

Contents

Acknowledgements — VII

List of abbreviations — XV

List of tables — XIX

List of figures — XXI

Chapter 1

Romanian between Romance and South-East European languages — 1

- 1.1 Potential non-nominative subjects — 4
- 1.2 Latin structures with potential non-nominative subjects — 6
 - 1.2.1 Latin structures referring to emotional, physical, and mental states — 6
 - 1.2.2 Latin structures conveying modality — 10
- 1.3 Structures with potential non-nominative subjects in Romance — 12
 - 1.3.1 Romance structures referring to emotional, physical, and mental states — 12
 - 1.3.2 Romance structures conveying modality — 23
- 1.4 Structures with potential non-nominative subjects in South-East European languages — 26
 - 1.4.1 Structures referring to emotional, physical, and mental states in South-East European languages — 27
 - 1.4.2 Structures conveying modality in South-East European languages — 34
- 1.5 Concluding thoughts — 38

Chapter 2

The object of the study — 39

- 2.1 Research questions — 43
- 2.2 Structure of the book — 45

Part 1: The MIHI EST construction

Chapter 3

The MIHI EST construction as a complex-predicate construction — 51

- 3.1 Two types of complex-predicate constructions in Romanian — 52
 - 3.1.1 The determined state noun type — 52
 - 3.1.2 The bare state noun type – the MIHI EST construction — 56

3.1.2.1	The MIHI EST construction – the psychological construction —	56
3.1.2.2	The MIHI EST construction – the modal construction —	57
3.1.2.2.1	MIHI EST patterns with a deontic modal <i>fi</i> ‘be’ —	59
3.1.2.2.2	MIHI EST patterns with a dynamic modal <i>fi</i> ‘be’ —	63
3.1.2.3	The inchoative variant of MIHI EST —	66
3.1.2.4	Origin of the bare state noun type constructions —	67
3.2	The Latin MIHI EST construction —	69
3.3	The Romanian MIHI EST construction —	73

Chapter 4

Corpus and methodology — 74

4.1	Choice of the corpus —	74
4.2	Why a web corpus? —	74
4.3	Creation of a corpus for the pre-21 st -century Romanian —	75
4.4	Periodisation of Romanian —	76
4.5	Compilation of the dataset —	78
4.5.1	Phase I —	78
4.5.2	Phase II —	79
4.6	Annotation of the data —	80
4.6.1	Translated vs. original —	80
4.6.2	Period —	81
4.6.3	The case of the experiencer —	81
4.6.4	Verb —	81
4.6.5	Complementation and stimulus —	82
4.6.6	Word order —	82
4.6.7	Determination and modification —	82
4.6.8	Semantic class and polarity —	83
4.6.9	First attestation and etymology —	83
4.6.10	Type source-text and source —	83

Chapter 5

Nouns entering the MIHI EST construction — 85

5.1	Dataset —	85
5.2	The set of nouns in present-day Romanian —	86
5.3	The set of nouns in pre-21 st -century Romanian —	91
5.4	Etymology and innovation —	92
5.5	Evolution of the competition between <i>fi</i> ‘be’ and <i>avea</i> ‘have’ with state nouns —	96
5.6	Conclusion —	112

Part 2: The subject and its properties

Chapter 6

The subject: Toward a universal definition — 115

- 6.1 The notion of subject — 115
- 6.2 Canonical vs. non-canonical subjects — 121
- 6.3 Non-canonical subjects — 124
- 6.4 Diachronic evolution of non-canonical subjects — 134

Chapter 7

Subject properties in Romanian — 137

- 7.1 Coding properties of the subject in Romanian — 138
 - 7.1.1 Nominative case — 138
 - 7.1.2 Verb agreement — 141
- 7.2 Behavioral properties of subjects in Romanian — 142
 - 7.2.1 Dative and accusative experiencers in Romanian — 143
 - 7.2.2 Word order — 147
 - 7.2.3 Binding — 158
 - 7.2.4 Control of implicit subjects of non-finite verbs — 165
 - 7.2.4.1 Infinitive vs. subjunctive in Romanian — 167
 - 7.2.4.2 Control phenomena in Romanian as a subjecthood diagnostic — 171
 - 7.2.4.2.1 Only subjects may be controlled PRO — 172
 - 7.2.4.2.2 Only subjects may control PRO — 176
 - 7.2.5 Raising — 177
 - 7.2.5.1 Subject-to-subject raising — 179
 - 7.2.5.2 Subject-to-object raising — 183
 - 7.2.6 Conjunction reduction — 186
 - 7.2.7 Deletion of the subject in imperatives — 187
 - 7.2.8 Deletion of the subject in telegraphic style — 188
 - 7.2.9 Bare quantifiers in clause-initial position — 189
 - 7.2.10 Secondary predication — 190
- 7.3 Conclusions — 191

Chapter 8

Identifying the subject of the MIHI EST construction — 193

- 8.1 The status of the dative experiencer — 193
 - 8.1.1 Word order — 194
 - 8.1.2 Binding — 203
 - 8.1.3 Control of the unexpressed subject of non-finite verb forms — 204
 - 8.1.3.1 Only subjects may be a controlled PRO — 204

8.1.3.2	Only subjects may control PRO —	206
8.1.4	Raising —	208
8.1.5	Deletion of the subject in telegraphic style —	210
8.1.6	Bare quantifiers in clause-initial position —	210
8.1.7	Secondary predication —	211
8.2	The status of the state noun —	212
8.2.1	Determination —	213
8.2.2	Modification —	214
8.2.3	Complementation —	216
8.2.4	The state noun – a control predicate —	217
8.2.5	Word order —	219
8.2.6	Other arguments —	223
8.3	Conclusions —	224

Part 3: Expansion of the non-canonical pattern

Chapter 9

Productivity of the MIHI EST construction — 229

9.1	Productivity among the native speakers – a pilot study —	229
9.1.1	Methodology —	230
9.1.1.1	Materials: Survey —	230
9.1.1.2	Participants —	230
9.1.1.3	Procedure —	231
9.1.2	Statistical analysis —	233
9.1.3	Results —	233
9.1.3.1	Test and control nouns —	236
9.1.3.2	MIHI EST construction vs. HABEO construction —	238
9.1.3.3	Effect of the linguistic variables on the acceptability rating —	243
9.1.3.4	Effect of the extralinguistic variables on the acceptability rating —	250
9.1.4	Preliminary conclusions —	258
9.2	Productivity in the corpus —	260
9.2.1	Defining the rate of use —	261
9.2.2	Methodology —	261
9.2.2.1	The dataset —	261
9.2.2.2	Measurements —	262
9.2.2.3	Methodological difficulties —	264
9.2.3	Findings —	265
9.2.3.1	Toward a quantitative analysis of the MIHI EST construction —	265
9.2.3.1.1	Token frequency —	265

- 9.2.3.1.2 Realized productivity or type frequency — 267
- 9.2.3.1.3 Potential productivity — 268
- 9.2.3.2 A qualitative approach to productivity — 272
- 9.2.4 Preliminary conclusions — 276

Chapter 10

Summary and conclusions — 278

- 10.1 Summary — 278
- 10.2 Main findings — 285
- 10.3 Limitations of this research and directions for future work — 288

Bibliography — 291

Appendices

Appendix 1 — 315

Appendix 2 — 323

Index of subjects — 327

Index of names — 331