

# New Insights into Linguistic Communicative Behaviour



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Edited by

Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru,  
Alina Tigău,  
Ioana Stoicescu,  
and Mihaela Zamfirescu

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## CHAPTER ONE

# ROMANIAN INFINITIVE CONFIGURATIONS: RAISING AND CONTROL IN AN EXFOLIATION APPROACH

ALEXANDRA CORNILESCU

This paper offers an analysis of Romanian raising constructions in the framework proposed by Pesetsky (2021), a book meant to be a theory of subordination in minimalist grammars. An important claim is that all non-finite clauses are born finite and then lose some of their categories (the C-T domain), thus turning into non-finite clauses. The finite vs. non-finite distinction is at least a difference of clause size. Pesetsky's main idea is however that clauses become non-finite when they *lose their subject by extraction*. This correlation appears to be invalid for Romanian. The goal of the paper is to show that an Exfoliation analysis is possible and empirically more explanatory than earlier approaches. The analysis entails a re-evaluation of the internal structure of infinitive clauses, the main point being that, at this stage in the historical evolution of Romanian, the particle A 'to' which introduces infinitives should be viewed as a mood particle rather than a complementizer, i.e. it should be viewed as an IP internal element. This re-analysis can account for essential differences between Old Romanian vs. Modern Romanian infinitives. It also sheds light on other poorly understood aspects of the grammar of Romanian infinitives, such as the difference between A-infinitives and DE-A infinitives.

**Keywords:** infinitive, mood particle, raising, exfoliation, subject

## 1. Background on Exfoliation

### 1.1 An informal description

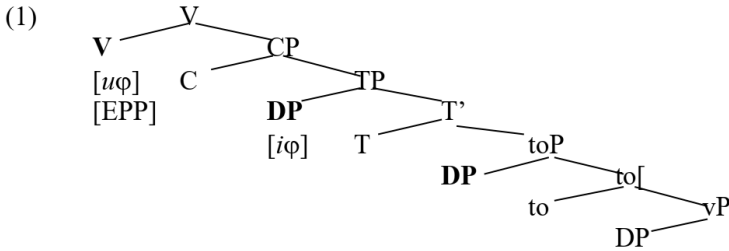
This paper offers an analysis of Romanian raising constructions in the Exfoliation framework proposed by Pesetsky (2021). The incentive for starting this analysis was that, at first sight, the Romanian data directly contradict the main claims of the Exfoliation analysis. And yet, at a closer look Pesetsky's more restrictive theory is compatible with the data and has a better empirical coverage with respect to the evolution and the present properties of Romanian infinitive clauses.

Pesetsky (2021) proposes an analysis which views raising as an *obligatory movement rule*, whereby a nominal moves into the main clause to satisfy the needs of a raising trigger, the main verb which is endowed with a  $\phi$ -probe. This analysis is part of the general theory of non-finite clauses, a theory which claims that all subordinate clauses merge as full and finite CPs and turn into non-finite clauses during the derivation. The main intuition is that a finite clause becomes non-finite only if it somehow loses its subject, e.g. if its subject is extracted. The subject is extracted to satisfy the needs of the higher V-trigger. Technically, infinitivization is produced by Exfoliation, an operation which allows the main verb to target the *subject* of the lower CP clause, (its Goal) by deleting the Complementizer and the finite Tense of the lower clause, which is thus reduced to an infinitive; following Exfoliation, the lower subject occurs as the Spec of the Infinitive phrase. The infinitive marker, *to*, is now the head of the phase, the subject is **on the edge of the phase** and can be extracted, moving to a Spec,VP position of the main verb. Case plays no role in this account of Raising-to-Object (RtO).

### 1.2 A more formal account

In the basic configuration (1), the first nominal that the main verb could agree with to value its uninterpretable  $\phi$  feature is the embedded subject. But by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), the lower subject cannot be accessed since it is not an edge constituent.

Notice in (1) that, even if the clause is finite, an infinitive phrase (the toP) is already present and *to* has a strong feature, forcing the subject not to stop in Spec,ToP but continue its way to Spec,T, valuing the  $[\mu\phi]$  feature of Tense, as well-known.



Pesetsky (2021) makes the very strong claim that, ultimately, non-finite clauses are created through a process of subject extraction. All clauses are born as full and finite CPs, and it is subject extraction that drives the formation of an infinitive. If raising always involves movement of the subject into the main clause, then raising leads to the formation of the infinitive clause. To get the desired result, V in (1) must probe across phasal boundaries, hence a modification of PIC is required, as in (2):

(2) *Probing across a clause boundary*

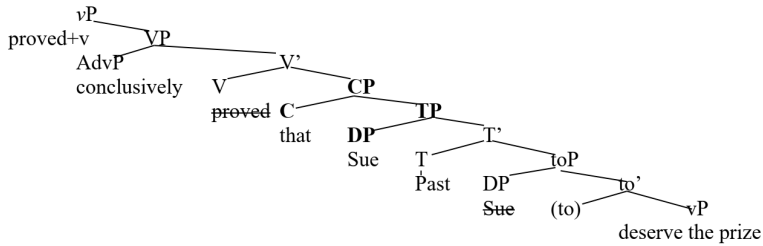
- a. *Phase penetrability*: A probe, P with an EPP property can locate a goal G ( $\gamma$ ) across a CP-boundary, even if G does not occupy the edge of that CP.
- b. *Phase impenetrability*: but  $\gamma$  can move to the probe P only if it occupies the edge of its clause.

Consider an example like (3) where the subordinate clause is complete and finite, and the subject has been case licensed in Spec, T. In Pesetsky's analysis, moreover, (3) is a sentence which underlies (4). It is clear that if the subject DP (in (5)) stopped in Spec toP, for infinitivization, it would be too low to be accessible to the main verb probe. Hence the need to do exfoliation i.e. delete the C > T domain.

(3) Mary proved conclusively that Sue deserved the prize.

(4) Mary proved **Sue** conclusively **to** deserve the prize.

