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FREE INVERSION AND RAISING TO OBJECT IN ROMANIAN INFINITIVE CLAUSES: AN EXFOLIATION APPROACH

Abstract. The paper examines Romanian raising infinitives in the framework of Exfoliation (Pesetsky 2021). At first sight, Romanian appears to be a direct counterexample to the Exfoliation analysis since it does not show the expected correlation between infinitivization and the extraction of the subject. Two different infinitive patterns occur with raising verbs. a) The first is similar to the English pattern. The lower subject raises as an Accusative in the main clause and may cliticize on the main verb. The clitic is doubled by a strong accusative pronoun or a DOM-ed DP. b) This expected pattern alternates, however, with another infinitive construction, where the subject of the infinitive clause appears in post-verbal position in the infinitive clause and bears Nominative case. Since the subject has not been extracted, the low Nom sentences should have been finite.

We propose that low Nominative subjects are examples of Free Inversion. In Belletti's 2005 analysis, Free Inversion requires the formation of an < pro_{expl}…DPNom > chain. And for low Nom sentences under Raising triggering verbs, it is the expletive pro that raises, leaving the Nom in the lower clause. The fact that the lower subject is marked as Nominative is natural since the clause starts out as a finite clause, where Case is regularly assigned.

Key words: *Exfoliation, raising, free inversion, covert raising*

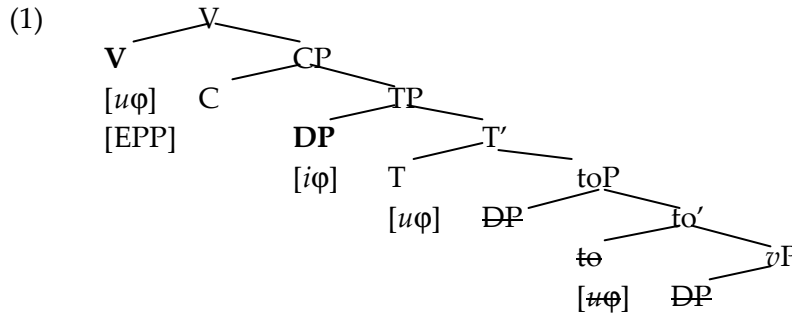[1]   University of Bucharest, alexandracornilescu@yahoo.com

1. Background on Exfoliation

1.1. An informal description

Pesetsky (2021) proposes an analysis which views raising-to-object (=RtO) as an *obligatory movement rule*, whereby a nominal moves into the main clause to satisfy the needs of a raising trigger, typically, the main verb, which is endowed with a φ-probe. This analysis of raising is part of a more general theory of non-finite clauses, a theory which claims that *all* subordinate clauses merge as full 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 (the probe) to access the *subject* of the lower CP clause (the Goal) by deleting the Complementizer and the finite Tense of the lower clause, which is thus reduced to an infinitive phrase; the lower subject is the Spec of the infinitive phrase. The infinitive marker, *to*, is now the head of the phase, the subject is now on the edge of the new phase and can be extracted, moving to a non-thematic Spec,*v*P position of the main verb. Case plays no role in this account of RtO.

1.2. A more formal account

The core questions that Exfoliation theory addresses are: (i) why should there be non-finite clauses and (ii) why do the properties of subjects in non-finite clauses differ from their finite counterparts. Very briefly the answer is that non-finite clauses come into being to satisfy the needs of the external heads (V, N, A, P) which c-select and thus license the non-finite clause. Some of the licensing heads are φ-probes, *i.e.*, they are endowed with [uφ]-features which must be deleted by some nominal in their c-commanding domain. In the basic configuration (1), the first nominal that the head verb could agree with is the embedded subject. But by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (=PIC), the lower subject cannot be accessed since it is not an edge constituent. The edge constituent should occupy the Spec, CP constituent.

(1)

```
                    V
          V               CP
      [uφ]      C             TP
      [EPP]           DP           T′
                      [iφ]    T         toP
                            [uφ]   D̶P̶        to′
                                      t̶o̶          vP
                                      [u̶φ̶]   D̶P̶
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Notice in (1) that an infinitive phrase is present, and *to* has strong features, forcing the subject to stop in Spec,to, but continue its way to Spec,T, valuing the [uφ] feature of Tense, as well-known.
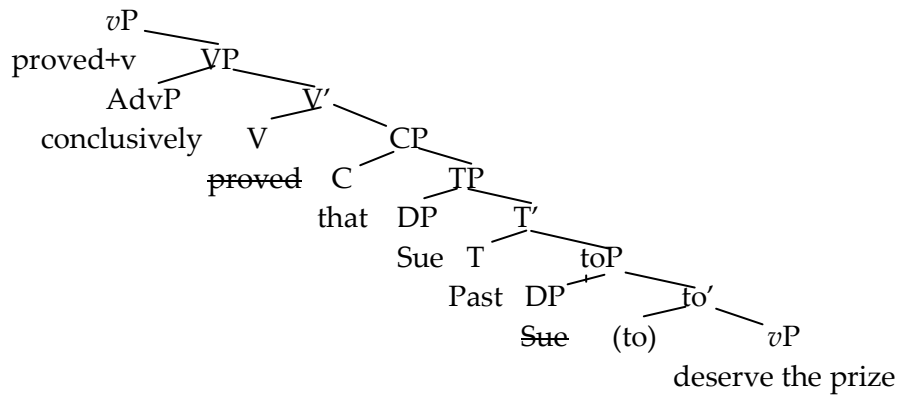
Pesetsky (2021) thus makes the very strong claim, that, ultimately, non-finite clauses are created through a process of subject extraction. **All clauses are born as full and finite CPs**, but subject extraction always drives the formation of an infinitive or some other non-finite mood. If raising always involves movement of the lower subject into the main clause, it is precisely the fact that the finite clause loses its subject which drives the formation of the infinitive clause. To get the desired result, the main V in (1) must be allowed to probe its c-command domain across phasal boundaries (in the lower CP). This requires a modification of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

(2)   *Probing across a clause boundary*

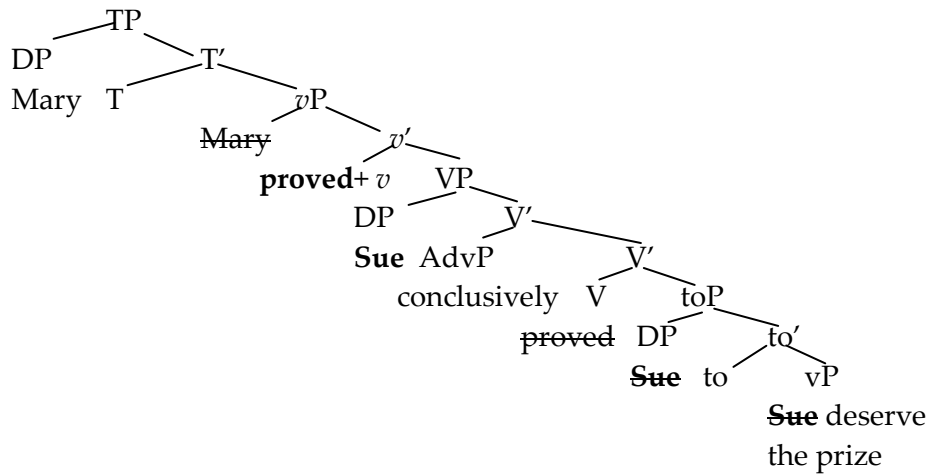   a.   *Phase penetrability*: A probe P with an EPP property can locate a goal G(γ) across a CP-boundary, even if G does not occupy the edge of that CP.

   b.   *Phase impenetrability*:… but γ 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, a sentence which underlies (3a′):

(3) a. Mary proved conclusively that Sue deserved the prize.
     a′ Mary proved Sue conclusively to deserve the prize.

(4) a. *Structure of full finite CP (including the to-P, distinct from TP)*

*v*P
proved+v   VP
   AdvP   V′
 conclusively   V   CP
            ~~proved~~ C   TP
                     that   DP   T′
                          Sue   T   toP
                             Past DP   to′
                                  ~~Sue~~   (to)   *v*P
                                               deserve the prize

   b. *Derived infinitive clause after raising and Exfoliation*
       Mary proved Sue conclusively to deserve the prize.

