SOME REMARKS ON RIGHT NODE RAISING IN ROMANIAN

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Abstract: Coordinate clauses with a common constituent in final position give rise to an interesting construction (*Mary likes, but John hates cats*), in which the constituent at the right edge of the first conjunct is missing. This phenomenon, known in the literature as Right Node Raising, has been analyzed either as an instance of movement or as an instance of ellipsis in the first conjunct. Starting from Hartmann (2000), Abels (2004) and Ha (2006), who argue in favour of an in-situ analysis of Right Node Raising, we focus on the licensing conditions on Right Node Raising in Romanian. The paper is organized in two sections. First we outline the deletion/ellipsis analyses of Right Node Raising constructions in English. Then we present empirical data related to the pre-Right Node Raising elements, the types of right-peripheral constituents that can be elided and the contexts which allow or block Right Node Raising in Romanian.

Keywords: right node raising, conjunct, ellipsis, target, islands

1. The deletion/ellipsis analyses of Right Node Raising

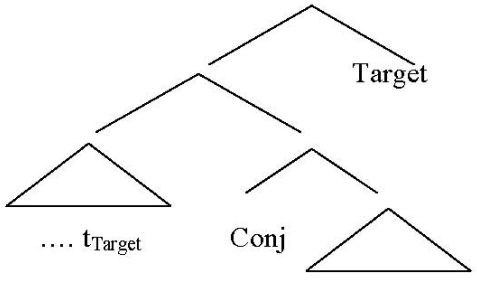
The term Right Node Raising has been adopted as a label for a coordination construction in which parts at the right periphery of the first conjunct are left unpronounced. For instance, in the following example, both conjunct clauses contain in final position an identical constituent, the object DP *seafood* , which is elided in the first conjunct:

(1) John LIKES <~~seafood~~>, but Mary HATES seafood.
John LIKES, but Mary HATES sea food.

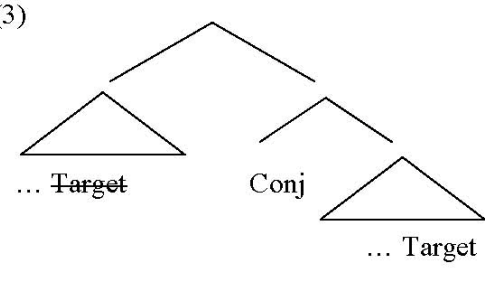
The constituent shared between the two conjuncts is called the target of RNR. The expressions anchoring to the RNRed portion are called pre-RNR elements. These are written in capital letters to signal the stress that is laid upon them. Such constructions involve an emphatic use of the language, emphasis being laid on the final constituent, hence the label emphatic postponing.

There is a debate whether Right Node Raising (RNR) involves rightward Across-the-Board movement in the syntax, or whether it is derived by ellipsis in the first conjunct. The two approaches are also known as ex-situ in (2) and in-situ constructions in (3), respectively:

(2)



(3)



The ex-situ proposal assumes that the RNR target undergoes rightward Across-the-Board movement (Ross 1967, Postal 1998 and others). The target object DP *seafood* simultaneously moves out of both conjuncts and adjoins above the coordinate structure:

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(4) $[_{CP}[_{CP} \ldots\alpha \ldots t_1] \& [_{CP}\ldots\alpha \ldots t_1] [\beta]_1]$

The in-situ proposal views RNR as an instance of deletion or ellipsis in the first conjunct and has known several versions. One of them is the Strict Phonological Deletion analysis, according to which RNR only affects phonology (Hartmann 2000, Abels 2004 and others). Under this analysis, RNR is licensed when there exists an identical string of phonemes in the antecedent. The RNR target is literarily compared with its antecedent phoneme-to-phoneme. If they are phonologically identical and structurally parallel, the RNR target is licensed to be deleted at PF:

(5) $[_{CP}[_{CP} \ldots\alpha \ldots[\ldots\beta\ldots]] \& [_{CP}\ldots\alpha \ldots[\ldots\beta\ldots]]]$

Hartmann argues that the shared string can be of any length and constituenthood is not necessarily respected. Unlike VP ellipsis which can affect only constituents, RNR can target even non-constituents. The object DP *seafood* and the VP adjunct *from Asia* do not form a constituent, yet RNR is allowed in (6):

(6) John [LIKES ~~[<seafood>]~~ ~~[<from Asia>]~~], but Mary [HATES [seafood] [from Asia]].