(5) *Structure of full finite CP (including toP, distinct from TP)*



Technically, exfoliation is defined as in (6), in a formulation which reminds one of early transformational days. Applying Definition (6) to representation (7), the main verb  $V[u\phi, EPP]$  is the movement-triggering probe in  $vP$  ( $\beta$ ), which has located a suitable goal  $\alpha$ , in  $\gamma P$ , namely, the DP in Spec,to-P, which is however contained in a phase, the CP (=YP), which does not also contain  $\beta$  (the  $vP$ ), and thus, does not contain the probe. In this configuration the probe cannot agree with the goal. To permit agreement, the structural change replaces the intervening YP phase (=the CP-phase) by  $\gamma P$ , a goal phase ( $\gamma P$ ), with the goal itself,  $\alpha$ , on its edge. In (7), this is the *to*-P phase, with the DP subject as an edge constituent.

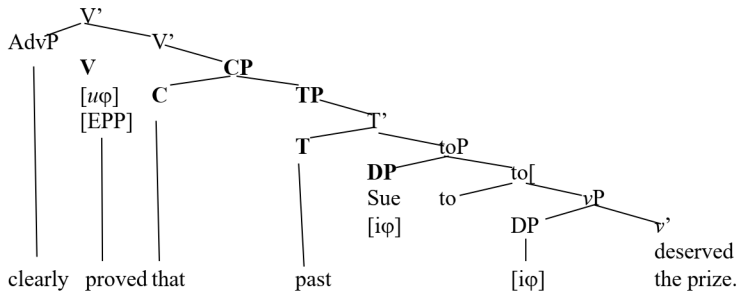
#### (6) Exfoliation

(a) *Structural description*:  $\beta \dots [\gamma P \text{ (phase)}] \dots [\gamma P \text{ (non-phase)}] \dots \alpha \dots$ ],  
where

- (i) YP is the phase that dominates  $\alpha$ , but not  $\beta$ .
- (ii)  $\alpha$  occupies the edge of  $\gamma P$ , and
- (iii) a movement-triggering probe on  $\beta$  has located  $\alpha$  as its goal/

(b) *Structural Change*: Replace YP with  $\gamma P$ , which takes on the phasal property of its predecessor.

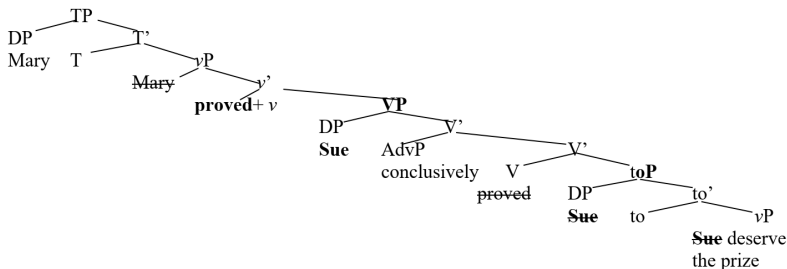
(7)



If exfoliation and raising apply on a structure like (5) the result will be (8). The embedded subject has been attracted to a specifier of the lexical V. Since V raises to little *v*, the complex verb head moves past the raised subject, producing a verb+DO order.

(8) Derived infinitive clause after raising and Exfoliation

Mary proved Sue conclusively to deserve the prize (=4)



## 2. Two problems which look like counterexamples to such an account in Romanian

### 2.1 Infinitives without raising

Prima facie, Romanian does not show the expected correlation between infinitivization and the extraction of the (Nominative) subject. There are two different infinitive patterns which occur with RtO verbs.

a) The first pattern, illustrated in sentences (10), (11) is similar to English. The lower subject has somehow raised as an Acc(usative) in the main clause and has cliticized on the main verb. The clitic is doubled by a

strong Acc pronoun or a DOM-ed DP. Such examples are as expected, since the subject is in the upstairs clause, and the downstairs clause is non-finite. Evidence that the embedded subject is in the upstairs clause is provided by the adverbial PP *cu înțelepciune*, ‘with wisdom, wisely’, which modifies the main clause verb *considera* ‘consider’, but occurs between the raised Acc subject and the infinitive clause.

b) In the second pattern, illustrated in sentences (12), (13), the verb is in the infinitive but the subject appears in *post-verbal position in the infinitive clause* and bears Nom(inative case). The Nom subject is immediately post-verbal (12) or occupies a lower, sentence-final position (13). As shown in (11), if the subject is in the Acc case, but apparently occurs in the infinitive clause, it cannot immediately follow the infinitive, it can only be sentence final (11), i.e. it is still in the main clause.

- (9) Juriul a considerat (cu înțelepciune) că Marin este  
 jury.the has considered (with wisdom) that. M. is  
 (\*cu înțelepciune) cel mai talentat.  
 (with wisdom) the most talented.  
 ‘The jury wisely considered that Marin is the most talented.’
- (10) Juriul l-a considerat (pe Marin), **cu înțelepciune**,  
 jury.the him.cl.Acc-has considered DOM-Marin with wisdom  
 a fi cel mai talentat.  
 to be the most talented.  
 ‘The jury has wisely considered Marin to be the most talented.’
- (11) Juriul l-a considerat a fi (\*pe Marin)  
 jury.the him.cl.Acc-has considered to be (DOM Marin)  
 cel mai talentat pe Marin.  
 the most talented DOM Marin  
 ‘The jury considered Marin to be the most talented.’
- (12) Juriul a considerat cu înțelepciune a fi Marin  
 jury.the has considered with wisdom to be Marin.Nom  
 cel mai talentat, nu Ștefan.  
 the most talented, not Ștefan.  
 ‘The jury wisely considered Marin to be the most talented, not Ștefan.’

- (13) Juriul a considerat cu înțelepciune a fi cel mai talentat  
 jury.the has considered with wisdom to be the most talented  
 Marin, nu Ștefan.  
 Marin.Nom, not Ștefan.  
 ‘The jury wisely considered Marin to be the most talented, not Ștefan.’

