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Feature-ing Silence: Contextualizing PRO and *pro*

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0. Focus of talk and Roadmap:

- Following Alboiu (2007), I first discuss an analysis of O(bligatory) S(ubject) C(ontrol) in Romanian analogous to that of raising predicates:
  - in the spirit of Hornstein (1999 et seq.) but without obligatory displacement
  - dislocation of subject DP is dependent on semantico-pragmatic constraints
  - crucially, no PRO

- I show, however, that PRO cannot, in fact, be eliminated from the grammar of Romanian. I discuss contexts of PRO occurrence, as well as the properties and limitations of this silent syntactic object in relationship to *pro*.

- Lastly, I address the morpho-syntactic features of PRO in relationship to referential *pro* (Chomksy 1981) and provide an explanation for NOM as opposed to ACC Case values on Romanian PRO in both finite and non-finite domains.

1. OSC and the absence of PRO (Alboiu 2007)
2. Contextualizing PRO (and *pro*)
3. Features of PRO (and *pro*)
4. Catering to NOM PRO
5. Conclusions

1. OSC and the absence of PRO

1.1 OC (obligatory control) and Minimalism

A. Reductionist approaches (i.e., no PRO)
i. No movement

Wurmbrand 1998:

- matrix verb selects VP complement: no PRO ('semantic control')

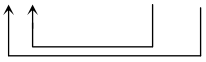
(1) John tried [$_{VP}$ to read the new Chomsky]
Note: monoclausal approach akin to Rizzi (1982), Haegeman & van Riemsdijk (1986)

ii. MTC → assume theta-features

a. Manzini & Roussou 1998, 2000:

- OC = checking more than 1 theta-feature against the same DP

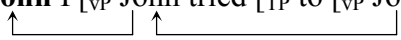
(2) a. [$_{TP}$ John I [$_{vP}$ tried [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP}$ read]]]]
b. [John$_D$ [tried θ_1 [θ_2 read]]]



b. Hornstein 1999, 2001, Boeckx and Hornstein 2003, 2004, etc:

- OC PRO = DP-trace part of a theta-chain

(3) [$_{TP}$ **John** I [$_{vP}$ John tried [$_{TP}$ to [$_{vP}$ John v [$_{VP}$ read the new Chomsky]]]]]



[Case] [θ_2] [θ_1]

B. Non-reductionist approach (i.e., with PRO)

Landau 1999, 2003, etc.:

- OC PRO = anaphoric Goal (à la Borer, 1989)

(4) Exhaustive Control (EC): obligatory identity of arguments

a. Tom$_i$ tried [**PRO$_i$** to understand calculus]
b. * Tom$_i$ tried [for Mary to understand calculus]
c. * Tom$_i$ tried [**PRO$_{i+}$** to meet at 9]

(5) Partial Control (PC): optional or partial control of arguments

a. Gandalf$_i$ wanted [**PRO$_i$** to succeed]
b. Gandalf$_i$ wanted [for Frodo to succeed]
c. Gandalf$_i$ wanted [**PRO$_{i+}$** to meet late at night]

1.2 OSC in Romanian (Alboiu 2007)

- movement out of control is a parametrized option made available by UG and kept under control by well-defined conditions =>
  - languages where complements to control verbs lack phasal status, &
  - available to constructions where partial control effects are unavailable
  - subject DP is linearized pragmatically, i.e., **B**ackward **C**ontrol is ok (à la Polinsky & Potsdam 2002)

- only one PF copy permitted

(6)	(**Victor**)	încearcă	(**Victor**)	[să	cînte	(**Victor**) / (* **Mihai**)
	(Victor)	try.3SG	(Victor)	[SBJ	sing. 3SG	(Victor) / (* Mihai)
	la trombon	(**Victor**) / (* **Mihai**)].				
	at trombone	(Victor) / (* Mihai)]				
	'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'					

⇨ (6) makes it difficult to maintain a PRO analysis of OSC for Romanian

1.2.1 A-chains: the best solution

Wurmbrand:

- b/c subjunctive complement has structure beyond VP:
  - phi-complete T, embedded subject DP, mood particle

- b/c there is no clitic climbing; consider (7):
  - crucial argument *against* restructuring

(7) a. Clitic climbing with modal 'putea'/can :

L_i-a	putut	[$_{VP}$ **(* $îl_i$)**	vedea] ?
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.3SG	could.PART	[$_{VP}$ (*CL.3SG.M.ACC)	see]

'Could s/he see him ?'

b. BUT NO clitic climbing in OSC :

Nu	**(*l_i)**-a	încercat	[să-**l_i**	vadă].
not	(*CL.3SG.M.ACC)-AUX.3SG	tried	[SBJ-CL.3SG.M.ACC	see]

'S/he didn't try to see him.'