For RNR to be licensed, there must be a contrastive focus just prior to the RNR target. Very often, the verb in the first conjunct is contrastively focused with its correspondent in the second conjunct. Thus in (7) the verb *likes*, as a pre-RNR element, is contrastively focused with the verb *dislikes* in the second conjunct. Lack of contrast degrades the sentence in (7b):

(7) a. John LIKES <~~seafood~~>, but Mary DISLIKES seafood.
b. *John likes <~~seafood~~>, and Mary likes seafood.

RNR is effective from left to right and it affects the entire right edge of the first conjunct following the contrastively focused constituent. If the object DP is elided in the first conjunct, all following constituents or non-constituents are left unpronounced until the coordinator is reached. Thus, example (8) is ruled out, since the VP adjunct *from Asia* in the first conjunct remains pronounced after a RNRed object DP:

(8) *John [LIKES [<~~seafood~~>] from Asia], but Mary [DISLIKES [seafood] [from Asia]].

Hartmann formulates the following licensing conditions for RNR: a) The conjuncts must be structurally identical; b) The pre-RNR elements in the first conjunct and the elements with which they contrast in the second must be focused; c) The focused elements create sets of alternatives, and the sets of alternatives for both conjuncts must be identical; d) The deletion occurs immediately after the contrastively focused pre-RNR element. She claims that, if all the conditions are met, RNR is licensed.

Another proposal for an in-situ analysis assumes that RNR involves ellipsis (Ha 2006, 2007 and forthcoming, Chalcraft 2006). Ha's proposal for the licensing conditions for RNR is more dependent upon semantic identity; a mutual entailment relationship between the antecedent and the elided part must be established at LF for RNR to be licensed. For the syntactic analysis, he adopts Merchant's (2004) claim that the focus head can bear a feature E, which instructs PF not to pronounce its complement. Ha argues that RNR is also a type of ellipsis, and it is licensed by a variant of ellipsis features, E_{RNR}:

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(9) $[_{CP}[_{CP} \ldots\alpha \ldots[\ldots e_{\beta}\ldots]] \& [_{CP}\ldots\alpha \ldots[\ldots\beta\ldots]]]$

The focused pre-RNR element enters the syntactic derivation bearing a feature E_{RNR} which instructs PF to leave the RNRed element unpronounced:

(10) $[_{\&P}$ John LIKES$_{[ERNR]}$ seafood, but Mary DISLIKES seafood]

The licensing conditions he formulates cover the syntactic, semantic and phonological aspects of RNR. The ellipsis analysis is distinguished from the Strict Phonological Deletion by its relative flexibility for reconstructing RNR.

The assumptions formulated in these two proposals for an in-situ analysis of RNR mainly capture the empirical data in English, but also account for cross-linguistic data. In the following sections we extend to Romanian the current analyses of the licensing conditions on RNR proposed for other languages. With this view in mind we supply a collection of empirical data, which is also illustrative of the diversity of RNR constructions in Romanian.

2. The pre-RNR elements

It is generally accepted that a certain type of contrast is required between the two conjuncts, because the licensing of RNR crucially depends on a contrastively focused pre-RNR element. Several options are illustrated for Romanian below. In most instances, the subject and the verb are focused in both conjuncts. The typical contrastively focused pre-RNR element is a transitive verb:

(11) a) Ion A RESPINS <~~proiectul~~>, dar Maria A APROBAT proiectul.
John rejected the project, but Mary approved the project.
b) Ion a CRITICAT-O <~~pe secretară~~> şi apoi Maria a LINIŞTIT-O pe secretară.
John has criticized-her-CL PE secretary and Mary has calmed-her-CL down PE secretary.