TP
DP   T′
Mary   T   *v*P
        ~~Mary~~   *v*′
           proved+ *v*   VP
                    DP   V′
                 Sue AdvP   V′
                      conclusively   V   toP
                                 ~~proved~~ DP   to′
                                       Sue   to   *v*P
                                             ~~Sue~~ deserve
                                                     the prize

Thus, the need to place the lower subject in an accessible position triggers Exfoliation, an operation that deletes the Complementizer and the Tense heads (*i.e.*, the C > T sequence).

(5) *Exfoliation*

  (a) *Structural description:*…β….[$_{YP}$ (phase)….[$_{γP}$ (non-phase)…**α**…]], where
    (i) YP is the phase that dominates α, but not β.
    (ii) α occupies the edge of γP, and
    (iii) a movement-triggering probe on β has located α as its goal;

  (b) *Structural Change*: Replace YP (=CP) with γP (=toP), which takes on the phasal property of its predecessor

  (c)
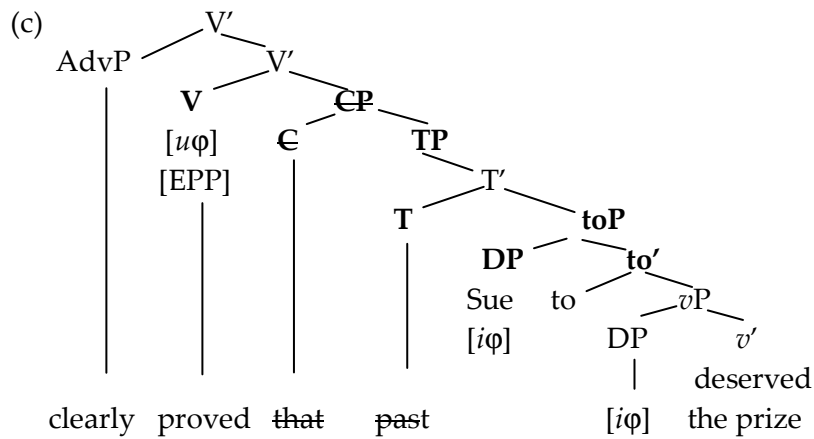
2. The problem and the main claim

Romanian appears to be a direct counterexample to the exfoliation analysis since it does not show the expected obligatory correlation between infinitivization and the extraction of the nominative (=Nom) subject. Unlike English non-finites, Romanian infinitive clauses can license an overt Nom subject in raising clauses. The raising triggers we consider for examining the structure of Romanian are verbs of propositional attitude (e.g. *crede* 'believe', *a declara* 'declare', *considera* 'consider', *dovedi* 'prove', a.o.) and, occasionally, verbs of physical perception (e.g. *vedea* 'see', *simți* 'feel' a.o.).

　　Starting from a finite subordinate clause like (6), two different infinitive patterns occur with RtO verbs. a) The first, illustrated in sentences (7) and (8) below, is similar to the English pattern. The lower subject has raised as an accusative (=Acc) in the main clause and has cliticized on the main verb.

The clitic is doubled by a strong Acc pronoun or by a lexical DP exhibiting Differential Object Marking (=DOM). Such examples are as expected under Pesetsky's assumptions, since the subject occurs as an Acc in the upstairs clause, and the downstairs clause is non-finite. In addition to case-marking, raising is also evidenced by the presence of a manner adverbial PP (*cu înțelepciune,* 'with wisdom'*)* which modifies the main verb, but occurs between the raised subject and the infinitive clause. b) The novelty is that this pattern alternates with another infinitive construction, illustrated by sentences (9) and (10), where the subject of the infinitive clause appears in post-verbal position in the infinitive clause and bears Nom case (sentences (9)-(10)). Such examples apparently give evidence that there is no exceptionless correlation between subject extraction and infinitivization, at least in Romanian.

(6) Juriul   a considerat   (cu înțelepciune)   că Marin este
     jury.the has considered   (with wisdom)   that Marin is
     (*cu   înțelepciune)   cel mai talentat.
     (*with wisdom)   the more talented
     'The jury wisely considered that Marin is the most talented.'

(7) Juriul **l**-a   considerat   pe   Marin, **cu**
     jury.the him.**CL.ACC**=has considered   DOM Marin   with
     înțelepciune,   a fi   cel mai talentat.
     wisdom   to be   the more talented
     'The jury has wisely considered Marin to be the most talented.'

(8) 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 more talented   DOM   Marin
     'The jury considered Marin to be the most talented.'

(9) Juriul   a   considerat cu   înțelepciune   a fi
     jury.the has   considered with   wisdom   to be
     Marin   cel   mai   talentat,   nu Ștefan.
     Marin.NOM   the   more talented,   not Ștefan.
     'The jury wisely considered Marin to be the most talented, not Ștefan.'

(10)	Juriul	a	considerat cu	înțelepciune	a fi
	jury.the has		considered with	wisdom	to be
	cel mai		talentat *Marin,*	*nu Ştefan.*
	the more		talented Marin.NOM, not Ştefan

'The jury wisely considered Marin to be the most talented, not Ştefan.'

The *aim* of this paper is to prove that the data in (7)-(10) are compatible with the Exfoliation account since *all* the sentences in (7)-(10) may be analyzed as examples of obligatory Exfoliation and RtO, producing the non-finite clauses, starting from the full CP in (6).

The two infinitive constructions identified above will be examined in turn. In sections 3-4 we analyze the overt Acc RtO. In section 3, details are given regarding the syntax of the raised object in the main clause, while comparative data show that low Nom subjects must remain in the embedded clause. In section 4 we turn to a vital problem of representation: the root of the trouble is the obligatory post-verbal position of the subject in Romanian infinitive clauses. Exfoliation requires the embedded subject to be an edge constituent *preceding* the mood marker A 'to'. We'll show, however, that during the derivation, the embedded subject does reach an edge position, which allows it to become a legitimate Exfoliation goal.

In section 5, we present the Free Inversion (FI) analysis of post-verbal Nom subjects that we adopt, following Belletti (2005) and Beletti and Bianchi (2016), which treat FI as a doubling configuration: The claim is that in some Romance languages, the post verbal position(s) of the subject require(s) the formation of a <*pro*.....thematic-DP> chain, where the overt DP is inside the *v*P, while *pro* is the specifier of the highest functional head with strong φ-features, like Spec,T for Italian or, as will be seen, Spec,PolP for raising infinitives in Romanian RtO clauses. In section 6, the FI analysis is applied to the analysis of Romanian infinitives. The important proposal is that when the Nom subject remains low, it is the doubling expletive *pro* which becomes the Goal of Exfoliation and moves into the main clause, satisfying the needs of the main verb. In the final section, we suggest that the two raising structures, while truth-functionally equivalent, observe different syntactic and pragmatic constraints.

3. The (overt) raising structures

In this section we detail the properties of RtO in Romanian, giving evidence that RtO is a movement rule and that the raised Acc has all the properties of a *structural Acc*, as opposed to an inherent lexical one.

3.1. RtO, a movement rule

RtO is a movement rule: the embedded subject becomes a derived direct object of the main verb.

3.1.1. Cliticization of the derived Acc

The strongest argument for movement is cliticization of the raised subject on the main verb.

Acc subjects, whether DOM-ed or not, if pronominalized, are all replaced by Acc clitics on the main verb, as in (11). This is indisputable evidence for raising. In contrast, the low Nom subject, if pronominalized, can only be replaced by a null or overt Nom pronoun, as shown by its morphology in (12).

(11) a. **(Îi)**   consideră   **pe   guvernatorii**
          (them.CL) consider.3SG   DOM governors.the
          băncilor   a fi   răspunzători   pentru criză
          banks.the.GEN   to be   responsible   for   crisis
          'He considers the governors of the banks to be responsible for the crisis.'

  a′ **Îi**   consideră   a fi răspunzători pro pentru criză
          (them.CL)   consider.3SG   to be responsible   for   crisis

  b. **(Îi)**   consideră   a fi   răspunzători pentru criză
          (them.CL) consider.3SG   to be   responsible for   crisis
          pe   guvernatorii   băncilor.