Manzini & Roussou:

Analysis proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) for Romanian

- **Cannot account for Backward Control, as in (8)!**
  - **the shared DP Victor is lower than matrix Spec,TP**
  - **θ_1 and θ_2 check against distinct DPs =>**
  - **OC interpretation *cannot* be explained**

(8)	a.	**pro_i**	încearcă	[să	cînte	**$Victor_i$**	la trombon].
		pro_i	try.3SG	[SBJ	sing. 3SG	$Victor_i$	at trombone]

'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

b. [**pro_D** [încearcă θ_1 [să cînte **$Victor_D$** [θ_2 la trombon < cînte > θ_3]]]

- **Predicts Condition C violations!**
  - **(8a) should yield a Condition C violation**
  - ***pro* in the main clause should be *i / j, contrary to fact**

(9) shows that Condition C effects *are* operative in Romanian:

(9) **pro** $_{k / *j}$ ştie [că pleacă **Mihai**$_j$ mîine].
pro $_{k / *j}$ know.3SG [that leave.3SG Mihai$_j$ tomorrow].
'He $_{k / *j}$ knows that Mihai$_j$ will be leaving tomorrow.'

- **Landau:**
- **Cannot account for Backward Control**
- **NO partial control in Romanian**

(10) a. * Eu vreau [să plec împreună]
I want.**1SG** [SBJ leave.**1SG** together]
b. * Vreau [să plecăm eu împreună]
want.**1SG** [SBJ leave.**1PL** I together]
c. Eu vreau [să plecăm împreună]
I want.**1SG** [SBJ leave.**1PL** together]
'I want to leave together.'

- subjunctive predicate is **semantically *and* syntactically plural**
- **(10c) is NOT partial control but NOC**: b/c syntactic agreement between matrix and embedded clause does **NOT** Match & b/c the syntactically SG subject cannot control the embedded verb!

- **Romanian only allows for OC/EC and NOC**

(11) a. **OC/EC** (e.g. aspectuals & implicatives):
pro$_i$ încearcă [să plece **pro** $_{i/ *j}$]
pro$_i$ try.3SG [SBJ leave.3 pro $_{i/ *j}$]

b. **NOC** (e.g. desideratives):
pro$_i$ vrea [să plece **pro** $_{i/j}$]
pro$_i$ want.3SG [SBJ leave.3 pro $_{i/j}$]

- Furthermore, under **ellipsis**:

(12) a. **sloppy reading only for OC**
Mihai încearcă să-i ajute şi la fel (încearcă) şi Victor.
Mihai try.3SG SBJ-CL.DAT.3PL help.3SG and at same (try.3SG) and Victor
'Mihai is trying to help them and so does Victor (= Victor to help)'

b. **sloppy <u>and</u> strict readings for NOC**
Mihai vrea să-i ajute şi la fel (vrea) şi Victor.
Mihai want.3SG SBJ-CL.DAT.3PL help.3SG and at same (want.3SG) and Victor
'Mihai wants to help them and so does Victor (= Victor to help OR Mihai to help)'

- ✓ **A-chain analysis: best solution for OSC**

⇨ However, **no dislocation for Case, EPP or theta-valuation** (contra Hornstein)

⇨ **PF instantiation** of the shared argument is:
- **independent of the requirements of 'control' (Case, EPP or theta-roles)**
- dependent on the general **information packaging strategies** available to Romanian (Alboiu 2002)

1.2.2 Phases, movement and Case

- **subjunctive C 'ca'**: absent with OSC & Raising predicates
  (see also Grosu&Horvath 1987, Dobrovie-Sorin 2001, Rivero&Geber 2004)

(13) a. Victor **încearcă / pare** [(***ca pe Mihai**) să-l ajute].
Victor try.3SG / seem.3SG [(that PE Mihai) SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help]
b. Victor **încearcă / pare** [să-l ajute (**pe Mihai**)].
Victor try.3SG / seem.3SG [SBJ-3SG.M.ACC help (PE Mihai)]
'Victor is trying to help Mihai / seems to be helping Mihai.'

- **subjunctive C 'ca'**: optional with NOC (e.g. **desideratives**)

(14) pro_k / *pro_j vrea [să cînte Mihai$_j$ la violoncel].
pro_k / *pro_j want.3SG [SBJ sing. 3SG Mihai$_j$ at cello].
(i) 'S/he wants Mihai to play the cello.' OR
(ii) 'Mihai wants to play the cello.'

- (14) ambiguous between CP and IP/TP status => two readings
- the control reading in (ii) must involve Raising, so NOT phasal
  - ✓ b/c coindexed *pro* is ruled out by Condition C

Compare with (15) and a CP subjunctive:

(15) *pro* $_{k / *j}$ vrea [$_{CP}$ ca mîine să cînte
pro $_{k / *j}$ want.3SG [$_{CP}$ that.SBJ tomorrow SBJ sing.3SG
Mihai $_j$ la violoncel].
Mihai at cello]
(i) 'S/he wants Mihai to play the cello tomorrow.'
(ii) **impossible:** 'Mihai wants to play the cello tomorrow.'