In Romanian, DOs realized by DPs with the semantic features [-definite, +human] are doubled by clitics and are assigned Accusative case by means of the dummy case-preposition PE as in (11b). As a result of RNR, the object clitic attached to the contrasting verb in pre-RNR position gets separated from the object and the accusative assigning preposition PE is elided together with its object DP *secretară*.

Not only dummy prepositions but also idiosyncratic prepositions of simple intransitive verbs or of reflexive verbs can be elided in the first conjunct, as illustrated below:

(12) Ion a depins <~~de sprijinul lor~~>, dar Maria nu a depins de sprijinul lor.
'John depended on their help, but Mary did not depend on their help.'
El s-a înstrăinat <~~de părinți~~>, dar ea s-a apropiat de părinți.
'He became estranged to his parents, but she got closer to her parents.'

The behaviour of the prepositions under RNR can be accounted for by the fact that Romanian is a language that blocks preposition-stranding, and, as a result, surviving prepositions after the pre-RNR elements are not attested:

(13) a)* Ion a optat pentru <~~noile formularele~~ >, dar Maria a refuzat noile formularele.
'John opted for the new forms but Mary refused the new forms.'

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* Ion s-a bazat pe < ~~sprijinul lor~~>, dar Maria nu a depins de sprijinul lor.
'John relied on their help, but Mary did not depend on their help.'

In coordinate clauses with ditransitive predication, the verb can be contrastively focused when both object DPs are identical as in (14a), or one of the object DPs is a contrasting pre-RNR element, while the other object DP is identical and thus becomes a target for RNR:

(14) a. Ion i-a DAT <~~Mariei cartea~~> şi ulterior Teo i-a LUAT Mariei cartea.
John her CL-has given Mary the book and later Theo her CL-has taken Mary the book
b. Ion i-a dat MARIEI <~~cartea~~> şi ulterior Teo i-a luat ANEI cartea.
John her CL-has given Mary the book and later Theo her CL-has taken Ann the book
'John has given Mary the book, and later Theo has taken the book from Ann'.
c. Ion i-a dat CARTEA <~~Mariei~~> şi ulterior Teo i-a luat DICŢIONARUL Mariei.
John her CL-has given the book Mary.DAT and later Theo her CL-has taken the dictionary Mary.DAT.
'John gave the book to Mary and later he requested the book from Mary.'

In such examples, the dative clitic remains anchored to the auxiliary verb in the first conjunct, while the oblique object doubled by the clitic is RNRed in (14 a,c).

Besides verbs and object DPs, predicative adjectives selecting identical clausal or phrasal complements can also serve as contrasting pre-RNR material:

(15) a. Ion era nerăbdător <~~să ajungă în finală~~>, iar Petre era hotărât să ajungă în finală.
'John was eager to get to the finals, but Petre was determined to get to the finals.'
b. Maria era conştientă <~~de pericol~~>, dar Ion nu era conştient de pericol.
'Mary was aware of the danger, but John was not aware of the danger.'

The focused verbs in the examples given so far have similar selectional properties, however, there are instances when the verbs occurring in the two conjuncts have different selectional properties (cf. Cann et al. 2002). Such selectional clashes are illustrated in Romanian with the verb *to intenţiona* 'to intend', which always requires a subjunctive clausal complement identified by the invariable subjunctive morpheme *să* , and the verb *a împiedica* 'to hinder' that selects an infinitive-based nominalization. To simplify the illustrative material, the subjunctive clause is translated as an infinitival clause:

(16) a. Ion intenţiona să predea rapoartele, dar Ana a împiedicat predarea rapoartelor.
'Ion intended to deliver the reports, but Ana hindered the delivery of the reports.'
b. Ion intenţiona <~~predarea rapoartelor~~>, dar Ana a împiedicat predarea rapoartelor.
'Ion intended the delivery of the reports, but Ana hindered the delivery of the reports'
*1 conjunct 2 conjunct
c. Ion intenţiona <~~să predea rapoartele~~>, dar Ana a împiedicat să predea rapoartele.
'Ion intended to deliver the reports, but Ana hindered to deliver the reports.'
1 conjunct *2 conjunct
d. Ion a împiedicat <~~predarea rapoartelor~~>, dar Ana intenţiona predarea rapoartelor.
'Ion hindered the delivery of the reports, but Ana intended the delivery of the reports.
1 conjunct *2 conjunct
e) Ion a împiedicat <~~să predea rapoartele~~>, dar Ana intenţiona să predea rapoartele.
'Ion hindered to deliver the reports, but Ana intended to deliver the reports.'
*1 conjunct 2 conjunct