While this paradigm is problematic for the Exfoliation account, it is important to stress that it is also **a counterexample for the classical case theoretic account** of RtO. Since in Romanian, the Nom case can be licensed in infinitive clauses, one cannot say that RtO takes place in order to assign Case to the lower subject. Rather, in the classical account, raising is viewed as optional, another difficulty from a minimalist point of view.

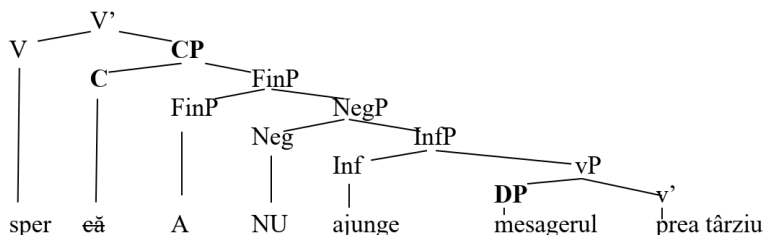
In a previous paper (Cornilescu 2021) we have tried to show that the data in (10)-(13) are compatible with the Exfoliation account since *all* the sentences in (10)-(13), not only (10) and (11) may be analyzed as instances of obligatory raising, through Exfoliation. The difficult sentences are (12) and (13) where there is a Nom subject in an infinitive clause. We proposed that sentences of type (12)-(13) are *examples of Free Inversion*, which can be analyzed as in Belletti (2005). In her analysis postverbal subjects occupy vP periphery positions (Focus) and are doubled by a null expletive, a DP *pro*, which satisfies the EPP property of Tense. As such the expletive is in the highest nominal position in the lower clause. We proposed that *it is the null expletive pro that is accessed by the main verb through Exfoliation* and which raises into the main clause being re-assigned Acc case. The lexical Nom subject is left behind in the lower clause, obscuring the application of Raising.

## 2.2 The highest specifier in the subordinate clause

The second problem for the Exfoliation account, which we address in this paper, is that given the structure of the Romanian infinitive clause the subject is the highest nominal constituent, but it is **never the highest specifier**. There is an agreement among many authors (Nicolae 2013, 2019), Hill and Alboiu (=H&A 2016) that A ‘to’ directly merges in Rizzi’s (1997) Fin, a low complementizer position, while Negation is directly below Fin. Even if the higher C *că* ‘that’ is deleted and this is part of the infinitivization process, the subject cannot be the highest specifier (i.e. an edge constituent), at any point in the derivation. This formal difficulty was also noticed by Nedelcu (2016) and it is visible in (15).

- (14) Sper a nu ajunge mesagerul prea târziu.  
 hope.1.sg to not arrive messenger.the too late

(15)



An exfoliation analysis would require the subject to be above A ‘to’ and NU ‘not’ at some point in the derivation, the point where the lower subject is extracted. To put it differently A could be treated as an Inflection-related constituent, a Mood Particle, which may have to end up in Fin, but originates within the Inflectional domain, as also often proposed in the literature (Nedelcu 2013, Jordan 2009, among many).

## 2.3 The aims of the paper

The main goals of the paper are as follows:

a) The central target of the paper is to propose an analysis of infinitive clauses which is compatible with Exfoliation. Since there is little doubt that *nu* ‘not’ is the head of a NegP or polarity phrase (PolP), we are forced to turn to the re-analysis of A, and show that if A is a mood particle, i.e. an IP rather than a CP constituent, an exfoliation derivation is available.

b) Our second aim is to present new arguments that the re-analysis of A ‘to’ as a Mood particle is empirically motivated in synchrony, as well as in diachrony. Diachronically, this re-analysis can explain two important properties of Modern Romanian (=MR) infinitives (as different from Old Romanian (=OR) ones). These properties are the absence of preverbal subjects (outside the domain of raising constructions) and the loss of the left periphery.

c) Synchronically, if A ‘to’ is a mood particle it becomes possible to better understand the distribution of A-infinitives as compared to DE-A infinitives, as well as some relevant differences between the infinitive particle A and the subjunctive particle *SĂ* ‘that, to’.

### 3. On Romance and Old Romanian (Prepositional) Infinitives

#### 3.1 Remarks on Romance Prepositional Infinitives

The aim of this section is to review some well-known properties of Romance prepositional infinitives, in order to prove that OR infinitives largely share these properties, so that common analysis is welcome. On the other hand, MR infinitives have drastically different properties and require a different analysis, possibly along the lines suggested in this paper.

As is known, in different degrees, Romance languages show an alternation between bare infinitives (BIs) and prepositional infinitives (PIs). The latter are generally available in adjunct clauses, but they also occur as complements, although there are language specific restrictions on the complement positions (See Ledgeway 2000, 2012, Mensching 2000, Schulte 2007). Here are examples from Romanian, French, and European Portuguese (EP) which illustrate this alternation. Thus in (16a, b) the same Romanian verb *ști* ‘know’ selects either a BI or a PI, with no change of meaning. French shows the same alternation between a BI in (17a) and PI in (17b) in the complement clauses of different verbs. In EP, perception verbs allow an alternation between inflected BI and inflected PI. The control analysis implicit in the segmentation in (18 a, b) was proposed by Raposo (1989) and adopted by Barbosa et. al (2018). Thus, in EP, a transitive verb of perception has the choice between an inflected BI or PI complement. All the three languages use PIs in adjunct clauses (see (16 c,d), (17c), (18 c)).

- (16) a. Nu mai știe                      citi.  
          not more knows.3.sg      read.inf
- b. Nu mai știe                      a citi.  
          not more knows.3.sg      to read.inf  
          ‘He doesn’t know how to read anymore.’
- c. A            strâns    bani    pentru    a cumpăra un apartament.  
          has.3.sg gathered money for      to buy.inf an apartment  
          ‘He saved money for buying an apartment.’
- d. Înainte de a pleca,            a            scris    scrisoarea.  
          before of to leave            has.3.sg. written letter.the  
          ‘Before leaving, he wrote the letter.’