- in (15) the control reading is impossible => NO Raising permitted

> ➢ **OSC & Raising subjunctives are NOT phasal CP domains**
> ➢ NOC is phasal

(16) **OSC** context: **NO independent temporal** reference
Am reuşit [$_{TP}$ să plec **(*mîine)**]
AUX.1SG managed [$_{TP}$ SBJ leave.1SG tomorrow]
'I managed to leave (*tomorrow).'

- **tense domains are C properties** (Stowell 1982, Chomsky 2006, etc); for Romanian, see also Dobrovie-Sorin (2001), Farkas (1992)

Subjunctive complements in Raising and OSC:

- **non phasal (phi-complete but untensed, unsaturated propositions)**
- **subject DP is available to matrix clause Agree operations**
- **Available to A-Probes?** (only if not Case-marked)

- **Emphatics:**

- in Romanian, emphatics cannot be stranded w/o a pronominal copy:

(17) a. **[Mihai *însuşi*]** a făcut [$_{vP}$ **t$_{su}$** acest desen].
[Mihai.NOM himself**]** AUX.3SG done [$_{vP}$ **t$_{su}$** this drawing]
'Mihai himself made this drawing.'

b. **Mihai** a făcut [$_{vP}$ **[*(el)** ***însuşi*]** acest desen].
Mihai.NOM AUX.3SG done [$_{vP}$ **[he.NOM** himself**]** this drawing]
'Mihai made this drawing himself.'

- in (17b), **Mihai.NOM** and **he.NOM** form a **Case-chain**, as <u>**NOM** assigned only once by matrix T</u>

With 2 CP domains, two independent subject occurrences are permitted *in addition* to the emphatic as <u>**NOM** Case is licensed twice</u> (both in the matrix and in the embedded clause)

(18) a. **Mihai$_i$** regretă [$_{CP}$ că **Victor$_k$** nu poate
Mihai.NOM regret.3SG [$_{CP}$ that.IND Victor.NOM NEG can
veni **[el$_k$** ***însuşi$_k$*]]
come.3SG **[**he.NOM himself **]**]
'Mihai regrets that Victor can't himself come.'

b. **Mihai$_i$** regretă [$_{CP}$ că **el$_i$** nu poate
Mihai.NOM regret.3SG [$_{CP}$ that.IND he. NOM NEG can
veni **[el$_i$** ***însuşi$_i$*]]
come. 3SG **[**he.NOM himself **]**]
'Mihai regrets that he himself can't come.'

=> **NO** Case-chain between main clause and embedded clause subjects
But, consider (19) with OSC:
(19)
a. **[Victor *însuşi*]** încearcă [$_{TP}$ să facă **t$_{su}$** pizza]
[Victor.NOM himself**]** try.3SG [$_{TP}$ SBJ make.3SG **t$_{su}$** pizza]
'Victor himself is trying to make pizza.'

b. **Victor$_i$** încearcă [$_{TP}$ să facă **[el$_i$ *însuşi$_i$*]** pizza]
Victor.NOM try.3SG [$_{TP}$ SBJ make.3SG **[he.NOM** himself**]** pizza]
'Victor is trying to himself make pizza.'

c. **Victor$_i$** încearcă [$_{TP}$ să facă pizza **[el$_i$ *însuşi$_i$*]**]
Victor.NOM try.3SG [$_{TP}$ SBJ make.3SG pizza **[he.NOM** himself**]**]
'Victor is trying to himself make pizza.'

d. *** Victor$_i$** încearcă [$_{TP}$ să facă **el$_i$** pizza **[el$_i$ *însuşi$_i$*]]**
Victor.NOM try.3SG [$_{TP}$ SBJ make.3SG **he.NOM** pizza **[he.NOM** himself**]]**
'Victor is trying to himself make pizza.'

Note:
- an emphatic copy may surface in the embedded clause in either of the 2 available slots (19b, c)
- however, an independent **NOM** pronoun is ruled out (19d)
=> **NOM** is **not** independently available in the embedded subjunctive which
=> confirms **Case-chain between matrix and embedded subjects**

- **Case valuation is incumbent on the phase head** (Alboiu 2006, to appear, Branigan 2005, Chomsky 2006, 2008, Sitaridou 2002, etc)

1.3 Summing up

- **Phasal C: missing piece**
- **OSC: Theta-chain & Case-chain via AGREE**
- **Dislocation/lexicalization of copies rests with strategies of information packaging (**not discussed here**)**
- **Crucially, <u>no PRO</u>**

2. Contextualizing PRO (and *pro*)

Given the **subjunctive**, hence **finite**, nature of the complement

- pre-Minimalist analyses have favoured ***pro*** (e.g. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Farkas 1988, Motapanyane 1995, for Romanian, Joseph 1992, Philippaki-Warburton 1987, for Greek).