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These selectional clashes between the predicates in the two conjuncts seem to be better tolerated if they are resolved in the second rather than in the first conjunct. Thus examples (16b) and (16e) are preferable, because the selectional properties of the verbs are satisfied in the second conjunct. However, mismatches are less critical when there is a choice between the subjunctive and the supine clause. For instance, the aspectual verb *a se lăsa* 'to give up' can only select a supine clause, while the verb *a se apuca* 'to start' takes either a supine or a subjunctive clause:

(17) a. Eu m-am apucat de fumat/ să fumez, dar ea s-a lăsat de fumat/*să fumeze.
I have started of smoked-SUP/ SĂ smoke-SUBJ, but she has given up of smoked-SUP/ SĂ smoke-SUBJ.
'I have started smoking/ to smoke, but she has given up smoking/ to smoke.'
b. Eu m-am lăsat <~~de fumat~~>, dar ea s-a apucat de fumat.
I have started of smoked-SUP, but she has given up of smoked-SUP.
c. ?Eu m-am lăsat <~~de fumat~~>, dar ea s-a apucat să fumeze.
I have started of smoked-SUP, but she has given up SĂ smoke-SUBJ.

Just as argued for English, the typical pre-RNR element anchoring the target is the verb. Language specific restrictions in Romanian concern prepositions, which are always RNRed together with their object DP, and the selectional properties of the verbs.

3. The right-periphery in RNR

It is known that RNR affects the rightmost constituents of any length: entire clauses in the matrix conjunction of two complex sentences, or simple phrases in the coordination of simple sentences. The same holds true for Romanian. Thus, complement clauses with the verb in the indicative, the subjunctive mood or the supine mood can be targeted for RNR:

(18) a. Ion s-a îndoit < ~~că tranzacția era corectă~~>, dar Petre a insistat că tranzacția era corectă.
'Ion doubted that the transaction was fair, but Petre insisted that the transaction was fair.'
b. Ion a vrut <~~să meargă la munte~~ >, dar Petre nu a vrut să meargă la munte.
Ion wanted SĂ go-SUBJ to the mountains, but Petre didn't want SĂ go-SUBJ to the mountains.
'Ion wanted to go to the mountains, but Petre didn't want to go to the mountains.'
c. Ion s-a apucat <~~de fumat pipă~~>, dar Petre s-a lăsat de fumat pipă.
Ion REFL has started of smoked-SUP pipe, but Petre has given up of smoked-SUP pipe
'Ion has started smoking pipe, but Petre has given up smoking pipe.'

In (18c) the aspectual verbs function as contrastively focused pre-RNR elements allowing the suspine clause, with the structure *de*-verb-complement, to become a target for RNR.

Besides the sentential complement, the supine may also occur as a nominalized form which is marked by a definite determiner and which changes the case of its complement DP. Thus in (19a) the RNRed portion is the entire supine-based nominalization, i.e. the preposition *la* 'at', the supine nominal (marked by the derivational morpheme *-t/-s*) and its genitive complement:

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(19) a. Ion m-a ajutat <~~la corectatul lucrărilor~~>, dar Petre m-a încurcat la corectatul lucrărilor.
Ion me-helped at graded-SUP the tests-GEN, but Petre hindered me at graded-SUP the tests-GEN.
'Ion helped me grade the tests, but Petre hindered me from grading the tests'.
b. Ion a început <~~corectarea lucrărilor~~>, dar Petre a terminat corectarea lucrărilor.
Ion began grading the tests-GEN, but Petre finished grading the tests-GEN.

Not only supine but also infinitive nominalizations occurring at the right periphery are freely elided under RNR. In (19b) the target is the infinitive-based nominalization, i.e. the nominal infinitive (marked by the nominalizing suffix *-re*) and its genitive complement.

