

SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLEMENTS IN ROMANIAN: THE VIEW FROM CONTROL

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SCOPE OF ANALYSIS AND MAIN AIMS

The paper looks at subjunctive dependents in control situations, i.e., selected by control predicates, not by D(ual) M(ood) C(hoice) verbs. As such, the present analysis focuses on the subjunctive/infinitive cut rather than on the subjunctive/indicative divide. Our aims are two-fold: first, we mean to challenge the view that Romanian is a control language, i.e., that it displays *syntactic* control with subjunctive dependents. We thus want to show that in typical O(bligatory) C(ontrol) situations (fewer than previously assumed), Romanian is a raising rather than a control language (cf. Alboiu's (2007) parameter). Secondly, we aim to refine the current binary classification and propose a tripartite classification of subjunctive complements in control environments.

1. THE INGREDIENTS OF CONTROL: THE VIEW FROM ENGLISH AND PERSPECTIVES ON ROMANIAN

1.1 Briefly on control (& binding) in GB

B(inding)T(hory) states the three general conditions or principles which regulate the employment of anaphors, pronouns and lexical DPs, as shown in (1), cf. Chomsky (1981: 188).

(1) * **Binding Theory:**

Principle A: An anaphor is bound in its governing category/ local domain.

Principle B: A pronominal if free in its local domain.

Principle C: An R-expression is free.

In GB, Control was analysed as an extension of BT and hence the behaviour of OC PRO was likened to that of anaphors. Of course, PRO was also pronominal in nature – in optional control constructions such as arbitrary or long distance control. In simple terms, Control refers to the relation between an antecedent DP in the matrix clause (the subject (2a) or the direct/prepositional object (2b, c)) and the empty subject of the infinitival complement (labelled PRO so as to distinguish it from the null category *pro* of pro-drop languages):

- (2) a. John_i wants/managed [PRO_i to open the box by himself]
b. I asked John_i [PRO_i to open the box]
c. I rely on John_i [PRO_i to open the box by himself].

Control Theory mainly deals with issues such as:

- a) what elements can control (i.e., count as antecedents) and from what positions;
- b) the nature of the relation established between PRO and its antecedent (i.e., obligatory / optional) and
- c) the formal mechanism whereby PRO can pick up its antecedent.

1.1.1. *Obligatory Control vs. Non-Obligatory Control*

Obligatory Control (OC) refers to constructions that require the presence of an overt controller in the super-ordinate clause (italicized in (3) below). In other words, in OC the controller DP and the infinitive clause are always co-arguments of the matrix verb and OC configurations become illicit in the absence of an overt controller. Moreover, verbs of obligatory control always select PRO-TO and disallow FOR-TO infinitives (see (3d)):

- (3) a. I forced *them* [PRO to leave] / * I forced [PRO to leave] (object control)
 b. *I* promised him [PRO not to perjure myself] (subject control)
 c. *I* tried [PRO to give up smoking] (idem b)
 d. *Susan* managed [PRO to leave] / * [for John to leave].

Non-Obligatory Control (NOC) describes constructions where PRO need not be controlled by a clause-mate DP – this antecedent can either be absent (cases of arbitrary control – (4)) or it may be in a higher (or lower, for that matter) clause (cases of long-distance control – (5)):

- (4) * [PRO_{arb} to err] is human, [PRO_{arb} to forgive] divine.
 (5) * Mary_i knew that it would damage John_j [PRO_{i/j} to perjure himself_j/herself_i].

As expected, there is significant empirical evidence distinguishing OC & NOC:

- (a) Long distance control is only possible with NOC, not with OC.
 (b) Arbitrary Control is only possible with NOC, not with OC and
 (c) Strict Reading of PRO is only possible with NOC, not with OC (see (6)).

- (6) a. Tom_i tried [PRO_i to leave] and Bill_j did, too
 and Bill_j tried [PRO_j to leave] **NOT** and Bill tried for Tom to leave
 b. Tom_i wanted [PRO_i to leave] and so did Bill_j
 and Bill_j wanted [PRO_j to leave] (sloppy identity, OC) **AND**
 **and Bill_j wanted Tom_i to leave.**

1.1.2. *Control vs. Raising*

Control is the result of a process of deletion (under identity). PRO is therefore a base-generated empty category which obtains via deletion under identity and whose antecedent is established (at LF) under the Control Module. Thus, control presupposes a relation between two chains, each with its own theta role – subject control verbs being two-argument predicates which assign a theta role to an External Argument.

Raising, on the other hand, obtains via movement: the NP-trace is *not* base-generated, but the product of a transformational rule following the application of Move. Since raisers are unaccusative predicates, movement in this case is motivated by case and is always from a non-case position to a non-theta-marked position where the moved DP can get case (under spec-head agreement with the finite Infl of the matrix verb. As such, raising involves a single chain, since the binder (antecedent) of the NP-trace is not independently theta-marked.

- (7) a. John_i seemed [t_i to kiss a koala]. (raising)
 b. John_i hoped [PRO_i to kiss a koala]. (control).

Even if highly similar on the surface, the two sentences under (7a) and (7b) above are derived on the basis of different mechanisms. While (7a) is an instance of (subject-to-subject) raising, whereby *John* is theta-marked only by the non-finite predicate but raises to the

Specifier of IP in the matrix in order to get case, (7b) is a control construction which involves no movement. The matrix predicate has its own EA (John), and PRO is independently theta-marked by the infinitive verb.

As for case, it was initially believed that PRO can bear no case, due to its ungoverned position (control infinitives were taken to be CPs). Later on, PRO was claimed to bear null case (cf. Chomsky & Lasnik (1993)) – a special type of case assigned by non-finite inflection only. More recently, however, it has been argued that PRO can also bear case – like any other DP (based on evidence from secondary predicates and such agreeing elements which are overtly marked (among other things) for case as well. Since the case properties of PRO are not directly germane to our analysis, we do not discuss this further here.

1.2. Control in Minimalism:

There are two main ‘trends’ as far as Control is concerned: the reductionist view of Control or the Movement Theory of Control, as proposed by Hornstein (1999), (2001), on the one hand, and the non-reductionist view of Control – on the other. While the former sets out to reduce Control to an instance of movement (thereby undermining the very existence of PRO, as well as the difference between control and raising (see 1.1.2 above), the *Agree* approach to control – whose main proponent is and has been Landau (1999 & subseq.) – sets out to maintain the postulation of PRO as a formative of grammar and therefore to keep control and raising apart.

1.2.1. The Movement Theory of Control

As previously mentioned, the MTC treats OC as an instance of Raising and is thus forced to argue that PRO is actually an NP-trace. In other words, the controller which at PF surfaces in the matrix clause has *moved* from the lower infinitival clause where it was originally projected and the only difference between control and raising that still holds is the number of theta roles: two in control (7b), but only one in raising (7a).

Some basic assumptions of the MTC are that:

- (a) theta roles are features on verbs (also in Manzini & Roussou (1998))
- (b) a DP gets theta role by checking a theta feature of a verbal or predicate phrase it merges with
- (c) a chain can have more than one theta role.

The assumption under (c) above is obviously problematic if the basic assumptions of the Theta Criterion are to be maintained. The radical innovation in (c) is that control forms *one* chain (similar to raising constructions), bearing (at least) two theta positions. Equally non-conventional is – besides treating theta roles as features – to allow movement into a theta position.

1.2.2. The Agree Model: Landau (1999 and subseq.)

As the theory has it, α and β are in an *Agree* relation if α is the *probe* (i.e. the attractor) and β the *goal* (i.e. the attractee) in the domain of α . *Agree* holds in virtue of an uninterpretable feature ([u]) of α and a matching feature of β that makes the latter visible or active. As far as control cases are concerned, the matrix DP (the antecedent) is the probe and PRO is the goal, agreeing with its controller in ϕ - features and acquiring reference from it.

Thus, PRO *does not* raise: the ϕ - features of the controller are transmitted to PRO via *Agree* relations allowed in the derivation. The link between PRO and its antecedent is actually mediated by the agreement features of the infinitival clause, which are anaphoric in nature as well (i.e. they need to be checked against the matrix T).

