

The C-field of (free) subjunctives in Romanian and instances of complementizer deletion

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1. Overview: Rizzi (1997) showed the LP to host both Top and Foc in a strict hierarchy. More recently, the free iteration of Topics and the strictly contrastive import of Focus Fronting (FF) have come under closer scrutiny. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) identify three (ordered) types of Topics, distinguished phonologically and syntactically. FF yields two ‘flavours’: corrective contrast and mirative import (Bianchi et al. 2015, 2016, a.o.), analyzed as conventional implicatures syntactically encoded in the CP.

In Romanian, subjunctive is marked via a particle, *să*, as well as a complementizer, *ca*. Most analyses place *să* in (the highest) MP (1). *Ca* and *să* mustn’t be adjacent in complements, so *ca* is only overt with active LPs.

(1) C_{Force} > (Top > Foc) > C_{Fin}/M₂ > Neg > M₁/[Agr > T]

<i>ca</i>		<i>să</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>vină</i>
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2. Aims and Claims: We look at the LP of FSs, focusing on instances of C-deletion. Since *ca* depends on LP material, two subjunctives can be identified: *să*-subjunctives (inert LP) and *ca*-subjunctives (active LP). However, we show that there are *să*-subjunctives with an active LP. Since *ca*-deletion is not uniform, the question is what kind of dislocates allow it. We show that there is a correlation between C-deletion and the semantic import of ‘contrast’ among alternatives (focal alternatives, comparative likelihood). FF systematically correlates with *ca*-deletion (B₁ vs B₂), possibly a means of discourse-activation: the implicature is grounded to the speaker, not the matrix subject.

(2) A: *Am auzit că Maria vrea să-și ia câțel.*

‘I hear that Mary wants to get a puppy.’

B₁: *Nu, nicidecum! Vrea PISICĂ să-și ia!* (scores 4-5)
no, not at all wants cat SBJV-3S.DAT gets

B₂: “ “ *Vrea ca PISICĂ să-și ia!* (scores 1-2)
wants that cat SBJV-3S.DAT gets

In Bianchi et al. (2015), the implicature trigger is implemented as the FAI^o (Focus-associated implicature), a head which activates a lower FocP, acting as a trigger for movement. For Romanian FSs, the activation of FaiP may interfere with the lexicalization of Force. Thus, *ca*-deletion would be motivated by the need that the implicature be ‘visible’ to the matrix C, where the speaker’s coordinates are located (Giorgi 2010).

(Selected) References: • Bianchi, V. 2015. Focus fronting and the syntax/semantics interface. In U. Shlonsky (ed.), *Beyond the functional sequence*, 60–72. Oxford: OUP. • Bianchi, V., G. Bocci, S. Cruschina. 2016. Focus fronting, unexpectedness, and evaluative implicatures. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 9(3). 1–54.