Besides the object DP, other postverbal constituents, such as: verbal adjuncts of place, time, manner, etc., can be right-peripheral and therefore subject to RNR:

(20) Petre a URCAT < ~~în maşină~~><~~repede~~> şi Ion a COBORÂT din maşină repede.
'Petre got on the car quickly and Ion got off the car quickly.'

In conjuncts with a DP at the right periphery, the shared material may be rightmost DP-internal element: the complement of the nominal head, the head or a genitive phrase. When the right-peripheral complement of a DP is shared between the two conjuncts and the nominal head is a focused pre-RNR element, then the complement PP can become the target of RNR:

(21) a. El este [DIRECTOR <~~de recrutare de personal~~>] şi ea este [CONSILIER de recrutare de personal].
'He is (a) manager of personnel recruitment and she is (an) advisor of personnel recruitment.'

On the other hand, the complement PP of a shared nominal head cannot be singled out for RNR; the entire object DP, its complement PP included, will be the RNRed portion:

(22) a. *Unii AU ALES [programele <~~de finanțare~~>] şi alții AU RESPINS [programele de finanțare].
'Some have chosen the programs of financing and others have rejected the programs of financing.'
b. Unii au ales [<~~programele de finanțare~~>] şi alții au respins [programele de finanțare].
'Some have chosen the programs of financing and others have rejected the programs of financing.'

Very often, the head of the object DP can be the rightmost element in the two conjuncts, and it thus becomes the target of RNR as in (23a). However, if the pre-RNR element is a contrastively focused adjectival adjunct, then elision of the identical head degrades the sentence. This holds true for all configurations with prenominal adjectives, i.e. when the adjectives carry the determiner (indefinite *o* in (23b) or definite enclitic *-a* in 23c), or when they are preceded by the demonstrative as in (23c):

(23) a. Unii au acceptat <~~o colaborare~~> şi alții au refuzat o colaborare.
'Some have accepted a collaboration and others have refused a collaboration.'
b. */?Unii au acceptat [o îndelungată <~~colaborare~~>], iar alții au refuzat o scurtă colaborare.
'Some have accepted a long collaboration, but others have refused a short collaboration.'

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c. *Unii au acceptat [îndelungata <~~colaborare~~>], iar alții au refuzat [scurta colaborare].
'Some have accepted the long collaboration, but others have refused the short collaboration.'
c. *Unii au acceptat [această îndelungată <~~colaborare~~>], iar alții au refuzat această scurtă colaborare.
'Some have accepted this long collaboration, but others have refused this short collaboration.'

It is argued that in such environments, there is no N to D movement in the Romanian DP and therefore the noun surfaces in situ (cf. Motapanyane 2000: 8). This accounts for the obligatory occurrence of the nominal head in such environments, and for the blocking effects on RNR. On the other hand, though the indefinite head at the right periphery of the second conjunct reiterates the RNRed nominal head, it cannot satisfy an agreement relation with the pre-RNR adjective.

The right-periphery of the Romanian DP may also host postnominal genitives, either analytical or synthetic. In the analytical genitive, there is no adjacency requirement between the possessee and the possessor; the indefinite nominal is headed by the possessive determiner *a, al, ai, ale* which shows agreement in gender and number with the possessee, as in (24a). On the other hand, adjacency is required in the synthetic genitive, which is marked by a genitive morpheme and which is preceded by a definite nominal head as in (24d):

(24) a. Ion este student al acelui profesor şi Maria este asistentă a acelui profesor.
Ion is student of that professor and Maria is assistant of that professor
b. *Ion este [STUDENT<~~al acelui profesor~~>] şi Maria este ASISTENTĂ a acelui profesor.
Ion is student of-the-MASC.SG that-GEN professor and Maria is assistant of-the-FEM.SG that-GEN professor
c. Ana este STUDENTĂ <~~a acelui profesor~~> şi Maria este ASISTENTĂ a acelui profesor.
Ana is student-the <of-the-FEM.SG. that-GEN professor> and Maria is assistant-the of-the-FEM.SG. that-GEN professor.
d. Ion este STUDENTUL <~~acelui profesor~~> şi Maria este ASISTENTA acelui profesor.
Ion is student-the that-GEN professor and Maria is assistant-the that-GEN professor