          DOM   governors.the   banks.the.GEN

b′ **Îi**   consideră   a fi răspunzători pentru   criză numai
    them.CL consider.3SG to be responsible   for   crisis only
    pe   ei.
    DOM them

c. Consideră   doar **guvernatorii   băncilor**   a fi
    consider.3SG only governors.the   banks.the.GEN to be
    răspunzători pentru   criză.
    responsible   for   crisis

c′. **Îi**   consideră   pro a fi răspunzători pentru criză
    them.CL consider.3SG   to be responsible   for crisis.

(12) a. Consideră   a fi   răspunzători **doar guvernatorii**
          consider.3SG to be responsible   only governors.the
          băncilor   pentru criză.
          banks.the.GEN   for   crisis

     a′. Consideră   a fi răspunzători **doar ei**   pentru criză
         consider.3SG to be responsible   only they   for   crisis
         'He considers that [only they are responsible for the crisis].'

In (11), the subject of the lower clause has raised into the main clause as indicated by the Acc clitic. Sentence (11a) shows a clitic-doubled DOM-ed Acc DP, reduced to the clitic in (11a′). In (11b) the clitic-doubled DOM-ed lexical DP is sentence final but still pronominalized by the main clause clitic on the main verb (11b′). The right periphery position of the object is the result of Heavy NP-Shift, a focus-related rule that displaces prosodically heavy constituents to the right.

In (11c) the raised subject is a bare Acc, again pronominalized by the clitic (11c′). Cliticization of the embedded subject on the main verb is the best evidence that RtO is a movement rule.

3.1.2. *Intervention effects*

Intervention effects arise when a main clause constituent, such as a P/AdvP modifier of the main verb intervenes between the raised Acc subject and

the infinitive clause. The intervention of main clause constituents between the Acc and the infinitive is uncontroversial evidence for raising proper. In Romanian, intervention effects are possible for all raised Accs. In contrast no main clause constituents occur in infinitive clauses with Nom subjects, as apparent in sentence (14).

Intervention effects cannot fail to arise with cliticized subjects (13a). They are also natural with DOM-ed raised subjects, whether they are clitic doubled or not, as apparent in (13b). They are harder to accept, but still possible, with bare Acc subjects. They cannot occur with low Noms (14).

(13) a. Preşedintele îi   declară   **în modul   cel mai**
          president.the them.CL declare.3SG in manner.the the more
          ferm   a fi răspunzători pentru aceste pierderi
          strong to be responsible   for   these   losses
          'The president declares them, in the strongest manner, to be responsible for these losses.'

      b. Preşedintele (îi)   declară   pe guvernatori
          president.the (them.CL) declare.3SG DOM governors
          în modul   cel mai ferm   a fi răspunzatori pentru
          in manner.the the more strong to be responsible   for
          aceste pierderi
          these losses
          'The president declares the governors in the strongest manner to be responsible for these losses'.

(14) ?*Preşedintele declară   a fi răspunzători **în modul**
        president.the declare.3SG   to be responsible   in manner.the
        cel mai ferm numai guvernatorii băncilor   pentru
        the more strong only   governors.the banks.the.GEN for
        aceste pierderi
        these losses.

The facts surveyed in this section uncontroversially indicate that RtO is a *genuine movement rule in Romanian*. Notice in particular the differences between (13) and (14). While in (13) a main clause manner adjunct appears

between the Acc and the infinitive of an Acc+Infinitive construction, in (14) with a low Nom, no main clause adjunct can appear between the infinitive and its subject.

Notice that exceptionally, a DOM-ed Acc appears in *post-verbal clause-final* position, apparently occupying the same space as a low Nom.

(15) Juriul   l-a   considerat a fi cel mai   talentat pe
     jury.the him.CL.ACC=has considered to be the most talented DOM
     Marin (la concursul   de ieri).
     Marin (at competition.the of   yesterday)
     'The jury considered Marin to be the most talented at yesterday's competition.'

(16) *Juriul l-a   considerat a fi **pe   Marin**
     jury.the him.CL.ACC=has considered to be DOM Marin
     cel mai   talentat
     the most talented
     'The jury considered Marin to be the most talented.'

(17) 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.'

Sentences (15) and (16) show, however, that if an Acc subject appears not only after the main verb, but also after the infinitive verb, it must be **sentence final**, or uniquely followed by adjuncts of the main verb, since *it is a main clause constituent*. In other words, the Acc undergoes *(Heavy) NP Shift on the main clause cycle*. Movement to the right, inside the upstairs clause is a means of placing the DOM-ed raised subject in Focus. Sentence (16) where the DOM-ed Acc subject occurs before an obligatory constituent of the infinitive clause, namely, the predicative, is fully ungrammatical. Sentence (17) confirms that clause internal positions in the downstairs clause are possible only for Nom subjects.

3.2. *An additional complexity of Romanian*

An additional complexity of Romanian RtO structures is that there are two types of Accs, bare and DOM, and the bare Acc is homonymous with the Nom for lexical DPs.

It can be shown however that both bare and DOM Accs are in the main clause, even if they may occupy distinct positions in the main clause, for instance when the DOM-ed Acc is clitic doubled (see below). Also, both Accs differ in their properties from the post-verbal low Nom in the embedded clause.

(18) a. Îi consideră   **pe   guvernatorii băncilor**   a fi
          them consider.3SG   DOM   governors.the banks.the.GEN to be
          răspunzători pentru toate.
          responsible   for   everything.

      b. Îi   consideră   a fi răspunzători pentru toate **pe**
          them.CL consider.3SG to be responsible   for   all   DOM
          guvernatorii băncilor.
          governors.the banks.the.GEN

      c. Consideră   doar guvernatorii   băncilor   a fi
          consider.3SG only governors.the   banks.the.GEN to be
          răspunzatori pentru toate.
          responsible   for   all.
          'He considers only the governors of the banks to be responsible for everything.'

(19) Consideră   a fi răspunzători   doar   guvernatorii
       Consider.3SG   to be responsible   only   governors.the
       băncilor   pentru toate.
       banks.the.GEN   for   all.
       'He considers that only the governors of the banks are responsible for everything.'

It is obvious that Acc subjects in (18a-c) are compatible with an Exfoliation account, since during the derivation they clearly agree with the main verb getting Acc case from it after raising into the main clause. At the same time raising is triggered by the main verb *considera* 'consider', which is a ϕ-probe, *i.e.*, it is endowed with [uϕ]-features, eventually valued by the raised lower subject.
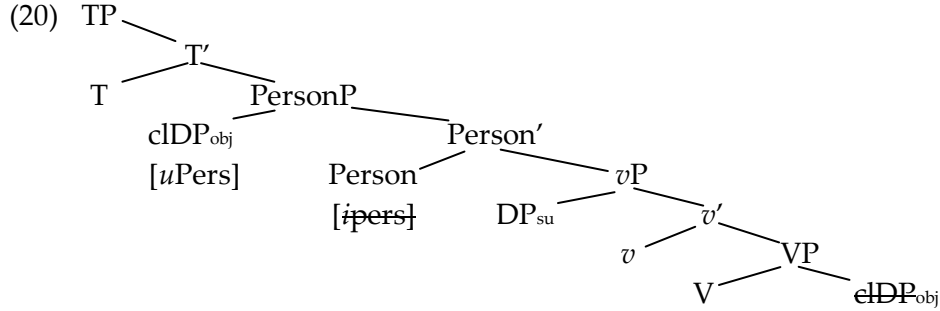
3.3. Doubled and undoubled raised subjects

A final complexity in the syntax of Romanian Accs is that they may be clitic-doubled, as also in Spanish. Only DOM-ed Accs may be doubled. The semantic and pragmatic effects of doubling and the connection between DOM and clitic-doubling have been discussed in many recent works (see Tigău (2010, 2016) and references therein, and Mardale (2009)). Here we are only interested in the syntax of doubling, viewed as an operation that may affect raised subjects of infinitive clauses.

A plausible proposal for DOM-ed DOs is that the DOM marker (*i.e.* the preposition *pre* in Old Romanian/*pe* in Modern Romanian; Hill 2015) introduces a supplementary syntactic feature, described as [person] in Richards (2008), a feature which must be checked against an appropriate head during the derivation. The functional role of the [person] feature is to upgrade the prepositional Acc on the animacy and definiteness hierarchy. This syntactic feature is interpreted at the interface, in agreement with the animacy and also definiteness constraints of individual languages, as explained in Richards (2008).