Landau (1999) is the first to clearly define the domain of control by isolating seven classes of control verbs, as follows:

- 1) aspectual (*begin, continue, start*)
- 2) modal (*need, have to, be able, etc.*)
- 3) implicative (*manage, try, dare, etc.*) >> EC verbs
- 4) desiderative (*want, prefer*)
- 5) factive (*regret, hate*)
- 6) propositional (*claim, maintain, believe*)
- 7) interrogative (*ask, wonder*). >> PC verbs

The author then observes that the OC class is not homogeneous¹, i.e., there are certain ‘irregularities’ as far as the identity relation between PRO and its antecedent/controller is concerned. As such, he identifies two types of Obligatory Control: Exhaustive and Partial Control.

In Exhaustive Control constructions (henceforth, EC), obtained with the first three classes of verbs above, the relation between PRO and its antecedent is one of strict identity, so PRO has to strictly match the specification of its antecedent. This means that if the antecedent DP is singular, PRO will also have to be singular and if the antecedent is specified for plurality, PRO will likewise have to bear plural marking.

In Partial Control (PC), the relation PRO – antecedent is one of *subset-superset*, i.e. the antecedent need not be strictly identical to PRO, but merely included in its reference. Thus, a plural antecedent will ensure a (syntactically) plural PRO, but a singular antecedent – besides controlling a syntactically singular PRO and thus yielding EC – can control an infinitival empty subject which is semantically plural. This has been dubbed ‘the PC effect’ and relevant examples will be discussed shortly.

As we can see, while EC predicates are bound to engender only EC, PC predicates can also function as EC predicates whenever there is a perfect matching between PRO and its antecedent (i.e., whenever the PC effect is not at work – see below for clarification).

EC predicates differ from PC predicates in two relevant respects:

- 1) the (im)possibility of a *collective predicate* in the infinitival complement (with a singular antecedent)
- 2) the (im)possibility of *independent temporal specification* in the complement.

As far as the first criterion is concerned, EC verbs are expected (and shown) to disallow collective predicates (in italics in the examples below) in their infinitival complement when the antecedent is singular (see the (a) examples, with the EC predicate in bold). PC verbs, on the other hand, allow them with such antecedents (syntactic plurality is disallowed with singular antecedents, cf. (10c))²:

¹ Landau departs from the classical view that interprets (ia) below as OC, versus (i b, c) as instances of NOC on the basis of the (im)possibility of a *for*-complement:

- (i) a. John tried (**for Mary*) to win the game. (OC)
- b. John wanted (*for Mary*) to win the game. (NOC)
- c. John wondered how [PRO_{arb} to win the game]. (NOC, arbitrary)
- (b, c) bear clear similarities with (a) above: they all disallow LD control (ii) as well as arbitrary control (iii):
- (ii) a. Mary (i) said that John (j) tried [PRO (*i/j) to win the game]
- b. Mary (i) said that John (j) wanted [PRO (*i/j) to win the game].
- c. Mary (i) said that John (j) asked how [PRO (*i/j) to shave *himself*]
- (iii) *John tried [PRO (arb) to leave].

² *gather* and *together* are different in that the former belongs to the class of inherently collective (i.e. reflexive) predicates like *meet, convene, assemble, disperse*, while the latter merely helps form contextually collective predicates, by joining certain verbs (*win together, dance together, learn together, work together, etc.*). However, both types pattern with PC verbs. Importantly, *PC induces semantic, not syntactic plurality on PRO*, given that these collective predicates *do not* require a syntactically plural subject; a semantically plural one is enough for the derivation to converge. Thus, PRO in PC structures inherits the syntactic number of its antecedent while semantically it can have plural interpretation, including the controller in its reference.

As for temporal specification, EC complements are specified as [-T], i.e., they are anaphoric and cannot establish temporal independence (11). PC complements are [+T], i.e., tensed: they can refer to a time different from that of matrix tense) (12).

- (11) a. * *Yesterday, John began* to solve the problem *tomorrow*.
b. * *Yesterday, John had to* solve the problem *tomorrow*.
c. * *John managed (yesterday)* to solve the problem *next Monday*.

(12) a. *Yesterday, John hoped* to solve the problem *tomorrow*.
b. *Yesterday, John wondered* how to solve the problem *tomorrow*.
c. *Today, John regretted* having kissed/kissing Mary *last week*.
d. *Today, John claimed* to have lost his car keys *last week*.

Going against the flow which argues that the behaviour of PRO patterns that of an anaphor, Landau (1999: 134) shows that the distribution of controllers does not parallel that of binders, because: a) some potential binders cannot control and b) some potential (OC) controllers cannot bind³. By this token, OC and Principle A have different distributional properties and need to be teased apart. The new relevant criterion is now the temporal specification of the complement, encoded in its C head, such that only [-T] complements will yield a (strict) control relation.

A more comprehensive picture of NOC also emerges: besides long distance and arbitrary control, Landau (1999) also discusses Implicit Control, Split Control and Control Shift. Moreover, it is shown that NOC infinitives never occupy an argument position, but appear as either extraposed or topicalized, such that the OC/NOC distinction is a configurational one, with OC PRO being a syntactic anaphor and NOC PRO a semantic one (a logophor).

Implicit Control describes a situation when the controller is an unexpressed (i.e., covert) argument of the matrix verb:

- (13) a. John(i) said (*to x*) [where PRO(x+) to leave him(i) a message]
b. It is unclear (*to x*) [what PRO(x+) to do with the book]
c. Mary was asked (*by x*) [what PRO(x+) to do with the letter]

In Split Control, two overt controllers which occupy distinct syntactic positions in the matrix jointly control into the infinitival dependent:

- (14) a. Mary(i) thought that John(j) said that [PRO(i+j) helping *each other* is vital].
b. Mary(i) told John(j) that [PRO(i+j) to become members of the new club]
is no simple matter.

³ For a): controllers are designated arguments, whereas binders (in English-type languages) are not
 (i) a. John₁ told Mary₂ about himself/herself/themselves

b. John₁ told Mary₂ [PRO*_{1/2} to leave]

For b), the best example of controllers that cannot bind comes from implicit control.

(ii) a. Mary₁ thought that John said (to her₁) [PRO₁ to wash herself₁]

Split Control should not be mistaken for PC. The latter refers to instances when *one* (syntactically) singular antecedent controls a collective (i.e., semantically plural) PRO, whereas the former depicts configurations where *two* antecedents (i.e. syntactic plurality) control PRO and thus force it to be *syntactically* plural.

1.3. What about other languages, which have finite complements to control predicates?

1.3.1. Cross-linguistic perspectives

Landau (2013) coins the term of “finite control” and claims that finite control is a robust phenomenon cross-linguistically. As such, his ‘calculus of control’ isolates the key ingredients of ‘finite control’, which are a) semantic tense (the possibility of tense mismatch) & b) agreement morphemes (specific phi-features).

This allows the author to formulate *the finiteness rule for OC* given in (15):

- (15) In a fully specified complement clause (I° carries slots for [T] and [Agr]):
- If I° carries both semantic tense and agreement ($[+T, +Agr]$), No Control obtains
 - Elsewhere, OC obtains \Rightarrow OC as an ‘elsewhere case’ (2013: 103).

Given (15), the following OC instances are to be cross-linguistically expected:

- (16) a. OC in $[-T, -Agr]$ complements (e.g., English EC infinitives)
b. OC in $[-T, +Agr]$ complements (subjunctives in Greek and Romanian; inflected infinitives in Hungarian, European Portuguese)
c. OC in $[+T, -Agr]$ complements (PC infinitives in English, uninflected infinitives in Welsh, European Portuguese).

1.3.2. Preview on the Romanian data

There are a few basic assumptions to start from and to have in mind before embarking on any discussion of Romanian control. First off, all Romanian subjunctive dependents are $[+Agr]$, on account of the finite specification of the ‘conjunctiv’, the Romanian subjunctive mood (we will be using the term ‘subjunctive’ throughout). That leaves $[-T]$ as the key factor in establishing OC and, by way of consequence, according to (16) above, $[+T]$ will ensure N(O)C(ontrol).

We take Nominative case to be assigned in the same manner⁴ in all phasal domains, i.e., domains which allow the merger of disjoint DP subjects and which have contentful tense (i.e., $[iT]$, selected by phasal/non-defective C).

If we analyse the Romanian data from a comparative-typological perspective, Romanian (a Romance language) patterns with Balkan languages with respect to subjunctive marking and control properties, considering that:

- Romanian (and Balkan languages (Greek, Albanian, etc.)) use the subjunctive in all the contexts where English uses the infinitive (OC and NOC) and
- Romance languages use the infinitive in OC and the subjunctive in NOC (obviation).