- (17) a. Il veut aller a l'école.  
 he wants.3.sg go.inf to the school.  
 'He wants to go to the school.'
- b. Il a décidé de partir.  
 he has.3.sg decided of leave.inf.  
 'He decided to leave.'
- c. Avant de partir il a changé d'avis.  
 before of leave. inf. he has.3.sg. changed of opinion  
 'Before leaving, he changed his mind.'
- (18) a. Eu vi [as crianças *pro* falarem com a professora]  
 I saw the kids at talk.Inf.3.pl with the teacher.  
 'I saw the kids *talk* with the teacher.'
- b. Eu vi [as crianças *a pro* falarem com a professora]  
 I saw the kids at talk.Inf.3.pl. with the teacher  
 'I saw the kids *talking* with the teacher.'
- (Barbosa et.al 2018,132)
- c. Antes de telefonarem essas pessoas, as moças  
 before of telephone.3.pl those peoples, the girls  
 já tinham saído.  
 already had left,  
 'Before these people telephoned, the girls had already left.'
- (Benucci (1992, 3)

As heads of clauses, prepositional connectors have generally been analyzed as *complementizers* (from Emonds 1985 to Rizzi 1997 and Manzini and Savoia 2016). The examples above show that the infinitive verb may be preceded by one prepositional connector (16b, (17b), but also by complex prepositional constituents, as in (16c, d), (17c), (18c). Mensching (2003: 369) calls attention to the fact that the status of the peripheral prepositional constituent(s) is *not uniform*. Introductory prepositional constituents are roughly divided into *complementizers*, which are part of the extended projection of the infinitive verb, and real (simple or complex) prepositions which select the complementizers, i.e. the CP. In the three languages mentioned above, both A and DE are (considered) complementizers. As shown by Schulte (2007) and Jordan

(2009) for Romanian, the tendency is for more lexical prepositions to become prepositional complementizers (i.e. abstract functional elements).

There are similarities among PIs regarding their syntactic structure. A first property of interest is that in some languages, PIs may have left peripheries. Here is an example of topicalization, from Italian, with the topicalized direct object to the left of the prepositional complementizer *di* 'of'.

- (19) Credo il tuo libro di apprezzar-lo. (from Adger 2007)  
Think.I the your book of appreciate-it  
'As for your book, I think I appreciate it.'

The grammar of the subject is also an essential aspect of the PI constructions. As emphasized by Mensching (2003), in many Romance languages, infinitives had (e.g. Italian) or still have  $\phi$ -features (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian) and thus may license overt Nom subjects. An important issue, in the context of the present paper, is whether the subject is postverbal or also preverbal (outside RtO constructions). Both options are structurally available in Spanish and Portuguese, with differences between the two.

In Spanish, *overt subjects* are generally restricted to non-subcategorized positions, i.e. adjunct clauses and subject clauses, as in (20a) (Ledgeway 2012, Mensching 2000). There are exceptions as Schulte's (2007) corpus shows. Thus (20b) shows a complement clause with an overt subject. As to word order, Spanish by far prefers the post-verbal position of the overt subject, since in this case the overt subject is pragmatically motivated by Focus (Mensching 2000 and Schulte 2007):

- (20) a. [Cantar yo ahora La Traviata] seria interesante.  
[sing.inf. I now La Traviata] would-be interesting  
(Schulte 2007, 261)
- b. El adorador siempre lamenta [no ser *él* el adorado]  
The admirer always laments [not be he the admire  
'The admirer always bemoans [that it's not him who is the  
admired one].'  
(Schulte 2007, 205)

Spanish preverbal subjects, mostly *pronominal*, are also available, at least in adjunct clauses (i.e. mostly PIs), and they are more frequent with a number of introductory prepositions, such as: *sin* 'without', *para* 'for', *antes de* 'before.' It is not clear whether these elements are lexical Ps

followed by an empty Complementizer (as suggested in Benucci 1992), or prepositional complementizers themselves, but the preverbal position of the subject is undoubted.

- (21) Lo hizo [sin yo saberlo]  
 it. did.3.sg[without I know.inf.it]  
 ‘He did it without my knowing it.’ (Schulte 2007, 261)

In EP, PIs with overt subjects are present in *all syntactic positions*. Comparing EP and Peninsular Spanish, Mensching (2000: 24) notices the high frequency of preverbal subjects in EP, and also the fact that “In most constructions, both positions are possible”. As in Spanish, certain introductory prepositions (namely, *por* ‘because of’, *para* ‘for’ and *antes de* ‘before’, according to Mensching (2000: 25-26), encourage the use of a preverbal subject (22a). Notice in particular examples (22b-c), where the subject has been attracted to the specifier of the prepositional complementizer A ‘at’.

- (22) a. Julio disse para os meninos não saírem  
 J. said.3.sg. for the children not leave.inf.  
 de casa.  
 from house  
 ‘Julio told the children not to leave the house.’  
 (Schulte 2007, 182)
- b. Apanhei os meninos a fumar.  
 surprised.1.sg the children to smoke.  
 ‘I caught the children smoking.’ (Cas. 2013,9)
- c. Com a Maria a chorar por causa da dor, não  
 with the Maria to cry for purpose of pain not  
 podemos sair.  
 can.1.pl. leave.  
 ‘With Mary crying from pain, we can’t leave.’ (Cas. 2013, 9)

In conclusion overt Nom subjects are possible in both EP and Peninsular Spanish, and overt subjects occur both before and after the infinitive verb.