Research on the range of DOM in Romanian (e.g. Mardale 2009; Tigău 2010, among many) has resulted in the assumption that the [person] feature, while initially interpretable, may also appear as semantically eroded, *i.e.* uninterpretable, and in need of support. When the person feature is uninterpretable, a clitic is required to place the whole DP [$u$person] in a position where [$u$person] is checked, a position which is *external* to the vP.

Work on the periphery of the vP (e.g., Ciucivara 2009; Stegovec 2015; Cornilescu 2015) has argued for the existence of a PersonP, immediately above the vP, as in (20) below. The head of this projection bears an interpretable person feature, [$i$pers], as in (20), omitting irrelevant details.

(20) TP
         T′
      T   PersonP
      clDP_obj   Person′
      [uPers]   Person   vP
               [~~ipers~~]   DP_su   v′
                              v   VP
                                V   ~~clDP~~_obj

Romanian offers compelling evidence from scope and especially binding facts that DOM-ed Accs exit the *v*P when they are doubled and move to the Specifier of the PersonP, a position wherefrom they c-command the (main clause) subject in Spec *v*P.

Let us review some binding data in support of (20). Consider the examples below, where, in the intended interpretation, the possessor in the subject phrase should be bound by the lower direct object phrase, which is impossible inside the *v*P. The bare DO is ungrammatical (21a), the DOM-ed undoubled object is also degraded (21b). The fully acceptable sentence is (21c), where the doubled object in Spec,PersonP (see-20) c-commands and can bind the lower subject.

(21) a. *Optimismul lor   salvează mulți.
          optimism.the their saves   many (people).

      b. ?*Optimismul lor salvează   pe   mulți.
          optimism.the their saves   DOM many (people)

      c. Optimismul lor_i **îi**   salvează pe mulți_i
          optimism.the their them.CL rescues   DOM many
          'Many people are saved by their own optimism.'

From Spec,PersonP, the clitic targets the Mood/Tense domain, leaving the double behind. The relevant configuration was given in (20) and indicates that an object that moves to Spec PersonP c-commands the subject in Spec,*v*P. This explains the binding facts mentioned above.

Conclusions of section 3. On the strength of the evidence presented, the following generalizations have emerged regarding the subjects of infinitive clauses:

- All Nom subjects are post-verbal in the infinitive clause.
- RtO is a movement rule, so raised Acc subjects are main clause constituents. Raised Acc subjects are *structural* Accs, not inherent ones. As such, they tend to be *referential phrases*. As main clause constituents they have the syntactic properties of structural Accs: They passivize, they undergo Heavy NP Shift on the main clause cycle, they may be DOM-ed (if they have the right feature structure).
- DOM-ed Accs may be clitic-doubled, thus entering the inflectional domain of the main verb. Doubled Accs exit the *v*P and pass through a position where they c-command the subject of the main clause. Undoubled Accs remain in *v*P, in the main clause.

4. The raising subject must be an edge constituent

4.1. A second condition

A second condition for implementing an exfoliation analysis of Romanian raising infinitives is that, at the point of raising, the subject should be an *edge constituent*, *i.e.* it should be in the specifier of A 'to' (see (5a) above). This was possible in Old Romanian (=OR) but is no longer possible in Modern Romanian (=MR). In OR (22) the indefinite quantifier *cineva* 'someone' surely is a preverbal nominative subject, since quantifiers can't be topics. The second sentence is a raising OR Accusative+Infinitive construction, with the raised DP to the left of the infinitive verb.

(22) că   pre câtă vrednicie ieste **cineva în vrajba**
      since as   much worthiness is   someone in feud
      a   nu *mai intra*…
      to not more enter…
      'since as much worthiness there is for someone not to enter a feud anymore'

(23)   diavolul socotia   **pre Hristos** a fi om prost
        devil.the reckoned   DOM Christ   to be man foolish
        'The devil reckoned/considered Christ to be a simple-minded man.'
        (quoted from Nedelcu 2016: 275)

Since in MR the infinitive subject is always post verbal, it is not clear how it could become an edge constituent preceding *a* 'to', actually, *a*+the infinitive verb. Following Jordan (2009), in Cornilescu (2022) we have shown that this difficulty can be surpassed if *a* 'to' is analyzed as a Mood Particle, part of the inflectional domain instead of being treated as a low complementizer under Fin, *i.e.*, a constituent of the left periphery. *A* 'to' is also treated as a Mood Particle in recent reference treatises on Romanian (Pană Dindelegan 2013; Pană Dindelegan 2016). Let us review some properties of finite and infinitive clauses in MR

    While essential pioneering studies on Romanian described finite clauses as TPs and AgrSPs (e.g., Motapanyane 1989; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), later studies argued that Romanian clauses are Mood Phrases (Avram 1999; Cornilescu 2000; Alboiu 2002; Nicolae 2015, 2019), a hypothesis that appears to have better empirical coverage. This MoodP1 concerns the modal properties of the *event* expressed by the *v*P. More recently, under the influence of Hacquard (2006), it has been argued that there is a second MoodP2 (Isac 2015), also in the inflectional domain of the clause, a Mood Phrase about discourse modalities and, more generally, about properties of the *speech event.*

    In this view, a possible cartography of the Romanian finite clause is presented below:

(24)   CP2 >(TopP) > (FocP) > CP1(FinP) >MoodP2 > **PolP (NegP) > PersonP > MoodP1 > TP > AspP >** *v*P

The inflectional zone of the infinitive clause is complete. The Asp head is imperfective (Cornilescu 2000; Nicolae 2013). As to the Tense head it has no interpretable feature (Wurmbrand 2014). The temporal interpretation of the infinitive clause depends on the main clause reference time, as well as on the lexical content of the main clause verb (Abusch 2004; Cornilescu, Cotfas 2017). Syntactically, since Tense can license the Nom case in infinitive

clauses (24), just as in finite clauses, a natural assumption is that all the heads in the inflectional domain (Aspect, Tense, MoodP1 and higher) have strong φ-features.

The obligatory sequence of the verbal spine does not stop at MoodP1. First there is a (second) PersonP, reserved for pronominal clitics, which cliticize on the Mood head (e.g., **le**-*am corectat* 'I have corrected them'). A second obligatory projection in the structure of a clause is the Polarity Phrase (PolP), which is either an assertion phrase (AssP) with a phonologically null head or a Negative Phrase (NegP), headed by *nu* 'not'. The assertion phrase determines how much of the event described by the verb phrase the speaker is responsible for (Zagona 2007; Isac 2015). Thus, in a sentence like *Se construieşte o şosea înspre Braşov* 'A road to Brasov is being built' the speaker is saying that there is evidence for a process of building a road, but he is not responsible for the existence of the road. So finite clauses, which underlie non-finite ones under Exfoliation, are at least PolP.

Non-finite clauses may, of course, differ in size. Raising infinitives are supposed to be smaller than control clauses. In the current framework control clauses may be considered FinPs, since the mood particle *a* 'to' derivationally becomes a low complementizer (CP1), while raising clauses are Polarity Phrases (*i.e.*, extended TPs).

There is ample evidence that (for non-compound verb forms) there is obligatory verb raising from V-to-M, more precisely, head movement from V-to-Pol (Nicolae 2019).

The strong agreement features of Aspect, Tense, Mood and PolP are successively checked off by the subject, which comes to occupy the highest nominal specifier position of the PolP.