Thus, on an East-West continuum, we have the classification in language classes as in (17) below, according to the type of complement used in OC and N(O)C:

⁴ We follow here assumptions in Pesetsky & Torrego (2004), as well as Alboiu (2007): case is formalized as $[uT]$ on D, valued by *Agree* with the iT of a phi-complete T probe (u-phi).

	Class A (Romanian/Balkan)	>>	Class B (Romance)	>>	Class C (English, German)
OC/	subjunctive		infinitive/		infinitive
NOC			subjunctive		
	[+ finite]		[+/- finite]		[- finite]
	[+ Agr] [+/- T]		[+/- Agr] [+/- T]		[-Agr] [+/- T]

While OC in English is sensitive to finiteness features (i.e., [-Agr]), in Romanian (and Balkan languages) it seems to be sensitive to temporal specification, such that only [-T] dependents induce OC.

2. ROMANIAN SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLMENTS OUT OF CONTROL

In this second section, we aim to show that Romanian displays no syntactic (i.e., local) control with typical control predicates. This is because the cut-off point for OC in Romanian is lower down Landau's (1999 – 2013) scale of control predicates and the remaining predicates do not trigger OC, but are actually (long-distance) raising configurations. By this token, a tri-partite classification of subjunctive dependents (in control contexts) in Romanian will be proposed.

2.1. Previous analyses of OC in Romanian

Previous analyses of control in Romanian broadly follow the two afore-mentioned ‘trends’ to approaching control. Truth be told, though, the theories according to which a PRO type of subject is postulated as the empty subject of a controlled subjunctive are greater in number than those which analyse control as an instance of movement. Landau (2004) and (2013) and Jordan (2009) – to mention a few – are among those who have opted for so-called standard control analyses, arguing for a PRO-type of embedded subject. Alboiu (2006) and (2007) brings a new perspective, analysing Romanian control as raising – but raising with a few amendments, as we shall shortly see.

2.1.1. PRO as the empty subject (Landau (2004) and (2013); Jordan (2009))

Landau (2004) does not focus solely on Romanian, but rather on Balkan subjunctives as a whole as instances of ‘finite control’. Starting from the claim that subjunctive complements in Balkan languages parallel the behaviour of infinitival complements in English (18), he identifies two types of subjunctives in control contexts, Controlled-subjunctives or C-subjunctives and Free-Subjunctives or F-subjunctives.

- (18) a. V selects a C-subjunctive in the Balkan languages iff it selects an EC-infinitive in other languages
b. V selects an F-subjunctive in the Balkan languages iff it selects a PC-infinitive in other languages (Landau (2004: 837)).

C-subjunctives are selected by control verbs (*know (how), learn, manage, begin, stop, continue*) and evince OC constructions, whereas F-subjunctives are selected by *believe, decide, arrange, persuade, wish, want, hope* and do not trigger OC interpretations. The two types of complement differ from the point of view of a) their temporal specification (T) and b) the type (interpretation) of the null subject (Agr).

As such, the null subject of C-subjunctives resembles PRO, since it has to be identical to the subject of the main clause verb (i.e., no disjoint embedded DPs are allowed) and, temporally, the structure as a whole describes a single event via the subordinating

(subjunctive) verb. Conversely, F-subjunctives do not impose any restrictions on the type of DP subject of the subordinate, so that, when null, this subject patterns the behaviour of a *pro* rather than PRO: it can be interpreted as disjoint in reference from the subject of the MC. Also, F-subjunctives are able to define their own temporal domain and the structure as a whole describes two separate events (aspectually).

Needless to say that all the above are consistent with the Romanian data: the subjunctive dependent of an aspectual verb, for example, disallows both disjoint embedded DPs and mismatching temporal adverbials, whereas the subjunctive complement of a volitional verb will allow for both. Moreover, when the embedded subject is null, it need not co-refer with the closest antecedent (i.e., the subject of the matrix), but – under the right (pragmatic) circumstances – it can pick up a more remote antecedent (made available by the larger discourse). Relevant examples will be provided and discussed in the upcoming subsection.

Jordan (2009) similarly discusses the dichotomy between EC - subjunctives and PC - subjunctives. Drawing on Landau (2006), (2013), she claims that the case of PRO is reflected on case-marked embedded elements and that the complement is an independent chain with one case and one theta position. She illustrates EC instances with matrix implicative verbs:

- (19) * Mara₁ încearcă [PRO.Dat₁ să nu i₁ se facă ei însăși₁ dor de copii] (2009: 227)
 Mara tries-3sg sbj not her-Dat refl make herself miss children-the
 'Mara tries not to miss the children herself'

In a similar vein as Landau (2004), Jordan (2009) claims that in EC subjunctives (which she takes to be those dependents selected by modal, implicative and aspectual verbs) the subject is PRO because: a) lexical subjects (and hence a null *pro*) are disallowed (20a), b) the null subject lacks independent reference, hence requires a c-commanding antecedent (20b) and c) LDC is disallowed (20c)

- (20) a. * Mara₁ a încercat să scrii **tu₂/pro₂** o scrisoare. (2009: 135)
 Mara has tried sbj write-2sg you/pro a letter
 b. **Mara₁** a încercat **e₁** să scrie **ea însăși₁** o scrisoare (2009: 136)
 Mara has tried sbj write-3sg she herself a letter
 c. Radu₁ stie că **Mara₂** a încercat **e₂** să scrie **ea însăși₂** scrisoarea
 Radu knows that Mara has tried sbj write-3sg she herself letter-the.

In PC subjunctives (after volitionals), the controller is semantically singular, whereas PRO is argued to be semantically plural due to the collective modifier *together* (as in Landau (1999), (2004)):

- (21) * Radu₁ crede [că Mara₂ speră [să rezolve problema *împreună*]]
 Radu thinks that Mara hopes sbj solve-3pl problem together.

2.1.2. Why PRO & PC are not viable options (cf. Alboiu (2006) and (2007))

In all the examples above, the controller is assumed to be merged in Spec, IP of the matrix clause. However, the canonical subject position in Romanian is post-verbal⁵. For control environments, this would mean that the unique DP shared by the two predicates should be base-generated in the complement clause, not in the matrix, as shown in (22), taken from Alboiu (2007):

⁵ This is the current and widely-accepted view for subject in Romanian, i.e., that pre-verbal subjects are topics rather than occupying an A-position. We take this to be the case without further discussion.

- (22) * încearcă [să cânte Victor la trombon] (2007: 192)
 try-3sg sbj play-3sg Victor at trombone
 'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

(22) alone is enough to raise doubt on the assumption that controlled subjunctives involve a PRO type of empty subject, since it shows that lexical subjects *are* available in the complement and PRO cannot alternate with lexical DPs/pro. Consequently, the empty subject of such constructions cannot possibly be PRO.

As for Partial Control, Alboiu (2007) correctly shows that unlike English, Romanian requires syntactic plurality of semantically plural predicates (23a, b): *eu* 'I' cannot control the embedded subject, which is closer to a referential *pro* than PRO.

- (23) a. * Eu_i vreau [să plec x_i *împreună*]/ * Vreau [să plec eu *împreună*]
 I want sbj leave-1sg together / want-1sg sbj leave-1sg I together
 b. Eu_i vreau [să plecăm x *împreună*] (2007: 193)
 I want sbj leave-1pl together.

Romanian therefore lacks the PC effect manifest in English with PC predicates (see above). Thus, the control dichotomy in Romanian is best discussed in terms of the opposition between OC (understood (also) as EC)⁶ and N(o) C(ontrol).

2.1.3. (Modified) Control-as-Raising (Alboiu (2007))

Alboiu's (2007) proposal combines the reductionist approach to control with the Agree model. More precisely, in accordance with the MTC, the author keeps the assumption that theta roles are features in need of valuation. Where she differs from Hornstein (1999) and (2001) is that in her frame theta roles are satisfied by the operation Agree, i.e., without any dislocation: the DP subject is generated in SpecvP of the complement clause and from there it probes the matrix predicate, with which it enters an Agree relation, thus instantiating backward control. The subject DP can move to the matrix, but if or when this happens does not depend on any syntactic mechanism (EPP or case, for example), but on semantic-pragmatic triggers (focus, topic, de-rhematization, etc.)