*More on prepositional complementizers* More recent studies, which also take into account, the semantic contribution of prepositional complementizers like A ‘to’, argue that ‘A’ doesn’t have to occupy a complementizer position. For instance, in EP, A ‘at’ has an aspectual

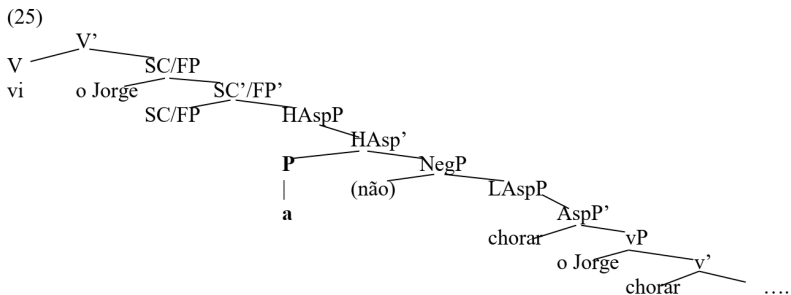
value, because there is an aspectual contrast between the BI and PI of the same verbs of perception:

- (23) a. O Carlos viu o pássaro **a** morrer, mas  
 the Carlos saw a bird at die.Inf. but  
 conseguiu salvá-lo  
 managed.3.sg save.Inf-it  
 ‘Carlos saw the bird dying, but managed to save it.’
- b. # O Carlos viu o pássaro morrer, mas conseguiu salvá-lo  
 the Carlos saw a bird die.Inf but managed.3.sg save.Inf-it  
 ‘Carlos saw the bird die, but managed to save it.’  
 (Barbosa et.al, 132)

The PI in (23a) has a progressive interpretation like that of a gerund, so (23a) is semantically coherent. Sentence (23b) is contradictory. The verb *morrer* ‘die’ is an achievement, and as such it denotes a culmination. The first clause is then incompatible with a continuation which denies that culmination. When the infinitive *morrer* ‘die’ combines with A (at), the aspectual properties of the base-verb are altered, so that it denotes the *process* that precedes the culmination of the event. It is this phase of the event which is the object of the perception verb, so the incompatibility between the two sentences is eliminated.

Such data suggest that in EP A ‘at’ may be analyzed as an aspectual marker, a head which c-selects a BI phrase, an analysis recently proposed by Casalicchio (2019), who assigns structure (25) for sentence (24).

- (24) Vi [o Jorge **a** chorar]  
 I.saw DOM Jorge A cry  
 ‘I saw Jorge crying.’



The verb *chorar* ‘cry’ projects a small clause (SC), truncated in T, which is the c-selected complement of the perception verb. The Preposition A ‘at’ merges in the head of the higher Habitual Aspect Phrase and c-selects the BI phrase embedded in a lower AspP. In this analysis, the verb raises only to the lower AspP, but not further, since it is blocked by the head A ‘at’. A ‘at’ occupies an IP related position, not a periphery position in this analysis. The subject of the PI construction merges in Spec, vP, but raises to the Spec, SC/FP position (for unexplained reasons), a position where it may be case assigned (ECM) or extracted by RtO. The lower analysis of the connector A thus permits a canonical raising analysis, instead of Raposo’s (1989) control analysis, suggested in (18a-b) above.

This discussion shows that apart from having its linking role, the connector A ‘at’ has been attracted in the Tense-Aspect system of Modern Romance, possibly merging in lower positions than C. A similar result has been arrived at in Gallego (2010). He exploits the similarity between Prepositions and Tenses, as birelational predicates (see, for details, Pesetsky and Torrego 2004), and argues that as constituents of the Tense-Aspect system, Prepositions merge in the inflectional domain. However, in Gallego’s analysis, Prepositions have a hybrid nature, and also have complementizer properties. Given these, prepositions may and do head-move from projections in the inflectional domain to the C domain. Naturally, in estimating the “size” of the infinitive clause (Satik 2021) it is the highest position that matters.

### 3.2 Prepositional Infinitives in OR

It will be easy to notice in this section that OR infinitives had all the properties of PI in modern Romance languages.

An interpretative difference is, however, noticeable from the start. While in EP or Spanish, A ‘to’ is part of the Aspect System, in Romanian A has got a Mood feature, indicating an unrealized (irrealis) future: *A făgăduit a mai aduce oști în zori*. ‘He promised to bring more troops at dawn’. Futurity is interpreted anaphorically, and thus oriented to the RT of the matrix clause. As a mood particle, A ‘to’ occupies a higher position in the clause and it c-selects a MoodP, more exactly an InfP rather than an AspP, as proposed by Casalicchio (2019) for EP (see (25) above).

An essential similarity between Romance infinitives and OR ones lies in the grammar of the subject. With OR infinitives, too, the subject could be an overt Nom. Moreover, the overt subject could be post verbal as it is in MR (14), but it could also be preverbal, appearing **before A+ the InfP**

(as also stressed by Nedelcu 2016), a pattern which is **completely lost in MR**.

Infinitives with preverbal subjects appear not only in subject and adjunct clauses, but also in subcategorized positions, as can be seen by examining the range of examples below.

*Verb Complements*

(26) *Postverbal Subjects*

- a. Nu e lesne a intra **bogatul** în împărăția ceriului.  
 not is easy to enter rich.the in kingdom.the heaven.the.gen  
 'It is not easy for the rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.'  
 (Ned, 223)

*Preverbal Subjects*

- (27) a. diavolul socotia pre Hristos a fi om prost  
 devil.the reckoned DOM Christ to be man foolish  
 'The devil reckoned Christ to be a simple-minded man.'  
 (Ned, 275)

- b. ...și într-alt chip **stămpărarea aceii înfocări**  
 and in other manner satisfaction.the that.sg. Gen passion  
**și potolirea aceii arsuri a fi sau a se face**  
 and appeasing that.sg.gen burn to be or to se.refl.3sg.cl.acc  
 nu socotia.3.sg.  
 not reckoned  
 '...and he didn't believe the satisfaction of that passion and the  
 appeasement of that burn to be or to be made in a different  
 manner.'  
 (Cant, 38)

- (28) a. Nu se cuvine, frații miei cei dragi,  
 Not se.refl.3.sg. cl.acc. be-proper.3.sg brothers my the dear,  
**acestea așa a fi.**  
 these.dem.fem.pl so to be.  
 'It is not proper, my dear brothers, for these things to be like  
 that.'  
 (Ned, 224)