4.2. More on **a** *'to'*

Functioning as a low C in OR (Hill, Alboiu 2016), *a* 'to' has been re-analyzed as a mood particle in MR, being felt as an overt marker of the infinitive (=Inf). As usual, we'll assume that the morphology of the bare Inf V, reduced to the characteristic vowels of the four conjugations {-a, -ea, -e, -i/î}, bears an uninterpretable Mood feature [uM]. To delete this feature, the bare Inf should combine with a constituent endowed with an [iM] feature. One

possibility is the combination with the two modal verbs, *putea* 'can' and *şti* 'know how, be able' marked [*i*M]. But the major way in which the Inf verb checks its [*u*M] feature is by external merge of the infinitive particle *a* 'to', which carries an [*i*M] feature. The checking configuration is (26i). Jordan (2009) hypothesizes that the mood particle *a* 'to' starts out as a means of reinforcing the purposive interpretation inherent in the meaning of the infinitive (Haspelmath 1989). Given that in MR *a* 'to' has been reanalyzed as a constituent of the InfP and since it has lost its c-selection feature (see Cornilescu 2022 for details), we will assume that *a* 'to' merges as a PrtP, in the specifier of the InfP, as represented in (25) below and (26i). The InfPhrase is a realization of the MoodP1. As the Verb moves higher to the Pol-head position, the mood particle will cliticize on the verb, undergoing head-to-head movement. These derivational steps are represented in (26 ii, iii). In (26ii), the Inf head has adjoined to the Pol head. At this point, both the subject and the particle *a* 'to' are still inside the InfP.
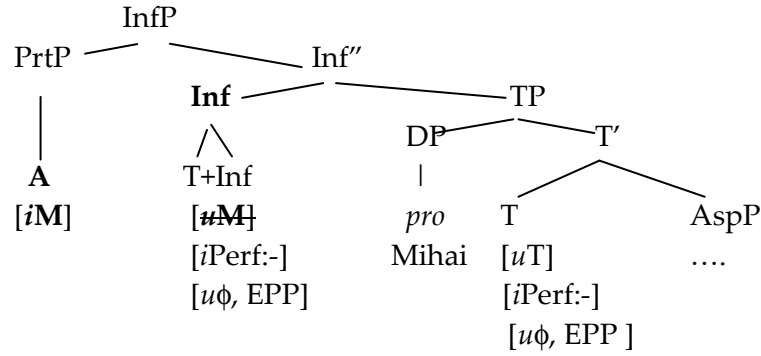
In (26iii), the subject raises to the specifier position of the PolP to delete the *u*ϕ features under the Pol head. The infinitive particle *a* 'to' correctly cliticizes on the (raised) verb, *i.e.*, undergoes head-to-head movement and left adjunction. At this moment *a* + the infinitive head will form a *complex head*, as insightfully proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994).

Notice now that in (26iii), t**he subject is preverbal and it is also the highest specifier,** it c-commands the infinitive Mood particle, and can be targeted by the main clause verb. In other words, in this configuration the subject is an edge constituent and is suitable for raising. Raising infinitives are PolPs, i.e, extended TPs, roughly following the English pattern.

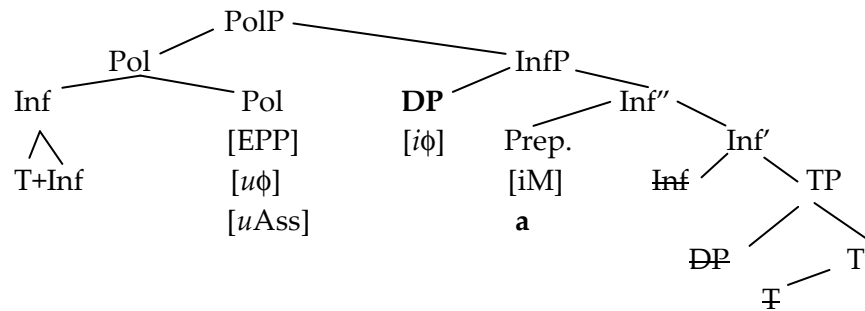Derivationally, a 'to' has become a clitic which occupies the highest position in the clitic cluster which includes the Mood particle, pronominal clitics, and aspectual adverbs, as in (24) above.

(25)   InfP → [PrtPA]^ Inf'
        Inf' → Inf ^ TP
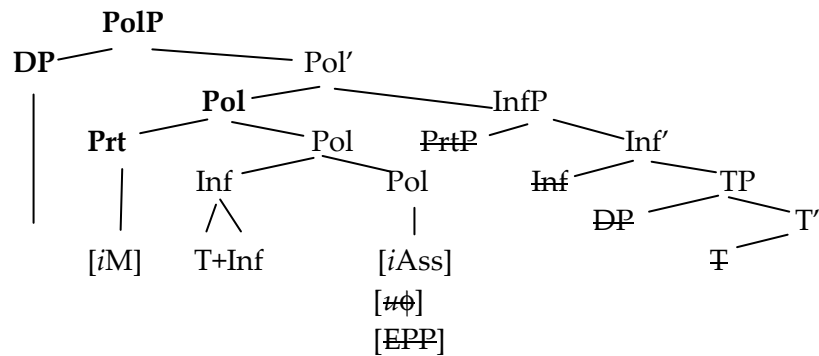
(26) (i)

```
                    InfP
         PrtP ⌒      ⌒ Inf″
          |         Inf ⌒      ⌒ TP
          |         /\         DP ⌒   ⌒ T′
          A        T+Inf       |      T      AspP
         [iM]      [uM]        pro   [uT]    ….
                   [iPerf:-]   Mihai  [iPerf:-]
                   [uφ, EPP]          [uφ, EPP ]
```

(ii)

```
              PolP ⌒
        Pol ⌒       ⌒ InfP ⌒
     Inf ⌒  ⌒ Pol     DP ⌒   ⌒ Inf″
      /\     [EPP]    [iφ]  Prep.      Inf′
     T+Inf   [uφ]           [iM]    Inf ⌒  ⌒ TP
             [uAss]          a            DP ⌒   ⌒ T′
                                              T
```

(iii)

```
        PolP
   DP ⌒     ⌒ Pol′
    |      Pol ⌒      ⌒ InfP
    |    Prt ⌒  ⌒ Pol  PrtP ⌒  ⌒ Inf′
    |     |   Inf ⌒ ⌒ Pol   Inf ⌒ ⌒ TP
    |    [iM]  /\      |          DP ⌒ ⌒ T′
    |         T+Inf  [iAss]           T
    |                [uφ]
    |                [EPP]
```

pe Mihai   a   fi...

In terms of Exfoliation, assuming that one starts from a complete finite CP, the sequence which is exfoliated includes the two complementizers and the MoodP2 , as in (27).

(27) *Exfoliation*

V^[~~CP~~ ~~CP2 >(TopP) > (FocP) > CP1.> MoodP2~~ > **PolP** > MoodP1 > TP > AspP.> *v*P]

Given this result and the configuration in (26iii), it becomes possible to maintain the correlation between loss of the subject through raising of the subject into a specifier position of the main clause and subsequent infinitivization of the subordinate clause.

To conclude, under the assumptions adopted in this section there is a formally correct derivation for the RtO Accusative+Infinitive constructions, under the Exfoliation approach.

In the following sections we will examine low Nom+infinitive construction of the same propositional attitude verbs.

5. The Low Nominative Raising structure. The Free Inversion proposal

5.1. Preliminaries

Turning to the low Nom pattern now, we will argue that it should be analyzed as a *covert raising structure*, which combines RtO with Free Inversion (=FI). As is known, in languages with FI the subject occurs either preverbally or postverbally with no apparent syntactic motivation and (largely) conserving the semantics of the sentence. There are, however, preferences and pragmatic effects. We claim that sentences with low Noms should be analyzed on the model of FI-sentences and that FI sentences are doubling configurations (Belletti 2005), composed of an overt subject with a pragmatic role and an expletive DP, *pro*, in Spec,T or higher (Spec,PolP), whose role is to solve case and agreement problems.

With respect to Exfoliation, the low Nom pattern is problematic for two reasons. In the first place, in its low position the Nom DP is not accessible to the main verb since it is not an edge constituent. So, under the assumptions of Exfoliation, in low Nom cases it is not clear how the higher Verb values its [*u*phi]-features. In the second place, since the subject is still in the lower clause and there is no evidence of extraction, it is not clear why the clause turns into an infinitive, instead of remaining finite.

Faced with these problems and turning the tables around, we will adopt the following hypothesis:

(28) *Hypothesis 1*

The postverbal low Nom is a remnant from the earlier stage of the finite clause.

In other words, the low Nom can be taken as evidence for Pesetsky's subordination theory, which argues that all sentences are born as finite CPs. Adopting this perspective, low Noms would represent strong evidence that all sentences start as full finite CPs with Nom subjects, supporting the Exfoliation approach.