She, too – just like Landau (2004) and Jordan (2009) separates subjunctive complements to control predicates into two classes, OC subjunctives and NOC subjunctives. OC subjunctives (which the author illustrates with examples involving matrix implicative verbs, (24)) are taken to be non-phrasal domains (TPs), since they are claimed to disallow the overt subjunctive complementizer *ca* and they are temporally unsaturated (i.e., embedded Tense bears a [uT] feature). As we have just explained, the unique or shared subject is merged *in situ* (in embedded Spec, vP) and if it moves it does not do so for case or EPP.

Assuming that theta roles are features on verbs, saturated by *Agree* (not *Move*), uT on embedded T cannot check case (uT) on the embedded DP and, consequently, case is checked against the matrix iT so that the DP ends up bearing two theta roles/features, as shown in (24):

⁶ In as much as OC is present *at all* – see ensuing discussion, where we show that the (fewer than previously assumed) instances of OC are to be analysed as (standard) raising configurations, such that neither Control proper nor the Movement theory of Control should have a say in the matter.

- (24) a. Încearcă₀₁ [C_{Low} să cânte₀₂ Mihai_{01,02} la violoncel]
 b. * Încearcă₀₁ Victor₀₁ [să cânte₀₂ Mihai₀₂ la violoncel]
 tries (Victor) sbj play-3sg Mihai at cello
 'Victor is trying to play the cello.'

NOC subjunctives, on the other hand – e.g., those selected by volitional verbs – are phasal domains, since they both allow the subjunctive complementizer *ca* and are temporally saturated (i.e., their Tense bears [iT]). Such constructions have two available Nominative case positions, since iT on embedded T can check case independently. By way of consequence, no theta chain formation is at work either.

- (25) * Mihai_i vrea [C_{High} ca Victor_j să facă (el_j însuși_j) desenul]
 Mihai wants that Victor sbj make-3sg he himself drawing-the
 'Mihai wants Victor to do the drawing himself.'

Thus, the OC/NOC distinction is expressed in terms of the non-phasal status (C_{Low}) of the former and the phasal status of the latter (C_{High}). Alboiu (2007) draws from Landau (2004) the idea that control obtains via an Agree operation, but departs from the latter in that she does away with PRO (as well as *pro*) as the empty subject(s) of subjunctive complements in such environments. From Manzini & Roussou (1998) and Hornstein (1999) and (2001), the author retains the idea that theta roles are features in need of valuation, but departs from the former in showing that the basic position of the subject DP is actually inside the embedded clause, instantiating 'backward control', and from the latter in that displacement is optional in Romanian.

Significantly, the author's analysis of control instances in Romanian relies on the assumption that implicative predicates may display raising behaviour. While this may be true for other verbs, it does not hold for (subject) implicatives, a point we shall return to in the next section.

2.2. Romanian Subjunctive Complements out of Control

The major claim of this section is that typical OC/EC verbs (implicative, aspectual, modal – see above) do not instantiate control in Romanian. First, we will show that subject implicative predicates resist both the standard (PRO) and the control-as-raising analysis. Next to these, object control verbs are also proven to obviate OC (2.2.1). Secondly, aspectual verbs and modals evince (standard) raising behaviour, in accordance with current claims in the literature (see, among others, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1999), Alexiadou et al. (2010), Wurmbrand (1999) on modals as raising verbs) (2.2.2).

If a binary distinction of control environments is to be kept, the unexpected behaviour of implicative verbs in Romanian leaves us with the question of whether they should be classified together with volitional predicates or not, since they share with the latter the ability of their clausal complements to obviate control. However, the clear differences in the restrictions that implicative and volitional predicates impose on their subjunctive complements, especially with respect to temporal reference, definitely argues against their patterning together, thus feeding a tri-partite classification of subjunctive complements in control contexts, along similar lines (but with significant differences) as those proposed for Greek by Spyropoulos (2007) and Kapetangiani (2010).

2.2.1. The case of (subject) implicative verbs and (some) object control verbs: The Data

2.2.1.1. Subject control implicative verbs (*a încerca* ‘try’, *a reuși* ‘manage’, *a căuta* (*să*) ‘endeavour’, *a se strădui* ‘try/do your best’, *a izbuti* ‘succeed’)

Unlike the claims made in previous analyses, these predicates do not actually impose OC readings on their subjunctive complements. This is shown in the following sets of examples, most of them naturally-occurring (the source is given in the footnotes), where the matrix implicative verb is bolded and italicized and the relevant property is either given in bold (see the complementizer in (26) or underlined (the disjoint embedded subjects or mismatching phi-features on embedded T in (27), the collective predicates or plural marking on embedded T in (28)).

So, our predicates:

a) freely allow the overt subjunctive complementizer *ca*. Therefore, it must be the case that they are CPs, not just TPs:

- (26) a. ***Încerc*** ***ca*** în fiecare zi ***să*** fiu util⁷
try-1sg that in each day sbj be-1sg useful
‘I am trying that every day I should be useful’
- b. Jojo ***a reușit*** ***ca*** la doar o lună după naștere ***să*** revină la greutatea inițială⁸
Jojo managed-3sg that at only one month after birth sbj return-3sg to weight initial
‘Jojo managed that only one month after birth she regain her initial weight’
- c. Kenyon ***a izbutit*** ***ca***, prin influențarea unor gene, ***să*** le prelungescă viață⁹
Kenyon managed-3sg that by influencing some genes sbj them-Dat prolong life-the
‘Kenyon managed that by influencing genes he could prolong their lifespan’.

b) allow disjoint embedded subjects (overt or *pro*; see (27b) for the latter case). Obviously, this is strong evidence against both PRO and NP-trace/copy, that is, against any construal of *obligatory* control, favouring instead the assumption that they are independent case domains.

- (27) a. ***Am*** ***încercat*** ***să*** nu afle prea multă lume că plec...¹⁰
have tried-1sg sbj not find out-3sg too many people that leave-1sg
‘I have tried that not too many people should find out I was leaving.’
- b. [..am proi o bunicăk paralizată..]. [A] ***m încercat*** proi [să primească prok
have-1sg a grandmother paralyzed-fem have tried-1sg sbj receive-3sg
indemnizația lunară de handicap de la primărie]¹¹
benefit-the monthly-fem of handicap from city-hall
‘[I have a paralyzed grandmother.] I have tried that she receive(s)/for her to receive her monthly benefit from the city hall.’
- c. ***Am*** ***reușit*** ***ca*** în 25 septembrie, 11.500 de voluntari să strângă peste
have managed-1sg/pl that on 25 september 11,500 volunteers sbj collect-3pl over

⁷ <http://ro-ro.facebook.com/pages/Incerc-ca-in-fiecare-zi-sa-fiu-util/151703734902408?sk=info>

⁸ <http://www.agentiadepresamondena.com/iata-cum-a-slabit-jojo-dupa-nastere/>

⁹ <http://www.ziare.com/viata-sanatoasa/carbohidrati/renuntarea-la-carbohidrati-ar-putea-fi-secretul-longevitatii-1051629>

¹⁰ <http://www.feminis.ro/bloguri/RomanceInLume/fara-categorie/in-loc-de-introducere-61>

¹¹ http://www.9am.ro/comunitate/forum/view_topic/24460/indemnizatia-persoanelor-cu-handicap-de-gradul-1.html

- 25.000 de saci de gunoi.¹²
 25,000 bags of garbage
 'I/we have succeeded that on September 25th, 11,500 volunteers should collect...'
- d. Sper că **am izbutit** ca expoziția să fie o reușită.¹³
 hope-1sg that have managed-1sg/pl that exhibition-the sbj be a success
 'I hope I have managed that the exhibition should be a hit/success.'

c) allow for Partial Control effects, which should be understood as Split Control (remember that Romanian does not have Partial Control *per se* – since it is not a ‘control language’, as English). More precisely, the reference of the main clause antecedent (singular) is included in the reference of the null embedded subject, which is *syntactically* plural:

- (28) a. [Incerc [...] *pro_i* [să facem *pro_{i+k}* împreună activități care ne fac plăcere]¹⁴
 try-1sg sbj do-1pl together activities which us-Dat make pleasure
 'I_i am trying that we_{i+k} do /for us to do together lots of activities that we enjoy.'
 b. [Eu_i vin în întâmpinarea președintilor_k...] Încerc *pro_i* [să *ne* cunoaștem, să
 I come-1sg in meeting of chairmen-the try-1sg sbj know-1pl each other sbj
 stabilim niște priorități, să descoperim...*pro_{i+k}*]
 establish-1pl some priorities sbj discover-1pl
 [I_i'm being forthcoming to the chairmen_k]. I_i'm trying that we_{i+k} get to know *each other*, that we_{i+k} agree on some priorities, that we_{i+k} discover.

d) do not exclude LDC. In (29), there are two antecedents available for the empty subject of the subjunctive complement: *musafirii* ‘the guests’ and *Ion* (John). Obviously, the ‘control’ reading is readily available, i.e., the one according to which the empty embedded subject retrieves the closest antecedent, i.e., John (in this reading, John is trying to have a good time). However – significantly – *pro* in the subjunctive complement can also refer to the more remote antecedent, ‘the guests’, and then the interpretation would be that John is trying for them, i.e., the guests, to have a good time. The ambiguity of (29) is possible in Romanian because of the syncretism of subjunctive inflection for third person singular and plural forms.