- Minimalist approach: **A-chain** (Alboiu 2007, Dobrovie-Sorin 2001 for Romanian, Alexiadou et al 2008, Kapetangianni & Seely 2007, for Greek)

Proposal: **PRO is**, nonetheless, **part of the grammar of Romanian**

Where do we look?
- Relevance of infinitive vs. subjunctive dichotomy
- Phasal contexts (which prevent A-chains)

Infinitive subject and DP-internal clauses, especially with generic impersonal null subjects with no controller, as in (20):

(20) a. [PRO_{arb} a fi om] e lucru mare.
[PRO_{arb} to be man] is thing big
'Being decent is a precious thing.'

b. Bucuria [de PRO_{arb} a fi reuşit în viaţă] e de nedescris.
happiness-the [C.INF PRO_{arb} to PERF succeeded in life] is of no description
'The happiness of having succeeded in life is beyond words.'

- These seem clear contexts for an **arbitrary PRO**.

In addition, (21) shows that PRO is not restricted to an arbitrary interpretation:

(21) Ce grea e ptr noi_i [$_{DP}$ osînda [de PRO_i a sta-n lumină]]. [$_{DP}$ burden-the [C.INF PRO_i to stand in light]] (Lucian Blaga)
What difficult is for us_i
'How difficult for us the burden of being in the limelight.'

- Crucially, a raising/A-movement analysis (as for OSC) is ruled out in (21) given that extraction out of a clause dominated by a DP is a strong island (Cinque 1990), and thus a barrier to both A- and A-bar movement.

- In addition, it's unclear whether there is a c-command relationship between the "antecedent" and PRO, fact reinforced by (22). While Benefactive is structurally higher than the subject Theme role, unless reconstruction of A-chains is an option, PRO is not bound at LF.

(22) [$_{DP}$ Osînda [de PRO_i a sta-n lumină]] e prea grea ptr noi_i.
[$_{DP}$ burden-the [C.INF PRO_i to stand in light]] is too difficult for us_i
'The burden of being in the limelight is too much for us.'

- Given (23), Landau (1999, 2003) argues these data involve NOC and that PRO's reference is logophorically determined (i.e., it's ultimately all about contextual saliency).

(23) a. [PRO_1 having just arrived in town], the main hotel seemed to $Bill_1$ to be the best place to stay.
b. * [PRO_1 having just arrived in town], the main hotel collapsed on $Bill_1$.

- Nonetheless, '**contextual anaphors**' are still anaphors –

Perhaps then the split is between PRO in infinitives versus A-movement or *pro* in finite subjunctive contexts.

- However, this assumption fails empirically. Consider (24) which represents an instance of Obligatory Object Control (**OOC**) within a phasal subjunctive:

(24) L_i-am rugat pe Răzvan$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ca mîine să
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1SG asked PE Razvan$_i$ [$_{CP}$ that.SBJ tomorrow SBJ
plimbe $x_{i/*j}$ cîinele].
walk.3SG $x_{i/*j}$ dog-the]
'I asked Razvan to walk the dog tomorrow.'

While the *pro*-drop nature of Romanian might make the covert subject amenable to either a PRO or *pro* analysis, the **anaphoric nature of '*x*'** (hence, unspecified phi-features) **rules out *pro***, a pronominal element with interpretable phi.
A **controlled PRO** must be at stake --

Furthermore, the CP phasal nature of the complement in (24), rules out A-movement, forcing PRO.

- Crucially, what counts is the **phasal versus non-phasal nature** of the domain, and **not finiteness**.

Interestingly, the same distinction, and not finiteness, is what determines presence versus absence of a lexical subject (Alboiu 2006, 2008, to appear, Rivero&Geber 2004, Sitaridou 2002, etc). In (25a), the infinitive subject clause allows for an overt subject, as does the gerund adjunct in (25b).

(25) a. [$_{CP}$ A pleca **doar noi**] ar fi ruşinos.
[$_{CP}$ to leave only 1PL.NOM] would be shameful
'For just us to leave would be shameful.'

b. [$_{CP}$ Fiind **ei** gata cu toţii], au pornit la drum.
[being.GER 3PL.NOM ready with all] 3PL started on way
'With them all being ready, they started on their way.'

- As strong islands, subjects and adjuncts are phasal by definition.

So, perhaps (20) shows *pro* and not PRO --
(see Spyropoulos 2007 who argues for *pro* in Modern Greek based on evidence for NOM and lexical DPs in PRO contexts)

Impossible, as *pro* lacks a generic/arbitrary reading in Romanian (26a); impersonal SE (26b) is required instead (see also Jaeggli 1986, for Spanish).

(25) a. *pro* vin mîine.
pro come.3PL tomorrow
'They / (*People in general) are coming tomorrow.' [presupposed set required]

b. Se vine mîine.
SE come.3SG tomorrow
'*S/he is coming tomorrow.' / 'People (in general)/(*They) are coming tomorrow.'

