come'
- (61) Am văzut și un papagal și un pelican.  
(I) have seen and a parrot and a pelican  
'I have seen both a parrot and a pelican'
- (62) Am dat o carte și băiatului și fetei  
(I) have given a book and boy.dat and girl.dat  
'I have given a book to the boy and the girl each'

As far as initial coordination of subjects is concerned (60), repeating the initial coordinator on both conjuncts can easily be seen as triggering a distributive reading, one in which Ion and Maria take turns to participate in the arriving event. The same can be claimed about the example in (62), which involves coordination of indirect objects with Goal theta-roles.

Turning to the example in (61), which involves initial coordination of objects bearing Theme theta-roles, although it is less obvious to identify two events, i.e. the distributive reading of the coordination, when the sentence involves two Theme arguments (see also Progovac 1999), it can still be claimed that (61) involves multiple theta-role assignment and, thus, a distributive reading. The claim is further strengthened by the observation that the so-called initial coordination can be multiplied several times:

- (63) Am văzut și un papagal și un pelican și un struț și un pinguin.  
I-have seen and a parrot and a pelican and an ostrich and a penguin  
'I have seen a parrot and a pelican and an ostrich and a penguin'

When the initial coordinator is repeated several times on each conjunct, as in (63), the 'list' reading becomes available. In this reading, each conjunct receives a Theme theta-role and these Theme participants in the perception event are perceived distributively.

However, it can be safely assumed that initial coordination of subjects is more likely to trigger the distributive reading than initial coordination of objects, which may be seen as ambiguous between a distributive and a collective interpretation.

When one turns their attention to 'both ... and' reinforcement of subjects (64), objects (65), and indirect objects (66), it is to be noticed that the distributive readings obtain with all configurations.

- (64) Au venit atât Ion cât și Maria.  
have come both Ion and and Maria.  
‘Both Ion and Maria have come’
- (65) Am văzut atât un papagal cât și un penguin.  
I-have seen both a parrot and and a penguin  
‘I have seen both a parrot and a penguin’
- (66) Am dat o carte atât băiatului cât și fetei  
have given a book both boy.dat and and girl.dat  
‘I have given a book both to the boy and to the girl’

In contrast to initial ‘și ... și’ ‘and ... and’ coordination, ‘atât ... cât’ ‘both ... and’ correlative coordination facilitates the distributive reading with Theme and Goal conjuncts.

Going back to the initial research question, namely the right way of capturing the distinction between ‘atât ... cât’ ‘both ... and’ reinforcement and initial ‘și ... și’ ‘and ... and’ coordination, what ‘atât ... cât’ ‘both ... and’ reinforcement seems to do is disambiguate between the collective and distributive interpretations in the case of coordinated objects bearing Theme theta-roles. ‘Atât ... cât’ ‘both ... and’ reinforcement unambiguously triggers the distributive interpretation.

In the context of the specific distributivity marker ‘câte’, both the ‘și ... și’ ‘and ... and’ coordination and the ‘atât ... cât’ ‘both ... and’ correlative structure get an unambiguous distributive interpretation; when the specific distributivity marker is absent, the initial coordinator marks focus.

- (67) Am dat câte o carte și băiatului și fetei  
(I) have given distr a book and boy.dat and girl.dat  
‘I have given a book both to the boy and to the girl’.
- (68) Am dat câte o carte atât băiatului cât și fetei.  
(I) have given distr a book both boy.dat and and girl.dat  
‘I have given a book both to the boy and to the girl’.

This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the ‘atât ... cât’ ‘both and’ coordination is odd in the absence of the distributivity marker ‘câte’ in specifically distributive contexts, such as (69), where clitic doubling unambiguously selects for the distributive interpretation:



- (69) Le-am dat ?(câte) o carte atât băiatului cât și fetei  
 CL.dat.pl.-have given distr a book both boy.dat and girl.dat  
 'I have given a book both to the boy and the girl'

## 6 Conclusions

The present paper started from the observation that, besides simple 'and' coordination, Romanian has two types of 'both ... and' coordination: 'și ... și' 'and ... and' coordination, which has been referred to as conjunction doubling, and 'atât ... cât' 'both ... and' coordination, which has been referred to as correlative reinforcement.