- (29) * Musafirii știu prea bine [că Ion_k **încearcă** mereu [să se simtă *pro_{i+k}* cât mai
 guests-the know-3pl very well that Ion tries-3sg always sbj refl.feel-3sg/pl as
 bine [când îl vizitează *pro_i*]]]
 more well [when him-Acc visit-3pl]
 'The guests know very well that John is always trying
 to have a good time whenever they visit him' OR
 that they have a good time/for them to have a good time whenever...'

2.2.1.2. (Direct or indirect) object control verbs (directive/exercitive: *a ruga/cere* ‘ask’, *a convinge* ‘convince’, *a încuraja* ‘encourage’, *a ordona* ‘order’; implicative *a obliga* ‘oblige’)

Similarly to subject control implicative predicates, typical object control verbs are also able to obviate OC in Romanian. The next set of examples is more than illustrative in this respect, since our verbs:

- a) allow disjoint embedded subjects (overt or *pro*)¹⁵

¹² <http://www.maramedia.ro/maramures-let-s-do-it-romania-2011/video>

¹³ <http://www.bnro.ro/Discurs-sustinut-de-Mugur-Isarescu,-cu-ocazia-deschiderii-Expozitiei-euro--6612.aspx>

¹⁴ http://www.businesswoman.ro/index.php?mact=News,cntnt01,detail,0&cntnt01articleid=1308&cntnt01origid=119&cntnt01lang=ro_RO&cntnt01returnid=119

- (30) a. Mama_i copilului s-a **rugat** de profesor_i să nu afle tatăl_m lui¹⁶
 mother-the child-Dat asked-3sg teachers sbj not find-3sg his father ...
 'The child's mother begged the teachers that his father not find out....'
- b. colegii m_k -au **încurajat** să fie și un român_m la concurs¹⁷
 colleagues me-Acc encouraged sbj be-3sg and one Romanian at contest
 'My colleagues encouraged me that there be a Romanian, too in the contest'
- c. Colonelul Kemenicii mi_k-a **ordonat** ca nimeni_m să nu intre în birou [...].¹⁸
 Colonel Kemenici me-Acc ordered that noboby sbj not enter-3sg in office
 'Colonel Kemenici ordered me that nobody should enter the office.'

b) exhibit Split Control effects (the syntactically plural null embedded subject retrieves the reference of both the matrix subject and direct or indirect object(s))

- (31) a. abia i_k-**am convins** pro_i [să nu plecăm pro_{k+i} în ziua când avem cazare]¹⁹
 barely them-Acc convinced-1sg sbj not leave-1pl when have-1pl accommodation
 'I barely convinced **them** that **we** not leave on the very day of our accommodation'
- b. lk -**am convins** pro_i [să facem pro_{k+i} bebe]²⁰
 him-Acc convinced-1sg sbj make-1pl baby
 'I convinced **him** that **we** should have a baby.'
- c. [G]eneralul Nuțăi mi_k -a **cerut** [să organizăm pro_{k+i} împreună primirea...]²¹
 general Nuță me-Dat asked sbj organize-1pl together the reception of ...
 'General Nuță asked **me** that **we** organize the welcoming ceremony together.'
- d. când a aflat pro_i că -s însărcinatăk m_k-a **obligat**
 when found out-3sg that be-1sg pregnant-fem me-Acc obliged-3sg
 să ne căsătorim pro_{k+i}²²
 sbj marry-1pl
 'When he found out I was pregnant, **he** forced **me** that **we** should get married.'
- e. lk-**am încurajat** pro_i să facă curat pro_k cu minei, să vorbim pro_{k+i} la telefon²³
 him-Acc encouraged-1sg sbj make-3sg clean with me, sbj talk-1pl on phone
 'I encouraged **him** to tidy up with me (and) that **we** should talk on the phone...'
- f. Mi_k-a **ordonat** pro_i să așteptăm i+m ordine ulterioare²⁴
 me-Dat ordered-3sg sbj wait-1pl orders upcoming
 'He ordered **me** that **we** should wait for further instructions.'

c) allow for the possibility of Control Shift. In (32), due to the secondary predicate 'singură' (alone), which agrees in gender and number with the main clause subject (*Maria*) and not with the main clause direct object (*părinți* – parents), the reading is obviously one according to which the embedded *pro* retrieves the non-local antecedent in the main clause, i.e., the

¹⁵ As far as the overt subjunctive complementizer is concerned, there is consensus that the complements of these verbs freely allow *ca*. As for as the nature of the subject, authors have oscillated between analysing it either as PRO or as a controlled *pro* (Alboiu (2006)).

¹⁶ <http://www.zaqq.ro/bacalaureat-2011/>

¹⁷ <http://www.totalbaschet.ro/articole/10402/ASG-2012-Adrian-Gu%C8%9Boaia-Nu-m%C4%83-a%C5%9Fteptam-s%C4%83-fie-at%C3%A2t-de-distractiv>

¹⁸ http://www.adevarul.ro/sfarsitul_ceausestilor/Ceausestii_isi_faceau_nevoile_intr-un_bidon_0_158984604.html

¹⁹ <http://www.daciaclub.ro/Cum-ajung-in-Zakyntos-cu-masina-page-3-t73553-s60.html>

²⁰ <http://www.bebeplus.ro/>

²¹ <http://www1.jurnalul.ro/special/seful-politiei-romane-a-ars-mortii-timisoarei-print-53040.htm>

²² <http://sasu.fairtopic.com/t1858-iubirea-doare>

²³ <http://www.autism.ro/forum/viewtopic.php?t=4246&sid=6473c64db55c96963adf44f08afa5417>

²⁴ <http://www.fundatiagusa.ro/index.php?id=70>

subject, as its ‘controller’(hence, Maria is the one who goes to the concert (alone)). Had this secondary predicate not been present at all, the interpretation of the sentence would have given way for direct object control, i.e., the parents would be the ones to go the concert. This, again, would be possible on account of the syncretism of third person singular and plural subjunctive forms (see also the discussion for (29) above).

- (32) * Mariai **ik** -a convins pe părințik să se ducă (singurăi/și eai)
 Maria them-Acc convinced-3sg PE parents-Acc sbj go-3sg (alone-fem-sg)
 la concert.
 at concert
 ‘Maria convinced her parents that she should go (alone) to the concert.’

Based on (26)-(32) above, it can be concluded that neither subject implicative verbs, nor object control predicates can be analysed as verbs of *obligatory* control in Romanian.

Last but not least, further evidence against the (control-as-) raising construal of subject implicative predicates comes from the results of a questionnaire²⁵ whose aim was precisely to put the raising hypothesis to the test and thus check whether – in relevant contexts – a (unique) embedded DP subject is able or not to target the (assumedly) empty matrix subject position. More precisely, we wanted to see whether, when confronted with sentences of the type in (33) below, respondents chose a reading whereby the embedded DP was interpreted as the shared argument of both predicates (reading A) or one which allowed for the possibility of disjoint subjects, i.e., the existence of separate case-checking domains (reading B)

- (33) * A încercat cu orice preț să obțină Ion postul.
 as tried-3sg with any price sbj obtain-3sg Ion job-the
 ↴ A. ‘Ion has tried to get the job at all costs’ **OR**
 B. ‘S/he tried for Ion to ...’