- b. **Bărbății mireani a mânca** cu niscare mueri (...),  
 men.the lay to eat with some women  
 fără de vină lucru este.  
 without of blame thing is  
 'It is an innocent thing for laymen to eat with some women.'  
 (Ned, 224)

- c. că pre câtă vrednicie ieste **cineva în vrajba**  
 since as much worthiness/honour is.3sg someone in feud

**a nu intra**,pre atâta ieste [...] din vrajbă a ieși.  
 to not enter,as much is.3.sg out-of feud to go  
 ‘..since as much worthiness there is for someone not to enter a  
 feud, that much there is to go out of it.’ (Cant, 39)

- (29) a. lucru ca acesta a fi se tâmpla [...]  
 thing like this to be se.refl.3sg.cl.acc happened  
**oarecare amestecături a se face**  
 some-kind confusions to se.refl.3.sg.cl.acc make  
 ‘Things like this happened to occur: some kind of confusions  
 were made.’ (Cant, 36)
- b. Că oricând herghelegiul bat se  
 because whenever stable-man.the drunk se.refl.3sg.cl.acc  
 culca, niciodată **gâlceava in herghelegie**  
 went 3.sg-to-bed never quarrel in stable  
**a lipsi nu se tâmpla**  
 to miss not se.refl.3sg.cl.acc happened.3.sg  
 ‘For whenever the stable man went to bed drunk, it never  
 happened that some quarrels shouldn’t occur in the stable.’  
 (Cant, 96)

Of these seven sentences only RtO sentences (27) have syntactic counterparts in MR. Thus examples (27) both based on the same verb *a socoti* ‘reckon’, look like the MR instances of RtO in (10), the preverbal embedded subject has been assigned Acc case; this is clearly visible in (27b), where the DO is DOM-ed.

Of particular interest are sentences where the subject of the infinitive clause precedes the infinitive, it is in the Nom case and there is evidence that it is still inside the infinitive clause. The clearest cases are those in (28a-b), where the main verb is an impersonal predicate and the subject of the infinitive clause is a preverbal Nom. Notice that the infinitive clauses in (28a) and (28b) have plural subjects (*aceastea* ‘these’ in (28a) and *bărbații mireni* ‘the laymen’ in (28b)) while the impersonal predicates in the main clause show default third person *singular* agreement. The Nom subjects are in the downstairs clause.

Examples (29) based on *a se tâmpla* ‘happen’ do not show evidence of RtS, rather the subject clauses have been fronted, and within the subject clauses, the subject is also fronted, creating fine examples of the head-final order still available in OR (Nicolae 2019). If these topicalization operations are undone in the case of (29b), *Niciodata gâlceava în*

Interestingly preverbal subjects occurred not only in complements of verbs, but also in complements of Prepositions, a type of example that hasn't been discussed so far for Romanian, to the best of my knowledge. Here is an example, perfectly parallel to (22c) above, which shows both the lexical preposition *denainte* 'before' and the prepositional complementizer A 'to'.

(30) Mai denainte decât               **temeliile**               **Vavilonului**  
more before than foundations.the.nom Babylon.the.gen  
**a să zidi [...]**  
to se.refl.3sg.cl.acc build..  
'Earlier than (when) the foundations of Babylon were built.'  
(Cant, 288)

A second property of OR prepositional infinitives is *that they had exceptionally well-developed peripheries*. All types of phrases could occur in the periphery and more than one phrase could appear as well. The existence of left peripheries in the infinitive clause is mentioned by all analysts. Thus H&A (2016: 219) comment that “Within CP, A is low in the hierarchy, since it allows for fronted constituents to precede it”, as in (31). Here are several examples:

- (31) a. **pre aceea** a o lua  
 DOM that.F.sg to it.F.3.sg.cl.acc. take  
 ‘..to take that one...’ (Ned, 219)
- b. și așa stie **fieștecăruia din vrajmașii lui**  
 and so knew.3.sg everyone.dat from enemies.the his  
**a răsplăti**  
 to reward...  
 ‘And thus he knew how to pay back to each and every one of his enemies.’ (N, 219)
- c. Adeca **supt stăpânirea Vulturului** a fi  
 that-is under domination.the Eagle.the.gen to be  
 îl arată  
 him.3.M.sg.cl.acc show  
 ‘That is, this shows him to be under the domination of the Eagle.’ (Cant,36)
- d. si cineși [**după pofța sa în ceva**  
 and whoever after appetite.the his in something  
**a să îndeștuli ...sau a să**  
 to se.refl.3sg.cl.acc satisfy or to se.refl.3sg.cl.acc  
**odihi** neputând...  
 rest not-being-able  
 ‘...and whoever being unable to fully satisfy his appetite for something or to take a rest...’ (Cant., 38)

Notice example (31a), a replica of Modern Italian (19), where a DO topicalized to the left of A is resumed by a clitic pronoun inside the inflectional domain. In (31b) the exhaustive distributive quantifier *fieștecăruia* ‘to each and every one’ is *focused* and precedes the infinitive. Sentence (31c) features the topicalization of a locative predicative PP. In (31d) two PPs, a subcategorized PP, i.e. *a se îndeștuli în ceva* ‘to get enough of something’ and an adjunct PP, i.e. *după pofța sa* ‘after his own appetite’ have both been moved to the left of A ‘to’.

#### *Some interim conclusions*

In OR, A has the properties of a low Complementizer under Fin (H&A, 2016: 218-221, Nicolae 2019).

Raising constructions are also possible in OR, as illustrated above (27). Since the subject may occupy a position to the left of the infinitive, the

subject is indeed the overt highest specifier of the clause and it is thus an *edge constituent* accessible to the main verb. This configuration is compatible with an analysis by Exfoliation (as well as by ECM).

As to the preverbal subject in infinitives, one may simply say that it is a Topic or claim that when the subject is attracted to the left of A in Spec, Fin (or Spec,C), there is a Specifier-Head Agreement operation and  $\phi$ -features agreement turns this A'-position (=Spec,C) into an A-position (Casalicchio 2013, 2016 Benucci 1992). Casalicchio [2013:11] proposes analysis (32b) for the EP sentence (32a). In (32b), he comments, the progressive aspect is marked by A (also see (25) above), A is a head, filling the complementizer position, and the subject, *Jorge*, moves out from VP to CP. Such an analysis could be extended to OR and is in perfect agreement with the analysis proposed in H&A (2016).