The paper has shown that, while simple coordination 'and' coordination entails a single-event reading and is underspecified for distributivity, initial coordination is either focus-oriented, in the case of 'și ... și' 'and ... and', i.e. conjunction doubling, or distributive-oriented, in the case of 'atât ... cât' 'both ... and', i.e. correlative reinforcement. In the latter case, the presence of the distributive marker 'câte' unambiguously points to a distributive reading.

Simple 'and' coordination entails one event, which can be interpreted either collectively or distributively, depending on the type of predicate involved (see Skrabalova 2003) or which is lexically underspecified for distributivity (see de Vries 2005).

Initial coordination or conjunction doubling is seen as encoding two events with distributive interpretation. As far as initial coordination of subjects or Goal indirect objects is concerned, conjunction doubling triggers a distributive reading. In the case of initial coordination of objects bearing Theme theta-roles, the distributive reading is less obvious. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that initial coordination of subjects is more likely to trigger the distributive reading than initial coordination of objects, which may be seen as ambiguous between a distributive and a collective interpretation.

In contrast to initial 'și ... și' 'and ... and' coordination, 'atât ... cât' 'both ... and' correlative coordination facilitates the distributive reading with Theme and Goal conjuncts. 'atât ... cât' 'both ... and' reinforcement disambiguates between the collective and distributive interpretations in the case of coordinated objects bearing Theme theta-roles. 'Atât ... cât' 'both ... and' reinforcement unambiguously triggers the distributive interpretation.

In the context of the specific distributivity marker 'câte', both the 'și ... și' 'and ... and' coordination and the 'atât ... cât' 'both ... and' correlative structure get an unambiguous distributive interpretation; when the specific distributivity marker is absent, the initial coordinator marks

focus, an interpretation which is reinforced by the fact that the ‘atât ... cât’ coordination is odd in the absence of the distributivity marker ‘câte’ in specifically distributive contexts.

## References

- Bîlbîie, G. 2008. “A Syntactic Account of Romanian Correlative Coordination from a Romance Perspective”. In *Proceedings of the HPSG08 Conference*, edited by S. Muller. Keihanna. CSLI Publications. 25-45.
- Carlson, G. 1982. “Thematic Roles and Their Role in Semantic Interpretation”. *Linguistics* 22: 259-9.
- Chierchia, G. 1984. *Topics in the Syntax and Semantics of Infinitives and Gerunds* (doctoral dissertation). University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Ciompec, G. 1985. *Morfosintaxa adverbului românesc. Sincronie și diacronie*. Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- GALR - Gramatica Academică a Limbii Române. 2005. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.
- Johannessen, J. B. 1998. *Coordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lasnik, P. 1995. *Plurality, Conjunction, and Events*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Progovac, L. 1999. “Events and Economy of Coordination”. *Syntax* 2(2): 141-59.
- Skrabalova, H. 2003. “La syntaxe de la coordination [Conj DP Conj DP]: comparaison entre le français, le tchèque et l’anglais”. Paper presented at the Workshop on coordination, University Paris 7, 1 March 2003.
- Vries, M. de. 2005. “Coordination and Syntactic Hierarchy”. *Studia Linguistica* 59(1): 83-105.

# ON AGREEING AND NON-AGREEING INFINITIVES IN ROMANIAN

MARIA AURELIA COTFAS

**Abstract:** The paper looks at subject infinitives selected by passivized transitive verbs in Romanian. One interesting property is that they can appear in two variants: agreeing and non-agreeing, corresponding to raising or control configurations. That is, there is a shared subject which agrees in phi-features with the main predicate (agreement is visible on the auxiliary and the participle) or the matrix predicate appears in the default third person singular while the infinitive features a disjoint overt or a null subject. While believe-verbs clearly prefer the agreeing variant, this is also quite pervasive with futurate verbs, which is surprising if their complements are tensed and able to check case on their embedded subject. We account for the raising/control behaviour by drawing on recent claims about the phi-specification of finite CPs in Romanian, such that control infinitives resemble these and are endowed with phi-features, while agreeing variants are not.

