Ignoring Language Barriers: Romanian-Serbian Code-Switching

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This dissertation focuses on the syntactic aspects of Romanian-Serbian code-switching (CS). It explores a number of issues concerning several domains and theoretical mechanisms, especially the structure of the nominal domain, the structure and derivation of coordinated structures, cliticization (both second-position and verbal clitics), the nature of affixal articles, phases, and the mechanisms of Agree and case-licensing. In addressing these questions, a fundamental assumption is Bošković's (2008, 2012) dichotomy which divides languages into NP (languages without articles) and DP (languages with articles). This distinction is especially relevant here, as the languages involved differ in this respect – Romanian having, and Serbian lacking articles.

Chapter 2 focuses on the TNP-internal CS, examining the interaction between Romanian definite articles, Serbian nouns, and Serbian adjectives. By examining the requirements of these elements, I propose a new mechanism for article cliticization involving Agree and Affix Hopping that can account for both Romanian and CS constructions.

Chapter 3 tackles the interaction between the nominal and the verbal domain through Left-Branch Extraction (LBE). Since the same nominal allows or disallows LBE in CS depending on

its position, LBE is used to determine the points of CS, where CS within a phasal domain only affects that particular phasal domain, and not the entire structure.

Chapter 4 investigates coordinated TNPs in CS, further examining the behavior of NP vs. DP elements and showing that NP elements are more flexible than DP elements in terms of the switches they allow.

Chapter 5 focuses on clitics in CS, Romanian having verbal and Serbian second-position clitics. I show that word-internal CS is allowed as long as the elements involved do not form a morphosyntactic head (X_0).

Chapter 6 looks at case assignment in CS. Romanian Case-assigners are shown to behave differently than Serbian Case-assigners in CS, with Serbian verbs behaving differently in CS than they do in Serbian.

Overall, while the findings illustrate relevant CS aspects, they highlight the functionality of analyzing elements outside of their input grammar, creating derivations that can exceptionally be found only in CS.

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Ignoring Language Barriers: Romanian Serbian Code-Switching

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Born in a Romanian village in Serbia, growing up bilingual was a common occurrence in my community. I have been intrigued by code-switching ever since I realize I could do it. Apart from being encouraged to use and nurture both of my languages, reflecting on the many conversations with my peers that were enriched by our being playful with our ability to code-switch, I am constantly in awe of the privilege of being bilingual, having two native languages, and belong to two cultures. Besides recognizing the favorable circumstances of having been born in Uzdin, Serbia, a community that values and appreciates biculturalism and bilingualism, the amount of support system I have had around me on my journey to the completion of my PhD is beyond remarkable. Through this support system, I am not only able to put my hometown, Uzdin, on the linguistic map of the world, but I also continue to appreciate and be reminded of the value of my own mother tongues, especially when the two intertwined to give birth to an authentic and unique blend that is always going to remind me of home.

First and foremost, a debt that I can never repay is the confidence, support, and consistency I have received from my advisors. It is no secret to anyone who has been advised by Dr. Željko Bošković that he has unwavering support, endless motivation, that he will fight for his students to become the best versions of themselves, and that he will not stop until they reach their potential. I remember feeling unsure about suggesting code-switching as a dissertation topic to Dr. Bošković, only to be met with excitement on his part, which led to commitment I am yet to experience again from anyone else. I had the privilege to have Dr. Bošković as one of my major advisors and he has selflessly mentored me through concrete linguistic puzzles, but also through incredible perspectives of approaching any obstacle in life — ranging from navigating professional relationships to dealing with things that life brings to us. Dr. Bošković has been my academic, cultural, and mental health ambassador throughout my graduate career, and I am still reaping the benefits of having had that opportunity. Through his mentoring, I have also learned how to be a mentor myself and how to motivate students when they need it most. I am convinced that the pressure of graduate school and the emotional struggles of my personal life would have taken their toll and that, without his support, commitment, and belief in me, I would not have completed this project. I am also grateful to Dr. Diane Lillo-Martin whom I have always admired and felt so privileged to be able to have her as my mentor. Regardless of how I felt before our meetings, after spending time and talking to Dr. Lillo-Martin, I always came out of her office feeling a lot better. I will always cherish the conversations we had about bilingualism and the excitement when we discovered something new. Although I have always been intimidated by Dr. Diane Lillo-Martin's accomplishments, learning from her, working with her, and being around her has only made me admire her even more. To Dr. Ian Roberts, who always made himself available to me despite the geographical distance, I am also forever indebted. I remember giving him my final draft before his trip back to the UK and feeling really bad for doing things so last-minute (a feeling known to all graduate students), only to be greeted by his smile, saying that he was looking forward to have something to fun do on his flight. I have heard many horror stories about advisors and the lack of support from graduate students across the country, and, the more I spend working with students, the more a realize what an incredible team I have had on my side, and, quite honestly, that they have spoiled me rotten. I have also had the unique opportunity to be mentored and shaped into a writing center professional by Dr. Tom Deans, who, although not on my committee, has also selflessly taught me, supported me, and helped me nourish my

administrative and mentoring skills. My mentors have raised the standards for mentorship, and human beings in general, that cannot be matched. From the bottom of my heart, I cannot thank you enough.

The rest of the professionals at UConn have always made themselves approachable for any questions related to teaching, research, or simply being a graduate student in the US. I have always felt like a valued member of UConn Linguistics, and this is because I truly felt like everyone was there to make me feel at home. Despite their busy and, sometimes, stressful, lives, I have always been greeted with a smile and I never felt like my questions were a burden. In fact, every member of the UConn faculty and staff always had their door open to all students, and I cannot express how much that meant to me. Dr. William Snyder has opened my mind to questions about language acquisition I had not even thought could exist. I enjoyed all of his classes because he is an endless encyclopedia of knowledge. Dr. Susi Wurmbrand's expertise and love for linguistics was evident in my first class with her. Her way of teaching and her enthusiasm would keep me focused and made me hungry for more. Outside of the classroom, Dr. Wurmbrand has always been a joy seeing and talking to. I will never forget Dr. Jonathan Bobaljik's enthusiasm for research and teaching, but I will especially never forget the way he has always carried himself with grace and kindness. I am not worthy of Dr. Eva Barshalom's kindness and support who was always available to me for linguistic questions, but also for discussions about how much we miss our home, culture, and native languages. Dr. Andrea Calabrese has taught me so much about the phonology of Romance languages! My favorite thing about Dr. Calabrese is his kindness, willingness to help, and how he was always in a good mood. I will always tell stories about the way him and his family welcomed all of us to his home for Open House and offering us exquisite homemade Italian cuisine. Fact: the UConn Linguistics Open House is yet to be outdone by any other department, and this is in major part because of the generosity of Dr. Calabrese and his wonderful family. To Dr. Jon Gajewski, thank you for leading our department and for always having the patience to listen to my jokes. Although I have not worked closely with Dr. Stefan Kaufmann and Dr. Magdalena Kaufmann, part of me wishes I focused more on semantics just to have the privilege to work and learn from you. Nevertheless, I will always cherish all of our interactions and your care for all students. I have admired Dr. John Sprouse's effortlessness when discussing his work and I can only aspire to reach the level of expertise that he has to be able to know so much, yet make everyone around him feel appreciated and respected. I have enjoyed my classes and conversations with Dr. Harry van der Hulst who always found a way to throw in a fun linguistic fact related to our topic. Last but not least, a bouquet of thank-yous to Tamara Cohen who has been like a mother to all of us — always knowing answers to all of our questions, always fixing our mistakes, and never leaving a stone unturned when something needed to be done. I would be absolutely helpless without her and I cannot thank her enough for making sure all my affairs were in order. Most importantly, I am grateful to her for keeping me sane by indulging in long conversations with me about random things. Catalina Ritton, who I have only had the pleasure of working closely with for one year, I will never forget everything she has done for me to start my graduate career at UConn successfully. I am also grateful to Dr. Marie Coppola who has provided me with invaluable knowledge and despite her busy schedule and a multitude of projects, she always found a way to check on me when I needed it most. I have always felt honored to have been on her mind.

I am also grateful to the graduate student body in the Linguistics Department, especially to my cohort — Dr. Young Yongsuk, Dr. Koji Shimamura, Dr. Troy Messik, and Dr. Zheng Shen — we made it! Nead, or Dr. Neda Todorović... so much has been said, so many Serbian

jokes have been told and retold (e.g., radddi, ne radi, raaadi, ne radi; sve, aaaAAA, Njujork graAAaaaaAAd, to name a few), so many Serbian songs have been (poorly) reproduced (Laku noć, lingvisti ™), and yet I know that we have barely scratched the surface of where our friendship can take us. Od "nesam školovala" we made it to "sam školovala", and I cannot imagine having gone through this journey without you. My graduate career would have been incomplete without my froommie, my dude, Abigail Thornton, who has been my friend since we met at the Open House. Abbie has supported me, listened to me, prayed to the "gods of sense of urgency" with me, and she still remains one of my closest friends. I know that having gone through graduate school together and having survived it together made a bond between us that will never be broken. I love you, dude! Roberto Petrosino, I know I would have starved (literally) if it were not for his generous invitations to amazing homemade Italian food, and I know I would have also starved emotionally had it not been for his friendship, support, encouragement, and many hours spent together working on our research. To put it simply, not having had Roberto as a friend would have been nothing short of preposterous! Dr. Kathryn Davidson-Zaremba has been like an older sister to me ever since I met her as a part of Dr. Lillo-Martin's Sign Language Linguistics and Language Acquisition Lab. Her mentorship skills ranged from intriguing discussions on ASL and bilingualism to real-life advice on surviving graduate school and learning how to maintain a life-work balance. She is the example of brilliance combined with patience, kindness, and positivity. I have known her for almost a decade and another decade will not be enough for me to be able to replicate the grace she has in carrying herself professionally and privately. Olivia Harold is another person whose friendship, generosity, and amazing humor (e.g., oh look, UConn has a beach!) I have enjoyed for many years. Olivia has stayed consistent in being a true friend to me and she has ensured that any time we spend together is an adventure. This includes simple sleep-overs and a 13-hour road trip from Detroit to Storrs to help me bring Rubí to CT. Lee Pruiner is a friend who has always given me the warmest hugs and who always offered the most fun, enjoyable, and much-needed conversations. Anyone who has met Lee cannot deny that they are the epitome of hard work without ever complaining about it. All members of Dr. Lillo-Martin's Lab, including Julia and Katelyn Guerrera, have all ensured that I felt like a member of the family and have shown me love and friendship beyond what I could have ever asked. For anyone who has met Dr. Matt Hall, they cannot be but moved by his intelligence, enthusiasm, generosity, and selflessness that he has consistently shown to me and everyone around him. I am a better person for knowing Matt and for having the privilege to call him my friend. Dr. Laura Kalin is another brilliant linguist that I am also lucky to have as a friend. I have not once entered Dr. Kalin's office without being greeted with a smile and a hug. I have learned a lot about persistence, hard work, and empowerment from Laura and I have admired and will continue to admire her for as long as I live. I am also grateful to Dr. Ting Xu for her endless kindness, our deep conversations, and for being my BodyWise partner! Emma Nguyen has always been someone I could count on and she tackled every single situation with a positive attitude and a smile. Emma has taught me that no matter the challenge, there is always something comical about it that can help us push through. To Sabine Laszakovits, thank you for always being generous with your time and for always having a smile on your face. Seeing you would always make my day. Christos Christonopoulos, Marcin Dadan, Yoshiki Fujiwara, Shengyun Gu, Ivana Jovović, Pavel Koval, Renato Lacerda, Gabriel Martínez Vera, Hiromune Oda, Shuyan Wang, and Jayeon Park also hold a special place in my heart for being my friends and someone I always enjoyed being around. Sarah Asinari and Si Kai Lee, you may not remember, but you scanned drafts of chapters for me when I could not

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The UConn Writing Center is another place that embraced me and offered me so many new opportunities. In addition to Dr. Tom Deans, I only have positive memories of my interactions with Dr. Kathleen Tonry. Dr. Tonry has a special talent of calming students down just by offering her company and honest advice. It was an honor sharing her company. Words cannot describe the gratitude and the love I have for Margie Ouitmette, who has always offered a listening ear and has never failed to show how much she cared for anyone in the Writing Center. From her ability to get things done efficiently and gracefully, her admirable sense of fashion, to her kind heart and soothing words, there is yet an interaction that will have to convince me that Margie is not the closest thing to a guardian angel. I greatly miss our conversations and seeing her regularly. While the UConn Writing Center has provided me with a path towards my professional passion, what I am mostly grateful for is having the opportunity to meet amazing students and people along the way. Through the UConn Writing Center, I gained a baby sister. Odia Kane is a firework who never runs out of sparks and someone who has shown me the meaning of unconditional love, unconditional generosity, and unconditional kindness. No matter the distance, Odia is always close to me and her humor puts a smile on my face even on the gloomiest of days. Thank you to Ryan Ramos for being my study buddy and putting in long hours in the library while listening to me complaining about graduate school, and, importantly, for the hundreds of memes we have exchanged throughout the years.

Outside of Linguistics and the Writing Center, there are many people from UConn that have shaped me as a person as we have struggled together in our graduate school journey. Leah Schwebel, a force of nature, my booboo, and my partner-in-crime has made our house at UConn a real home. First year of graduate school is never easy, but Leah took me under her wing and she made our house a safe haven from everything. We laughed, we shared, we worked out, we cried, we cooked together... she has been and will always be like a sister to me. I know I would not have survived my first year without her love. To my dear, amazing, and hilarious friend, Jesus Cobo, I am forever grateful for having met him. Our campus walks filled with jokes and imitations of the Jesus Chris lizard, Bodywise classes, our parties together (the unforgettable show we put together at the Graduate Prom!), our improvised TS birthday songs, and our endless texts and pictures that will always make me laugh, I will always cherish all those memories. You and Dan are amazing human beings and you will always hold a special place in my heart. Ivan Ferrero has a wonderful personality, a generous mindset, and someone who I can always count on. Marc, who I got to know through Ivan, is a dear friend who finds something hilarious in every situation. I cannot be more grateful for the two of them for their friendship and hospitality. I was always looking forward to seeing and catching up with Carmen Valencia, Adriana Vega, and Ángela Martín Pérez who brought really joy to me. Amy Mauser, my chicky and amazing friend who is as resilient as she is kind. Our trips to the beach, our roadtrips (e..g, Can you believe I did that... IN A TUNNEL?!), and our conversations and times together will always be memories I will cherish deeply. Dr. Koichi Yoshikawa, I know you always say I'm the goofball,

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For anyone who knows me, they know that table tennis also has to be mentioned. The impact that table tennis has had on my work ethic and mental health has been paramount. Not to mention the joy belonging to a such community has brought to my life. Perfecting a skill from zero requires a lot of hard work, and I have definitely invested years of my life in working on every nuance of a table tennis stroke or serve. I am convinced that the mental work I was doing day in and day out from a young age to improve at table tennis has shown me how persistent and patient I can be with something I am interested in, which, in turn, has made graduate school more of a reality. Being involved in table tennis was also a direct testimony to the fact that practice really does bring progress, however, that *that* progress in not necessarily linear. Table tennis has also taught me to welcome constructive criticism, to process wins and losses, and to understand that a lesson can be learned from any experience. I have my coaches to thank for pushing me hard to not give up, for instilling a sense of responsibility towards myself, and to respect the effort that I put in. Branimir Kožokar (Bane) and Vasa Stoja were my favorite coaches who showed me what it means to take things seriously, but still have fun while putting in hard work. Through table tennis, I also had the unique opportunity to meet some incredible people who have become some of my closest friends. The UConn Table Tennis Club has had a huge role in providing a healthy outlet during my graduate school. A special place in my heart are holding Tim Dise, Chen Chen, Aria Lee, and Josue Layuno, all of whom I had chance to be teammates and friends with. Aria is someone who does not flinch when facing a challenge; in fact, she chases them and grows from every new situation that she's in. Josue, mi hermanito, has a gentle soul and is one of the most fun and loving persons I have ever been around. Through table tennis, I also became a part of NCTTA (National Collegiate Table Tennis Association), which brought me together with my NCTTA Zoo Family. Captain Seemant Teotia, a selfless, kind, and a true captain of our team, is someone I can call any time and I know he will do anything to hear me out and help in any way he can. Willy Leparulo, the Bear and the NCTTA Director, is one of the most hardworking and generous men that has ever walked this earth. His love for table tennis and for friendships has turned NCTTA into an empire that keeps growing in number and in power every single day. Willy, a fellow multilingual, and me have bonded over love and

advocacy for languages and bilingualism and our first conversation was actually about code-switching. Shelly Huang Leparulo, our Tigress, is a force to be reckoned with. No matter what she's going through, she always has love, encouragement, and kind words for others. She is a fierce fighter, on and off the court, and I have learned and continue to learn so much from her. I also have to give a shout-out to Mia Huang Leparulo, who will soon be old enough to read this! If there is anyone who can always make me laugh to tears, it is John Taner, the Owl. Michael Reff, the Sloth, is a multitalented person whose love and care for his friends knows no limit. Even when I am not with them, I can hear their cheers and their will to fight, and it helps me carry on (#loudnproud). Finally, I wouldn't have been the person I am today if it weren't for the guidance, lessons, long talks, support, and encouragement of my coach, mentor, and a dear friend, Igor Jevremov. He has supported me in some of my most vulnerable times and he is someone I can count on no matter what. He took me under his wing and made sure I never stray from the right track and he has always reminded me to strive for greatness.