Given all the evidence discussed above, our expectation was that speakers should allow for and choose or prefer the B reading (reading A was a predictable choice, given that Romanian has backward control (with some matrix verbs, see below)). The results of the experiment confirmed our initial expectations (over 80% of respondents allowed for the disjointedness reading across five verbs tested) and thus offered yet further evidence (if still needed) against both a raising and a control analysis of constructions involving matrix implicative predicates.

These verbs are therefore binary predicates and they select complements which are phasal CPs, i.e., independent case domains which allow the merger of disjoint DPs/pro, which receive case clause-internally. How exactly is it that the embedded DP gets case clause-internally, we shall see in 2.2.3. below, where the temporal specification of these complements is to be discussed. This will allow us to finally seal the picture. In the meantime, let us have a brief look at the behaviour of the remaining OC predicates, i.e., aspectual and modal verbs.

²⁵ The questionnaire was conducted in 2012 on 40 respondents (age 22-60) and it is part of my doctoral dissertation defended in the autumn of the same year. It involved 5 sentences, all with (five) matrix subject implicative verbs (*a încerca* ‘try’, *a căuta* (să) ‘endeavour’, *a reuși* ‘manage’, *a izbuti* ‘succeed’, *a se strădui* ‘strive’) and a unique embedded DP subject, cf. (33) above. The respondents were asked to choose between two interpretations A and B, either of which signal disjointedness or co-reference (the A and B choices were randomized, so as to avoid predictability).

2.2.2. *Aspectuals²⁶ and (deontic) modals and their subjunctive complements*

At this point of the discussion, having showed that implicative verbs (alongside object control predicates) can obviate control, (34) is where we stand, with the cut-off point (in Romanian) lower down the control scale proposed by Landau (1999, 2004, etc.)

- (34) (... factive > interrogative) > volitive > **implicative** > aspectuals > modals
 |
 NC [+T, +Agr] OC [-T, +Agr]

A legitimate question to ask now is whether aspectual and modal verbs evince standard control (i.e., a PRO type of subject in the embedded complement) or raising configurations. Moreover, if it's the latter, is it raising a la MTC or standard raising?

The data shows that both types of predicates are actually amenable to a standard raising account. The control approach is out for obvious reasons, among which the most evident is the availability of (what looks like) backward control. Also, given their unaccusative behaviour, they need not have any DP check their subject theta feature.

In spite of claims that they disallow the subjunctive complementizer and are therefore TPs, (35) brings evidence to the contrary. Consequently, the complements of these verbs must also be CPs (at least when left-dislocation of embedded material occurs). However, they will have to be non-phrasal CPs (cf. also Alboiu (2007) or 'degenerate' CPs (Landau 2012).

- (35) a. Pasionații de jocuri [...] **au început ca**, pe lângă „matahala” puternică de sub birou, să cumpere și sisteme de calcul portabile²⁷
 ‘Gambling fans started that, besides the powerful „beast” under the desk, they should buy portable calculating devices.’
- b. **Nu puteam ca** de la prima vizita sa stau cu băieții cei mari²⁸
 ‘I could not that from the very first visit I should sit with the elder boys.’

As already stated, constructions with matrix aspectuals or modals ban disjoint subjects: there is only one overt subject, shared between the two verbs (36a) and with a flexible position in the structure (36b). When it surfaces in the complement, the construction looks like backward control in the sense that the rightmost DP is able to (actually, it has to) be interpreted also as the subject (agent) of the matrix predicate (in as much as they take agentive subjects – see below) (36c):

- (36) a. Maria a început să citească ziarul *fiul ei
 Maria has started-3sg sbj read-3sg newspaper-the son her-Dat
 * ‘Maria started (for) her son to read the newspaper.’
- b. (Ion) poate / trebuie/începe să deseneze (Ion) foarte bine (Ion)
 (Ion) can /must/ begin-3sg sbj draw-3sg (Ion) very well (Ion)
 ‘Ion can/must/is beginning to dance very well.’
- c. A început *proi/*k* [să danseze tango Maria]
 has begun sbj dance-3sg tango Maria
 ‘Maria began to dance tango.’ NOT ‘S/he began (for) Maria to dance tango.’

²⁶ We do not concentrate here on structures such as (i) below, which shows a transitive use of the aspectual when it selects a DP direct object, but on those where aspectuals select subjunctive complements (ii). Our contention is that in (ii) the noun denotes or ‘hides’ an associate action, which can only be rendered by the subjunctive – see Pustejovsky’s (1991) ‘Generative Lexicon’ (1991) and his *qualia structure*

(i) Ion a început carte / (ii) Ion a început să citească/ (să scrie) carte
 Ion has stared book-the Ion has stared sbj read-3sg (sbj write-3sg) book-the

²⁷ <http://www.itfiles.ro/2011/10/asus-g53sw-jocuri-pretutindeni/>

²⁸ www.mihalca.ro/2011/05/eu-si-directia-cercetari-penale.html

According to Alboiu (2007), the complements of non-phrasal CPs (which she illustrates with matrix implicatives) can license pronominal copies which form a chain with the matrix DP. Hence, there is no independent nominative checking, given that such clauses are not phrasal domains²⁹. This is also true for the dependents of matrix aspectual and modal verbs:

- (37) a. [Victor *însuși*] începe /poate să facă *t_{su}* pizza
 Victor himself begins/can – 3sg sbj make-3sg pizza
 b. Victor_i începe /poate [să facă ([el_i *însuși_i*]) pizza ([el_i *însuși_i*])]
 Victor begins/can-3sg sbj make-3sg he himself pizza he himself
 'Victor himself is beginning/able to bake a pizza.'

Similarly to the behaviour of such verbs in other languages (see Alexiadou et al. (2012) on aspectuals in Greek, as well as Wurmbrand (1999)), aspectual and modal verbs in Romanian also display unaccusative behaviour and thus behave as raisers. Modals do not passivize and when an aspectual takes a clausal complement passivization is odd (38a). The direct object of the embedded predicate can appear in the matrix, when the embedded verb has undergone passivization:

- (38) a. * A fost început (de către Ion_i) [să citească e_i]
 has been begun (by Ion) [sbj read-3sg]
 b. Cartea_i a putut /a început [să fie cumpărată t_i imediat ce a apărut]
 book-the could-began-3sg sbj be bought-fem-sg immediately when has appeared-3sg
 'The book could/began to be bought as soon as it was published.'

Alongside subjunctive CPs, aspectuals can also select [-animate] DPs, as shown in (39a). As for (deontic and epistemic) modals, they are also compatible with [-animate] subjects (without passivization having applied in the complement – the embedded predicates are themselves unaccusative or stative) (39c). Notice also that in English expletive subjects are allowed with both aspectuals and modals. Moreover, even when the subject DP to their left is animate, the thematic relation which apparently obtains between the latter and the (root) modal may be purely contextual, especially if a directed deontic interpretation is at stake (i.e., obligation and/or permission – see Wurmbrand (1999: 610)).

- (39) a. A început/continuat spectacolul/ploaia/ furtuna/ vântul / filmul
 has started/continued show-the/rain-the /storm-the/ wind-the/ movie-the
 'The show/ The rain/The storm / The wind/The movie has started/has continued.
 b. A început [să plouă]/ [să ningă]/ [să se întunecă repede]
 has started sbj rain-3sg / sbj snow-3sg / sbj get dark-3sg quickly
 'It has started to rain / to snow / to get dark.'
 c. Lucrarea trebuie să fie perfectă./
 paper-the must sbj be perfect/
 Situația nu poate/trebuie să te deranjeze/mai dureze.
 situation not can /must sbj you-Acc bother / more last
 'The paper must look perfect.'/'The situation must not/cannot bother you/last longer.'

²⁹ Thus, in accordance with recent assumptions – case valuation is/remains a property of phrasal domains. A subjunctive T (always phi-complete) will be able to value case the moment it is saturated by a *phasal* C. (see Pesetsky & Torrego (2004), Alboiu (2006, 2007) and references therein).

With (leftward) agentive arguments, the complement is needed for proper interpretation, which goes to show that the DP subject is actually the agent argument of the embedded predicate and that the matrix verb merely contributes aspectual or modal information.

- (40) a. ?? Ion a început./?? Pisica a încetat.
Ion has started / cat-the has ceased
b. Maria a început / continuă să cânte
Maria started /continues-3sg sbj sing-3sg

Whenever the embedded predicate assigns quirky case (as it happens in Romanian with predicates like *a-i fi frică/sete/ruşine/etc.* ‘be afraid/thirsty/ashamed’), the lower case is retained on the displaced DP (41a, b) (which is assumed to occupy a topic position). Moreover, in spite of the fact that the quirky argument is plural, agreement on the matrix aspectual or modal is/remains (default) third person singular (41c), which is proof that the verb agrees with the whole subordinate clause (as its unique argument).