**Keywords:** infinitives, agreeing, non-agreeing, control, raising, case, tense

## 1 Outline and Scope

Before we tackle the two types of infinitives in Romanian, let us start with a brief overview of infinitive clauses and their properties. First of all, it is a known fact that infinitive clauses can be either arguments or adjuncts (the latter when preceded by prepositions of time and purpose such as *pentru a...*, *înainte de a...*). Our focus here will be on infinitive complements, so those infinitive clauses in argument position. As arguments, infinitives can be subjects or objects, and in object position they have a rather restricted distribution, given that the subjunctive has come to replace the infinitive in the domain of verb complementation.

Infinitival complements have a complete functional domain: they have a(n optional) complementizer (*de*), (clausal) Negation, possibility to host lexical subjects, clitics, auxiliary (perfective) *fi*, as shown in (1).

- (1) (de) a nu o fi căutat nimeni niciodată  
 de inf.prt not her-Acc have looked nobody never  
 (C) > Fin > Neg > Pers > T > Asp > Su ..v .....

With respect to subject licensing, Romanian infinitives can license their own subjects not only in NOC contexts (subject, adjunct), but also in some OC contexts (e.g., with (one-way) implicative verbs – on the pattern of ‘restricted subjunctives’, see Cotfas (2012)); however, the majority of these subjects are [- agentive] (not External arguments), i.e., there seems to be a preference for Theme subjects as shown in (2).

- (2) a. Am încercat/izbutit [a primi toți elevii câte un bonus]  
 I tried / managed inf.prt receive all pupils-the each a bonus  
 b. între timp s-a încercat [a avea loc program de consiliere cu...] (google example)  
 meanwhile was tried inf.prt take place counselling program with ...

In this paper, we will be focusing on infinitival clauses in subject position. The typical distribution of subject infinitival clauses in Romanian is illustrated in (3a, b) and (3c). As specified, the former pair exemplifies the selection of an infinitive complement by a copulative predicate (*be* + adjective), whereas the latter example – the type we will be looking at – shows infinitive complements selected by passivized transitive verbs in the main clause (so the ‘be’ verb here is no longer a copula, but a passive auxiliary).

- *be<sub>cop</sub>* + adjective (modal; emotive-evaluative, manner adjectives)

- (3) a. Este interzis/posibil/obligatoriu (de) a.....  
 is forbidden/possible/obligatory to.....  
 b. Este esențial/importanț/ușor/greu (de) a .....  
 is essential/important/easy/difficult to.....

- *be<sub>aux</sub>* + past participle of transitive verbs

- c. Era stabilit / plănuț / Fusese decis [(de) a transfera circulația în...]  
 was settled /planned /had been decided (de) to transfer the traffic in ...

An interesting property of the distribution in (3c) is that it may appear in two types of construction that can be informally dubbed ‘agreeing’ (4c) (see the agreement on both the auxiliary and the participle) and ‘non-agreeing’ (4a, b) (default third person agreement) and which would syntactically correspond to a raising vs control (NOC/NC) pattern (i.e., implicit control):

- (4) a. **Este/ A fost** estimat [a (se) organiza mai multe demonstrații stradale]  
       is/ has been estimated [a refl organize several street demonstrations]  
       b. **Era** estimat [a avea loc mai multe demonstrații].  
           was estimated to take place several demonstrations  
       c. Demonstrațiile; **sunt** estimate [a avea loc mâine ti].  
           demonstrations-the are estimated to take place tomorrow

An observation is in order here: clausal subjects (finite and non-finite) prefer *se*-passives to *fi*-passives, but the *fi*-passive is gaining ground, possibly under the influence of English – see Cornilescu (2017) for instances of hyper-raising (raising out of finite (subjunctive/indicative clauses) with matrix *fi*-passives).