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Although all of my friends I've grown up with have been far away, we find ways to maintain our bonds. To Teodora Fizešan (Dora) who has been my best friend for two decades (Festivalul al Mare, anul 2000, la liegănușă! - present), there is nothing that we haven't shared. We have been best friends through our minor and major decisions, we spent time in front of the mirror putting make up for the first time together and transitioned into examining our wrinkles together (and now, even more!). Through it all, Dora has been my sister and there is no one that could ever replace her. Sebastian Stoja (Seba) is another friend who has been through it all, and we have completed some major projects together (e.g., like Studio Sebulino, sol-mi-sol). Seba is hilarious and we crack each other up every time we are together. Dora, Seba, and I were inseparable and there are so many inside jokes that will always bring back the best memories for us (e.g., lucră domnu, Joana, Joana, Sebooo). I wish everyone would have a friend like Dani(el) Neda, "vicinu meu", who, I am sure, the definition of friendship was created by. Dani has been an unending source of love, support, and so many jokes and unique expressions that make him invaluable and irreplaceable in my life. Dani inspires me to be a better friend, to be kind, and to live fully in every moment. His energy and commitment to enjoying life is contagious and is like therapy to me. Xenia Oalge, aka Xeni mea, is a joy to be around. She is caring, hardworking, and her heart is always in the right place. Any time spent with Dani and Xeni, "jumbălitorii mei" is time well spent. The two of them will turn a simple walk into an adventure and there will be receipts to show it (e.g., înterisance vieșci, parâlie – țur țur țurcile, nu, nu, că nu). Dani ș Xeni, vis iubirea mea din sufletu meu! Daniel (Danjo) Fizešan is like a brother to me — we love each other like siblings and we challenge each other like siblings! Sanja Vijatov Stoja can crack a joke out of the blue and we will talk about it for years (e.g., "Sanja, Sanja, šta vičeš k'o da sam ja u šerpi!"). There is no secret or experience Daniela (Daca) Tot and I haven't shared. With Daca, I learned how to laugh more, how to enjoy life more, and how to appreciate lazy days more. Snežana (Alba) Vuletić — what a force of nature! Her support, encouragement, loyalty, and energy have had a huge impact on my life. Her positive attitude and the ability to turn any challenge into an adventure has been essential in shaping how I view dedication, hard work, and

overall commitment to go after your dreams. She is someone who always holds you accountable, yet never fails to shower you with her love, care, and to extend a helping hand. Our walks and talks, our times together, and everything I've learned from her has made me a better and more responsible person, and I will be thankful to her for that throughout my live. Kristina Georgijev is a friend who I can have the silliest and the most serious conversations with within one hangout. Another person that has been consistent in my life is Kristina Mirazović, who is always a ray of sunshine in my life. She never fails to make me laugh and her jokes are timeless and epic (e.g., ne treba mi tvoje sori!). Tamara Pecanac has started the English language journey with me and she has been by my side all the way. Taking English classes with her, learning together, and then taking endless walks on the streets of Subotica was a true joy. Vanja Ban, one of the kindest, most beautiful, and most hospitable souls I have ever met. She has been supportive through every challenge and she always made sure I knew she was rooting for me. (P.S. She also makes the best freshly squeezed orange juice!). My friends from college who have been a true definition of friends and classmates have all made my college years enjoyable, fun, and such an amazing experience: Milana Škorić, Aleksandar (Sale, Lesa) Škorić, Tijana Novaković, and Jelena Panić are among those that I miss the most! Bojan Margić is a dear friend who I can always count on for huge and small favors. Importantly, I can always count on him to make me laugh and be a real friend. He is someone who always keeps his word, even if it means taking a long trip to attend my birthday party with a whole tree in his car (you had to be there to appreciate it, but if you were there, you will definitely never forget that sight). Dr. Marija Runić, whose friendship I have had the pleasure to enjoy, is as fierce and she is kind. She is brilliant and, I swear, she can find extra 3 hours in a day to accomplish everything she planned for. Amazingly, despite her multiple projects, she puts love and care for her friends a top priority.Wangling Sun Wolf, a fellow plant lover and a friend I wish I could have around me all the time, also deserve a huge thank you for all the love and thoughtfulness she has given me in our relatively young, but strong friendship. Marie Claude Dorsey, Wassila Ouedraogo, and Claudia Amé Tsevi also made my short time in Nebraska feel like I am home, among family and friends. I miss you, beautiful and fierce ladies, dearly. Dr. Amy Nejezchleb was my supervisor at Bellevue University and she's one of the most brilliant, most caring, and most fun people to work with. It is no surprise that we continued our relationship as friends and as collaborators in writing center related work. The lessons she has taught me about graceful leadership and collaboration are the ones I will be carrying with me throughout my professional career.

I think I hit the lottery by starting my new job at Oregon State University. First and foremost, when I grow up, I want to become and lead like Dennis Bennett, the Director of the Writing Center and my supervisor. I have had the pleasure and honor of working with Dennis for a year and a half now, and I never fail to be amazed and impressed by how he carries himself, how dedicated he is to his work and the students, and how caringly he leads and mentors his direct reports. I am always in awe at how passionately he advocates for those whose voices cannot be heard, yet he never takes any credit for it. Seeing the benefit of his advocacy and the relief on student's faces is his reward. I have been privileged to be in his presence when he makes important decisions and to have him advise me when I need help. Dennis is someone who knows what I need to succeed before I even realize that an opportunity has presented itself. I have enjoyed our professional relationship, the transparency of it, the way in which I can ask him any question or go to him with any concern, and he has not failed in giving me his undivided attention and his expert advice every single time. I trust Dennis unconditionally. I am also glad to be able to call Dennis not only my supervisor, but also my friend. He has welcomed me not only

me unconditionally, pushed me when I needed some help to move forward, and made me laugh — basically — all the time. Varuța time is always the best time.

To my grandparents, Florica and Ioviță Cocora, I will always be grateful for their love and trust, and I will always cherish the many memories we made together. Being away from them has never been easy, and I do not have the courage to even think about all the memories we could have created had I not been away.

My brother, Sorin Petroj, has made sure I am always ready for a challenge and that I am not intimidated by anything. We grew up playing together, winning tournaments together, and going to school in a new town together. Wherever life takes us, I hope we will get to revisit our childhood memories and will make many new ones together.

My husband and partner in everything, Ariko Kaziboni, has been an anchor that has never let me go astray. For anyone who immigrates or has to leave their home, they understand that finding 'home' again is a quest that fails many. Ariko, however, is that home for me. He has enough goodness in his soul that he is able to love and care for everyone in his life. His love knows no boundaries or conditions and, because of that, he has always been able to support me in anything I've set out to do. It would be a crime if I neglected to mention his sense of humor with jokes always on the ready. What I have done to deserve to be his partner and to hold a special place in his heart is unknown to me, but I know I will always be immeasurably grateful and I will continue to strive to reciprocate all that he has so selflessly given to me.

To my parents, Valentina and Dorel Petroj, who this dissertation and, quite frankly, all my accomplishments have always been devoted to, I am forever indebted. Words will fail at describing the love and gratitude I feel towards you. They sacrificed more than anyone should sacrifice in order for me to follow my dreams, and it is my only regret that I will never be able to return even a fraction of the generosity, care, and unconditional love that they had for me and my brother. I know you considered your life as fulfilled if your children have been put on the right path, so I hope, wherever you are, that you can rest more peacefully knowing that I'll continue to lead my life the way you taught me and that I will forever carry you in my heart.

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1. *introduction*

1.1. MAIN GOALS

At the core of this dissertation is the interaction of Romanian and Serbian elements in code-switching (CS), with the main focus on the theoretical and syntactic processes that allow for a successful cross-language derivation. Broadly defined, CS represents the ability of bilinguals to effortlessly alternate between two languages. While the alternation of lexical items is the most readily visible characteristic of CS, in this dissertation, I highlight the more intricate manifestation of CS through the interaction of Romanian and Serbian elements at the syntactic and morphosyntactic levels. Therefore, the first goal concerns taking the perspective of generative linguistics in accounting for grammatical and ungrammatical structures in utterances that are a consequence of CS. Another goal is noting the benefits of considering CS structures when testing theoretical proposals and hypotheses in the field. In other words, analyzing the behavior of elements in a new environment can shed light on novel areas, previously limited by a single-language environment. Finally, with this work, I aim to document the speech from the bilingual community where the data in this dissertation come from, as well as to make this new data accessible for future researchers in the field.

While the sociolinguistic questions of *why* bilinguals code-switch are equally relevant, those will not be addressed in this dissertation. Instead, here, I explore *how code-switched utterances are derived*, approaching the CS structures through the lens of generative linguistics.

For ease of exposition, following the conventions of other works on CS, when examples involve elements from two languages, **Romanian** elements will be given in **bold**, and *Serbian* elements in *italics*. This is illustrated in (1) below:

(1) **Disertația**   **îi**   *konačno*   *gotova.*
     dissertation.the-F.SG   is   finally   complete.PART-F.SG
     'The dissertation is finally complete.'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

1.2. FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS

The main focus of the dissertation concerns the nominal domain. A fundamental assumption adopted and confirmed in this dissertation is that there is a structural difference between languages with and without definite articles, as argued by Bošković (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014a) more generally, and by other authors for particular languages (Fukui 1988, Corver 1992, Chierchia 1998, Willim 2000, Baker 2003, a.o.), whereby languages without articles lack the DP projection where definite articles are presumed to be positioned. This property leads to a structural difference that divides languages into NP (languages without articles) and DP (languages with articles) languages (Bošković 2002, 2008, 2014a).

Having or lacking the DP layer leads to differences in the structure of the Traditional Noun Phrase (TNP), phases and phasal points, as well as a number of syntactic and semantic phenomena. In the dissertation, TNP is used as a unified term to refer to the NP that includes crosslinguistic variation with respect to the DP-NP parameter, more precisely, it refers to the highest projection in the extended domain of the noun. Following Bošković (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014a), I assume Serbian to be an NP language (lacking definite articles, therefore, the DP layer) and Romanian a DP language (having definite articles, and therefore, the DP layer). This is represented structurally in (2a) for Serbian and in (2b) for Romanian (the structures below take into consideration

determiners, adjectives, and nouns). The data discussed in the dissertation will in fact provide additional evidence for this dichotomy.

(2)　　　a.　　NP
　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　AP　　　NP

　　　　　　b.　　DP
　　　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　　　Spec　　D'
　　　　　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　　　　　D_0　　NP
　　　　　　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　　　　　　AP　　　NP
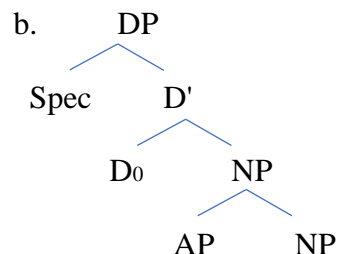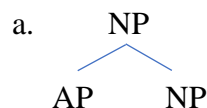
One of the main theoretical consequences of the NP/DP parameter is related to phases and phasal points. Adopting a contextual approach to phases where the highest projection of the extended domain of a lexical category is a phase (Bošković 2014a), Romanian (a DP language) and Serbian (an NP language) differ with respect to the phasal points in each language in isolation; while the NP is a phase in Serbian, in Romanian the DP acts as a phase, as illustrated in (3). Consequently, certain phase-sensitive processes will not be uniformly allowed or disallowed in these two languages.

(3)　　　　　　　　NP
　　　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　　　AP　　　NP

　　　　　　　　　　　DP
　　　　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　　　　Spec　　D'
　　　　　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　　　　　D_0　　NP
　　　　　　　　　　　　／\
　　　　　　　　　　AP　　　NP
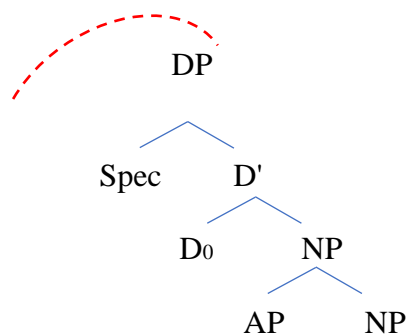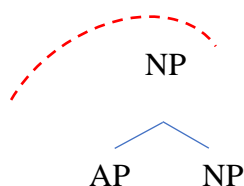
While matters seem to be relatively clear when looked at the two languages in isolation, when parts of the structures mix during CS, the NP/DP distinction ought to have consequences on the resulting derivation. Crucially, phasal points have a direct impact on CS, as it has been

proposed that they may have an effect on whether a certain stage in the derivation can be considered a switching point during language mixing (González-Vilbazo & López 2012; Veenstra, Alexiadou, & López 2017; Alexiadou, 2017; i.a.). Moreover, establishing which and-or whether the NP or DP parameter setting prevails during CS by determining exact phasal points in the code-switched constructions can also shed light on a more fundamental question in CS; namely, do the mixed structures form a unique, uniform system, or is CS, like phases in NP/DP languages, contextually conditioned.

This assumption is an essential starting point throughout the dissertation, and its application can be seen in Chapter 3, where the phenomenon of Left Branch Extraction (LBE) of adjectives and adjectival elements are examined in CS constructions. Namely, one of the generalizations around the NP/DP distinction established by Bošković (2008, 2012) is that *only languages without articles may allow LBE*. Considering different parameter settings of the two languages in question, LBE is disallowed in Romanian (a DP language), but it is allowed in Serbian (an NP language), as illustrated in (4) and (5) below:

(4)   a. **Am   văzut   scumpe / scumpele   automobile.**
       have.1SG-AUX seen   expensive.F.PL / expensive-the.F.PL   cars.F
'I saw expensive - the expensive cars.'   (Romanian)

       b. ***Scumpe_i / scumpele_i   am   văzut   [DPt_i **automobile.]**
       expensive.F.PL / expensive-the.F.PL   have.1SG-AUX seen   cars.F.PL
cf. Am văzut scumpe / scumpele automobile.
'I saw expensive cars.'   (Romanian)

(5)   a. *Vidio   je   skupa   kola.*
       seen.M.SG   is-AUX   expensive.F.SG   car.F.SG
'He saw expensive cars.'   (Serbian)
                                                                              (Bošković 2008)
       b. *Skupa_i   je   vidio   [NP *t_i kola*].*

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expensive.F.SG   is-AUX   seen.M.SG   car.F.SG

cf. Vidio je skupa kola.   (Serbian)

'He saw expensive cars.'   (Bošković 2008)

Bošković (2008, 2012) argues that this contrast is due to the different phasal points in the nominal domains in NP vs. DP languages. However, the CS example from (6), where LBE is not allowed even when a seemingly Serbian NP (article-less TNP) is used (i.e. LBE here takes place out of a seemingly Serbian NP), further complicates matters, indicating that additional factors may be at play in the restrictions concerning LBE. What is even more interesting is that in certain contexts, LBE out of the TNP in (6b) is possible, as will be shown below. At any rate, throughout the dissertation, the status of elements is investigated by using cases like (6), where the languages in question individually show conflicting behavior in environments that involve CS.

(6)   a. **Am**   **trecut**   *teški*   *ispit.*
        have.1SG-AUX   passed-PTCP   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M.SG
'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian-**Serbian*)

    b. ***Teški**$_i$ **am**   **trecut**   [t_i *ispit*].
    difficult.LF.M.SG   have.1SG-AUX passed-PTCP   exam.M.SG
cf. Am trecut teški ispit.
'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian-**Serbian*)

Another fundamental assumption concerns the approach to CS. Because CS includes two actively competing languages and, by extension, grammars, it has been a matter of debate whether the structures belong to a separate grammatical system, or whether they are a fusion of the two grammars belonging to the participating language pair (Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993, Roeper 1999, MacSwan 1997, 2000, Grosjean 2000, Cantone & Müller 2005, i.a.). In this dissertation, I am pursuing the claim that there is no separate CS system. In other words, I show that it is the configuration and requirements of individual elements that may allow or disallow an

interaction with elements from another language. Furthermore, I also show that CS is marked by contextuality; while some elements or derivations are never acceptable, others can only occur when the appropriate contextual conditions are met. This view is also argued for by several authors such as Bhatia & Ritchie (1996), Bandi-Rao and den Dikken (2014), Gonzáles-Vilbazo (2011), González-Vilbazo and López (2012), among others. One question that I address is what motivates and allows the combinatorial system to successfully derive mixed utterances, i.e. whether this is lexically (i.e. feature-based) or structure-driven, and how the relevant elements interact across the architectures of the two languages. When it comes to the constraints, through various grammatical tests, I analyze whether they are narrow, restricted by the structures of the language pair involved, or broad, with constraints that do not exist in the two input grammars, but can be found in other natural linguistic systems (i.e. other languages). This transitions into some central questions regarding CS. First, the role of Universal Grammar (UG) in (dis)allowing some (but not other) structures during language mixing. Second, whether there exists a distinction of the Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix-Embedded language type, in which one language represents the dominant language (supplying most of the structure and structural rules), the other being a supporting language (offering (only) lexical items). With this work, I argue that although aspects of one language may prevail in certain constructions in this variant of CS, a single grammatical system is not dominant across all utterances. Instead, the relevant dominance is contextual and structural. It is contextual because the same utterance may be conveyed in multiple ways, containing more Romanian-like structure in some instances, and more Serbian-like structure in others. Second, the hierarchy is structural because this contextual flexibility dictates which language will prevail in a particular utterance, i.e. elements may impose a preference based on their structure and derivational requirements in each instance of a mixed utterance, and this preference varies based

on the structure of each switch. More concretely, while in some cases there may be no perceived dominance of one language (for example, in cases where structures from both languages overlap), aspects of either Romanian or Serbian grammar can and do prevail in other cases. Representative examples of no perceived dominance are given in (7) below, and of structural hierarchy imposed by Romanian elements in (10) below.

In the case of (7a), the utterance 'She abandoned me' requires no dominance from either Romanian or Serbian. The word order and the requirement for internal and external arguments of the verb being identical in the two languages, all elements maintain the behavior from their input grammars in CS.

(7)　　a. **Ea　m-o　　　　　　　　părăsit.**
　　　　　she　me.ACC-has-AUX　　　abandoned-PTCP　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**)

　　　　b. *Ona me　　　　je　　　　　napustila.*
　　　　　she　me.ACC　　　is-AUX　　　abandoned.F.SG-PTCP　　　　　　　(*Serbian*)

　　　　c. **Ea　m-o　　　　　　　*napustila.***
　　　　　she　me.ACC-has-AUX　　　abandoned.F.SG-PTCP
'She abandoned me.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian-***Serbian*)

In the examples below, however, a more Romanian-like preference can be seen in the resulting CS structure. Namely, as is discussed in more detail in the dissertation, Romanian adjectives can occur either pre- and post-nominally within the DP, as shown in (8). In contrast, Serbian adjectives can only occur pre-nominally in the NP, as in (9).

(8)　　a. **un　　　　　greu　　　　ceas**
　　　　　a.M.SG　　　heavy.M.SG　　clock.M　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**)

　　　　b. **un　　　　　ceas　　　　greu**
　　　　　a.M.SG　　　clock.M　　　heavy.M.SG　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**)
'a heavy clock'

(9) a. *(jedan)* *težak* *sat*
      one.M.SG heavy.M.SG clock.M   (*Serbian*)

    b. **(jedan)* *sat* *težak*
      one.M.SG clock.M heavy.M.SG
'a heavy clock'   (*Serbian*)

However, when participating in CS in (10), the Serbian adjective can occur on either side of the Romanian noun.

(10) a. **un** **ceas** *težak*
      a.M.SG clock.M heavy.M.SG
'a heavy clock'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

    b. **un** *težak* **ceas**
      a.M.SG heavy.M.SG clock.M
'a heavy clock'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Another relevant case is (11), where a suffixed Romanian article is hosted by a Serbian noun (recall that Serbian lacks articles):

(11) *ispit*-**ul**

      exam-M.SG-the.M.SG
'the exam'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

These examples illustrate several aspects of CS that are further discussed in the dissertation. First, they show that CS is contextual in that elements from two languages may behave differently in different environments. Second, it shows that some elements, such as the Serbian adjective in (10), are characterized by more flexibility when participating in CS. This raises a

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question of this flexibility in relation to the constraints on CS structures. More specifically, when there is a deviation from the input grammar, what rules (the term rule being used informally here) does that deviation follow? Do the rules come from the participating languages, or does a CS structure adhere to rules outside of the two input grammars? If a construction is unrestricted by the rules of the input grammars, this may mean that the structure itself does not pose restrictions on CS; instead, elements from either language *can* interact if their configuration matrices are compatible. In contrast, elements from either language *may not* interact if they are not structurally compatible. The structural compatibility can occur at many levels, and an example can be seen in simple cases like (7c), repeated here as (12). In (12a), the Serbian participle agrees in gender and number with the subject (which is +F, +SG) yielding the form 'napustila,' which is also feminine and singular. In (12b), however, the subject remains the same, but the participle form is that for masculine singular, which is incompatible with the subject 'she' (note that masculine is the default gender in Serbian, see Bošković (2009). Furthermore, in (12c), the Romanian auxiliary *or*, which denotes plural, does not match in number with the Serbian participle *napustila*, which is singular, therefore, the structure is ungrammatical.