Given that the NOM licensing domain in (25) is identical to that in (20-22), specifically, a non-finite CP, **there is evidence for PRO bearing structural NOM rather than 'null' Case in Romanian**.

This property of PRO is in line with current research (see next section) and further supported by (26) where, **despite the overt embedded subject, OOC is still forced**:

(26) L_i-am rugat pe Răzvan$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ca mîine să
CL.3SG.M.ACC-AUX.1SG asked PE Razvan$_i$ [$_{CP}$ that.SBJ tomorrow SBJ
plimbe $el_{i/*j}$ cîinele].
walk.3SG 3SG.M.NOM$_{i/*j}$ dog-the]
'I asked Razvan to walk the dog tomorrow.'

The embedded subject is an anaphoric element, PRO, whose checked features permit Post-Spell-Out / morphological insertion of relevant lexical item.

3. Features of PRO (and *pro*)

3.1 Case and PRO

Arguments are visible to A-relationships, a property of which the computational system is aware, or else it wouldn't engage them.

This visibility property is typically correlated with Case, so PRO has [uCase].

3.1.1 Case concord on various types of elements (e.g., predicates, quantifiers, participles): [1]

[1] I assume that PRO bears structural or quirky Case (see Cecchetto & Oniga 2004, Landau 2007, Schütze 1997, Sigurðsson 1991, 2008, a.o., but contra Chomsky 1982, Chomsky & Lasnik 1995, Uriagereka 2008). In

Latin and Italian, DAT DPs control **ACC** PRO only:

(26) a. Civi Romani$_i$ licet [$_{CP}$ PRO$_i$ esse Gaditanum]
citizen Roman.**DAT** it-is-permitted [be Gadian.**ACC**]
'A Roman citizen is allowed to be a citizen of Gades.'
(Latin, Pepicello 1977:476 in Wyngaerd 1994:125)

b. (Io) gli$_i$ ordinai [di PRO$_i$ essere me nel film]
I him.**DAT** ordered [COMP to-be me.**ACC** in-the film]
'I asked him to play me in that movie.' (Italian, Cechetto&Oniga 2004:145)

Ancient Greek, NOC PRO is **ACC** (27):

(27) [PRO philanthropon] einai dei
friendly.**ACC**.3SG to-be must-3SG
'One needs to love people.'
(Isocrates, II:15. Adapted from Sevdali 2005: 137)

Icelandic
→ If no Case transmission & no embedded quirky Case, OC PRO is **NOM** (28a);
→ as is NOC PRO (28b).

(28) a. Hún bað Ólaf$_i$ [að PRO$_i$ fara bara einn
she.NOM asked Olaf.**ACC** [to go just alone.**NOM**
í veisluna]
to party.the
'She asked Olaf to just go alone to the party.' (Sigurðsson 2008: 414)

b. [að PRO vera ríkur] er ágætt.
to be rich.**NOM** is nice (Sigurðsson 2008: 417)

3.1.2 'overt PRO':

French and English
→ Overt wh-phrase in the stead of PRO

(29) a. Je crois PRO être le meilleur.
b. *Je crois Georges être le meilleur.
c. **Qui** crois-tu être le meilleur?

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addition, I do not discuss cases where PRO bears the Case of its controller as in these instances it is arguably difficult to maintain Case-assignment within the non-finite clause. Presumably, some sort of Case transmission mechanism is at stake, implementable in a variety of ways (e.g. Hornstein 1999, Landau 1999, 2007, Pires 2007, inter alia).

(30) a. They decided PRO to be the best.
b. *They decided John to be the best.
c. **Who(m)** did they decide to be the best?

→ clear that PRO bears Case and it is not of the 'null' type

3.2 Nominal formal features of PRO, argumental pro & null expletives

PRO and (c)overt pronouns can be arguments, expletives cannot

Suppose that for a nominal (i.e., D) to be licit in an argument position, a referential index is required (or else null expletives could be arguments, contrary to fact).

Note further that referentiality is distinct from phi-features; see data in (31).[2]

(31) a. Dan$_i$ saw him$_{j/*i}$ in the car.
- but *Dan* and *him* display identical ϕ-features

b. Every woman$_i$ sat on the chair in front of her $_{i/j}$
- *her$_i$* is a bound variable without reference to any specific individual

→ PRO: [D, uCase, αϕ, αR] [3] variable extension & intension
→ argumental pro: [D, uCase, iϕ, αR] variable extension but stable/fixed intension

Note that PRO's deficiencies cannot be 'uninterpretable' features (i.e., [uϕ], [uR]). Neither PRO nor anaphors act as Probes (i.e., they have to be in the c-command domain of their licenser and not vice versa). Hence, their variable status is represented by [α].