In the analytical genitive construction given in (24c), the genitive DP can be RNRed, because its content is fully recoverable at the right periphery of the second conjunct. In contrast, example (24b) is ruled out, because the RNRed possessive determiner *al*, marked for agreement in the masculine gender and singular number with the possessee *student* 'student', cannot be recovered at the right periphery of the second conjunct, where the possessive determiner *a* indicates agreement with a noun in the feminine singular. On the other hand, a postnominal synthetic genitive as in (24d) can be RNRed immediately after its definite nominal head *studentul* 'student-the' functioning as a focused pre-RNR element. It seems that the synthetic possessive construction freely allows RNR of the genitive DP, while in the analytical constructions RNR is blocked by mismatches in gender and number between the focused pre-RNR element and its correspondent in the second conjunct.

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The identical rightmost elements in the conjuncts, whether clauses or phrases, can be affected by RNR in Romanian, as well. Restrictions arise when dependencies inside the DP are violated.

4. Island insensitivity

The main argument in favour of an ellipsis account of RNR is its insensitivity to islands. It is known that there are certain constructions from which movement of a constituent is not licensed. Obviously if a constituent is shown to be able to leave these islands, then that is evidence in support of a non-movement analysis of that construction. Abels (2004) and Ha (2007) argue that RNR is not blocked in a number of syntactic contexts which otherwise prohibit movement out of them: wh-indirect questions, Complex DPs with relative clauses and adverbial clauses. The same holds true for RNR applied to the matrix conjunction of two complex clauses with identical right peripheries in Romanian.

Thus, RNR is allowed to target the object DP in indirect questions embedded in conjuncts that observe structural identity:

(25) Ion vrea să ştie [când (Petre) A ÎNCEPUT Petre <~~lucrarea~~>] şi Teo vrea să afle [când (Dan) A TERMINAT Dan lucrarea].
'John wants to know when Peter began the work and Teo wants to find out when Dan finished the work.'

It should be noted that word order in the Romanian declarative clauses is relatively free, with the subject occurring pre- or post-verbally, in initial or final sentence position. However, the order VS(O) is the unmarked one. In wh-indirect questions, the subject in the non-marked position immediately precedes the target.

RNR is also insensitive to the Complex DP island. In such cases structural identity is again essential: the two matrix conjuncts contain each a depending relative clause that includes contrastively focused verbs and identical right peripheries:

(26) Eu ştiu o companie [care PRODUCE <~~jocuri pe calculator~~>] şi tu ştii un magazin care COMERCIALIZEAZĂ jocuri pe calculator.
'I know a company that manufactures computer games and you know a store that commercializes computer games.'

The contrastively focused embedded verbs allow their identical object DP *jocuri pe calculator* 'computer games', which is right-peripheral within both relative clauses, to be RNRed.

Furthermore, adverbial clauses with identical right peripheries do not block RNR, if the pre-RNR elements are in a contrastive relation:

(27) Ion a promovat [după ce A APROBAT <~~noua strategie~~>], dar Teo a demisionat [după ce A RESPINS noua strategie].
'John was promoted after he approved of the new policy, but Theo resigned after he rejected the new policy.'

All these pieces of evidence point to the fact that, just as in other languages, RNR is insensitive to a number of well-established islands in Romanian, as well. In this respect, RNR is similar to ellipsis processes, which are also insensitive to many islands.

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5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to put forward some observations concerning the licensing conditions on RNR in Romanian. We have examined the range of pre-RNR elements and the types of targeted constituents.

The empirical findings have shown that there are language specific restrictions on RNR related to the selectional properties of the pre-RNR verbs in Romanian and to preposition stranding. RNR can target clausal as well as phrasal constituents at the right periphery, but it cannot freely affect dependencies inside the right-peripheral DP. There is also evidence related to the insensitivity of RNR to certain islands that favours the ellipsis account of RNR in Romanian.

The facts we have presented here show, nonetheless, that this empirical study is still in its initial stage, and many more questions may arise than we have tackled here.

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