(12) a. **Ea   m-o**   *napustila.*
      she   me-has-AUX   abandoned.F.SG-PTCP
'She abandoned me.'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

      b. ***Ea m-o**   *napustio*
      she   me-has-AUX   abandoned.M.SG-PTCP
'She/He abandoned me.'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

      c. ***M-or**   *napustila*
      me-has-AUX   abandoned.F.SG-PTCP
'They/She abandoned me.'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Therefore, the language of origin is a factor in CS only as it pertains to the configuration matrix of its elements.

The data presented in the dissertation will also challenge several claims regarding constrains on CS, specifically, the claims regarding constraints that ban word-internal CS, such as *the Free Morpheme Constraint* (Poplack, 1980) and the *PF Disjunction Theorem* (MacSwan, 1997). In contrast, the Romanian-Serbian data discussed in the dissertation support the claims by authors like Bhatia and Ritchie (1996) and Bandi-Rao and den Dikken (2014), who have shown that word-internal switches are permitted if the appropriate conditions for word-formation are met. I show that Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) approach, which allows CS within phonological words as long as they are not part of a complex X_0, is compatible with the Romanian-Serbian TNP-internal CS data presented in the thesis.

All of the constraints mentioned above are tackled at different points in the dissertation in parallel with the syntactic processes involved when the relevant data are presented.

The dissertation will also address a number of issues concerning several domains and theoretical mechanisms, especially the structure of the nominal domain, the structure and the derivation of coordinated structure, cliticization (both second-position and verbal clitics), the nature of affixal articles, phases and spell-out domains, and the mechanisms of Agree and Case-licensing.

1.3. THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

After introducing the topic and main goals in Chapter 1, the dissertation is organized as follows.

Chapter 2 explores TNP-internal CS, focusing on the interaction between Romanian definite articles, Romanian and Serbian nouns, and Romanian and Serbian adjectives. I explore the mechanisms that take place when elements from an article-less language (here, Serbian) interact with elements from an article-language (here, Romanian), as well as the issues that occur during this process. As will be seen, the NP/DP distinction between Serbian and Romanian has several consequences in the formation of CS utterances, an initial one being the question of article host, such as (11) from above. In Romanian, both nouns and adjectives can host the suffixed definite article (a property which is transferred to CS contexts, as well). However, the situation becomes interesting when Serbian elements (here, nouns and adjectives) interact with the Romanian definite articles in CS, given that Serbian lacks articles altogether. We will see that while both Serbian nouns and adjectives can co-occur with the Romanian definite article in the nominal domain, only Serbian nouns can act as hosts for the article. Adjectives in these two languages differ in other aspects, as well. Thus, Romanian adjectives can occur pre- and post-nominally within a TNP. Serbian adjectives, on the other hand, can only occur pre-nominally in a TNP in Serbian; however, they can occur both pre- and post-nominally in a CS TNP. In addition, in contrast to Romanian, Serbian adjectives come in two forms, long and short, which correspond to the specific and non-specific interpretation respectively. Both forms are permitted in CS utterances. As we will see, although Serbian adjectives cannot host Romanian definite articles, the two elements interact in CS and can co-occur in the same TNP. In this Chapter, I explore this in detail and provide an explanation for the asymmetry concerning Romanian and Serbian adjectives. Finally, this Chapter also tests how current mechanisms relevant to article cliticization in Romanian (i.e. N-to-D movement (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Ungureanu 2006), Affix Hopping (Chomsky 1957) or Prosodic Inversion (PI) (Halpern 1992), and Agree (Chomsky 2001) fare with

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respect to Romanian-Serbian CS data. Using novel data from CS, I show why the current mechanisms are individually insufficient in accounting for both CS and Romanian TNP structures. I propose a mechanism that involves both Multiple Agree and Affix Hopping, which accounts for both CS and Romanian. Finally, I explore how the Romanian-Serbian data under consideration fares with respect to relevant CS constraints already proposed in the literature.

While Chapter 2 provides an analysis of a CS TNP in isolation, Chapter 3 explores CS TNPs in interaction with the rest of the structure through the phenomenon of Left Branch Extraction (LBE). As noted above, LBE is another area where Romanian and Serbian differ significantly. More generally, as Bošković (2008, 2012) shows, LBE can be allowed only in NP (here, Serbian), but not DP languages (here, Romanian), as shown in (13):

(13) a. *Skupa*$_i$ *je*   *video*   [NP *t*$_i$ *kola*].
       expensive.F   is   seen.M.SG   car.F
       cf. Vidio je skupa/ta kola.   (*Serbian*)
‘He saw expensive-that car.’

       b. ***Scumpe**$_i$**/scumpele**$_i$ **am**   **văzut**   [DP**t**$_i$ **automobile.**]
       expensive-F.PL-expensive.the-F.PL   have-1SG   seen   cars-F.PL
cf. Am văzut scumpe/scumpele automobile.
‘I saw expensive cars.’   (**Romanian**)

Interestingly, as noted above, even with a fully Serbian TNP, LBE is not allowed in (14), where the verb is Romanian.

Below, I apply the LBE test to external arguments and internal arguments of ditransitive constructions and show that in other CS contexts the TNP from (14b) does allow LBE. This is important because, as we will see, the LBE test confirms that language dominance is contextual, i.e. LBE helps determine the extent to which a particular parameter setting may prevail in a CS utterance, and thus can be used as a tool to determine the points of CS.

(14) a. **Am**   **trecut**   *teški*   *ispit.*
      have.1SG   passed-PTCP   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M.SG
'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. **Teškii*   **am**   **trecut**   [*ti ispit*].
      difficult.LF.M.SG   have.1SG   passed-PTCP   exam.M
cf. Am trecut teški ispit.
'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

In particular, we will see that the mechanisms of phases and spell-out domains are crucial in determining points of CS (under Bošković's (2014a, 2014b) contextual approach to phases). We will also see that CS within a phasal domain only affects that particular phasal domain, and not the entire structure, further confirming the contextuality of elements involved in CS.

Next, Chapter 4 looks at coordinated TNPs in CS, focusing on two aspects: 1) the flexibility of elements from DP/NP languages in CS, and 2) the phasal points within the nominal domain and coordination. I observe a difference in flexibility of NP and DP elements in CS in this domain. NP elements (i.e. the NP language elements) can combine with both NP and DP elements, while DP elements are less flexible and tend to combine only with DP elements. In fact, only a Romanian conjunction is allowed in coordinated structures that involve CS TNPs, as shown in (15):

(15) a. *ranac-**ul***   **şi//***i   *kompjuter-**ul***
      backpack-the.M.SG   or   computer-the.M.SG
'the backpack and the computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *ranac-**ul***   **sau/***ili   *kompjuter-**ul***
      backpack-the.M.SG   or   computer-the.M.SG
'the backpack and the computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. **nici**-*ni   *ranac-**ul***   **nici**-*ni   *kompjuter-**ul***
      nor   backpack.the.M.SG   nor   computer.theM.SG
'neither the backpack, nor the computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

I will also show that there are differences of this sort in the level of conjuncts themselves.

I furthermore explore in detail the choice of the conjunct in CS and how it affects the structure and the derivation of the entire ConjP, by looking at the impact of phases and phasal domains within the ConjP. Regarding NP elements being more flexible than DP elements in CS, I provide an explanation of this state of affairs based on language acquisition. Specifically, all children go through the NP-stage as the initial stage of language acquisition, with additional structure required by a DP language acquired only by those acquiring a DP language. Because CS is a dynamic process of continuous language mixing, I propose a similar reasoning for why NP elements are more flexible in CS mixing than DP elements, and why DP elements do not permit interaction with NP elements, leading to more conservative options for what kind of conjuncts can be coordinated in CS.

Moving on, Chapter 5 explores the distribution and patterns of Romanian and Serbian clitics. What is relevant here is that Romanian clitics are verbal clitics, while Serbian clitics are second-position clitics, which do not have to be verb-adjacent. I investigate the interaction between verbs and clitics (auxiliary and pronominal), highlighting the structural differences between relevant elements from the two languages, as well as how those differences result in (im)possible switches. When it comes to Serbian verbs, they can combine with Romanian auxiliary, but not pronominal clitics. In contrast, Serbian clitics are never permitted with a Romanian verb in CS. In explaining these asymmetries, phonological properties of the clitics will be relevant but also Bandi Rao & den Dikken's (2014) constraint that bans CS within a morphosyntactic head (X_0). What will be relevant from this perspective is whether the clitics and the verb form a complex head in CS, an issue that is discussed in detail in this Chapter.

In Chapter 6, I examine case assignment in CS, focusing on verbs and prepositions as case assigners. I show that Romanian and Serbian verbs and prepositions behave differently regarding

case assignment in CS. Romanian verbs and prepositions can only take a Serbian TNP complement with default case. Serbian verbs can take either Romanian complements, Serbian complements in accusative case, or Serbian complements with default nominative case. This last option is interesting since it is not possible in Serbian. On the other hand, Serbian prepositions only take complements that take an appropriate case. I argue that the reason for this is that prepositions assign inherent Case. Furthermore, I show that the nominative Case on pronouns and nouns in Serbian has a different status and show that there is an intervention effect in Case-licensing in ditransitive constructions. Like in the previous Chapters, the data examined in Chapter 6 show the advantages of CS in posing theoretical questions and testing the possibilities of elements outside of their input grammar.

2. TNP-internal code-switching (CS)

This Chapter explores the interaction between Romanian and Serbian elements that participate in TNP-internal code-switching (CS). The elements in question involve Romanian definite articles (D), Romanian and Serbian adjectives (A), and Romanian and Serbian nouns (N).

TNP-internal and word-internal CS has attracted a lot of attention in the CS literature. To begin with, authors like Poplack (1980) and Belazi, Rubin, and Toribio (1994) have claimed that (among other) TNP-internal CS is not allowed, while MacSwan's (1997) PF Disjunction Theorem bans word-internal CS. On the other hand, authors like Bhatia and Ritchie (1996) and Bandi-Rao and den Dikken (2014) have shown that word-internal switches are permitted. The data presented here will support the latter; more specifically, I will show that Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) constraint in , which was developed based on Telugu-English CS, is compatible with the Romanian-Serbian TNP-internal CS data in question (Bandi Rao & den Dikken (2014) argue that word-internal CS is in principle allowed, but it is disallowed in the context specified in (1):

(1)   *Code switching within phonological words that are morphosyntactic heads (X_0s) is illicit.*

As mentioned in the Introduction, a fundamental assumption in this Chapter (and throughout the dissertation) is that there is a structural difference between languages with and without definite articles, as argued by Bošković (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014a) more generally, and by other authors with respect to particular languages (e.g., Fukui 1988, Corver 1992, Chierchia 1998, Baker 2003, i.a.). Based on this distinction, languages without articles are referred to as NP languages and languages with articles are refered to as DP languages (Bošković 2002, 2008,

2014a). Following Bošković (2005, 2008, 2012, 2014a), I assume Serbian – which lacks articles -- to be an NP language and Romanian – which has articles -- a DP language. This is represented structurally in (2a) for Serbian and (2b) for Romanian (the structures below take into consideration determiners, adjectives, and nouns):

(2)　　　　　a.　　NP　　　　　　　　　　b.　　　　　DP

　　　　　　　　AP　　NP　　　　　　　　　Spec　　D'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　D$_0$　　NP

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　AP　　NP
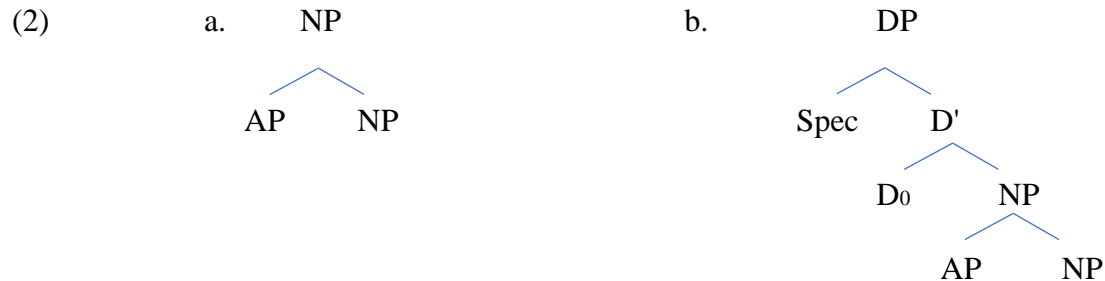
Romanian articles, adjectives, and nouns have their own distinct properties, and so do the Serbian ones. In fact, we will see below that these elements are rather different in the languages in question. As a brief illustration, Serbian actually does not have articles, and adjectives have two distinct forms with different semantic interpretations, a situation which is not found in Romanian. In this Chapter, I will consider what happens when these two very different systems are mixed. While I will outline the relevant properties of each category (i.e., articles, nouns, adjectives), the focus will be on the Romanian definite article affixation in CS constructions. Prior to illustrating and analyzing the CS data, the distribution and assumptions about relevant Romanian and Serbian elements will be laid out. The discussion will offer a comprehensive overview of the elements involved, their role, and consequences in the resulting mixed environments. As seen from (2), the lack of articles in Serbian results in a structural difference in the TNP, with the DP layer being absent in Serbian, and present in Romanian. Furthermore, as noted above, adjectives are also different in these two languages; with Serbian having two, and Romanian one form. Additionally,

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while nouns seem to be the most similar in Romanian and Serbian, as will be seen, there are also some differences resulting from the presence-absence of the definite article, as well.

This chapter is outlined as follows. Section 2.1 and Section 2.2 illustrate the relevant elements and their distribution within the Romanian DP and Serbian NP respectively. Section 2.3 introduces the code-switched TNP. Next, in Section 2.4, an overview and analysis of the CS data is laid out. I offer a novel account to derive CS constructions in Section 2.5. Section 2.6 examines several CS constraints on TNP-internal CS. Finally, Section 2.7 concludes this chapter.

2.1. ROMANIAN DP

2.1.1. Romanian Articles

In Romanian, (in)definiteness is expressed through indefinite and definite articles. Indefinite articles are free morphemes that agree in number and gender (for singular) with the noun they precede.[1] Definite articles, on the other hand are bound morphemes, i.e. enclitics, and they also agree in number and gender with the noun. The ordering of Romanian definite and indefinite articles differs in the DP. As free morphemes, indefinite articles precede the noun. In contrast, as bound morphemes, definite articles are hosted by the base form of nouns or pre-nominal adjectives, following their host[2]. The distribution is given in Table 1:

---

[1] While the traditional approach (Graur, Avram, & Vasiliu 1966, Mallinson 1986, Rosetti 1973, Corbet 1991, Chitoran 1991, 2002, i.a.) is that Romanian has a three-way gender distinction (masculine, feminine, and neuter), contemporary linguists recognize that 'neuter nouns' trigger masculine agreement in singular and feminine in plural, and are therefore referring to those nouns as 'ambigeneric' (Farkas 1990, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Bateman & Polinsky 2007).

[2] Nouns and adjectives have an underlying theme vowel (-e, -u) that occurs obligatorily with the definite article (if the theme vowel is otherwise absent). In the case of the declension -ə- for feminine nouns, the feminine definite article -a (-ɑ-) replaces the final vowel instead of being added to the entire root, the vowel hiatus -ɑə- being unavailable in Romanian phonology (Chitoran 2000). This is illustrated in (i)-(ii) with nouns, and (iii)-(iv) with adjectives:

(i) a. codru   b. codru-l   (ii) a. fată   b. *fată-a   →   fata
    forest.M   forest-the.M.SG   girl.F   girl-the.F.SG   girl-the.F.SG

	Indefinite Articles		Definite Articles	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
Singular	**un** copil a boy	**o** fată a girl	băiat-**(u)l** boy-the	fat-**a** girl-the
Plural	**nişte** băieţi / fete some boys / girls		băieţi-**i** boys-the	fete-**le** girls-the

Table 1: *Definite and Indefinite Articles in Romanian*

While the status of definite and indefinite articles in Romanian is somewhat controversial, they are often considered to belong to the same category since they are found in complementary distribution, as in (3c). Moreover, the indefinite article only occurs in indefinite, and definite articles only in definite contexts. This is illustrated in (3):

(3) a. **un** băiat   b. băiat-**ul**   c. ***un** băiat-**ul**
     a.M.SG boy.M   boy-the.M.SG   a.M.SG boy-the.M.SG
                                                                 (Romanian)

As enclitics, definite articles need a phonological host to be realized. Nouns, as seen above, can act as hosts for the definite article. When hosted by the noun, D agrees in number and gender with it, and this is shown through its four allomorphs, as illustrated in Table 2 below:3

	Singular	**Plural**
Masculine	băiat-**(u)l** boy-the	băieţi-**i** boys-the
Feminine	fat**a** girl-the	fete-**le** girls-the

Table 2: *Definite Articles Hosted by Nouns*

Another host for the definite article in Romanian is the adjective, in which case both the

(iii) a. nou   b. nou-l   (iv) a. nouă   b. *nouă-a   →   noua
     new.M.SG   new-the.M.SG   new.F.SG   new-the.F.SG   new-the.F.SG
3 For ease of exposition, I will stick to examples that involve the singular masculine **-(u)l**, which I will use as a default Romanian D here.

adjective and the article agree with the noun in number and gender. This is illustrated in Table 3:

	Singular		**Plural**	
Masculine	frumos-**(u)l**	băiat	frumoși-**i**	băieți
	beautiful-the	boy	beautiful-the	boys
Feminine	frumoas**a**	fată	frumoase-**le**	fete
	beautiful-the	girl	beautiful-the	girls

Table 3: *Definite Articles Hosted by Adjectives*

Although nouns and adjectives can co-occur in the same DP, the article never cliticizes onto both categories within the same DP, as shown in (4).

(4)   a. *băiat-**(u)l**   frumos-**(u)l**
          boy-the.M.SG   beautiful-the.M.SG

     b. *frumos-**(u)l**   băiat-**(u)l**
          beautiful-the.M.SG   boy-the.M.SG   (Romanian)

As seen above, definite articles are enclitics that need a phonological host to be realized and they agree in gender and number with that host. In the process of cliticization, D has two characteristics:

1) D cliticizes onto the linearly closest host in the structure (cf. (5) vs. (6));

2) D cliticizes onto one category only (cf. (5) versus (6)); never to both, as in (7):

(5)   a. băiat**u-l**   important   b. important-**u-l**   băiat
          boy-the.M.SG important.M.SG   important-the.M.SG boy.M

(6)   a. *băiat   important-**u-l**   b. *important   băiat-**u-l**
          boy.M   important-the.M.SG   important.M.SG   boy-the.M.SG

(7)   a. *băiat-**ul**   important**u-l**   b. *important-**ul**   băiat**u-l**
          boy-the.M.SG important-the.M.SG   important-the.M.SG boy-the.M.SG

However, not all elements in the DP can act as hosts. In order to distinguish between elements that can host and those that cannot host definite articles in Romanian, I define the potential article host as in (8a). Moreover, (8a) can also be restated as (8b) under the analysis proposed below:

(8) *Potential hosts for the Romanian definite article are:*

    a. Nominal elements4

    b. Elements that undergo agreement with D

This immediately excludes elements such as adverbs in (9), which can occur within the TNP but are skipped in the cliticization process. Here, the article is hosted by the first potential host in the linear order, excluding the adverb.