While hopefully pointing in the right direction, this hypothesis does not solve the two essential questions stated above. Before we can solve these problems, it is necessary to present in more detail some aspects of Free Inversion theory.

5.2. *The correlation between null subjects and Free Inversion*

A well-known property of Romanian is that it is a consistent *pro*-drop language (*i.e.*, it drops both expletive and referential subjects), which exhibits all the properties that represented this macro-parameter (see Rizzi 2014[1982], for instance). In particular, Romanian is a FI language, with no restrictions on the kind of subjects or of verbal patterns that license inversion of the subject (Cornilescu 2000). In early accounts of FI, the lexical subject is assumed to occupy a post-verbal argumental position (Spec,vP), while the Spec,T position was occupied by an expletive *pro*-DP, directly merged in the Nom position. The two DPs formed a chain <*pro*$_{\text{expl}}$…….. DP>, where the first element supplied Case and the second supplied the θ-role.

Before discussing more recent views of FI, in the context of our analysis, it is significant that across Romance (Ordóñez 2005) there is a strong empirical correlation between null subjects and the possibility of Free Inversion. For instance, Brazilian Portuguese has lost both the *pro*-drop property for referential subjects, and the possibility of Free Inversion. Thus sentence (29a) shows the impossibility of referential null subjects, while (29b) shows the loss of Free Inversion in Brazilian Portuguese.

(29)   a. *Encontrou a Maria ontem*. (*pro*-drop, from Belletti, 2005)
      he/she met Maria yesterday

    b. *Cantam os passaros*.   [free inversion]
      sing the birds.

Given this correlation between FI and null subjects, we briefly evoke here the heated linguistic debate in the first decade of the century around the (in)existence of an (expletive) *pro* subject. Naturally, the existence of a referential *pro* in *pro*-drop languages has never been challenged.

5.3. On the more recent theory of pro

5.3.1. Is there an expletive pro?

The existence of a null expletive *pro* became very suspicious in minimalism since this element played no role at either interface. It doesn't contribute to PF, since it is not pronounced. It doesn't contribute to LF, where the information was actually supplied by the identifier of *pro*.

Hence the many challenging attempts (e.g., Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou 1998; Roberts 2010) to eliminate this type of null subject altogether, usually in favor of its overt identifier, the rich inflection of (some) *pro*-drop languages.

Several well-known studies completely or partly eliminate *pro* in favor of rich inflection (Agr). As an example, we sketch Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou (1998). In their justly famous paper, they propose that the rich Agr morphology of *pro*-drop languages has *interpretable features*, including a nominal element [+D]. The features of Agr are thus [+D, +$i\phi$, +Case]). Thus, in *pro*-drop languages, AGR has "exactly the same status as pronouns in the English paradigm".

Since in their view, AGR cannot incorporate θ-roles, *pro* continues to be projected in Spec,*v*P but it is always θ-marked and endowed with interpretable ϕ-features, *i.e.*, it is a referential pronoun. What they do away with is the *expletive pro*, the unnecessary doubler of the referential subject.

Another desirable property of their analysis is that in their view, Tense continues to have an EPP feature, which must be derivationally checked.

However, no Spec,T position is necessary. Since rich Agr is a pronoun incorporated in T. It is movement to T which serves to satisfy the EPP (*i.e.*, the need for a subject) precluding the need for an expletive in Spec,TP. Head movement of a pronominal constituent is enough. In contrast, in languages like English, an expletive pronoun is actually projected. Thus, Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou (1998) propose the existence of a parametrized version of EPP-checking, stated in (30).

(30)   Parametrized model of EPP-checking: Move/merge XP vs. move/merge X.
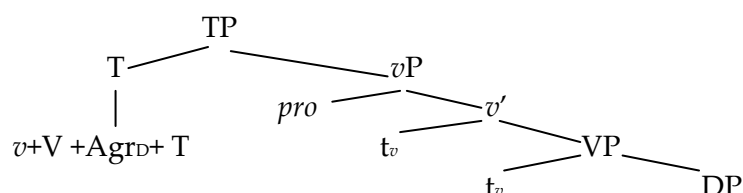
Thus, in this model there isn't any *pro* in Spec,T.

5.3.2. Some consequences of this analysis

Such models make a very strong claim: In *pro*-drop languages, preverbal subjects can only occupy A'-positions; there is only one argumental post-verbal position, Spec,*v*P. Preverbal subjects always discharge discourse functions and are mostly analyzed as clitic left dislocated constituents or as contrastive foci. However, such a strong statement is easily disproved by the data,
    Sheehan (2016) remarks, for instance, that there is by now a growing body of syntactic evidence that even in consistent *pro*-drop languages, there may be differences between subjects and left-dislocated topics, so that even consistent *pro*-drop languages have a preverbal argumental subject position. Preverbal subjects have some properties that differentiate them from topics. As an example, Goodall (1992) notes that in Spanish, European Portuguese and Catalan, clauses with fronted topics are islands for extraction, whereas clauses with preverbal subjects are not. The same facts are observable in Romanian. Thus, consider sentence (31) where the DO is in Topic position,

and suppose one wants to question the IO. The question for the IO can be formed if the DO is inside the *v*P (31b), but not if the DO is topicalized (31c). In contrast, if there is a lexical subject, the sentence allows questioning of the IO (31d).

(31) a. Premiul   i-l   vor   da Mariei.
          prize.the her.DAT.CL=it.ACC.CL will.3PL give Mary.DAT
          'The prize, they will give (it) to Mary.'

      b. *Cui   crezi   că vor   da   premiul?*
         Whom.DAT believe.2SG   that will.3SG give prize.the
         'Who do you think they will give the prize to?'

      c. **Cui   crezi   [că   **premiul**   vor   da?]*
         whom.DAT believe.2SG   [that   prize.the   will.3SG give]

      d. *Cui   crezi   că   **preşedintele însuşi***
         whom.DAT believe.2SG [that   president.the   himself
         i-a   dat   un premiu?
         him.DAT.CL=has given   a   prize
         'Who do you think that the president himself gave a prize to?

Such sentences provide evidence that not all preverbal subjects occupy positions of left dislocation, and there are differences between subjects and topics.

A second (knock down) argument for the existence of a preverbal argumental subject position is that quantifiers (e.g. *cineva* 'someone', *nimeni* 'nobody' etc.) may be preverbal subjects in *pro*-drop languages but, as is well known, quantifiers cannot be topics.

In the end, the nature of a position (A or A') is determined not only by its cartography, but also by the kind of features which are checked in it, *i.e.*, φ-features or P(ragmatic)-features.

5.3.3. A different view of the roles of expletives

Starting from the principle of Full Interpretation and its more modern restatement as the strong minimalist thesis, a body of recent research has brought to light the LF role of expletives (Longenbaugh 2019; Fu 2017) and the syntactic role of overt expletives like *it* and *there*, the tendency being to assimilate them to referential elements.

Deal (2009) has recently proved that expletives must be generated in the same phase (cycle) as their associates because this allows them to agree with their associates and be identified. This analysis allows her to maintain the generalization that English sentences always agree with their subject in Spec,TP and never with any post-verbal nominal. In a sentence like *There are cats in the room* (in (32)), *there* merges in an outer non-thematic specifier of a PP-small clause, where it c-commands and agrees with its contentful associate (*cats*). Subsequently, *there* undergoes A-Movement to Spec,T, transmitting to T the agreement features it has got from *cats.*

(32)   [TP There [T′ [T are [vP be [PP ~~there~~ [P′ cats] P [PP in the room]PP] vP] T′] TP]

5.4. Belletti on Free Inversion

Belletti's (2005) theory of FI is highly innovative both in its conception and in its implementation. On the conceptual side she has long argued that (in Italian, and plausibly in other null subject languages) the postverbal subject ends up occupying an A′ position, mostly, but not only, Focus in the *v*P periphery. Under the assumption that Italian is a SVO language, where Tense has a strong EPP feature, the necessity of some double of the subject to fill Spec,T becomes apparent.