- (32) a. Vi                      o Jorge                      a telefonar  
          saw.1.sg              the Jorge                      to telephone  
          'I saw Jorge telephoning'.

- b. Vi [<sub>CP</sub> o Jorge [<sub>C'</sub> a [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [~~o Jorge~~ telefonar]]]]]

Coming back to MR infinitives, their analysis should account for the following empirical facts: a) the complete loss of the preverbal subject; b) the complete loss of the infinitival periphery;

Additionally, there is the theory internal problem of identifying a correct derivation for raising, under the assumption that at the point in the derivation where RtO is to apply, the subject is the highest specifier and can be accessed by a  $\phi$ -probe in the main clause.

Before proposing a solution to these problems, we briefly review the distribution of the two prepositional complementizers A 'to' and DE 'of' on the basis of earlier diachronic studies (Jordan 2009, H&A 2016, Nedelcu 2016, Nicolae 2019). The starting point of this discussion is the well-known fact that while in other Romance languages A and DE are in *complementary distribution* as introducers of infinitive clauses, in OR and MR they co-occur forming the introductory functional sequence DE-A.

### 3.3 Around A and DE: Previous studies and one more proposal

#### 3.3.1 On the status of A 'to'.

The most disputed problem in the analysis of infinitive clauses is the grammar of A 'to'. The status of A has been controversial from two

related points of view. The first is that of its syntactic category: is it a P, a mood particle or a (low or high) complementizer? The second problem is that of its phrase-theoretic status, is it a phrase, a head or a clitic?

With respect to the syntactic category to which A ‘to’ belongs, Romanian literature shows an on-going debate between advocates of the *mood particle status* (e.g. Jordan 2009, Nedelcu 2016, Isac 2015, Cornilescu 2001) and advocates of low C/Fin status (H&A 2016, Nicolae 2019). Thus, in their analysis, H&A (2016), propose that A merges under Fin (C1) and is marked for both a mood and a finiteness feature. In other analyses, which analyze Romanian finite clauses as MoodPs, A is the head of a MoodP (e.g. Cornilescu 2001: 22). A middle-ground position is held by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), where A ‘to’ merges as an inflectional element under I, but raises to C, ending up as a complex C/I functional head.

Regarding its *phrase structure status*, A has been regarded as a head or as a clitic. The choice is material, since there is an important difference between the two. Heads project, and have an obligatory c-selection feature, *clitics do not c-select*. They originate (as selected XPs) in a lower position and undergo clitic climbing (head-to-head movement), i.e. left adjunction to their syntactic host. Alternatively, they originate in their surface position. Again, some authors treat A ‘to’ as a head which variously spells out either C (Fin) or I, (i.e. T or Mood) selecting verbal projections of variable size, according to the assumed merge position. Other authors (e.g. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Isac 2015) treat it as a clitic which merges as a specifier (i.e. an XP) and then raises onto its syntactic host, which is the verb in a c-commanding position.

### 3.3.2 Previous views on DE

The analysis of A also requires the clarification of the status of DE, when it functions in the sequence DE-A. A complete description of the OR subordinator DE is offered by H&A (2016: 223-226). DE is a Fin head, a low complementizer, whose only features is [finite:  $\pm$ ]. Hill and Alboiu (2016) explain that unlike the infinitive particle A or the subjunctive particle SĂ, DE does not encode modality, but only finiteness [finite  $\pm$ ]. The modal feature must be carried by a separate head, which is the complement of DE. This line of reasoning splits Fin into two positions, forming the Fin1> Fin2 sequence, i.e. DE> A, where Fin 1 determines finiteness and Fin2 determines modality. In present day Romanian, DE is frequent as a C *only in infinitive complements*. In relaxed speech it is also used in indicative adjunct clauses, while in popular speech it still introduces relative clauses.

While it has a reduced distribution in MR, DE was extensively used in the complementation system of OR. Of interest in the present context is the fact that DE could be used with both finite moods (indicative and subjunctive), and non-finite moods (infinitives). Thus in (33), DE co-occurs with an indicative (33a), while in (33b) it co-occurs with a subjunctive. In other words, in OR, DE is a *default spell-out for C (Fin)*, and it is devoid of any semantic specification, a fact which makes it vulnerable to change (e.g. re-analysis, elimination etc.).

- (33) a. Acela era de se duse în pustie și  
 that was DE se.refl.3.sg.cl.acc went.3.sg in wilderness and  
 se ruga.  
 se.refl.3.sg.cl.acc prayed.3.sg  
 ‘That one used to go into the wilderness and pray.’ (H&A, 166)
- b. Nu vrea **de** să-lă știe  
 not want.3.sg DE sbjw-him.3.sg.cl.acc knows.3.sg  
 cineva.  
 somebody  
 ‘He doesn’t want that anyone should know him.’ (N. 224)

As to the grammar of OR DE complements, it was significantly different from the grammar of A-infinitives. First, while in A-infinitive clauses, the subject was either preverbal or postverbal “in DE- A constructions postposition of the subject is obligatory”, as pointed out in Nedelcu (2016: 224). The same restriction holds for DE subjunctive clauses.