(9)   a. ***foarte-(u)l**   **înalt**   **student**
           very-the.M.SG   tall.M.SG   student.M

          b. foarte   **înalt-(ul)**   **student**
          very   tall-the.M.SG student.M

I will use (8) as a guide for all examples of potential hosts throughout this Chapter, with a more detailed discussion of the issue of 'host' provided below.

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4 By nominal, I refer to an element with a +N feature. Following traditional assumptions, I assume that beside nouns, adjectives also have the nominal feature, being specified as [+N, +V].

2.1.2. Romanian Adjectives

As seen in Table 3, adjectives agree in number and gender with the noun they modify. With respect to their position within the DP, Romanian adjectives can occur pre- or post-nominally in indefinite and definite contexts, as in (10) and (11).

(10)   a. un   băiat   **frumos**   b. un   **frumos**   băiat
           a.M.SG boy.M   beautiful.M.SG   a.M.SG   beautiful.M.SG boy.M

(11)   a. băiat-ul   **frumos**   b. **frumos-ul**   băiat
           boy-the.M.SG   beautiful-the.M.SG   beautiful-the.M.SG   boy.M
                                          (Romanian)

These two positions are semantically and syntactically conditioned; namely, pre-nominal adjectives in Romanian (and in general in Romance languages with this distinction) are ambiguous between restrictive and non-restrictive readings, as in (12a), while post-nominal adjectives have a restrictive reading, as in (12b).5 Moreover, post-nominal adjectives have also been argued by Cinque (2010) to be predicates of reduced relative clauses.

(12)   a. **Importantele**   legi   n-au   fost   votate.
           important-the.F.PL   laws   not-have.3PL-AUX   been   passed.F.PL
‘The important laws were not passed.’

         b. Legile   **importante** n-au   fost   votate.
           laws-the.F.PL   important.F.PL not-have.3PL-AUX   been   passed.F.PL
‘The laws which were important were not passed.’   (Romanian)
                                     (Marchis & Alexiadou 2009)

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5 For a more detailed analysis and description, I refer the reader to Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea (2013).

2.1.3. The *Cel* Construction

Another element that occurs in definite DPs in Romanian is '*Cel*'. *Cel* has a controversial status in the literature between being considered a definite determiner (Nicolae 2015), a complex phrasal determiner (Marchis & Alexiadou 2009), or a free-standing article (Giurgea 2013). Its distribution, however, is non-controversial. *Cel* occurs in two main environments: following a lexically expressed noun (in which case it is also optional), as in (13), or a lexically absent noun, as in (14).

(13) băiat-**ul**   *(Cel)*   frumos
      boy-the.M.SG   Cel.M.SG   beautiful.M.SG
      'the boy (who is) beautiful'   (Romanian)

(14) a. *Cel*   frumos   b. *Cei*   mai   frumoși
      Cel.M.SG   beautiful.M.SG   Cel.M.PL   most   beautiful.M.PL
      'the beautiful one'   'the most beautiful ones'   (Romanian)

While I will not attempt here to distinguish between the different statuses of *Cel*, what is relevant for current purposes is what kind of adjectives it co-occurs with. Specifically, *Cel* always precedes a plain, post-nominal adjective, which is also a predicate of the reduced relative clause (cf. Cinque 2010). Therefore, here, I will only focus on the first use in (13), where *Cel* is optional and it follows a lexically expressed noun. Within this use, the distribution of *Cel* is fixed; it always follows the noun that hosts the definite article (15a). As a result, *Cel* does not occur in indefinite contexts (with indefinite articles (15b), with demonstratives (15c), or with nouns without a definite article (15d)).[6]

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[6] It can, however, occur in DPs containing possessives, so long as the noun is definite (i.e. it hosts the definite article), as in (i):
(i) fiu-**l**   meu   *Cel*   mic
son-the.M.SG   my.M.SG   Cel.M.SG   young.M.SG
'My young son.'

(15) a. băiat-**ul**   *(Cel)*   frumos
     boy-the.M.SG Cel.M.SG   beautiful.M.SG

     b. *un   om   *Cel*   rău
     a.M.SG   man.M   Cel.M.SG   bad.M.SG

     c. *acest   om   *Cel*   rău
     this.M.SG   man.M   Cel.M.SG   bad.M.SG

     d. *Cel*   rău   om
     Cel.M.SG   bad.M.SG   man.M   (Romanian)
                                                      (Marchis & Alexiadou, 2009)

The case of *Cel* will be relevant later when discussing the distribution of definite articles

and adjectives in CS.

2.1.4. Interim Summary: Romanian DP

The relevant elements discussed in the previous section are Romanian articles, nouns, and

adjectives. First, Romanian definite and indefinite articles differ in their morphological status; the

former being an enclitic and the latter a free morpheme. They are also in complementary

distribution; indefinite articles only occurring in indefinite, and definite articles only in definite

contexts. Second, Romanian adjectives, which can be both pre- and post-nominal (with certain

semantic and syntactic distinctions), can act as hosts for the definite article **-(u)l,** but only when

occurring pre-nominally. Third, another relevant structure that occurs in definite environments in

Romanian is the element *Cel,* which always follows a null or overt noun hosting the definite article,

and, among others, it always precedes a plain, post-nominal adjective. Furthermore, based on the

semantic differences between pre- and post-nominal adjectives, post-nominal adjectives can also

function as reduced relative clauses, under the analysis argued for in Cinque (2010).

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2.2. SERBIAN NP

Serbian does not have articles; therefore, the relevant elements for our purposes are Serbian nouns and adjectives. Like Romanian nouns, Serbian nouns have number and gender distinctions, and they undergo agreement with adjectives, as shown in Table 4:

	Singular		**Plural**	
Masculine	**lep-Ø**	dečak	**lep-i**	dečaci
	beautiful	boy	beautiful	boys
Feminine	**lep-a**	devojka	**lep-e**	devojke
	beautiful	girl	beautiful	girls
Neuter	**lep-o**	dete	**lep-a**	deca
	beautiful	child	beautiful	children

Table 4: *Adjective-noun Agreement in Serbian*

Although lacking articles, Serbian elements can have different interpretations in certain contexts. When it comes to nouns in Serbian, through semantic type-shifting, which does not have a morphological reflex (in that it does not result in a morphologically realized element), nouns can be interpreted (among other) either as indefinite or definite elements. Note that type-shifting is done differently in languages with and without articles. In article-less languages like Serbian, type-shifting is done semantically (i.e., it is not triggered by elements present in the syntax), depending on the context. Therefore, NPs in Serbian display a variability of usage based on different types of type-shifting in different environments. One of these usages is that nouns can be interpreted as definite, with type-shifting from type <e, t> to type e applied in the semantics. On the other hand, in languages with articles (e.g., Romanian, English, etc.), the article triggers the type-shifting of NPs. Thus, while Serbian nouns receive definite interpretation through semantic type-shifting from type <e, t> to type e, in Romanian, the article performs the operation in question being of type

<<e, t> e>. For ease of exposition, I will refer to type-shifting that is triggered by elements present in the syntax as 'syntactic type-shifting', as opposed to 'semantic type-shifting', where this is not the case.

Another characteristic of Serbian adjectives is that they can receive different interpretations based on two distinct lexical forms: short (SF) and long (LF), as illustrated in Table 5. These two forms are considered by some authors (Aljović 2002, Despić 2011, Talić 2017, i.a.) to correspond to non-definite-non-specific and definite-specific interpretations respectively.[7] Historically, this distinction originates from the nominal and pronominal inflections which is visible morphologically only in the masculine singular and phonologically in the feminine singular.[8]

	Short Form (SF)	Long Form (LF)
Masculine	nòv	nòv-i
Feminine	nóv-a	nòv-a:
	new.SF	new.LF

Table 5: *Serbian adjectives - Lexical forms*

Regarding their position, Serbian adjectives can only occur pre-nominally in the NP (cf. (16)). Beyond the NP, however, SF and LF adjectives show a different distribution: SF adjectives can be used both attributively and predicatively, as in (16), whereas LF adjectives cannot be used predicatively at all (as an adjectival predicate in (17) or as predicates of a relative clause, as in (18)):[9]

---

[7] For ease of exposition, I will only use the term definite-nondefinite when it comes to long-short forms of Serbian adjectives, although specificity is a more appropriate characteristic here (cf. Aljović 2002).

[8] SF and LF feminine adjectives in Serbian differ in the prosody of the adjectival stem. Since masculine adjectives will be relevant for our purposes, I refer the reader to Aljović (2002) for a comprehensive illustration and discussion of Serbian adjectives overall.

[9] In some cases, an LF adjective appears to occur predicatively, however, such cases have been convincingly analyzed in the literature as involving ellipsis, with the adjective modifying a null noun (see e.g., Bailyn 1994; Babby 2010; Talić 2017).

(16)   a. *zgodan / zgodni*   *dečko*   b. *dečko*   **zgodan / *zgodni*
        handsome.SF/LF.M.SG   guy.M   guy.M   handsome.SF/LF.M.SG
'a handsome guy'   (*Serbian*)

(17)   *Seba   je   zgodan/ *zgodni.*
        Seba   is   handsome.SF /LF.M.SG
'Seba is handsome.'   (*Serbian*)

(18)   *Seba   je   dečko*   *koji*   *je*   *zgodan / *zgodni.*
        Seba   is   guy.M   who.M.SG   is   handsome.SF/LF.M.SG
'Seba is a guy who is handsome.'   (*Serbian*)

The syntactic positions where the two different forms of adjectives originate is somewhat controversial; however, here, I assume the view by authors like Bošković (2005, 2012) and Talić (2013, 2017) who argue that attributive adjectives in Serbian are all NP-adjoined.[10]

2.2.1 Interim Summary: Serbian NP

This section offered an overview of the relevant properties of Serbian nouns and adjectives. While Romanian and Serbian nouns both have a number and gender distinction, a more complex distribution is expressed by Serbian adjectives, which, as opposed to Romanian adjectives, have two distinct forms; short for indefinite, and long for definite adjectives. The distribution of these two forms differs; while adjectives can only occur pre-nominally within the TNP (16), the examples in (17) - (18) show that LF adjectives can only function attributively, while SF adjectives can be used both attributively and predicatively.

[10] The position of adjectives is the topic for Chapter 3, where I follow Bošković (2005, 2012) and Talić (2013, 2017) in the relevant respect and I discuss in more detail the syntactic behavior of APs in CS.

2.3. CODE-SWITCHED TNP

Having overviewed the relevant characteristics of Romanian and Serbian elements, the focus in this section is on the distribution and comparison of elements that interact in the CS TNP; specifically, Romanian definite articles (D), Romanian and Serbian nouns (N), and Serbian adjectives (A). Relevant constructions are illustrated in (19) – (21), with the full paradigm including relevant Romanian, Serbian, and CS structures (highlighted in gray) given in Table 6 below.

(19) *ispit*-**ul**
      exam-the.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(20) a. *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*   b. **težak*   *ispit*-**ul**
      exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG

      c. **težak*-**ul**   *ispit*
      difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(21) a. *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**   b. **ispit*-**ul**   *teški*
      difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
                                                                     (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

	Romanian	Serbian	Code-Switching
N **(D)**	**examen-ul** exam-the	*ispit* exam	*ispit*-**ul** exam-the
N **(D)** **A**	**examen-ul greu** exam-the difficult	**ispit težak* exam difficult.SF	*ispit***ul** *težak* exam-the difficult.SF
	examen-ul greu-l exam-the difficult-the	**ispit teški* exam difficult.LF	**ispit*-**ul** *teški* exam-the difficult.LF
A **(D)** **N**	**greu-l examen** difficult-the exam	*teški* ispit difficult.LF exam	*težak/teški* *ispit11* difficult.SF/LF exam
	**greu examen-ul* difficult exam-the	*težak* *ispit* difficult.SF exam	**težak* *ispit*-**ul** difficult.SF exam
	**greu-l examen-ul* difficult-the exam-the		**težak*-**ul** *ispit*-**ul** difficult.sf.the exam-the
			teški *ispit*-**ul** difficult.LF exam-the

Table 6: *TNP including D, N, and A in Romanian, Serbian, and CS*

First, I will describe the CS TNP containing a Romanian D and a Serbian N, as in (19), in section 2.4., and then I will move on to more complex constructions that contain Romanian D, Serbian N, and Serbian A, as in (20) and (21), in section 2.5.

2.3.1. Romanian D + Serbian N

Starting with simpler cases, this section concerns the CS within TNPs that include Romanian D and Serbian N. Although the focus is mostly on the definite environments, it should be noted that CS may occur even in indefinite contexts, such as (22), where the Romanian indefinite article *un* 'a' is followed by a Serbian noun *ispit* 'exam'. Here, like in the case of definite articles in Romanian, the indefinite article and the noun undergo agreement for gender and number.

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11 No CS occurs here in isolation. However, I show in Chapter 3 that although no obvious CS occurs in isolation, a fully Serbian TNP may participate in CS within a larger sentential context, however, certain structural modifications to the TNP occur in this context (i.e., what appears to be a fully Serbian TNP is actually not simply a Serbian TNP).

(22) **un**   *ispit*
      a.M.SG   exam.M   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Just like indefinite and definite articles are found in complementary distribution in Romanian ((3c),repeated here as (23a)), this characteristic is transferred to CS as well (23b); in other words, the definite and indefinite articles cannot occur within the same TNP in either Romanian or CS.

(23) a. ****un**   **examen-ul**   b. ****un**   *ispit*-**ul**
      a.M.SG   exam.M   a.M.SG   exam.M.SG
                                                             (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

As far as indefinite constructions are concerned, there seem to be no exceptional changes in the structure that would indicate a different behavior of Serbian nouns in the CS environment. It might be that in (22), we simply have a Serbian piece inserted into the structure. Gender and number agreement features being available in both languages, the article successfully agrees with the phi-features of the noun, resulting in this construction.[12]

However, once the Serbian noun is found in a definite environment, matters become more interesting. While Serbian nouns can receive definite interpretation through semantic type-shifting in Serbian, the only way to express definiteness on the nouns in CS is to make use of the Romanian

[12] In the case of gender mismatches between elements from the two languages, nouns generally follow the phonology of Romanian noun declensions. Although noun declensions mostly overlap in Romanian and Serbian, there are exceptional cases where the speakers vary in the gender assignment to each noun, including Serbian neuter nouns that end in /-o/, a declension that is not available in Romanian. Although, historically, Romanian has a way of processing this declension in borrowings (i), the same process does not apply for the CS nouns (ii):

(i) French: metro   Romanian: metro [metrow]   'train'
(ii) Serbian: pismo   Romanian: pismo *[pismow]   'letter'

To maintain the focus on syntactic operations alone, this Chapter will only focus on nouns that have unambiguous gender specifications across the bilingual subjects.

definite article. This means that, as opposed to the input language, in CS, Serbian nouns receive definite interpretation through syntactic, not semantic type-shifting. This is illustrated in (24), where the Serbian noun replaces the bare Romanian noun from (24a). In this case, the Serbian noun hosts -**(u)l** and it undergoes agreement for gender and number with it, resulting in (24b):

(24) a. **examen-ul**   b. *ispit*-**ul**
      exam-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
                                                            (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Similar to indefinite constructions, the Serbian noun is fully incorporated in definite environments, as well. However, there is a slight difference in this case resulting from the affixal nature of the Romanian definite article. Specifically, Serbian nouns hosting the definite article is a process that does not occur in Serbian (Serbian lacking definite articles altogether). This introduces important questions about the cliticization of the definite article in CS and in Romanian, as well. Specifically, what is the mechanism that allows both Romanian and Serbian nouns to host definite articles? In addition, what does this mechanism tell us about elements interacting across two languages?

Consider the issue from the perspective of (8), according to which a potential host is a nominal element that undergoes agreement with D. By being nominal and by undergoing agreement for phi-features with D (which will be discussed in more detail below), Serbian nouns qualify as potential hosts for the Romanian definite article. However, a more interesting question has to do with the agreement between D and N not for phi-features (Ns have phi-features in both languages), but for definiteness. Namely, in Romanian, it can be assumed that, in addition to phi-features (gender and number), D also has definiteness as a feature (the issue will be discussed below). As noted above, Serbian bare nouns can receive (among others) definite interpretation

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through semantic type-shifting. However, according to the Blocking Principle (Chierchia 1998), if a language has a lexical item that can perform a particular type-shifting operation (in this case, the definite article), *that* element will be the only way in which the type-shifting in question can take place. Therefore, as discussed earlier, the semantic type-shifting in question does not occur in languages with articles (e.g., Romanian, English, i.a.), because, there, the relevant type-shifting of nouns is performed by the definite article. Like Romanian, CS also has definite articles (i.e. -**(u)l**), so, it follows that the article will perform the type-shifting on both Romanian and Serbian nouns in CS, and that it will be required for such interpretation.[13]

This, however, raises another issue. In addition to phi-features, Romanian D also has a definiteness feature (definite articles valuing for this feature, see the discussion below); therefore, in Romanian, D and N undergo agreement for phi-features *and* definiteness. I will argue below that D has a valued definiteness feature and nouns have an unvalued definiteness feature, which is valued by D in Romanian. In light of this, a question arises: how can Romanian D value the definiteness feature on Serbian nouns, which should not be available with Serbian nouns in the first place since there is no D element in Serbian that could value it. In other words, what makes it possible for the Serbian nouns to have this feature in CS, although they do not have it in Serbian?

As it turns out, modifying certain features on lexical items is not uncommon in CS. One such example is gender, as discussed in Liceras, Fernández Fuentes, Perales, Pérez-Tattam, and Spradlin (2008). Namely, they discuss the case of 'internal dominance' where one language

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[13] According to Despić (2011), the presence of the long-short form of adjectives in Serbian may be linked to the absence of an overt definite article. Specifically, Despić (2011) shows that, when it comes to Slavic languages, the long-short form distinction exists in Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian, Russian, Polish and colloquial Slovenian, but not in Bulgarian and Macedonian, due to the absence of a definite article in languages belonging to the former group, and its presence in languages from the latter group. So, in DP-languages, the overt definite article blocks semantic type-shifting that occurs in languages with no articles. It is interesting to note that CS is different here. In Romanian-Serbian CS, both (in)definite articles *and* the long-short form distinctions of adjectives, which are associated with semantic type-shifting, occur.

(usually the dominant language, i.e. the language that carries or supplies most of the structure at a certain point in the derivation) contributes to elements in the CS phrase with a category that bears a highly "gramaticized" feature. In other words, during CS, if a category differs feature-wise in the participating languages, the missing feature may be imported from the dominant language. Liceras et al. (2008) discuss this for DP-internal CS in Spanish-English bilinguals, and I assume something similar to occur in Romanian-Serbian CS. Specifically, when it comes to the definiteness feature in CS, I assume that, in addition to the gender mismatches discussed in ft. 12, the unvalued [def] feature on the noun from Romanian is gramaticized and consequentially imported to Serbian nouns.14

In summary, in simple cases of CS where only two elements are involved -- a Romanian definite article and a Serbian noun -- the Serbian CS noun can act as a host for the definite article, given that it is a nominal element that undergoes agreement for number, gender, and (imported) definiteness features with Romanian D.

In the next section, I offer the same distributional overview of CS constructions that, beside Romanian D and Serbian nouns, also involve Serbian adjectives.