- (41) a. **Lui Băsescu**_i a început să -i fie frică³⁰
Băsescu-3sg-Dat has begun-3sg sbj him-3sg-Dat be-3sg fear
 b. Dacă **copilului**_i continuă să îi fie frică de dentist, ...³¹
 if child-3sg-Dat continues-3sg sbj him-3sg-Dat be-3sg fear of dentist
 c. (Fetelor) A început/ (nu) poate [să le fie rușine (fetelor)]
 (girls-3pl-Dat) has begun-3sg / not may sbj them-Dat be shame girls-3pl-Dat

Last but not least, there is evidence from idiom chunks, which are compatible with both aspectual and modal verbs – but not with any of the other verbs in Landau’s inventory.

- (42) a. Au început [să i se încece corăbiile]
have begun-3pl sbj him-Dat cl drown-3pl ships-3pl-Nom
'His boats have begun to sink' (literally)
'He's started to feel rather down (in the mouth)' (intended meaning)

b. A încetat [să-i mai surâdă norocul]
has ceased-3sg sbj him-Dat more smile-3sg luck-the-Nom
'(His) luck ceased to smile upon him' ≈ 'His luck is running out'

c. * Au vrut/încercat [să i se încece corăbiile]
have wanted/tried-3pl sbj him-Dat cl drown-3pl ships-3pl-Nom
(unless one actually wants to claim or assume that it was the intention of the
ships to sink, a highly unlikely scenario)

In order to seal the picture, let us re-state the situation in (34), taking stock of (35)-(42):

- | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (34) * | (... factive > interrogative) > volitive > implicative | > aspectuals > modals | |
| | NC [+T, +Agr] | | [-T, +Agr] OC = Raising |

Now, the questions to be asked are: 1) given the data above (especially under (26)-(32)), can a binary classification of subjunctive dependents in (various types of) control contexts be maintained? and 2) what should be done with constructions involving subject implicative and object control verbs? As far as the control obviation abilities of their complements are concerned, they pattern with structures featuring volitional matrix verbs. However, they differ from the latter with respect to the temporal restrictions that they impose on their dependents.

³⁰ <http://cugirbalba.wordpress.com/2011/08/03/cliseu-cotidian-global-sau-lui-basexu-a-inceput-sa-i-fie-frica/>

³¹ <http://www.sfatulparintilor.ro/articol/559/cum-ingrijesti-dintii-copilului-si-il-scapi-de-frica-de-dentist>

These temporal restrictions imposed by the matrix predicate are the key element that ultimately feeds the tripartite classification of Romanian subjunctive complements in control environments.

2.2.3. A tripartite classification of subjunctives (function of their temporal specification)

When analysing the temporal properties of subjunctive dependents, a good point to start from would be to look at some basic facts concerning the Romanian subjunctive mood. As is well known, it comes in two forms or tenses: the present subjunctive and the perfect subjunctive.

The present subjunctive, formed with the help of the subjunctive particle *să*, followed by a form of the verb inflected for the subjunctive³² (*să* + *verb_{subj}*) is used to mark simultaneity and/or posteriority (i.e., future or non-past *irrealis*). The perfect subjunctive, formed with the same subjunctive particle + aspectual marker *fi* + past participle, is used to mark anteriority or counterfactuality (past *irrealis*).

According to Comrie (1985), there are two ways to encode temporal information. A language can choose to do it via lexicalized (adverbial) expressions (listed in the Lexicon) (instances of *semantic tense*) or via grammaticalized expressions of location in time, i.e., elements integrated into the functional system of a language, such as tense morphemes or other temporal functional items. These would be instances of syntactic tense.

For Romanian subjunctives, semantic tense would be signalled by the availability of (mismatching) temporal adverbs, without any other (functional) marking on the verb (i.e., the form used will be the present subjunctive), whereas syntactic tense would be available whenever functional elements can surface on the form of the verb. Here, we take the aspectual marker *fi* in Romanian to be an instantiation of syntactic tense³³.

As expected, subjunctive complements will differ with respect to

- a) their (in)ability to encode syntactic tense (i.e., allow the perfect subjunctive)
- b) their (in)ability to encode semantic tense (i.e., allow distinct time adverbials)... or
- c) neither

By now, it has become obvious that the current binary classification into [-tensed] vs. [+tensed] complements is insufficient, since it has no way of teasing apart complements of (executive) object control verbs, for example, from those of volitional/desiderative verbs (both would be described as [+tensed]). Moreover, both object control verbs and subject implicatives allow their subjunctive complements to escape OC.

We thus argue that a tri-partite classification like the one in (43) below is on the right track, since it can nicely account for the data discussed above. We include object control verbs and subject implicatives under the same label because they are similar not only in the ability of their complements to evade control, but also in terms of the latter's temporal specification (see (46) below).

(43)

	Independent subjunctives	Restricted Subjunctives	Anaphoric Subjunctives
Type of selecting predicates	volitional/ desiderative	Subject implicative & object control	aspectual & modal
Presence (and type) of embedded tense	YES morphological/syntactic tense & semantic tense	YES semantic tense only	NO

³² With the exception of the subjunctive particle, subjunctive inflection is rather poor in Romanian, being visible only on the third person singular and plural (which are otherwise identical – as previously stated)

³³ For more details on the syntax and interpretation of 'fi' (vs. 'a fi'), see Avram (1999), Avram & Hill (2007).

Featural make-up on the C° and T° heads	C°: \emptyset T T°: [+T] /iT ⇒ phasal CPs with unselected C	C°: [+T] T°: [+T] /iT ⇒ phasal CPs with selected/constrained C	C°: [-T] T°: [-T] /uT ⇒ non-phasal/ defective CPs with selected anaphoric C
Control properties	No Control	No Control	Raising

Let us now have a closer look at these subjunctives – focusing on their temporal properties, this time.

Independent Subjunctives (ISs) allow the whole range of (temporal) possibilities, as shown in (44). This, correlated with the fact that they can unproblematically evade control, confirms that view that they are temporally-saturated domains: they have a full T-chain (tense operator, (functional) tense position and the lexical verb)

- (44) a. **Acum vreau să plec la Chicago pe 14 aprilie.** (Farkas 1984: 362)
now want-1sg sbj leave-1sg at Chicago on 14 april
'Now I want to leave for Chicago on April 14th'
- b. **Sper să fi ajuns mai repede ieri.**
Hope-1sg sbj fi_{perf.} arrived-past-part more quickly yesterday
'I hope I/you/he/she/we/they had arrived sooner yesterday.'
- c. [CP C [T/AgrP Ion T/Agr speră [vptSu V t_v [cp opT C [CFin/MP M să [T/AspP **Asp fi** [VP V veni-t...]]]]].

Restricted Subjunctives (RSs) selected by object control verbs disallow the perfect subjunctive, but encode future *irrealis*, as expected, given their semantics:

- (45) a. L -am convins/ I -am ordonat să plece abia **mâine**.
him-Acc convinced-1sg / him-Dat ordered-1sg sbj leave-3sg only tomorrow
'I convinced/ordered him to (only) leave (only) tomorrow.'

Interestingly, besides simultaneity/coinidence, subject implicatives *can* sometimes refer to a time different from that of the matrix verb: future (*irrealis*) or a smaller interval from the larger (background) interval of the matrix predicate. Hence, they, too have their own tense operator, distinct from the one in the matrix. (46)

- (46) a. Asociația TATA a **reușit** ca discriminarea tatălui în Codul Familiei să fie dezbatută la Curtea Constituțională, **chiar mâine**³⁴
'T.A.T.A. has managed that fathers' discrimination in the Family Code be discussed at the Constitutional Court as soon as tomorrow.'
- b. Ion a **reușit /a încercat/s-a străduit** să vină (și Maria) mâine
Ion managed/tried/endeavoured-3sg sbj come-3sg (and Mary) tomorrow la grătar.
at barbecue
'Ion has managed/tried for Mary to come, too at the BBQ tomorrow.'
- c. **[În tot acest timp]**, profesora a **încercat/s-a străduit** ca **la terminarea semestrului**
elevii să rămână măcar cu niște noțiuni de bază despre Control.
'All this time, the teacher has tried/strived that *upon finishing the semester*, the students should have at least some basic knowledge of Control'.