- (34) a. Unii au giudecat **de-a** lua+re+a unui  
 some have thought of to take.nmlz.the a.M.sg.gen  
 cumnat.  
 brother-in-law  
 ‘Some thought to take along brother-in-law.’ (N, 224)
- b. Nu vrea **de** să-lă știe  
 not want.3.sg DE sbjw-him.3.sg.cl.acc knows.3.sg  
 cineva.  
 somebody  
 ‘He doesn’t want that anyone should know him.’ (N, 224)

Secondly, DE-A infinitives had no peripheries, in sharp contrast with the well-represented periphery of A-infinitives, shown above. Only DE-with indicative complements allowed Topicalization and Focalization, as in the following example:

- (35) Ghica-voda,           intrând în Țarigrad,  
       Ghica- King       entering in Istanbul  
       au           nemerit [[ **la capuchihaile moldovenesti**] [Top Contr]  
       has.3.pl   got       at headquarters Moldavian  
       **de**        au       slujit  
       DE        has.3.pl served  
       ‘When King Ghica arrived in Istanbul, he got to work at the  
       Moldavian headquarters.’ (H&A, 187)

While DE is Fin throughout Romance and selects only infinitives, the occurrence of DE with indicatives is a Balkan Sprachbund feature (Jordan 2009).

### 3.3.3 New arguments for an old proposal

This paper is one more defense of the mood particle analysis and a claim that only the mood particle analysis can account for the changes in the structure of the infinitive clause mentioned above. The second aim is to show that a *clitic mood particle analysis of A* allows the subject to be the highest specifier of the infinitive clause at some point in the derivation, so that raising (by Exfoliation, or otherwise) can correctly and successfully apply in MR as well.

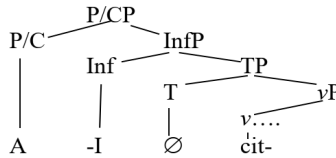
In more explicit terms, what is proposed is *the downward re-analysis of A from a prepositional complementizer head into a (clitic) mood particle*. We claim that the low complementizer function of A ‘to’, while strongly supported by historical evidence, is not the latest stage in the evolution of A. This analysis of A, namely, that A ‘to’ was a low complementizer which turned into a Mood Particle at a later stage, was independently proposed by Jordan (2009). Structurally, the change could roughly be described as (36a, b).

In (36a), A ‘to’ is a *head* and a *prepositional complementizer*. As such, A introduces argument and adjunct infinitive clauses, serving a connecting function. A ‘to’ is part of the functional domain of the verb. It has a c-selection feature. It selects a MoodP, namely an InfinitiveP (InfP), headed by an infinitive suffix. The verb *citi* ‘read’ is broken down into a root *cit-* and an infinitive suffix *-i* (see (36) below).

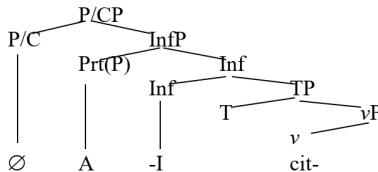
At some point in the history of Romanian, A ‘to’ undergoes **downward re-analysis**, (in the sense of Roberts and Roussou 2003) and it becomes **a part of the constituent which it used to c-select**, as schematized in (36b). An available chronology of this change is available in Jordan (2009).

The significance of the change is considerable: A is no longer a periphery element in the C domain, it has become part of the IP, specifically part of the mood phrase (InfP). The feature matrix of A ‘to’ is reduced accordingly. As a Fin element, A had a c-selection feature (which defined its status as a head), a finiteness feature, and a categorial feature. This means that early A was [+P/C, \_\_ InfP, [iM: +]]. Its phrase structure status was that of a projecting head, and it may have been a phonologic, rather than syntactic clitic.

(36) a. OR



b. MR



Through the re-analysis process shown in (36b), the feature matrix of A loses the selectional property [\_\_ InfP], simplifying its feature matrix to A [iM, +P]. Since A loses its c-selection feature it becomes *a clitic*, a part of the verbal complex developed by the verbal head, as first proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), who notices that A is separable from the verb only by *adverbial clitics* (38a,b) (specifically, the aspect markers: *mai*, *tot*, *prea*, *și*) and by *pronominal clitics* (38b) (which ultimately occupy a PersonP above Tense (actually, Mood in Romanian), as proposed by Bianchi (2006), so that A is itself analyzable as a clitic and it is part of a specific clitic cluster.

- (38) a. Spera                    **a mai putea**                    merge    la opera  
           hoped.3.sg            to more could.3.sg            go        at opera.the  
           și        în            zilele    următoare.  
           also in            days    following  
           ‘He hoped to be able to go to the opera the following days as well.’
- b. Spera                    **a-i-l mai înapoia**  
           hoped.3.sg            to her.F.sg. cl.dat-it.M.sg.cl.acc return  
           **posesoarei**            cu        vechea strălucire.  
           possessor.F.dat with    old        splendor  
           ‘He hoped to return it to its possessor in its old splendor.’

Re-analysis of a functional element usually produces a “lighter”, more reduced constituent. This tendency is confirmed by the evolution of A. As a clitic mood particle, A ‘to’ is phonologically lighter and has fewer syntactic features, even if it now remains in a lower position within the IP. It combines with the Infinitive phrase to delete the infinitive’s [*uM(ood)*] feature. Thus, on semantic grounds, in MR A ‘to’ is a *supplementary mood marker* at merge, even if, in principle, it could derivationally acquire other roles (complementizer) as well. Romanian has a reduced class of BI (two verbs and a reduced class of indirect questions). Even if the class of BIs is reduced, its existence still means that the Infinitive mood is sufficiently marked by its own verbal head, the (reduced) infinitive suffix, as proposed in Pană-Dindelegan et al. (2005: 487). The Latin inflection *-re*, part of the infinitival suffix in early stages (see example (34a) above) was dropped at a later stage. The *-re* suffix actually acquired a [+N] feature and turned into a nominalizing affix which marks the productive class of infinitive nominalizations.

## 4. Implementing the proposal in the MP

### 4.1 The functional structure of the clause

In the analysis of Romanian clauses, we follow earlier analyses (in particular, Nicolae 2019, Cornilescu 2001, Avram 1999), contending that Romanian clauses, including infinitive clauses, are MoodPs, where the MoodP is in the Inflectional domain, dominates the sequence TP> AspP> vP, and is dominated by the Polarity Phrase (PolP) or NegP. Mood is morphologically or morpho-syntactically realized on the verb or on a verbal complex. The clausal spine (i.e. IP) Indicative verbs raise to the