14 In the case of DP-internal Spanish-English CS, there is a mismatch between Spanish and English nouns (and adjectives) in that Spanish nouns have phi-features (gender and number), and English nouns do not. This means that when a Spanish-English bilingual switches between Spanish D and English N, the following options are available:

(i)					
	a. la	house	D: [F, SG]	N: [Ø, SG]	-gender matching,
	the.F.SG				+number matching
	b. el	house	D: [M, SG]	N: [Ø, SG]	- gender matching
	the.F.SG				+ number matching
	c. the	casa	D: [Ø, Ø]	N: [F, SG]	no gender matching
		house.f.SG			no number matching

'the house'

It turns out that Spanish-English bilinguals show different preferences regarding which option to use with respect to language dominance. Namely, Spanish dominant Spanish-English bilinguals employ the 'analogical criteria', where they transfer the gender feature of Spanish nouns to English nouns. This leads to their preference in using the option in (ia), where the English noun 'house' seems to receive a value for gender feature as [+].

2.3.2. Romanian D + Serbian A + Serbian N

In this section, I will provide a description and analysis for the paradigm from (20) and (21) (repeated below as (25) and (26)).

(25)   a. *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
          exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG

          b. **težak*   *ispit*-**ul**
          difficult.SF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(26)   a. *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
          difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG

          b. **ispit*-**ul**   *teški*
          exam.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Although both Romanian and Serbian nouns can host definite articles in CS, an important fact regarding Serbian adjectives in CS is that they cannot host Romanian definite articles, as shown in (27a). As a result, even in CS, only Romanian adjectives can host definite, as illustrated in (27b):[15]

(27)   a. **težak*-**ul**   *ispit*   b. **frumos-ul**   **băiat**
          difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   beautiful-the.M.SG   boy.M
                                                                     (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

The inability of Serbian adjectives to host Romanian definite articles cannot be due to featural incompatibility, adjectives being nominal elements that undergo agreement with D (which, according to (8), should qualify them as potential hosts for **-(u)l**). I suggest that the reason why Serbian adjectives cannot host the definite article is that they already have a morphologically

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[15] Recall that there are other elements in the TNP that cannot host the definite article, such as adverbs.

definite inflection (manifested through the long-form of the adjective). For this reason, they cannot host another definite element.16 This is illustrated again in (28).

(28)   a. *teški-**ul**   ispit
         difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M

       b. *težak-**ul**   ispit
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M

                                                              (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Although the focus of this Chapter is on definite contexts, there are two important characteristics of Serbian adjectives manifested in indefinite constructions in CS. First, while adjectives in Serbian can only occur pre-nominally, in CS, they can occur on either side of the noun, as in (29).

(29)   a. **un**   težak   ispit
         a.M.SG   hard.LF.M.SG   exam.M

`   b. **un**   ispit   težak
         a.M.SG   exam.M   hard.LF.M.SG

                                                              (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Secondly, although the LF adjective is not allowed in either position in (30), these adjectives are not completely disallowed in CS, but being definite (see the discussion below), they cannot occur in indefinite contexts.

(30)   a. ***un**   teški   ispit
         a.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG exam.M

       b. ***un**   ispit   teški
         a.M.SG   exam.M   difficult.LF.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

16 Just like Serbian nouns have an imported unvalued definiteness feature in CS, it is possible that Serbian adjectives may undergo a similar modification by which Serbian LF adjectives that are valued for definiteness in Serbian are *unvalued* for that same feature in CS (these adjectives would then be different in Serbian and CS). This could be due to definiteness being a *gramaticized* value in Romanian and is therefore imported onto Serbian adjectives, as well.

When it comes to definite contexts in CS, Serbian adjectives can occur both pre- and post-nominally, though their distribution is conditioned by the long-short form distinction. Specifically, SF adjectives are only allowed post-nominally, as in (20) (repeated here as (31)), and LF adjectives are only allowed pre-nominally, as in (21) (repeated here as (32):

(31) a. *ispit-**ul**   *težak*   b. **težak*   *ispit-**ul**
      exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
                                                                   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(32) a. *teški*   *ispit-**ul**   b. **ispit-**ul**   *teški*
      difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
                                                                   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Informally, examples (29) - (32) show that feature clashing is not allowed across elements in CS. In other words, both Romanian and Serbian elements have to 'fit' in the mixed structure by following the rules posed by the participating elements, regardless of the languages they initially come from (i.e. a definite element cannot not occur in an indefinite context, and vice versa). Consequentially, there also seems to be a correlation between the distribution of Romanian plain and Serbian SF adjectives on one hand, and Romanian adjectives hosting **-(u)l** and Serbian LF adjectives, on the other hand. This correlation is illustrated in Table 7, with the relevant elements highlighted in gray.

	Indefinite TNP			**Definite TNP**	
	pre-nominal				
Romanian	**un**	**greu**	*ispit*	**greu-l**	*ispit*
	a	difficult	exam	difficult-the	exam
Serbian	**un**	*težak*	*ispit*	*teški*	*ispit-**ul**
	a	difficult.SF	exam	difficult.LF	exam-the
	post-nominal				
Romanian	**un**	*ispit*	**greu**	*ispit-**ul**	**greu**
	an	exam	difficult	exam-the	difficult
Serbian	**un**	*ispit*	*težak*	*ispit-**ul**	*težak*
	an	exam	difficult.SF	exam-the	difficult.SF

Table 7: *The distribution and correlation of Romanian and Serbian adjectives in CS*

As seen in Table 7, both Romanian and Serbian adjectives can occur pre- and post-nominally in CS, with certain restrictions. On the one hand, Romanian adjectives that host definite articles and Serbian LF adjectives can only occur pre-nominally; on the other hand, Romanian plain adjectives and Serbian short-form adjectives can occur both pre- and post-nominally. However, these possibilities are contextually conditioned. Namely, Romanian plain and Serbian SF adjectives can occur pre- and post-nominally in indefinite contexts (i.e., where there is no definite article present), and only post-nominally in definite contexts (i.e., where, for current purposes, the definite article is hosted by the noun). This is illustrated in (33) below:

(33)   a. *ispit-**ul**   **greu**/*težak*
        exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG / difficult.SF.M.SG

       b. **i*spit-**ul**   **greu-l** / *teški*
        exam-the.M.SG   difficult-the.M.SG / difficult.LF.M.SG

       c. **greu-l**   *ispit*
        difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M

       d. *teški*   *ispit-**ul***
        difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Additional relevant constructions related to the correlation between Romanian adjectives and the short-long distinction of Serbian adjectives are illustrated in (34) - (36). Examples in (34) and (35) show that only Serbian SF and Romanian plain adjectives are allowed post-nominally as adjectival predicates or predicates of relative clauses, whereas Serbian LF and Romanian adjectives hosting D are not allowed in these positions. This distribution is preserved in CS constructions, as well, which is illustrated in (36) and (37):

(34) a. *Seba*　　　*je*　　　*zgodan*/ *zgodni.*
　　　Seba　　　is　　　handsome.SF.M.SG / handsome.LF.M.SG

　　　b. Seba　　　**îi**　　　**frumos** / ***frumos-ul**
　　　Seba　　　is　　　handsome.M.SG / handsome-the.M.SG
‘Seba is handsome.’　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(35) a. *Pesnik*　　*koji*　*je*　　*poznat* / *poznati*　　　*je*　*došao.*
　　　writer.M　who　is　　famous.SF.M.SG / famous.LF.M.SG　is-AUX come-PTCP
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Talić 2017)

　　　b. **Scriitor-ul care**　**îi**　**cunoscut*** / **cunoscut-ul**　　　**a**　　　**venit**
　　　writer-the.M　who　is　famous.M.SG / famous-the.M.SG　has-AUX　come-PTCP
‘The poet, who is famous, came.’　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(36) a. *Seba*　　　**îi**　　　*zgodan*/ *zgodni*
　　　Seba　　　is　　　handsome.SF.M.SG / handsome.LF.M.SG

　　　b. *Seba*　　　**îi**　　　**frumos** / ***frumos-ul**
　　　Seba　　　is　　　handsome.M.SG / handsome-the.M.SG
‘Seba is handsome.’　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(37) a. *Pesnik*-**ul**　**care**　**îi**　*poznat* / *poznati*-**ul**
　　　writer-the.M　who　is　handsome.SF.M.SG / handsome.LF.M.SG

　　　b. *Pesnik*-**ul**　**care**　**îi**　**cunoscut / *conoscut-ul**
　　　writer-the.M　who　is　famous.M.SG / famous-the.M.SG
‘The poet who is famous.’　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian-***Serbian*)

　　　Second, recall the *Cel* construction from Romanian, discussed in Section 2.1.3. One of the relevant characteristics of *Cel* is that it precedes the plain Romanian adjective (i.e., the post-nominal adjective not hosting the definite article). Following the correlation between Romanian and Serbian adjectives discussed above, it is not surprising that this distribution of *Cel* in Romanian is transferable to CS constructions. Specifically, the relevant construction in (13a), repeated here as (38a), shows that when the Serbian noun hosting the Romanian article is followed by *Cel*, it can only precede a Serbian SF, and not LF adjective, as shown in (38b).

(38) a. **examen-ul**   **(Cel)**   **greu / *greu-l**
      exam-the.M.SG   Cel.M.SG   difficult.M.SG / difficult-the.M.SG

      b. *ispit-ul*   **(Cel)**   *težak / *teški*
      exam-the.M.SG   Cel.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG / difficult.LF.M.SG

                                                   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Finally, descriptively speaking, the construction in (21a) (repeated here as (42a)) is a deviation from both Romanian and Serbian in that there seem to be two elements with overt definiteness within a single TNP. Recall that in neither Romanian nor Serbian do we find overt definiteness on both the noun and the adjective within a TNP. As discussed, in Romanian, D cliticizes on either N or A, but never on both, and in Serbian - an article-less language - definiteness is overt only on the LF adjective. This is illustrated in (5), (6), and (7), repeated here as (39), (40), and (41) respectively:

(39) a. băiat-**ul**   important   b. important-**ul**   băiat
      boy-the.M.SG   important.M.SG   important-the.M.SG   boy.M

                                                   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(40) a. *băiat   important-**ul**   b. *important   băiat-**ul**
      boy.M   important-the.M.SG   important.M.SG   boy-the.M.SG

                                                   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(41) a. *băiat-**ul**   important-**ul**   b. *important-**ul**   băiat-**ul**
      boy-the.M.SG   important-the.M.SG   important-the.M.SG   boy-the.M.SG

                                                   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Thus, (42a) seems to be an exceptional consequence of CS for two reasons. First, there is 'double definiteness', when the pre-nominal adjective comes from Serbian and is LF, and the Serbian noun hosts the Romanian article, which makes both N and A definite elements. Second, given that Serbian LF adjectives apparently cannot host the article (just like adverbs in Romanian),

-**(u)l** is then hosted *not* by the linearly closest element as in Romanian, but by the noun - which is the second nominal element in the linear order of the TNP. Notice that the opposite word order in (42b) - where the noun is the linearly closest nominal element to D and is hosting it - is not allowed if the post-nominal adjective is LF, but it is allowed if it is SF.

(42)   a. *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
         difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG

         b. *ispit*-**ul**   *težak* / **teški*
         exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG / difficult.LF.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

Having provided an overview of each relevant element and its distribution within the CS TNP, I will propose an analysis of the data under consideration in the next section.

2.4. CODE-SWITCHED TNP: ANALYSIS

2.4.1. Overview

Here, I will discuss the assumed feature matrices of each relevant element (Romanian definite articles (D), Serbian nouns (N), and Serbian adjectives (A)). I assume that heads enter the derivation with features that can be valued [val] or unvalued [uval]. Valued features possess a specific value for that specific feature, while unvalued features wait for the valuation of that specific feature. Under appropriate conditions, relevant elements value the unvalued features of other elements through agreement. Once valued, the features of each element remain visible for further morphological and phonological processes, and once recognized by the corresponding interface, they get deleted (if they are uninterpretable). With every new phase, new features become available and are undergoing the same steps for valuation, recognition, and deletion. By

the end of the derivation, features are required to be valued (and deleted if uninterpretable).

A summary of the feature configuration for the three elements, relevant for tackling their interaction in a mixed environment, is offered in Table 8, with the discussion of each provided in the remainder of the text below.

	N	D	A
Features	[uval: def]	**[val: def]**	[uval: def]
	[val: phi-features]	[uval: phi-features]	[uval: phi-features]
	[val: nominal]	[uval: nominal]	[uval: nominal]

Table 8: *Feature configuration of elements participating in CS*

Starting with the two common elements in Serbian and Romanian, the Ns in CS are nominal elements [val: nominal], with valued phi-features [val: phi-features] and an unvalued definiteness feature [uval: def][17].

When it comes to the definite article (D), I assume the following features for it: [val: +def], [uval: phi-features], [uval: nominal]. As a suffix, D requires a phonological host to be realized, and this is generally the linearly closest element in the DP that undergoes relevant agreement with D, as discussed earlier. To determine what can be considered as a host, I will use the definition from (8), according to which a host is a nominal element that undergoes relevant agreement with D. In CS, potential hosts for Romanian D are either Romanian-Serbian nouns, or Romanian adjectives.[18]

Continuing with adjectives, both Romanian and Serbian adjectives can participate in CS, and I assume this feature matrix for both: [uval: def], [uval: phi-features], [uval: nominal].

[17] Recall that Serbian nouns have a gramaticized [def] feature imported from Romanian (Liceras et al. 2008).
[18] Recall that although being nominal elements that undergo agreement with D, Serbian adjectives cannot host Romanian -(u)l due to having a definite form in Serbian already.

Although sharing the same features, they show certain restrictions in their distribution. Namely, while Romanian adjectives have one lexical form, and they can act as hosts for the definite article in appropriate environments, Serbian adjectives have two lexical forms, and they cannot host definite articles in any environment. The analysis given below will account for that.

Finally, the most striking consequence participating elements in the CS TNP is illustrated in (21a), repeated here as (43). Here, two elements with definite interpretation are found in the same TNP: an LF Serbian adjective (a definite element) and the noun that hosts the Romanian definite article. This construction is exceptional because it represents a deviation from the input grammars (where definiteness is not found on two elements in the same TNP), but also because it shows the flexibility and adaptability of elements found in foreign environments.

(43)   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
        difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   (**Romanian-**Serbian*)

Before presenting an analysis of the CS data under consideration, in the next section, I will discuss why traditional approaches to article cliticization in Romanian cannot capture the CS data presented here.

2.4.2. The Cliticization of D

When it comes to Romanian, there are three major mechanisms that can be applied to the cliticization of Romanian articles: N-to-D Movement (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Ungureanu 2006), Affix Hopping (Chomsky 1957) or Prosodic Inversion (PI) (Halpern 1992), and Agree (Chomsky 2001). In this section, I will discuss the first mechanism, noting some problems with it. During the

discussion in Section 2.7., it will become clear that Affix Hopping and Agree also do not suffice on their own.

Under the N-to-D approach, in simple constructions like (44a), the noun is assumed to move from its original position to D via head.movement, as a result of which it hosts the article. In the case of pre-nominal adjectives (44b), the adjective moves to SpecDP and hosts the article (Ungureanu 2006).

(44)   a. **examen-ul**   **b. greu-l**   **examen**
          exam-the.M.SG   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M.SG
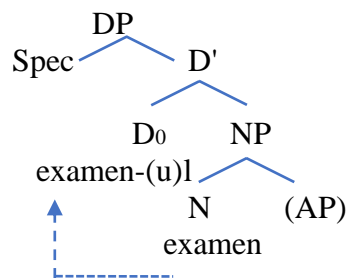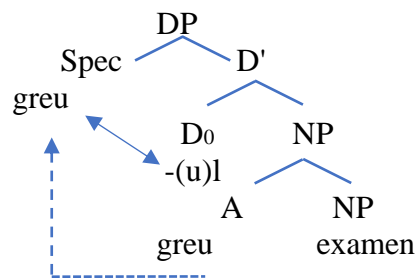
(**Romanian-***Serbian*)

In CS, however, although simple cases like (45a) can be derived successfully with N-to-D movement, in structures involving a pre-nominal Serbian LF adjective, two consecutive movements would need to occur to make the derivation work. In order for the noun to host **-(u)l** and for the Serbian adjective to remain pre-nominal, the noun must move to D_0 and the adjective must move to SpecDP. This is illustrated in (45b) (note that these movements do not co-occur in the input grammars).

(45) a. *ispit*-**ul** b. teški ispit-**ul**
      difficult-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
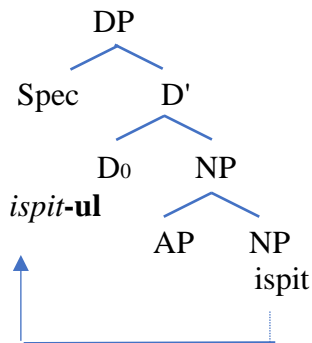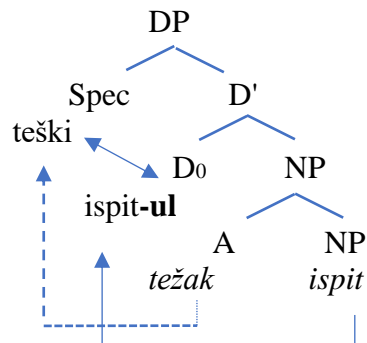
(**Romanian-***Serbian*)

The problem for this analysis is that SpecDP seems to not be a possible landing site for the adjective. Specifically, as elements at the edge of the TNP (here, DP), APs should be able to move out of the DP (i.e. to be extracted by further movement-operation processes), which they cannot do. We will see in Chapter 3 that adjectives that are located at the edge of TNP can undergo Left Branch Extraction (LBE). This process is illustrated with Serbian in (46):

(46) *Teške*$_i$ *polaže* t$_i$ *ispite*.
      difficult.M.PL   passes   exams.M
'(S)he passes difficult exams.'   (*Serbian*)

However, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3, Serbian adjectives in CS cannot undergo LBE in this context, as illustrated in (47a) with a Romanian verb, and in (47b) with a Serbian verb:

(47) a. **Teški*$_i$ **ia** *ispit*-**ul.**
       b. **Teški*$_i$ *polaže* *ispit*-**ul.**
      difficult.LF.M.SG   takes   exam-the.M.SG
'(S)he passes the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

In Chapter 3, I will argue that the reason for this is that the AP cannot move to SpecDP, which is a pre-requisite for LBE. In fact, DP-languages do not allow LBE (see Bošković (2012) and the discussion in Chapter 3). I take this to mean that the adjective does not move to SpecDP in (44b), which means that the noun cannot be in D. Notice also that the problem in question also arises under the Movement-to-D account of Romanian (45b) since the AP in SpecDP should be able to move out of it, which is not possible in Romanian, as illustrated by (48):

(48)   ***Grele**ᵢ   **iau**   tᵢ   **examene**.
       difficult-the.M.PL   take.1SG   exams.M
'I/We pass difficult exams.'   (**Romanian**)
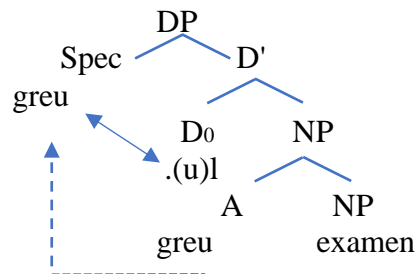
Let's now consider (44) and (45) again, repeated here as (49) and (50):

(49)   a. **examen-ul**   b. **greu-l**   **examen**
          exam-the.M.SG   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M

(**Romanian**)

(50)   a.*ispit*-**ul**   b. *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
          exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG

(**Romanian-***Serbian*)
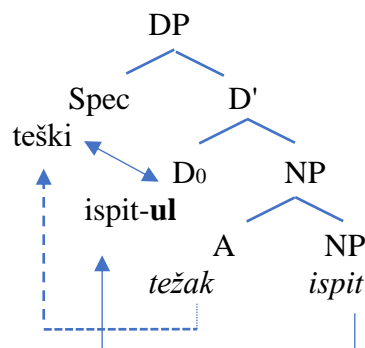
Given the above discussion, the AP cannot be in SpecDP in (49b), which directly affects the cliticization of D on the noun; if SpecDP is not a landing site for the AP, then (50b) cannot be derived since neither the adjective nor the noun movement can occur, given the above discussion.