³⁴ <http://roncea.ro/2010/12/15/premiera-in-romania-asociatia-tata-a-reusit-sa-ca-discriminarea-tatalui-in-codul-familiei-sa-fie-dezbatuta-la-curtea-constituzionala-chiar-maine/>

Anaphoric Subjunctives (ASs) are non-phasal domains, hence temporally unsaturated. As such, there can be no independent T-chain, so that the embedded event has to copy the time specification of the matrix, which yields the ‘single event’ reading (both events bound by the matrix tense operator).

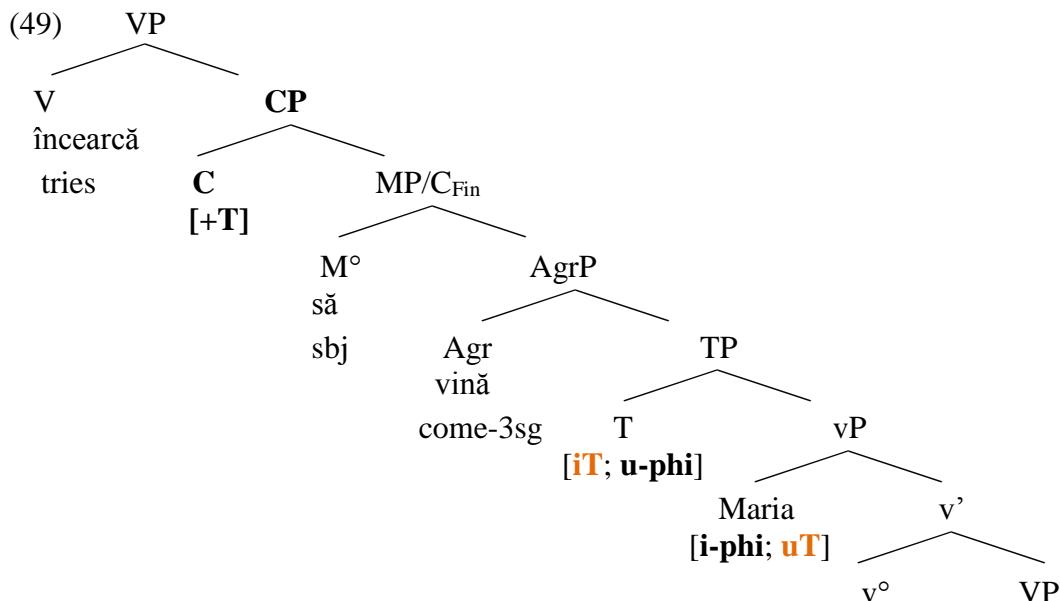
- (47) a. Am început să schiez **anul trecut**/***mâine**/ ***chiar acum**.
 ‘I started/began to ski last year/*tomorrow/*right now.
 b. O să înceapă să citească **anul viitor la școală** / ***anul trecut**.
 ‘S/he shall begin to read next year at school/*last year.

Formally, the featural make-up of the three types of subjunctives is given in (48) below:

- (48) a. Free Subjunctives: \emptyset on C; [+T]/iT on T/I
 b. Restricted Subjunctives: [+T] on C & [+T]/iT on T/I
 c. Anaphoric Subjunctives: [-T] on C & [-T] /uT on T/I.

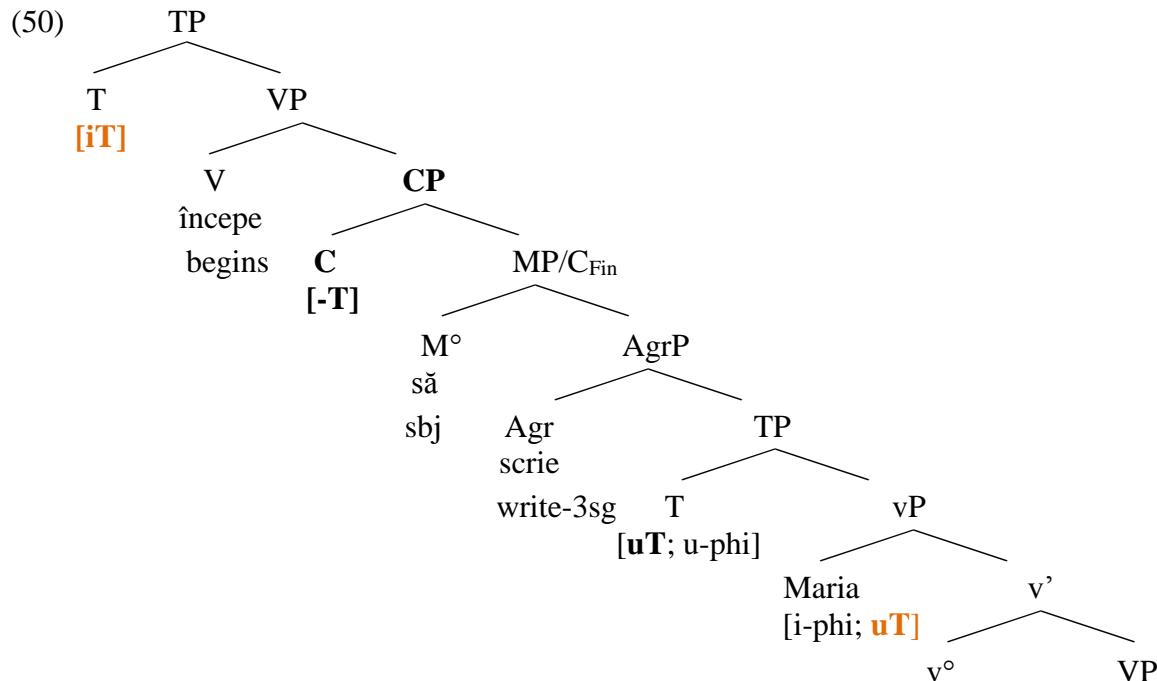
Therefore, in accordance with Landau (2004), ‘independent’ tense is unselected. ISs make use of the maximum range of temporal relations (simultaneity, posteriority *and* anteriority), i.e., they display syntactic (temporal) independence, just like indicatives: the matrix verb imposes no restrictions on the complement, hence the absence of [Tense] on the C node (\emptyset). Conversely, selected dependents (RSs and ASs) have a corresponding [T] on C: [+T] for RSs (semantic (temporal) independence), [-T] for ASs (anaphoricity).

Since RSs are selected dependents with [+T] on their C head, they are therefore temporally saturated (semantic tense) and embedded T bears [iT], which can check [uT] on the lower DP clause-internally. After the embedded CP is locked (when all the necessary elements have merged and (case) features have been checked, freezing the lower DP), the matrix verbal complex can be merged, which is free to take either an empty *pro* or a lexical DP in its Spec – and the derivation proceeds and ends with the merger of the matrix CP level.



As already seen, complements of aspectual verbs are not independent case-domains. They are temporally unsaturated, so embedded Tense bears a [uT] feature which consequently cannot check nominative on the (unique) DP subject merged *in situ*. Embedded tense can only check the phi-features of this subject, which, being (still) caseless, remains active until the

matrix Tense is merged, when its [uT] can finally be checked against the matrix iT probe, by (Long Distance) Agree:



3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The proposed tri-partite classification offers a better coverage of the empirical data and also contributes the identification of a new type of subjunctive complement, the Independent Subjunctive(s), closer in properties (i.e., lack of selection) to indicatives. Furthermore, it nicely correlates the OC-suspending properties of subject implicative predicates to their ability to display semantic tense (non-past *irrealis*). Last but not least, it confirms that semantic tense (available in independent *and* in restricted complements) is enough for nominative case-checking (and phasal domains).

From a comparative perspective, the analysis provides (further) evidence for the classification into ‘infinitive’ and ‘subjunctive languages’ as far as control is concerned: along an East-West continuum, Romance languages are in the middle, displaying both control (with OC verbs) and obviation (with volitionals, i.e., PC verbs). At the two extremes, there is English, with a complex typology of (syntactic) control, and Balkan languages/ Romanian, with few control instances - parametrized as (standard) raising. We thus confirm Romanian as a raising rather than a control language, a fact which might describe a more generalized situation across the Balkan area, according to the parameter proposed by Alboiu (2007).

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