What about null expletives?
These search for an associate, given that postverbal subjects are not preposed at LF. See Alboiu (2002:76), for Romanian (shown in 32), Zubizarreta (1998), for Spanish.

(32) a. Azi [profesorul lui Victor$_i$] l$_i$-a lăudat
today teacher-the his Victor CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.3SG praised
'Victor$_i$'s teacher praised him$_i$ today.'

b. * Azi l$_i$-a lăudat [profesorul lui Victor$_i$].
today CL.3SGM.ACC-AUX.3SG praised teacher-the his Victor

[2] See also Baker (2008:31) for the relationship between referential indexing and phi-features. See Chierchia (1998) for *de* se readings in OC (hence, variable intension).
[3] See also Sigurðsson (2008) who argues PRO is both a reference and a phi-feature variable, while overt pronouns and anaphors are simply reference variables.

→ expletive pro = a syntactic Probe: [D, (uCase), uϕ]

4. Catering to NOM PRO

Following Chomsky (2006, 2008):

- T inherits both A-related features (EPP/uD & uϕ) and Tense from C
- uϕ acts as a Case Probe (i.e., no uCase)

Alboiu (2008, to appear):

- Crucially, this **uϕ Probe** is present either on a verbal functional head (e.g. T) or a **null expletive *pro* satisfying some version of the EPP.**
- **Case spell-out:**
  - a. **NOM,** *iff* the Probe is specified as [*u*D, ***u*π**]
  - b. ACC, *iff* the Probe is specified as [*u*D]
  - c. default, *iff* no Probe

4.1 The null expletive Probe

pro = a formal device required by "discourse conditions" or "communicative intentions" (Rizzi & Shlonski 2005)

- ✓ **Null expletive *pro* is a parametrized UG primitive with a role in Case valuation and pragmatic encoding** (Alboiu 2008, to appear)

- Empirical evidence for *pro* in the lexical array of Romanian:

(i) specificity requirement on preverbal subjects (Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 1997, 2000, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994) => arguably Topics (unless contrastive Focus)

(ii) VS(O) in thetic sentences, regardless of predicate type

(iii) "**Criterial freezing**" (Rizzi 2003, in R&S, 2005:1): "An element moved to a position dedicated to some scope-discourse interpretive property, a criteria position, is frozen in place."
→ expletives are assumed to enable thematic subjects to obviate criterial freezing:

(33) a. *What do you think that t_{what} is in the box?
b. What do you think that there is t_{what} in the box?

(34) Chi credi [che [*pro* Subj vincerà t_{chi}]] R&S (2005:11)
'Who do you think that will win.'

(35) Cine crezi [<cine> că [*pro* va cîştiga t_{cine}]]

4.2 On NOM lexical subjects in Romanian non-finites

From Alboiu (to appear):

(36) a. Romanian uninflected / personal infinitives:

$[_{CP}$ C	pro_j	a-T	DP_j	<v> ....]
(P)	[D, ~~uϕ~~]	[**INF**, **v**, ~~uD~~]	[~~uCase~~: **NOM**, iϕ]	

b. Romanian gerund adjuncts with VS linearization:

$[_{CP}$ $C_{High/Low}$	pro_j	Asp	DP_j	<v> ....]
v-GER	[D, ~~uϕ~~]	[<v-GER>, ~~uD~~]	[~~uCase~~: **NOM**, iϕ]	

c. Romanian gerund adjuncts with SV linearization:

$[_{CP}$ C_{High}	DP_j-Top	C_{Low}	pro_j	Asp	<DP_j>	<v>...]
	[~~uCase~~: **NOM**, iϕ]	[**v-GER**]	[D, ~~uϕ~~]	[<v-GER>, ~~uD~~]		

→ as observed by Motapanyane (1995), gerunds precede clitics (while infinitives follow them), so lexical verb moves to a C head, carrying along the GER feature merged in Aspect (given that T is absent, following Avram 2003).
→ gerunds but not infinitives allow for an expanded, left-peripheral CP domain.

4.3. On Case and PRO

- PRO is only available to CP, phasal, domains
- Assume a logophoric operator, $\mathbf{OP_{LOG}}$, controlled by discourse (or a matrix argument), present in Spec,CP in derivations with PRO: [4]

Qu: Evidence for $\mathbf{OP_{LOG}}$?
A: Elegant way of reconciling apparently contradictory data in (37) and (38)

(37) a. [To PRO all leave now] would be unthinkable.
b.*[All to PRO leave now] would be unthinkable

Given that floating quantifiers need immediately c-commanding subjects,

⇨ PRO does not move out of VP (b/c T has no Case, Baltin 1995)

[4] For an alternate view, see (Manzini & Roussou 2000), Landau (1999, 2007).