Traditionally (Stowell 1981, among many others), – and for languages like English, the control/raising divide has been correlated with specific properties of both the main clause triggers and the complement. On the one hand, Raising (or E(xceptional) C(ase) M(arking)) triggers were believe-type verbs (*believe, know, consider, reckon...*) (also called B-verbs, cf. Abush 2004). The (raising) complements of these verbs do not allow episodic interpretation or future orientation, as shown in (5a). They convey simultaneity with respect to the matrix tense temporal specification, have stative interpretation and realis modality (i.e., they have Indicative paraphrases). As such, they were taken to be untensed, so that the case of the embedded subject had to be assigned clause-externally, across a smaller-sized boundary (IP/TP). On the other hand, control triggers are futurate verbs (*intend, decide, plan, hope, etc.*) (or F-Verbs). Their complements do allow episodic readings (5b), so they were analysed as tensed domains, such that the case of the embedded predicate's external argument was taken care of clause-internally, within a full-fledged clause-size (a CP).

- (5) a. \*The boys<sub>i</sub> **are believed** [t<sub>i</sub> to eat a carrot]./  
       a'. The boys<sub>i</sub> are believed [t<sub>i</sub> to eat a pear *every day*] (habitual, overlapping)  
       b. John<sub>i</sub> decided/planned [PRO<sub>i</sub> to eat an apple (every day)]  
       b'. **It was decided/planned/anticipated** [PRO to eat an apple (every day)]  
       (episodic; if habitual, the habit is future-oriented w.r.t. the matrix)

More recent amendments have shown that not all control complements are tensed (see Landau's 1999 and subseq.). Exhaustive Control infinitives are analysed as untensed ([-T]), while not all raising complements are untensed (Wurmbrand 2014).

For the Romanian instances in (3) above, we aim to determine how and to what extent the data and the available corpora can be used to

differentiate between agreeing/raising vs non-agreeing/control constructions and (dis)confirm assumptions about a) the properties of the complement clause (temporal reference, shared or own subject), b) specific triggers, and c) clause-size. More precisely, one question is whether the raising/agreeing vs control/non-agreeing distinction correlates with the expected main clause triggers. Another question pertains to clause-size: given that infinitives in Romanian can be *a*-Inf or *de*-Inf, to what extent does clause-size correlate with the agreeing/raising vs non-agreeing control variant? A third and more difficult question is how we analyze the data. But before that, let us see what the data is.

## 2 The data

One intuitive way to check the distribution of examples like (3a, b) vs (3c) above would be to either a) verify examples with individual predicates (futurate or not) in the (non-)agreeing pattern, i.e., a.1.) with default 3rd person singular auxiliary and singular masculine participle (for non-agreeing) or a.2.) with plural auxiliary and plural participle (either masculine or feminine) or singular auxiliary followed by feminine participle (for agreeing variants); or b) use a system which allows one to build a generic search query which can then be used to generate the desired examples. The a) choice can be done on Google, but the more lucrative b) variant is available due to the CoRoLa<sup>1</sup> corpus.

With CoRoLa, there is no need to look for examples with specific predicates, as long as the initial query is defined properly. Once this is achieved, it will (hopefully) generate relevant examples on the basis of which the typology of main verbs can be determined. Examples (6) and (7) below specify the queries for the two types of construction under analysis:

a) a query with default 3rd person singular auxiliary + masculine singular past participle (+ *a*-Infinitive or *de*-Infinitive)

→ *este/era/a fost<sub>sg</sub>* (is/was/has been) + *past participle<sub>sg</sub>* (+ *a V-inf//de+a+V-Inf*):

- (6) [drukola/m=ctag:va3s & drukola/m=**number:singular** &  
drukola/m=**person:third** &  
drukola/m=type:auxiliary & drukola/m=verbform:indicative]  
[drukola/m=ctag:vpsm &  
drukola/m=**gender:masc** & drukola/m=**number:singular** &  
drukola/m=type:main & drukola/m=verbform:participle]  
[drukola/m=ctag:qn &  
drukola/m=pos:**particle** & drukola/m=type:**infinitive**]