In the next section, I will propose a new analysis where the problem noted above does not arise and which can successfully derive the relevant CS constructions in (51) (as well as the Romanian structures from (52)). To do this, I will use Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001) and Affix Hopping (Chomsky 1957); two mechanisms that, as will be clear from the discussion below, cannot individually account for the CS paradigm. Therefore, I will offer a combined account of the two and explain why both are needed for the successful derivation of the full paradigm, focusing on the constructions in (51) (N-to-D movement will be disregarded for the reasons explained above).

(51) a. *ispit-**ul***   (*težak*)   b. *teški*   *ispit-**ul***
         exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
                                                                     (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

(52) a. **examen-ul**   **(greu)**   b. **greu-l**   **examen**
         exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M.SG
                                                                     (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

2.4.3. A Mixed Solution for a Mixed Puzzle

2.4.3.1. *Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001) + Affix Hopping (Chomsky 1957)*

In this section, I will propose an account that combines Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001) and Affix Hopping (Chomsky 1957) which can derive both Romanian and CS constructions. Affix Hopping is a mechanism that 'merges' an affix and its host in PF under adjacency. One instance of this is verbal morphology in English (Chomsky 1957, Halle & Marants 1993, Lasnik 1995) where the third person present tense morpheme *-s* in (53a) hops onto *eat* in PF, resulting in (53b):

(53)   a. John -s�à eat⎦ apples.   b. John   eats   apples.

Under the proposed analysis, while Affix Hopping will be used in merging the affix **–(u)l** with a host in PF, Agree will be used to determine what kind of element can be considered as a host for **–(u)l**. Specifically, I assume that the host is a nominal element that undergoes relevant agreement with D. In CS, the article **–(u)l**, an affix in D valued for definiteness, hops onto the linearly closest potential host in PF. As to why Affix Hopping can skip some elements (e.g., adverbs and Serbian adjectives), following Bobaljik (1995) and Ochi (1999), I will assume that adjuncts do not interfere for Affix Hopping with respect to the adjacency requirement[19].

Regarding the interaction of D, N, and A in CS, recall that both Romanian and Serbian adjectives have unvalued definiteness, phi-, and nominal features. They agree with N (which values their phi- and nominal features) and with D (which values their [def] feature). The valuation of the [def] feature has different realizations on Romanian and Serbian adjectives. While Romanian adjectives simply host the definite article after undergoing agreement with D, I suggest that the morphological realization of the definiteness feature which is valued as [+def] on Serbian adjectives results in the long form of the adjective itself.

A step-by-step derivation of the construction from (21a), repeated here as (54), is given below:

(54)   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
        difficult.LF.M.SG   examen-the.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

---

[19] I consider adverbs and adjectives to be adjuncts (see Chapter 3), therefore –(**u**)**l** can skip these elements. Notice that elements that are not adjuncts (e.g., negation (i) versus adverbs (ii) in English) do interfere and block Affix Hopping:
(i) a. *John NOT walk-ed to school.   cf. b. John did not walk to school.
(ii) John always walk-ed to school.

Agree

Step 1: A and N undergo agreement, N valuing the unvalued nominal and phi-features on the pre-nominal Serbian adjective (it is possible that A and N undergo feature sharing for [uval: def]).[20]

težak	*ispit*	□	*težak*
difficult	exam		difficult
[uval: def]	[uval:def]		[uval: def]
[uval: phi features] ←	[val: phi-features]		**[val: SG, M]**
[uval: nominal] ←	[val: +nominal]		**[uval: +nominal]**

Step 2: D undergoes multiple agree with A and N. This way it has its unvalued nominal and phi-features valued. In return, D values the unvalued [def] feature on the A as definite, yielding the long-form (recall that the long form is the morphological realization of an adjective that is valued as definite by D). D also values the unvalued [def] feature of the noun. In return, D has its unvalued phi- and nominal features valued by the noun. The results of these valuations are given below:

D:	**-(u)l**	*ispit*	□	**-(u)l**
	the	exam		the
	[val: +def]	[uval: def]		[val: +def]
	[uval: phi features]	**[val: phi-features]**		**[val: SG, M]**
	[uval: nominal]	**[val: +nominal]**		**[val: +nominal]**

A:	*težak*	□	*teški*
	difficult.SF		difficult.LF
	[uval: def]		**[val: +def]**
	[uval: SG.M]		[val: SG, M]
	[uval: nominal]		[val: nominal]

N:	*ispit*	□	*ispit*
	exam		exam
	[uval: def]		**[val: def]**

---

[20] Feature sharing (Frampton & Gutmann, 2000, Pesetsky & Torrego 2007, Bošković 2011, i.a.) allows two unvalued instances of a feature to undergo Agree, thereby becoming two instances of the same feature, so if one of them is later valued, the other is also automatically valued.

[val: SG, M]   [val: SG, M]
[val: +nominal]   [val: nominal]

Affix Hopping

Step 3: In PF, **-(u)l** needs a host to hop on. Serbian long-form adjectives already have an inflection

through which definiteness is expressed, which is why they cannot host Romanian definite articles.

They are therefore skipped since they are not potential hosts (abstractly, this is similar to adverbs

being skipped in Romanian). D, however, still needs a phonological host; D then hops onto the

noun and thus becomes realized on it.[21]

(55)
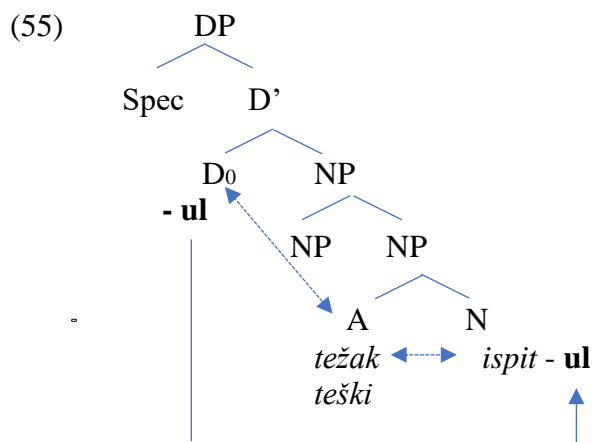
Under the above analysis, the occurrence of two elements within a TNP with overt

definiteness on them is due to the failure of D to fulfill its Affix Hopping requirement by the first

[21] There is an alternative analysis when Serbian adjectives can be considered to be lexically valued for the definiteness feature with the long-form valued as [+def] lexically. Under this analysis, the relevant restriction regarding a potential host for the the Romanian definite article would be stated as follows:
(i)   A nominal element that undergoes valuation for the definite feature with D.
Since Serbian nouns, but not Serbian adjectives do that, the latter could not host affix hopping.

element that it undergoes Agree with. Notice, however, that the reason why (56) is ungrammatical is because D could not have agreed with the noun, valuing its [def] feature (thus making it a proper host for –**(u)l**), without also agreeing for [def] with the adjective, valuing it as [def], which would then require the long form.

(56) *težak*   *ispit*-**ul**
      difficult.SF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

With respect to (57a), I argue that the adjective is part of a reduced relative clause (Cinque 2010), hence too deeply embedded to agree with D. This is why derivations like (57a), which involve short-form (i.e., indefinite) adjectives, are grammatical, and (57b) is not:

(57) a. *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*   b. **ispit*-**ul**   *teški*
      exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
                                                                        (**Romanian-***Serbian*)

This account also works for Romanian constructions where only DP-initial nouns or only pre-nominal adjectives are hosts for the definite article. In (58a-b), both requirements of D are fulfilled through the D-N relationship; the adjective being the predicate of a reduced relative clause in (58b), it too is too deeply embedded to agree with (and, thus, host) –**(u)l** in Romanian - just like the Serbian adjective is in CS, as in (57a). In contrast, in (58c), the Romanian adjective is able to fulfill both requirements of D because, like Serbian adjectives, Romanian adjectives undergo agreement with D. However, unlike Serbian long form adjectives, Romanian adjectives can also host definite articles. This also explains why (58d) never occurs: the Romanian adjective fulfilling both requirements of D, and **-(u)l** being hosted by both elements would entail that D would undergo affix hopping twice, which is not permitted in either Romanian or CS.

(58)   a. **examen-ul**   b. **examen-ul**   **greu / *greu-l**
        exam-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG / difficult-the.M.SG

        c. **greu-l**   **examen**   d. *greu-l   examen-ul
        difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   difficult-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
                                                                               (**Romanian.**Serbian)

Notice that the problem that arises with the N.to.D movement analysis, where APs have to move to SpecDP, where the article is then realized either on the AP or on the noun in CS (see Section 2.6.2) does not arise under the analysis proposed here, where APs do not move to SpecDP.

2.5. TNP-INTERNAL CS CONSTRAINTS

As seen from the previous section, the Romanian D and the Romanian/Serbian noun form a 'word' with the article, which undergoes Affix Hopping to the noun. Therefore, in principle, it can be said that TNP.internal CS is allowed here. Specifically, all cases in (59), where the Serbian noun hosts the Romanian definite article, are well-formed and highly productive in Romanian-Serbian CS:

(59)   a. *ispit*-**ul**   b. *ranac*-**ul**   c. *sličice*-**le**
        exam-the.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   stickers-the.F.PL
                                                                     (**Romanian-**Serbian)

Cases in (59), however, do not only involve TNP.internal, but also word-internal CS. Interestingly, there have been several constraints proposed in the literature that are intended to ban word-internal CS, with the most widely discussed ones including the Free Morpheme Constraint (Poplack 1980), and the claim stemming from MacSwan's (1997) PF Disjunction Theorem. The former is given in (60):

(60)   *Free Morpheme Constraint: a switch may occur at any point in the discourse at which it is possible to make a surface constituent cut and still retain a free morpheme.*

(Poplack 1980)

MacSwan's (1997) PF Disjunction Theorem bans code-switching in the PF component which for MacSwan includes code-switching below X_0 given that he adopts Chomsky's (1995) assumption that X_0 are inputs to PF.

Let's examine each of the constraints more carefully. First, with respect to (60), Poplack (1980) claims that the impossibility of CS in cases like (61), which involves Spanish-English CS, indicates that CS can occur only between free morphemes:[22]

(61) *__estoy__   *eat*-__iendo__
         am   -ing
'I am eating.'   (**Spanish**-*English*)
                                                                     (Poplack 1980)

Next, the claim stemming from MacSwan's (1997) PF Disjunction Theorem also bans word-internal CS; its result is that a phonological unit (i.e. a word) cannot contain elements from two phonological systems. So, for example, cases like (62a) are not allowed because *eat* and **iendo** come from the English and Spanish phonology respectively. In contrast, (62b) is permitted due to the verb 'park' having its phonology adapted to Spanish. Therefore, pronouncing *parqueó* would only require one phonology, i.e., the Spanish one.

---

[22] Given that this Chapter only deals with the TNP, I refer the reader to Chapter 5 for the discussion of CS involving verbs.

(62) a. ***Juan**   **está**   *eat*-**iendo**
      Juan   be.3SG   eat-DUR
"Juan is eating."   (**Spanish**-*English*)
                                                                    (MacSwan, 1997)

      b. **Juan**   **está**   *parq***ueó**   **su**   **coche**.
      Juan   is-AUX   park-DUR   his   car
'Juan is parking his car.'   (**Spanish**-*English*)
                                                                    (MacSwan, 1997)

Given the discussion throughout this Chapter, the data considered here provide evidence against the constraints in question (as universal constraints on CS). However, the data presented here are compatible with Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) reformulated PF Disjunction Theorem, given in (63) (they allow such CS in principle, banning it in the context given in (63)):

(63)   *Code switching within phonological words that are morphosyntactic heads (X0s) is illicit.*

                                                          (Bandi-Rao & den Dikken 2014)

This restriction stems from data from English-Telugu CS, where Bandi-Rao and den Dikken (2014) show that word-internal CS is allowed, so long as the two elements from different languages form a phonological, but not a syntactic head (i.e., as long as one of them does not undergo incorporation-head.movement to the other one). Their claim is based on the contrast between cases like (64a) and (64b), where word-internal CS is allowed with a Telugu lexical verb, as in (64a), but not with an English lexical verb, as in (64b). While both combinations '*kalp*-ified' and 'love-*inc-EEDu*' each form a single word, they argue that the former is formed through a

phonological process, while the latter requires syntactic incorporation. As a result, (64a) is allowed, and (64b) is disallowed (due to (63)):[23]

(64) a. **my sister** *kalp*-**ified the curry**
                        stir
'My sister stirred the curry.'

      b. *vaaDu *nanni* **love**-*inc-EEDu*
        he me -do-PAST-AGR
'He loved me.' (*Telugu*-**English**)
(Bandi-Rao & den Dikken, 2014)

Going back to the Romanian-Serbian CS examples from (59), repeated here as (65), recall that the Romanian D (i.e., the article) and the Serbian (or Romanian) noun form a phonological, not a syntactic head, the complex in (65) being formed through Affix Hopping which is a mechanism that applies in PF, not through syntactic N-to-D movement.

(65) a. *ispit*-**ul** b. *ranac*-**ul** c. *sličice*-**le**
      exam-the.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG stickers-the.F.PL
                            (**Roamanian**-*Serbian*)

As a result, while the data challenge the aforementioned constraint in (60), it is compatible with Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) restriction which allows word-internal CS if the two elements that come from two languages (here, D from Romanian, and N from Serbian) form a phonological, not a (morpho)syntactic head.

---

[23] The cases in question involve the verbal domain which I will revisit in Chapter 6, where syntactic incorporation of verbal elements will be directly relevant.

2.6. CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, the structure of the TNP was investigated in an unusual environment that has previously not been explored; in Romanian-Serbian CS. Romanian and Serbian TNPs are quite different. For one thing, Romanian has definite articles and Serbian does not, which is a fundamental difference from the point of view of the NP/DP parameter. There are, however, other differences, too. For example, Serbian adjectives which come in two different forms -- long and short -- are rather different from the Romanian ones. This Chapter has investigated what happens when those two rather different TNP systems are mixed in CS. Apart from exploring the mechanisms that a mixed language system makes use of in combining two clashing parameters, the nature of code-switching allows us to investigate the relevant elements which belong to two different languages in contexts where they are detached from their input grammars. By looking at these elements in novel environments, properties that had previously been impossible to explore were discovered. By, for example, investigating the distribution of the definite article on elements belonging to a language without definite articles, a rather unique structure, CS research has provided a new perspective towards analyzing phenomena that are controversial in languages in isolation. Thus, this Chapter has proposed a new approach to affixation of Romanian articles based on their behavior in CS environments. The data considered in this Chapter also shows that word-internal CS is possible in a case where the relevant element formed through CS corresponds to a phonological word, but not a syntactic head. This argues against constraints on word-internal CS proposed by Poplack (1980) and MacSwan (1997), but is compatible with the constraint proposed by Bandi-Rao and den Dikken (2014).

Perhaps the most valuable discovery from this Chapter is the adaptability of elements found in foreign environments (e.g., Serbian nouns, which do not have a definite feature in Serbian have

that feature in CS), which indicates that CS phenomenon should be treated as flexible and contextual. This contextuality will be discussed in detail in the following Chapters, beginning with the interaction of CS TNP with the Romanian and Serbian verb in Chapter 3.

3. beyond the TNP: left branch extraction (LBE) in CS

The previous Chapter explored possibilities of CS in TNPs on their own, in isolation. In this Chapter, TNPs are explored within a larger context through their interaction with the rest of the sentential structure (i.e. the verb) through Left Branch Extraction (LBE). Specifically, here, I investigate adjectival LBE out of CS TNPs from both internal and external arguments of the verb to establish the points where CS occurs more precisely. We will see that phases and spell-out domains are relevant in this respect. To this end, the following issues will be explored. First, what are the environments that condition acceptability of CS, narrowly focusing on the relationship between the (type of) CS TNP and its interaction with the verb. Specifically, while CS within the TNP has shown that Romanian and Serbian TNP elements can interact productively, it is important to examine the interaction of a CS TNP with a verb in CS. Given the different parameter setting between Romanian (DP-language) and Serbian (NP-language), this can help us determine whether and-or which parameter setting prevails across one phasal domain or across the entire structure. The second aspect is determining generalizations and restrictions that hold across contexts that directly or indirectly interact with the TNP. In other words, determining generalizations and (im)possibilities regarding CS across phasal domains, which can further develop our general understanding of the universal role of phases, crucially, not only across different languages, but across the mixture of languages (and, by extension, across different parameter settings, in this case). Finally, as will be seen, elements from Romanian (a DP-language) exhibit a higher level of pickiness compared to elements from Serbian (an NP-language) with respect to what elements and-or structures each allows (e.g., we will see that the Romanian verb is less flexible in what it allows as its complement compared to the Serbian verb). This discussion will introduce a part of

Chapter 4, where pickiness and the more restrictive nature of DP elements (and structure) will also be relevant with respect to a different phenomenon, namely, coordination.

This Chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.1. gives an overview of the relevant background assumptions and LBE. Section 3.2. introduces LBE in CS, specifically involving transitive constructions in 3.2.1., ditransitive constructions in 3.2.2., and the subject in 3.2.3. Finally, Section 3.3. concludes this Chapter.

3.1. BACKGROUND ASSUMPTIONS AND LBE

3.1.1. Background Assumptions

This section is based on several underlying assumptions. First, standard views for structure building are adopted: bits of structure are being built by the syntax in a bottom-up fashion, and, at particular points in the derivation, the structure undergoes Spell-Out and is sent to the PF and the LF interface (see e.g., Chomsky 2000; 2001). Spell-Out points are determined by phases. There are a number of approaches to phases in the literature. The original proposal by Chomsky (2000) assumes a rigid approach to the definition of phases, in that a certain part of the structure is unconditionally a phase, regardless of the context in which it occurs. Specifically, in this approach, vP and CP are always phases. In contrast, a number of authors have argued for a contextual approach to phases, where whether a phrase is a phase or not can be affected by the syntactic context in which it occurs. (e.g., Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2005; Bošković 2005, 2013b; Gallego & Uriagereka 2007; Despić 2011; den Dikken 2007; Takahashi 2011, i.a.). Maintaining such an approach, Bošković (2013, 2014) argues that the highest projection in the extended domain of a lexical head (N, V, A, P) functions as a phase. Here, I adopt this contextual approach to phases, as well.