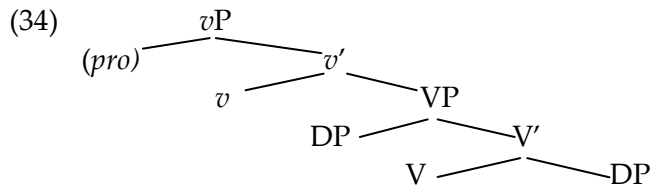
Free Inversion is a doubling configuration. In Belletti's words: "all instances of subject inversion can be analyzed as cases of doubling, with a silent *pro* moved to the nominative position and the lexical part moved to the relevant *v*P periphery position".

(33)   a. *pro* parlero [io]

   b. *pro* parlera Gianni

As to *pro*, it is no longer the expletive elements merged in Spec,T, but *pro* is treated as "*a silent referential pronoun*". In the latter hypothesis, it is natural to assume that *pro* would share the same features as the overt pronoun or lexical NP in the post-verbal position; the features are inherited through a regular *agreement process*, taking place internally to a big DP, in Belletti's view. When this is the case, verbal agreement with the post-verbal subject will come as a consequence of the higher personal silent *pro* in subject position.

   In this paper we gladly adopted Belletti's analysis, except for the big, DP part. Instead, we follow Deal (2009), Wu (2017) that expletives merge in a non-thematic Spec,*v*P position, possibly as in (34). Expletive insertion is a last resort strategy.

(34)

In this configuration, *pro* is in the same *v*P phase as the θ-marked subject, and moreover, it is in a configuration of agree which allows it to value its ϕ- features by agreement with the lexical subject.

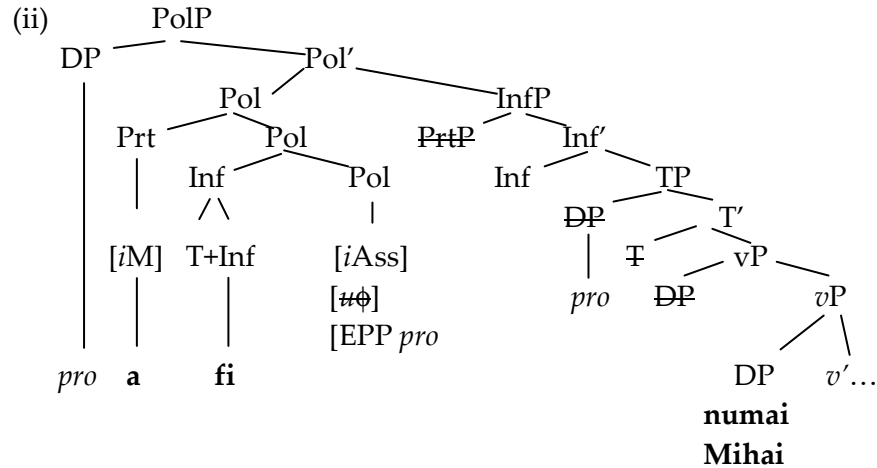## 6. Free Inversion in Romanian infinitive complements

In the remaining pages, we will argue that:

   - the analysis of Free Inversion as a doubling configuration can be maintained for Romanian;
   - infinitive clauses with low Noms represent Free Inversion structures;
   - in these clauses it is the higher null subject that undergoes raising and triggers infinitivization.

Let us return now to the Free Inversion analysis proper in sentences with raising verbs and low Noms. Recall that, if at the end of the *v*P phase, the subject does not occupy a *v*P periphery position or there is no reason for it to remain low, the DP raises along the verbal spine, and reaches the Spec,PolP, a position where it can be accessed by a higher raising trigger as shown in section 4 above. Such a context produces the overt Acc RtO illustrated in (35a).

(35) a. Îl   socotim   numai pe   Mihai vinovat   de
          him.CL reckon.1PL   only DOM Mihai responsible   of
          dezastru [Overt raising]
          disaster

      b. Socotim   a fi   numai Mihai vinovat   de
          reckon.1PL   to be   only Mihai responsible   of
          dezastru [Covert raising]
          disaster
          'We reckon only Mihai to be responsible for the disaster.'

If there is a reason for the lexical subject to remain low, this is likely to be connected to Focus, while an expletive *pro* is inserted as in configuration (34). There is φ-feature agreement between the expletive and the lexical subject and it is the expletive that checks the [*u*φ] of the verbal heads, moving up to Spec, PolP, which, as shown below, is an edge constituent (the specifier of the highest head in (36)). Compare the overt structure in (36i) and (36ii):

(36)   (i)

pe Mihai   a fi

(ii)

```
              PolP
    DP _____|_____
    |          Pol'
    |    ____|_____
    |   Pol                InfP
    |  _|__          _____|_____
   Prt    Pol      PrtP         Inf'
    |   __|___              ____|____
    |  Inf   Pol           Inf       TP
    |  /\     |           __|__    __|__
  [iM] T+Inf [iAss]      DP        T'
    |   |    [uφ]         |      __|__
    |   |    [EPP pro    pro    T     vP
    |   |                      DP   __|____
   pro  a    fi                    DP      vP
                                        __|__
                                       DP    v'…
                                      numai
                                      Mihai
```

If a raising trigger merges (e.g., *socoti* 'reckon' in (34b)) and it must value its [*u*φ] feature, given the configuration in (34), it is clear that it is the expletive pronoun in Spec,PolP which will be its Goal.

The fact that null expletives may raise in Romanian is independently shown by verbs of perception, which may select *weather*-verbs as gerund complements in RtO sentences.

(37) *Auzeam   plouând.*
      heard.1SG   *pro* raining
      'I could hear it raining.'

An indirect piece of evidence for the existence of the expletive is that in Romanian there are two argumental postverbal subject positions. There are Acc subjects which remain within the main clause *v*P. As shown in section **3**. above, this is the case of bare Accs and DOM-ed Accs which are not clitic doubled. Clitic Doubled Accs enter the inflectional domain of the main clause: As evidence, consider the scope differences below. The examples suggest that only the clitic-doubled Acc can successfully out-scope the subject. Thus, the bare DO in (38a) presents the expected quantifier ambiguity. To my ear, (38b), where the DP is DOM-ed, but not clitic-doubled, continues to be ambiguous. Sentence (38c), with both DOM and doubling is not ambiguous (or is much less ambiguous), giving strong preference to the reading where the DO scopes over the

subject, so that, in the particular case of example (38c) all doctors examine the same patient.

(38) a. *Fiecare doctor   a   examinat un pacient   cu o boala   rară.*
         every   doctor has examined a   patient with a disease rare
         'Every doctor examined a patient with a rare disease.'
         ($\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$)

     b. *Fiecare doctor a examinat   pe un pacient cu o boala   rară.*
         every doctor has examined DOM a patient with a disease rare
         'Every doctor examined a patient with a rare disease.'
         ($?\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$)

     c. *Fiecare   doctor   l-a   examinat   pe   un pacient*
         every   doctor   him.CL=has examined DOM   a   pacient
         cu   o boala   rară.
         with a disease rare
         'A patient with a rare disease was examined by every doctor.'
         ($*\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$)

Conclusions of sections 5-6. In the FI analysis, clausal infinitives with low Nom *always undergo raising*, but it is the null expletive subject *pro* that raises. The null *pro,* which has interpretable features after agreeing with its associate in the configuration described in (34), is a suitable goal for the main clause probe. The subject is extracted and infinitivization is subsequently triggered.

The correlation between subject extraction and loss of finiteness, proposed by the Exfoliation theory, is clearly valid for Romanian as well.

7. Why Low Nominatives?

What we have said so far represents, however, only part of the answer to the data presented in (6-10). We have so far shown that there is covert raising, whence infinitivization.

The second question is however why overt RtO, a more economical derivation, is not adopted, whereby the lexical Nom would always be in

Spec,PolP and would raise into the main clause. The answer we suggest is that the low Nom remains low because *it cannot raise* given its local properties.

(39)   *Hypothesis 2*

In Free Inversion structures, the low Nom can (no longer) raise to Spec, T/PolP. The low position becomes obligatory.

Several scenarios answer this description. Some have to do with the pragmatic properties of the low Nom, some have to do with the inherent semantic properties of the low subject, a third class has to do with the competition between the low Nom and another potential raiser, still others reflect information structure properties associated with particular word orders. In what follows, only some of these situations are illustrated with Romanian data, leaving other cases for future research.