(38) John promised his psychologist [PRO? to seem to <u>himself/*herself</u> [PRO to be competent] before leaving therapy]. (example offered by LI reviewer)

⇨ here anaphoric requirements seem to indicate PRO raising

- **OP$_{LOG}$** in Spec,CP would take care of anaphor in (38) w/o PRO raising –
- **OP$_{LOG}$** in Spec,CP cannot license 'all' in (37b) as it is not a subject --
- **OP$_{LOG}$** in Spec,CP would guarantee indexing of PRO within its own phase --

→ logophoric OP has a human orientation, hence a variable person feature (απ).
→ Given requirement of Spec-Head agree, this feature is also a property of C and, by inheritance, T

Consequently, for languages where there is evidence that C and T project independently, such as Icelandic …

(39)	a.	[	að	PRO	vera	ríkur]	er	ágætt.		
			to		be	rich.**NOM**	is	nice		
	b.	[$_{CP}$	**OP$_{LOG}$**	C	PRO		T	<PRO>	vP]	
			[απ]	**að** [απ]	[D, ~~*u*Case~~: **NOM**, αϕ, αR]		[*i*T, INF, ~~*u*D~~, απ]			

Note:
→ **OP$_{LOG}$** is present cross-linguistically. However, it can only guarantee a <u>NOM PRO</u> in the presence of an <u>A-related Probe</u>

So, e.g., in English, where there is no evidence that C and T project independently:

(40) a. [$_{CP}$ (*For) to PRO$_{arb}$ to give up now] was unthinkable.

b. <u>Prepositionless CP infinitives</u>

[$_{CP}$	**OP$_{LOG}$**	**C/T**	PRO vP]
	[απ]	**to** [*i*T, απ, INF]	[D, ~~*u*Case~~: **ACC$_{DEF}$**, αϕ, αR]

=> merged C/T projection; see Culicover (1999), Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), Haider (1988)

Crucial to merged heads:
i. feature sharing & ii. absence of an intervening specifier

=> C has no A-features to transfer to T, so nothing in the T domain probes for PRO
→ [uCase] is satisfied at Spell-Out and default ACC (à la Schütze 1997, 2001) ensues

4.4 On NOM PRO in Romanian

să/a

- the highest head of the verbal functional domain: Mood, I, or just T (e.g. Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000, Isac 2002, Motapanyane 1995, Pîrvulescu 2001, Rivero 1994, Terzi 1992),

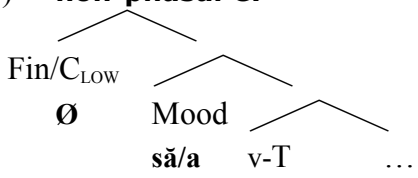
- Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) suggests ambiguity between a C and a T element

- under a cartographic approach to the left-periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2004), this ambiguity could perhaps translate as T/Mood to Fin (i.e., low C) movement (Alboiu 2007, Farkas 1985, Hill 2003)

i. OSC

- **non-phasal domain** (restructuring of sorts)**, A-chains** (hence, **no PRO**)

(41) **non-phasal CP**



ii. OOC / NOC

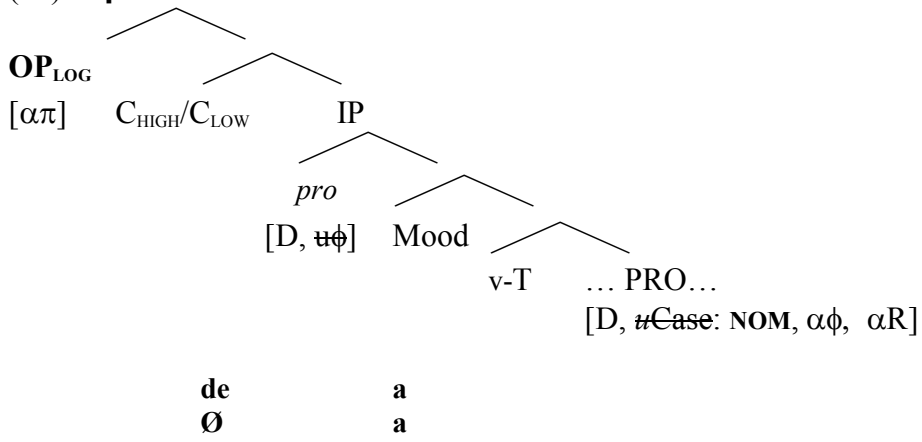
- **Phasal domain; PRO**
- **C and T are always distinct domains in Romanian**
- **A-related features, hence an A-Probe, hence Case value, always present**

Infinitives:

- never an expanded CP domain

=> Force/Fin (high C/low C) merged in Romanian

(42) **phasal CP**



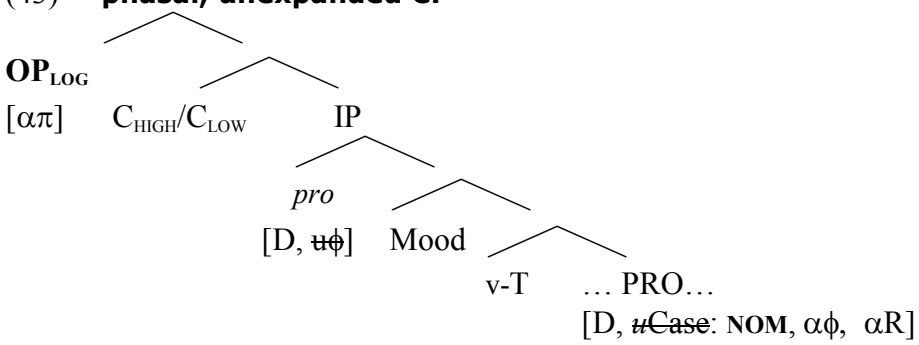
de **a**
Ø **a**

Notes:
- *ca, de* Fin (low C), not Force (high C) heads; *ca* is phasal (Hill 2003)
- *să*, non-phasal, at least highest I, at most lowest C/Fin (Alboiu 2007)

⇨ FinP can be both phasal and non-phasal

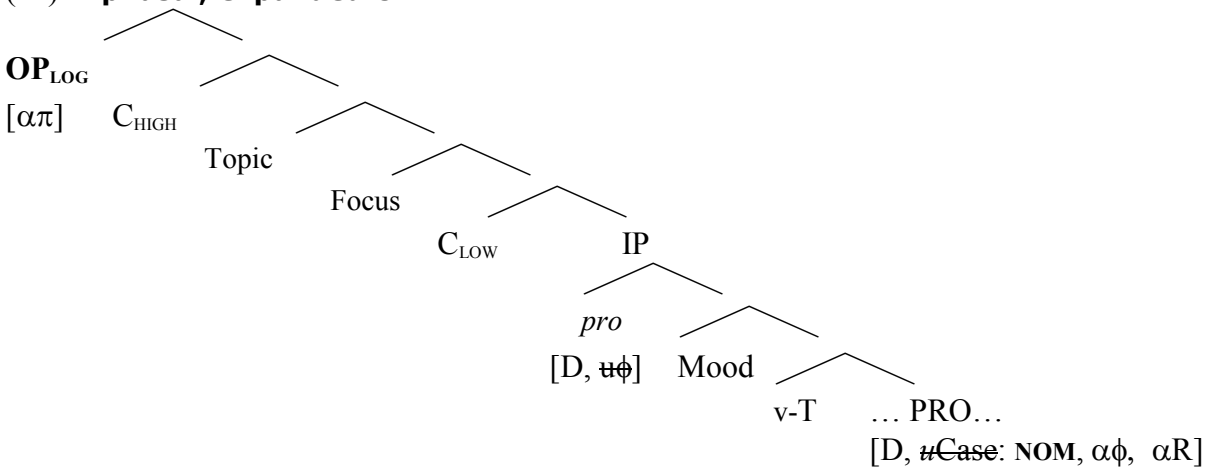
<u>Subjunctives</u>:
- Topic, Focus are ok, so
an expanded CP domain is possible but only in the presence of 'ca'

(43) **phasal, unexpanded CP**



Ø **să**

(44) **phasal, expanded CP**



Ø **ca** **să**

4.4.1 The issue of silence

- PRO is clearly Case-marked, so why is it silent?

Sigurðsson (2008: 424) argues that PRO "cannot carry 1st or 2nd person except under control".

⇨ The silence of PRO: **lack of π**

However:

(45) a. [PRO$_i$ to improve **myself$_i$**] is a permanent goal.
b. [PRO$_i$ a **te$_i$** ține de cuvînt] e o chestie de character.
'To keep one's word is a matter of honour.'

So, difficult to maintain π feature is lacking; perhaps, [απ/ϕ] more relevant

⇨ Which is why PRO is never lexicalized in Icelandic, despite its NOM status

Why is PRO overt at times? Other properties at stake:

- Wh-operator status (recall English/French data in (29)-(30))
- Focus/emphasis

Note: this last property would bring PRO in line with other anaphors, typically lexicalized only under emphasis

5. Conclusions

- ✓ **(non)-finiteness is <u>not</u> an issue where PRO is concerned; rather, the phasal CP domain, more generally responsible for A-features (Chomsky 2006, 2008), is the determining factor in the presence or absence of this syntactic object**
- ✓ **In the absence of a Phase, A-chains obtain**

- ✓ **PRO is part of the grammar of Romanian**

- ✓ **Features of PRO (anaphor): [D, uCase, αϕ, αR]**
- ✓ **Features of 'pro' (argumental pronoun): [D, uCase, iϕ, αR]**
- ✓ **Features of 'pro' (null expletive): [D, uϕ]**

- ✓ **In non-finite domains, either OP$_{LOG}$ or null expletive guarantee a π feature on the A-Probing domain**

- ✓ **PRO bears a NOM Case value in Romanian**
- ✓ **PRO may be lexicalized in relevant contexts, a property outside the domain of control**

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