The notion of a phase implies limited mobility of elements within and out of the respective phase. Regarding this mobility, Chomsky (2000) proposes the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), formally stated as (1):

(1)   In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

That is, in order for an element to cross a phasal boundary, it needs to be at the phasal edge. Only by being at the edge of the phase, the element is visible for extraction outside of it.

What will also be relevant for our purposes is the distance that an element may cross in order to reach the edge of the phase, and, thus, be eligible for extraction. It is standardly assumed that movement steps cannot be too long, otherwise, we would get a *locality violation* (Chomsky 2000). In fact, the Phrase Impenetrability Constraint (PIC) ensures that movement steps cannot be too long. At the same time, the movement cannot be too short either, as proposed by Bošković (1994) (see also Bošković 1997, 2005; Saito & Murasugi 1999; Grohmann 2003; Abels 2003; Ticio 2005; i.a.), as steps that are too short violate *anti-locality*. The question now is what exactly makes a movement 'too long' or 'too short'. On the one hand, to prevent the movement from being too long, Chomsky (2000) adopts the PIC and posits an EPP feature assigned to phase heads, which, then, drives movement to phasal edges that is required by the PIC. As for anti-locality, Bošković (2013a) argues that movement *has to cross at least one maximal projection*. In other words, movement within a phrase or across phrases without crossing a full maximal projection (a segment does not suffice) will be considered a violation of anti-locality.

The second assumption -- which is the point of departure throughout this dissertation -- has to do with the NP/DP parameter setting, that is, the distinction between languages with, and languages without articles. Following Bošković (2005, 2008, 2013a, 2014a), I assume that there is a structural difference between languages that have definite articles (i.e. DP-languages), and the ones that lack them (i.e. NP-languages), which often leads to differences in the semantics as well (for similar analyses, see also Corver, 1992; Zlatić, 1997; Trenkić, 2004; Marelj, 2008, 2011; Despić, 2011, 2013; Takahashi, 2011; Runić, 2014; Todorović, 2016; a.o.). In this view, the main difference between NP- and DP-languages is in the configuration of the TNP; whereby languages without articles lack the DP layer that is found in DP-languages. In other words, while the TNP in languages without articles is an NP, DP is the TNP in languages with definite articles. This is illustrated in (2a) and (2b) respectively.

(2)   a.   [NP   . . .]   b. [DP   [NP   . . .]]

                    NP   DP

               AP   NP   Spec   D'

                                                              D$_0$ NP

                                                                      AP   NP
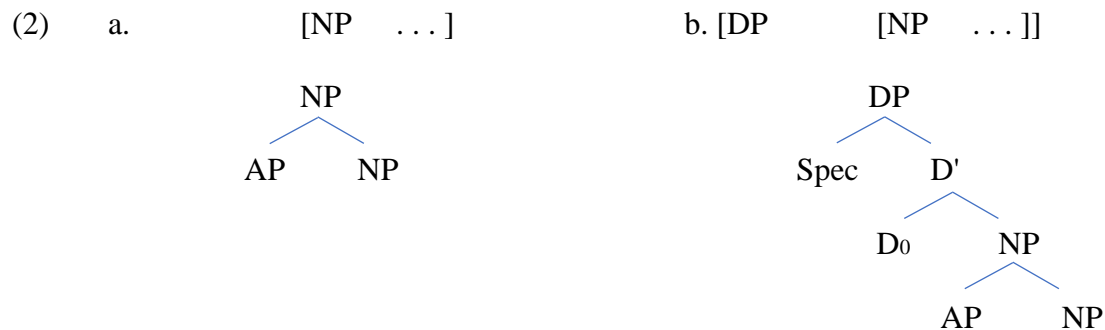
The motivation behind this distinction is not simply the absence of overt definite articles. As mentioned, NP- and DP-languages differ systematically with respect to various syntactic and semantic phenomena. With respect to this, Bošković (2008, 2012) establishes a large number of cross-linguistic generalizations that group languages into NP or DP languages based on a variety of syntactic and semantic phenomena. These are given below:

A. Only languages without articles may allow LBE.

B. Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling.

C. Only languages without articles may allow adjunct extraction out of TNPs.

D. Only languages without articles may allow scrambling.

E. Languages without articles disallow NR, and languages with articles allow it.

F. Multiple-wh Fronting languages without articles don't show superiority effects.

G. Languages without articles don't allow transitive nominals with two genitives.

H. Only languages with articles allow the majority superlative reading.

I. Head-internal Relatives are island sensitive in languages without, but not in those with articles.

J. Polysynthetic languages do not have articles.

K. Negative constituents must be marked for focus in NP languages.

L. The negative concord reading may be absent with multiple complex negative constituents only in DP negative concord languages.

M. Inverse scope is unavailable in NP languages.

N. Radical pro-drop is possible only in NP languages.

O. Number morphology may not be obligatory only in NP languages.

P. Elements undergoing focus movement are subject to a verb adjacency requirement only in DP languages.

Q. Possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in DP languages.

R. Obligatory numeral classifier systems occur only in NP languages.

S. Second-position clitic systems are found only in NP languages.

While this Chapter will only concern the generalization in A, repeated here as (3), it is important to keep in mind the extent to which having or lacking the DP layer may influence the rest of the structure in a language. More importantly, the consequences of the interaction of elements from an NP and a DP language is another factor that influences the resulting structure.

(3) *Only languages without articles may allow LBE.*

3.1.2. Left Branch Extraction (LBE)

LBE was first conceptualized as Left Branch Condition (LBC) by Ross (1986), who proposed that LBC blocks movement of the leftmost constituent of an NP. This is illustrated in (4) for English, where LBC is used to block extraction of adjectives and other left-branch-like elements out of the TNP:

(4)   a. *Whose$_i$ did you see [t$_i$ father]?
        b. *Which$_i$ did you buy [t$_i$ car]?
        c. *That$_i$ he saw [t$_i$ car].
        d. *Beautiful$_i$ he saw [t$_i$ houses].
        e. *How much$_i$ did she earn [t$_i$ money]?

Starting from an observation by Uriagareka (1988), that has later developed into a comprehensive crosslinguistic generalization by Bošković (2008, 2012), LBC developed into a restriction on extraction of adjectives and adjective-like elements. In particular, Bošković (2008, 2012) shows that LBE may be allowed only in languages without definite articles, and it is disallowed in languages with articles. For example, while LBE is disallowed in English (a DP language with no noun(N)-adjective(A) agreement), as in (5) and in Spanish (a DP language with

N-A agreement) (6):[24]

(5)   *Expensive-That$_i$ he saw [$_{NP}$ t$_i$ car].   (Bošković 2008)

(6)   a. *supuestas$_i$ investigaba   [$_{DP}$ t$_i$ estafas]
                alleged.F.PL   used-to-investigate.1SG   fraud.F.PL

        b. *profesionales$_i$ ofrecía   [$_{DP}$ traducciones t$_i$]
                professional.F.PL   used-to-offer.1SG   translations.F.PL   (Spanish)
                                          (Riqueros 2013)

Furthermore, with respect to the Slavic language family, only Bulgarian and Macedonian disallow LBE, and these are the only two Slavic languages that have (definite) articles. In contrast, languages like Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Polish, and Czech do not have articles, thus allowing LBE. This is illustrated in (7a) for Bulgarian and in (7b) for Serbian:

(7)   a. *Novata$_i$ prodade   Petko   [t$_i$ kola].
            new-the   solds   Petko   car
cf. Petko prodade novata kola.
'Petko sold the new car.'   (Bulgarian)

        b. Nova   prodaje   Petar   kola.
            new   sends   Petar   car
cf. Petar prodaje nova kola.
'Petar sells (a) new car.   (Serbian)
                                        (Bošković 2008)

Next, in Romance, the only language that allows LBE is Latin, which lacks articles. This contrasts with any other Romance language that has articles and also disallows LBE, as illustrated in (6) above for Spanish. In fact, Modern Romance languages, which have articles, all disallow

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[24] Bošković (2013) notes that agreement is another factor that affects LBE. Namely, LBE requires both the lack of DP and the presence of A-N agreement. Thus, Bošković (2013) shows that LBE is not possible with non-agreeing adjectives in Serbian. Additionally, it is also not possible in languages like Chinese which quite generally lacks A-N agreement. I will put aside the agreement requirement here (for an account of it, see Yoo (2017)).

LBE.

A very important example that contributes to the LBE generalization is the case of Finnish, as discussed in Franks (2007). Namely, Finnish is an article-less language and it allows LBE. Interestingly, as articles have started to develop in colloquial Finnish, LBE constructions immediately became very marginal and unacceptable. This is illustrated below, with formal Finnish in (8a) and colloquial Finnish, which now has a definite article, in (8b).

(8)   a. Punaisen   ostin   auton
           red.ACC   bought.1SG   car.ACC
'I bought (a) red car.'   (formal Finnish)

        b. ?*Punaisen ostin   (sen)   auton.
           red.ACC   bought.1SG   the   car.ACC
'I bought the red car.'   (colloquial Finnish)
                                                                     (Franks, 2007)

Furthermore, we see a similar case of variation in a single language in Ancient Greek, where the languages belonging to two different periods pattern differently with respect to the presence of articles, and, therefore, to LBE as well. Specifically, while LBE was used productively in Homeric Greek – which lacked articles, Koine Greek had articles and disallowed LBE. Bošković (2012) notes a number of other languages that allow LBE, and these are: Mohawk, Southern Tiwa, Gunwinjguan (Baker 1996), Hindi, Bangla, Angika, and Magahi. These are all article-less languages.

With respect to the language pair relevant for this Chapter, it is important to note that LBE is disallowed in Romanian (a DP language), but allowed in Serbian (an NP language). This contrast is illustrated below in (9) for Romanian and in (10) for Serbian:

(9)   a. **Am   văzut   scumpe / scumpele   automobile.**
        have.1SG-AUX seen   expensive.F.PL / expensive-the.F.PL   cars.F
‘I saw expensice/the expensive cars.’   (**Romanian**)

        b. *****Scumpe**ᵢ**/scumpele**ᵢ   **am   văzut**   [DPtᵢ **automobile.**]
        expensive.F.PL / expensive-the.F.PL   have.1SG-AUX seen   cars.F
cf. Am văzut scumpe/scumpele automobile.
‘I saw expensive cars.’

(10)   a. *Vidio   je   skupa/ta   kola.*
        seen.3SG.M   is-AUX   expensive / that   car
‘He saw an expensive / that car.’   *(Serbian)*

        b. *Skupa*ᵢ*/Ta*ᵢ   *je   video*   [NP *tᵢ kola*].
        expensive / that   is-AUX   seen.M.SG   car
        cf. Vidio je skupa/ta kola.   *(Serbian)*
‘He saw expensive-that car.’   (Bošković 2008)

The main factor in the (un)availability of LBE is, as seen, whether it is attempted out of a

DP or NP structure. In other words, what matters is the amount of structure available in the TNP,

as this may affect which movements are (dis)allowed within a phrase, as well as the length and the

trajectory of elements that undergo those movements. Assuming the contextual approach to phases

in which the highest phrase in the extended domain of a lexical head acts as a phase, NP is a phase

in NP languages, while DP is a phase in DP languages. Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), it stands

that the edge of each phase is visible to the next phase, i.e., only the edge is available for extraction

and movement. Furthermore, whether an element is available for movement is directly influenced

by the NP/DP parameter setting (as discussed in Bošković (2014a)), whose analysis is summarized

below), that is, by how much structure there is within the TNP. Take a look at the structure from

(2), repeated here as (11):
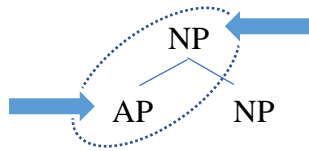
(11)   a. Serbian   b. Romanian
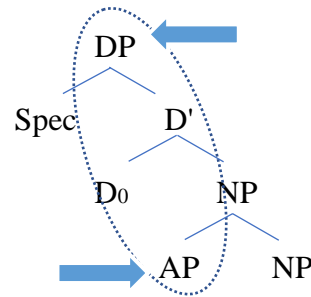
Notice that, although the adjective occupies the same position within the NP in both languages, what is crucial for LBE is that *the adjective occupies significantly different positions relative to the phasal edge* in NP versus in DP languages. Here, the adjective is at the edge of the NP phase in Serbian in (11a), but not at the edge of the DP phase in Romanian, as in (11b). This means that the adjective in (12a) is available for extraction, whereas the adjective in (12b) is not. Therefore, LBE is allowed in Serbian because the adjective is available for extraction in (12a). In contrast, the adjective is not visible for extraction in (12b), and LBE is disallowed directly from the base-position of the AP within the TNP in Romanian.
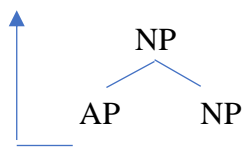
(12)   a. NP languages   b. DP languages
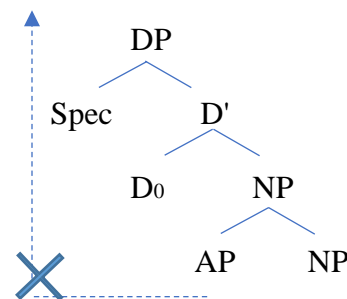
The question is, then, if the adjective could potentially move higher in the structure through additional movement operations and become visible for extraction. For example, in (13b), in order

to be available for extraction, the adjective has to first move to DP due to the Phrase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (Chomsky 2001). However, this movement is blocked by anti-locality, which requires movement to cross a full phrase. In the case of Romanian under consideration here, the movement of AP to SpecDP does not cross a full phrase, only a segment, therefore, the movement is disallowed. This leaves the adjective in the initial (lower) position from where it is not visible for extraction. This problem does not arise in Serbian (cf. (13a)) where the adjective is already at the edge of the phase.
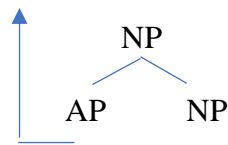
(13)   a. Serbian   b. Romanian
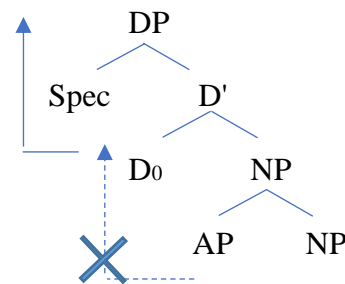
When it comes to this structural distinction, Romanian and Serbian are directly affected. Namely, as discussed, the two languages differ with respect to the NP/DP parameter setting; Romanian having, and Serbian lacking articles. This is illustrated in (14) below:

(14)   a. [DP **-(ul)**   [NP **examen**]]   →   **examen-ul**
                 the.M.SG   exam.M   exam-the.M.SG
     'the exam'   (**Romanian**)

        b. [NP *ispit*]   →   *ispit*
                 exam.M   exam.M.SG
     '(an) exam'   (*Serbian*)

All this applied to concrete examples leads to LBE being allowed in Serbian, as in (15b), and disallowed in Romanian as in (16b).

(15)   a. *Vidio   je   skupa/ta   kola.*
                seen.M.SG   is-AUX   expensive.F.SG / that.F.SG   car.F
'He saw an expensive/that car.'   *(Serbian)*

        b. *Skupa$_i$/Ta$_i$ je   vidio   [$_{NP}$ t$_i$ kola].*
                expensive.F.SG / that.f.SG   is-AUX seen.m.SG   car.F
cf. Vidio je skupa/ta kola.   *(Serbian)*
'He saw expensive/that car.'   (Bošković 2008)

(16)   a. **Am   văzut   scumpe / scumpele   automobile.**
                have.1SG-AUX seen   expensive.F.PL / expensive-the.F.PL   cars.F

        b. ***Scumpe$_i$/scumpele$_i$ am   văzut   [$_{DP}$t$_i$ automobile.]***
                expensive.F.PL / expensive-the.F.PL   have.1SG-AUX seen   cars.F
cf. Am văzut scumpe/scumpele automobile.
'I saw expensive/the expensive cars.'   (**Romanian**)

Structurally, this looks as follows. In Serbian, the LBE of adjectives (which are adjoined to NP) takes place through direct movement out of the TNP, as in (17a). In Romanian, however, a more complex situation arises. First, the movement of AP has to proceed through SpecDP (to be at the edge of the DP phase), and then out of the DP. The first movement, however, is blocked, by anti-locality[25], as is shown in (17b):

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[25] There are accounts where Romanian APs move to SpecDP (this is why they can precede the article, see Abney (1987), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Ungureanu (2006), i.a.)). As pointed out in Chapter 2, these accounts face a problem: if movement to SpecDP is possible, APs should be allowed to move out of DPs, too.

(17) a. NP languages   b. DP languages

NP
AP   NP
skupa   *kola*

DP
Spec   D'
scumpe-le
D$_0$ NP
-le
AP   NP
scumpe   **automobile**
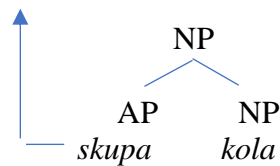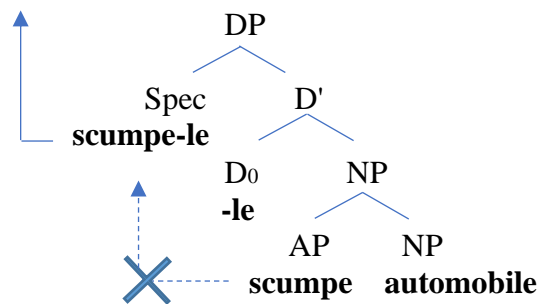
While affairs are clear in Romanian and Serbian in isolation, Romanian-Serbian CS poses

an intriguing puzzle. Namely, given the fusion of two parameter settings through CS, the question

is whether LBE is going to be allowed or disallowed in CS. In other words, does the CS TNP have

the DP or the NP layer as its highest projection in the TNP domain? Given that LBE is a reliable

test for determining the NP/DP status of languages in isolation, testing LBE of adjectives out of

CS TNPs should indicate which parameter setting prevails in CS in this particular case -- NP or

DP. This will be the focus of the following sections.

3.2. LBE IN CS

Recall that both Romanian and Serbian elements may be present in CS. For example, a CS

TNP like the one in (18) contains a Serbian noun, a Romanian definite article, as well as a Serbian

short-form (SF) adjective.

(18) *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
      exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
      'the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian)*

Although having the Romanian definite article in the structure should indicate the presence of the DP layer, the fact that CS represents a mixture of (in this case) two parameter settings does not necessarily point towards the structural dominance of either one of the participating languages, at least not throughout the entire structure. This gives rise to two possibilities. On the one hand, the presence of the definite article may indicate that there is, in fact, a DP layer in (18), and that **–(u)l** is positioned in D$_0$. One the other, given that all three elements (N, D, and A) undergo agreement in CS (cf. Chapter 2, Petroj 2019), the definiteness may be licensed by the Serbian long-form (definite) adjective. In this case, the DP layer may not exist. The issue becomes even more complex in CS cases where there is no definite article. All of this will be discussed below.