7.1. *Nominatives in the vP periphery*

The first class is that of low Noms with *an information structure role*, as heralded in Belletti's early 2001 paper "Inversion as Focalization". It is, to the best of my knowledge, the first proposal to introduce a low Focus Projection (FocP) and create a *v*P periphery. An essential difference characteristic for this type of (narrow) focus is that it does not require contrastive stress, differing from the LP periphery FocP, which is always prosodically marked. This informational role of the low Nom is typical for V.XP.S orders, where XP is any kind of complement or adjunct (Leonetti 2016; Giurgea 2022).

(40)   *Se   speră   a fi rezolvat problemele*
       se.REFL.ACC.CL.3SG   hopes to be solved problems.the
       [*măcar   o parte dintre copii*].
       [at.least a part   from   children].
       'It is hoped for at least a part of the children to have solved the problem.'

Expectedly, the *v*P periphery also includes a higher TopP, so that the low Nom may be a topic (41a), or a right dislocated constituent (41b).

(41) a. S-a   propus   o asemenea temă
       se.REFL.ACC.CL.3SG=has proposed a   such   topic
       pentru a putea   vorbi   în mod   deschis
       for   to be.able talk.INF in manner open
       [TopP toti participanții]   [FocP numai despre asta].
       [TopP all participants.the.NOM] [FocP only   about this]
       'This topic has been proposed to enable all the participants to
       openly discuss only this problem.'

     b. Se   speră   a nu se   mai
        se.REFL. CL.ACC.3SG hopes   to not se.REFL.CL.ACC.3sg more
        contrazice   măcar   acum politicienii noştri
        contradict   at least now   politicians   our
        'It is hoped for them to stop contradicting each other, at least now,
        our politicians'

In all these cases, the low Nom ends up in an A'-position and can no longer
raise to Spec,T or higher, because of improper movement. The insertion
of the expletive is then called for.

7.2. Low Nominatives because of the inherent semantic properties of the nouns

A second category of low Noms are NPs which remain inside the *v*P
because of their *semantic properties*. An example is supplied by the class of
bare singular and bare plural nominals which, in Romance, have a *property*
interpretation. Syntactically, it has often been proposed that such nouns are
inherent Accs and some or all of them check case by (semantic) incorporation
(Dobrovie-Sorin, Bleam, Espinal 2006; Cornilescu 2020). Such nouns normally
merge as internal arguments of *prototypical events* in the sense of Carlson
(2006): a împuşca prizioneri 'to shoot prisoners', *a citi cărţi* 'to read books',
a purta pălărie 'to wear a hat', etc.
     Even if bare NPs merge as objects, these nominals might, in principle,
become subjects of passive sentences, and as such, they would be of interest
in any discussion of RtO.
     Given their properties the confirmed expectation is that they will
not undergo overt RtO.

Consider now the pair of passives below, which differ only in the postverbal/preverbal position of the Nom. Crucially, only the second sentence, with a *post verbal* subject, is in the domain of RtO, and it may undergo *covert raising (raising of pro).* Indeed, sentence (43a) with *covert raising* is fine, and contrasts with the ungrammatical sentence (43b), where the bare NP occupies the structural Acc position.

(42) a. **Prizonieri** se   mai împuşcau uneori
     Prisoners se.REFL.CL.ACC.3SG still   shot.3PL sometimes
     fără   judecată.
     without trial
     'Prisoners were still shot without trial sometimes'.

     b. Uneori   se   împuşcau **prizonieri** fără   judecată.
     sometimes se.REFL.CL.ACC.3SG shot prisoners without trial
     'Sometimes prisoners were shot without a trial.'

(43) a. Declar   ferm a fi   fost   într-adevar împuşcaţi
     declare.1SG firmly to have been   in-truth   shot
     prizonieri   fără   judecată.
     prisoners   without   trial
     'I firmly declare that (some) prisoners were indeed shot without trial.'

     b. *Declar   ferm **prizonieri** a   fi   fost
     declare.1SG firmly prisoners   to   have   been
     cu   adevărat   împuşcaţi   fără   judecată.
     with truth   shot   without   trial
     'I firmly declare that(some) prisoners were indeed shot without trial.'

The expected result is that bare nouns, which cannot actually occupy structural case positions (Nom and Acc) may only undergo covert raising. It is again *pro* in a structural case position (Spec,T/PolP) that raises into the main clause. And the extraction of the expletive subject triggers infinitivization. The impossibility of overt RtO with bare nominals suggests that these nominals are never true subjects and cannot target Spec,T/PolP at least in SVO languages. Rather, if they do not incorporate, bare nouns may only

target low or high periphery positions, where they check P-features, as in (44). *Pălărie* 'hat' in (44) is presumably interpreted as a contrastive topic.

(44) Pălărie nu   se   poartă, TURBAN e la modă.
      hat   not   SE.refl.ACC.CL.3SG wears, turban   is at fashion
      'Hats are not worn (anymore), TURBANS are in fashion'.

7.3. Configurational reasons that keep the Nominative in a low position

Certain Nom subjects do not raise to Spec,T and further, because another, higher DP, targets these verbal heads to check off their [$u\phi$]-features. Any DP in Spec,T/PolP is a possible target for RtO, irrespective of its Case. An example of this kind is offered by a class of symmetric Dat-Nom constructions. As shown in the examples in (45), either the Dat or the Nom may appear in subject/topic position, in pairs which are synonymous (apart from information structure considerations).

In the same manner in RtO contexts whose Vs select the Dat-Nom pattern, either DP may be selected for raising as in (46), though there is a strong preference for raising the quirky dative (46b). Notice the change of case-marking, when the dative raises into an Acc position of the main verb. What matters in this discussion are the cases where it is the dative, not the Nom that raises. When this happens, the Nom is forced to stay in the lower clause since the needs of the main verb (which is the trigger for RtO) have been satisfied by the raising dative.

Symmetric Dative-Nom sentences

(45) a. Mariei   nu-i   lipsesc distracțiile   never
         Maria.DAT   not=her.CL.DAT lack   entertainment.the niciodată.
         'Mary never lacks entertainment / Mary is never short of entertainment.'

      b. Distracțiile   nu-i   lipsesc Mariei niciodată.
         entertainment.the.NOM   not=her.CL.DAT lack   Mary.DAT never
         'Mary never lacks entertainment.'

(46) a. N-am   văzut ceva   să-i   lipsească
          not=have.1sg   seen   something SUBJ=she.CL.DAT lack
          Mariei   vreodată.
          Maria.DAT   ever
          'I haven't seen Maria ever lacking (for) entertainment.'

      b. N-am   văzut-o   **pe   Maria**
          not=have.1SG seen=she. CL.ACC   DOM Maria
          să-i   lipsească   distracțiile   vreodată.
          SUBJ=she.CL.DAT   lack.3PL   entertainement   ever
          'I haven't seen Maria ever lacking for entertainment.'

Dat-Nom sentences provide the main source of low Nom patterns in Romanian. The Nom is prevented from raising; some other nominal satisfies the features of the raising triggers.

8. General Conclusions

1. The Exfoliation analysis is supported by the existence of Low Noms since they provide clear evidence that Case is not the reason for RtO.

2. The Existence of low Noms is evidence for the finite stage of infinitive complements, in confirmation of Exfoliation.

3. For verbs that are RtO probes, raising is obligatory.

4. Unlike other Romance languages, Romanian distinguishes between two RtO patterns: the regular overt Acc-raising pattern and the low-Nom covert raising construction. In the second case, the needs of the main verb are satisfied by raising a null expletive *pro*, which has agreed with the Nom, getting a complete set of ϕ-features

5. The possibility of a low-Nom RtO construction derives from the fact that Romanian is a Free Inversion language, and this is a correlate of the fact that Romanian is a consistent pro-drop language. The apparent absence of the raiser is possible in *pro*-drop languages which have referential expletive pronouns and free inversion.

6. Regarding the cartography of finite and infinitive clauses, we have argued Romanian, like Spanish and unlike Catalan disposes of two postverbal subject positions (Ordóñez 2005).

7. The two raising patterns have distinct semantic-pragmatic properties.

Acknowledgments

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