To determine what is going on here, one must look outside of the isolated TNP and examine how the structure of the TNP interacts with the rest of the structure. Since LBE is a reliable tool in determining structural configuration of languages in isolation, I will apply it to CS constructions. As pointed out above, determining phasal points is crucial when dealing with LBE. Recall that the contextual approach to phases says that any phrase can be a phase, as long as it is the highest in a phasal domain. Then, the reason that LBE is allowed in NP, but not in DP-languages, is that only the edge of the phase is available for extraction - and in NP-languages, the adjective can also be at the edge of the NP phrase *and* the TNP phase. In contrast, although the adjective is also at the edge of the NP in DP-languages, it is not at the edge of the TNP phase, which is DP in DP-languages. Therefore, it is not available for extraction. This is illustrated in (17) above, repeated here as (19):
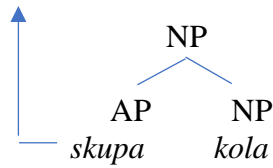
(19)   a. NP languages   b. DP languages
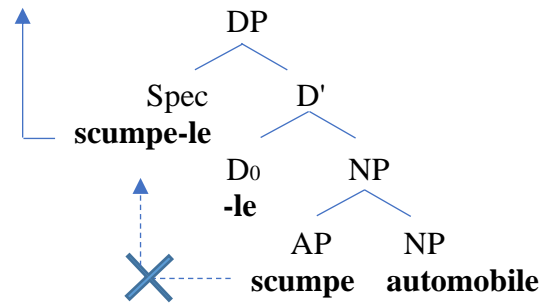
Given that the two languages that have different phasal boundaries in isolation, the phasal edge is yet to be determined in this variant of CS. Recall that the NP in (18) (repeated here as (20)) consists of three elements; two of which are from Serbian (N, A) and one from Romanian (D).

(20)   N   D   A
        ispit   **-ul**   *težak*
        exam   the   difficult

All this taken into consideration, predictions emerge regarding the status of the CS TNP:

I.   If there is no DP, the highest phrase in the TNP domain is NP. Then, the adjective is NP-adjoined and it should be extractable, allowing for the possibility of LBE. This configuration would, then, reflect the structure of an NP-language.

II.   If there is a DP layer present (thus also acting as a phase), the adjective being NP-adjoined would make it too deeply embedded within the TNP for extraction. LBE, in this case, will not be allowed, given that only SpecDP, as the edge of the phase, would be visible. Here, the configuration would reflect that of the DP-languages.

An issue, in fact, arises even with respect to strictly Serbian TNPs, as in (21), once they are viewed in a broader context (e.g., with a Romanian verb).

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(21)   **Am**   **tăiat**   *visoki*   *stub.*
       have.1SG-AUX cut   tall.LF.M.SG   poll.M
'I cut the tall poll.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The issue regarding (21) is the point at which CS takes place. One relevant question, for
example, is whether a Romanian verb may require a DP complement. These kinds of issues did
not arise above where the TNP was considered in isolation.

To address these questions, I will examine LBE of adjectives in CS from object and subject
positions (since we will see that the actual position of the TNP matters). I will start with simple
transitive constructions in section 3.2.1 and ditransitive constructions in section 3.2.1. Testing LBE
from the subject position will then be illustrated and discussed in section 3.2.3.

3.2.1. Transitive Constructions

In this section, I will investigate LBE from TNPs in the object positions. The paradigm
below starts with (22), where the verb and the definite article are Romanian, and the noun and the
adjective are Serbian. As illustrated in (22b), LBE out this TNP is disallowed.

(22)   a. **Am**   **trecut**   *teški*   *ispit***-ul**.
          have.1SG-AUX passed   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. **Teški*ᵢ   **am**   **trecut**   [*t*ᵢ *ispit***-ul**].
          difficult.LF.M.SG   have.1SG-AUX passed   exam-the.M.SG
cf. Am trecut teški ispitul.
'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Recall that the impossibility of LBE indicates the presence of a DP layer. Following that,

LBE not being allowed in (22b) indicates that the TNP from (22) is a DP. This means that the Serbian adjective *teški* is not at the edge of the phase, and is thus too deeply embedded to be available for extraction.

Moving on to (23), the TNP is fully Serbian and there is no obvious CS in the TNP. Interestingly, LBE still fails, as illustrated by (23b).

(23)　　a. **Am**　　　　　**trecut**　　　　*teški*　　　　　　*ispit.*
　　　　　have.1SG-AUX　　passed　　　　difficult.LF.M.SG　　exam.M
'I passed the difficult exam.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

　　　　　b. **Teški$_i$*　　　　**am**　　　　**trecut**　　[t$_i$ *ispit*].
　　　　　difficult.LF.M.SG　　have.1SG-AUX passed　　　exam.M
cf. Am trecut teški ispit.
'I passed the difficult exam.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Examples in (23) may indicate that the TNP alone may not be the only factor that determines its configuration. Although the configuration of the TNP looks different in (22) and (23) -- with (22) showing CS and (23) showing no obvious CS -- notice that the verb is Romanian in both instances. This may indicate that the Romanian verb has an influence on the type of internal argument it requires even in CS. Indeed, when the Romanian verb is replaced by its Serbian counterpart in (24), LBE improves drastically.

(24)　　a. **Am**　　　　　*položila*　　　*teški*　　　　　*ispit*
　　　　　have.1SG-AUX　　passed.F.SG　difficult.LF.M.SG　exam.M
'I passed the difficult exam.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

　　　　　b. ?*Teški$_i$*　　　　**am**　　　　*položila*　　[t$_i$ *ispit*].
　　　　　difficult.LF.M.SG　　have.1SG-AUX passed.F.SG　exam.M
cf. Am položila teski ispit.
'I passed the difficult exam.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Notice, however, that LBE is not allowed in (25) where, although the verb is Serbian, the TNP includes the Romanian definite article **-(u)l**:

(25) a. **Am**   *položila*   *teški*   *ispit-**ul***
         have.1SG-AUX   passed.F.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
      'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *Teški_i   **am**   *položila*   *[t_i ispit-**ul***].
         difficult.LF.M.SG   have.1SG-AUX passed.F.SG   exam-the.M.SG
      cf. Am položila teski ispitul.
      'I passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Based on the above discussion, I take (dis)allowing LBE to indicate the presence or absence of the DP layer. The ungrammaticality of (22b) and (25b) then indicates that an object in CS containing a Romanian element (in this case, the Romanian definite article **-(u)l** must have the DP layer -- regardless of the verb's language of origin. What is particularly interesting here is that, although the entire TNP is in Serbian in (23), LBE still cannot take place, as shown in (23b). This suggests that although no Romanian D element is present overtly in the TNP, there is still a DP projection here -- the reason for that being the Romanian verb. This is not the case in (24b) with the same fully Serbian TNP, where LBE improves drastically with a Serbian verb introduced in the structure. However, (25) shows that when a D element is present, the DP projection is there regardless of whether the verb is Romanian or Serbian.

Given that both Romanian and Serbian verbs can occur in CS and can take what appears to be a Romanian or a Serbian complement in CS, data from above indicate that Romanian verbs must take a DP complement even in CS, while a Serbian verb can take either an NP complement as in (24b), or a DP complement, as in (26b).

(26) a. **Am   trecut   examen-ul   /** *ispit*-**ul   /** *ispit.*
      have.1SG-AUX passed   exam-the.M.SG / exam-the.M.SG / exam.M

      b. Am   *položila*   examen-ul   / *ispit*-**ul   /** *ispit.*
      have.1SG-AUX passed.F.SG   exam-the.M.SG / exam-the.M.SG / exam.M
'I passed the exam / the exam / exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

We then have the generalization in (27):

(27) *Romanian verbs must take a DP complement, while Serbian verbs can take either a DP or*

an NP complement.

3.2.2. Di-transitive Constructions

I will now test the LBE of adjectives out of ditransitive constructions. The goal here, again,

is to test the extent to which elements and the surrounding structure may influence each other in

CS. Given that the verb influences the type of argument it can take in simple transitive

constructions, the question is what happens in cases where there are two internal arguments.

Moreover, as introducing a Romanian element also transformed the argument into a DP, a question

arises what effect will a D-element have in the case of two internal arguments? To answer these

questions, I being with examples in (28) and (29) that represent fully Serbian sentences with LBE

of the possessor out of the Indirect Object (IO) in (28b) and Direct Object (DO) in (29b).

(28) a.*Moja   drugarica   predstavlja   svom   prijatelju   Jovana.*
      my.F.SG   friend.F.SG introduces   her.REFL.M.SG friend.DAT   Jovan.ACC
'My friend introduces Jovan to her friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *Svom$_i$ moja   drugarica   predstavlja   [$_{NP}$ t$_i$ prijatelju]*
      her.REFL.DAT.M.SG   my.F.SG   friend.F.SG introduces   friend.DAT
      [$_{NP}$ *Jovana*].
      Jovan.ACC

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cf. Moja drugarica predstavlja svom prijatelju Jovana.
'My friend introduces Jovan to her friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(29) a. *Moja   drugarica   šalje   svoju   knjigu*
      my.F.SG   friend.F.SG   sends   her.REFL.ACC.F.SG   book.ACC.F
      mom   bratu
      my.DAT.M.SG brother.DAT   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)
'My friend sends her book to my brother.'

      b. *Svoju*ᵢ   *moja   drugarica šalje*   [NP *t*ᵢ *knjigu*]   [NP *mom*
      her.REFL.ACC.F.SG   my.F.SG friend.F   sends   book.ACC.F   my.DAT.M.SG
      bratu]
      brother.DAT.N
cf. Moja drugarica šalje svoju knjigu mom bratu.
'My friend sends her book to my brother.'

As expected, Serbian being an NP language, it allows LBE in both (28) and (29).

Interestingly, when a Romanian object is introduced into the structure in (30) and (31), LBE out

of the Serbian object in question leads to ungrammaticality, as shown in (30b) and (31b).

(30) a. *Moja   drugarica   predstavlja   svom   prijatelju*   **pe Jovan**.
      my.F.SG   friend.F.SG   introduces   her.REFL.M.SG friend.DAT   PE26 Jovan
'My friend introduces Jovan to her friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. **Svom*ᵢ   *moja   drugarica   predstavlja*   [NP *t*ᵢ *prijatelju*]   [DP **pe Jovan**].
      her.REFL.M.SG my.F.SG friend.F   introduces   friend.DAT.M   PE   Jovan
cf. Moja drugarica predstavlja svom prijatelju pe Jovan.
'My friend introduces Jovan to her friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(31) a. *Moja   drugarica   šalje   svoju   knjigu*
      my.F.SG   friend.F   sends   her.REFL.ACC.F.SG   book.ACC.F
      lui   fratele   meu

---

26 *PE* is a dummy preposition (similar to *a* in Spanish) which licenses Accusative on its complement. For a more comprehensive discussion of the Romanian preposition *PE*, I refer the reader to Chapter 4.

a. Lo   vimos   a Juan   (Spanish)
him.CL.ACC   saw.1PL   *a* Juan   (Jaeggli 1986)
'We saw John.'

to   brother-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
'My friend sends her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

    b. **Svoju_i*   *moja*   *drugarica*   *šalje*   [NP *t_i knjigu*]
    her.REFL.ACC.F.SG   my.F.SG   friend.F   sends   book.ACC.F

    [DP **lui fratele**   **meu**]
    to   brother-the.M   my.M.SG
cf. Moja drugarica šalje svoju knjigu mom bratu.'
'My friend is reading her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Examples in (30) and (31) show that when one object is in Romanian and the other in Serbian, LBE is not allowed -- even when the LBE is attempted out of the TNP that contains Serbian elements only. This is especially interesting since LBE was allowed in (24), (28), and (29). Recall that a Romanian verb blocks LBE even out of strictly Serbian TNPs as in (23), which I interpreted above as an indication that the object in (23) is a DP. While it previously seemed that only the Romanian verb forces DP-hood, (30) and (31) are now indicating that *any* Romanian element (not just the verb) in the vP-VP domain blocks LBE, which also means that it forces a DP structure. In other words, (30) - (31) indicate that both objects are DPs when any one object is Romanian. These examples, then, indicate that no structural mixing regarding the categorial status is allowed between the objects in a double-object construction. Specifically, either both objects are NPs or both are DPs. Assuming that vP is a phase and the objects are located in its spell-out domain (i.e., the complement of v) the following generalization can be made:

(32)   *No mixing of the categorical status of the TNP within a spell-out domain, where the spell-out domain is a phasal complement.*

To take this a step further, recall the generalization from (27), repeated here as (33):

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(33)   *Romanian verbs must take a DP complement, while Serbian verbs can take either a DP or an NP complement.*

Following the generalization from (32) and (33), it can be assumed that when a Romanian verb is present, the object(s) will always be DPs, regardless of the presence or absence of an overt D element. In contrast, when a Serbian verb is present, the object(s) can either be NPs or DPs. Finally, if either object contains any Romanian element that forces DP-hood, the object(s) will be DPs. This can be captured with a new generalization in (34):

(34)   *Any D-like element or an element that requires a DP complement within a spell-out domain will force DP-hood onto the structure of the TNP elements in that spell-out domain.*

3.2.3. Subjects

In the previous section, it was revealed that any Romanian D-like element or an element requiring DP in the vP-VP domain will block LBE from the object (even when the other object is entirely in Serbian). This was interpreted as indicating that this element forces DP-hood. Now, it is important to test the extent of the influence of the Romanian DP. As seen above, CS of a Romanian D element or a verb will force DP-hood onto internal arguments, i.e., elements within the complement of the phasal head v. This was indicated by the impossibility of the LBE in each instance with a Romanian elements present in (22), (23), (25), (30), and (31). In contrast, when there was no relevant Romanian element present as in (24), (28), and (29), LBE was allowed, indicating that these were NPs.

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In this section, I will examine external arguments of the verb. The question now is whether a Romanian verb or CS in the internal argument(s) of the verb will affect the status of the external argument. More precisely, does a relevant Romanian element in the VP domain force DP-hood onto the subject. Another question actually arises here; does a Romanian element in the subject force DP-hood onto the internal argument(s) of the verb (i.e. within VP). It may be the case that LBE was allowed in in (24), (28), and (29) because there was no overt subject -- given that both Romanian and Serbian allow null-subjects, as illustrated in (35) for Romanian and (36) for Serbian:

(35)   a. **(Eu) Am   cântat.**
           I   have.1SG-AUX   sung
'I sang.'   (**Romanian**)

(36)   a. *Ja   sam   pevao.*   b. *Pevao   sam.*
           I   am-AUX   sung.M.SG   sung.M.SG   am-AUX
'I sang.'   (*Serbian*)

To address these questions, I test LBE of an adjective-like element (i.e. possessor) out of the subject with no CS in (37) and (38), and with CS in (39) and (40) the vP-VP domain. Cases in (37) and (38) represent fully-Serbian examples, with the possessor being extracted from the subject in (37b) and (38b). This being a fully Serbian construction, LBE is allowed.

(37)   a.*Tvrdiš   da   moja   drugarica predstavlja   Petru   Jovana*
          claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG   friend.F   introduces   Petar.DAT   Jovan.ACC
'You claim that my friend introduces Jovan to Petar.   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. *Moja$_i$ tvrdiš   da   [$_{NP}$ t$_i$ drugarica] predstavlja [$_{NP}$ Petru]*
          my.F.SG   claim.2SG   that   friend.F   introduces   Petar.DAT
          [$_{NP}$ *Jovana]*.
          Jovan.ACC
cf. Tvrdiš da moja drugarica predstavlja Petru Jovana.
'You claim that my friend introduces Jovan to Petar.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(38) a. *Tvrdiš*   *da*   *moja*   *drugarica*   *šalje*   *svoju*   *knjigu*
         claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG   friend.F   sends   her.REFL.ACC.F.SG   book.ACC.F
         mom   *bratu.*
         my.DAT.M.SG   brother.DAT.M
'You claim that my friend sends her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

         b. *Moja*ᵢ   *tvrdiš*   *da*   [NP *ti drugarica*]   *šalje*   [NP *svoju*
         my.F.SG   claim-2SG   that   friend.F   sends   her.REFL.ACC.F.SG
         knjigu]   [NP *mom*   *bratu*].
         book.ACC.F   my.DAT.M.SG   brother.DAT.M
cf. Tvrdiš da moja drugarica šalje svoju knjigu mom bratu.
'You claim that my friend sends her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Interestingly, when a Romanian element is introduced as DO in (39) and as the IO in (40),

LBE out of a fully-Serbian Subject is permitted in both cases, as in (39b) and (40b).

(39) a. *Tvrdiš*   *da*   *moja*   *drugarica*   *predstavlja*   *Petru*   **pe**   **Jovan**
         claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG   friend.F   introduces   Petar.DAT   PE   Jovan.

         b. *Moja*ᵢ   *tvrdiš*   *da*   [NP *ti drugarica*]   *predstavlja*   [NP*Petru*]
         my.F.SG   claim.2SG   that   friend.F   introduces   Petar.DAT
         [DP **pe**   **Jovan**].
            PE   Jovan
'You claim that my friend is introducing Peter to my brother.'

(40)   *a. Tvrdiš*   *da*   *moja*   *drugarica*   *šalje*   *svoju*   *knjigu*
         claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG   friend.F   sends   her.REFL.ACC.F.SG   book.ACC.F
         lui   **fratele**   **meu**
         to   brother-the.M   my.M.SG
'You claim that my friend sends her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

         b. *Moja*ᵢ   *tvrdiš*   *da*   [NP *ti drugarica*]   *šalje*   [NP svoju
         my.F.SG   claim-2SG   that   friend.F   sends   her.REFL.ACC.F.SG
         knjigu]   [DP **lui**   **fratelui**   **meu**]
         book.ACC.F   to   brother-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
cf. Tvrdiš da moja drugarica šalje svoju knjigu lui fratele meu.
'You claim that my friend sends her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

This contrasts with the cases in (30) and (31), where a Romanian DO blocks LBE out of a Serbian IO, forcing DP-hood on it. As seen in (39) - (40), Subjects differ from IOs in this respect. Notice also that a Romanian external DP argument does not force DP-hood on a Serbian internal argument, as indicated by the possibility of LBE in (41):

(41)   a. **Elev-a**   **o**[27]   *položila*   *teški*   *ispit.*
student-the.F.SG   has   passed.F.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'The student passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. ?*Teški$_i$*   **elev-a**   **o**   *položila*   *t$_i$*   *ispit.*
difficult.LF.M.SG   student-the.F   has   passed.F.SG   exam.M
cf. Eleva o položila teški ispit.'
'The student passed the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

There is another instance where internal and external arguments differ with respect to DP-hood and LBE. Recall that the status of the verb affects LBE out of the internal argument in (22) - (25) in that the Romanian verb forces DP-hood onto its internal arguments, thus making LBE impossible. Interestingly, LBE out of the external argument of the verb is *not* blocked by a Romanian verb, as illustrated in (42).

(42)   a. *Tvrdiš*   *da*   *moja*   *drugarica*   **trimete**   **cartea**
claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG   friend.F.SG   sends   book-the.F.SG
lui   **fratele**   **meu**
to   brother-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
'You claim that my friend sends the book to my brother'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. *Moja$_i$*   *tvrdiš*   *da*   [NP *t$_i$ drugarica*]   **trimete**   **cartea**
my.F.SG   claim-2SG   that   friend.F   sends   book-the.F.SG
lui   **fratele**   **meu**
to   brother-the.M   my.M.SG
cf. Tvrdiš da moja drugarica trimete cartea lui fratele meu.
'You claim that my friend sends the book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

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[27] In the dialect spoken by Romanian bilinguals from Uzdin, Serbia, 3rd person auxiliary *have* 'a' is pronounced as /o/.

Recall that a Romanian verb forces DP-hood on internal arguments (cf. (22), (23), (26a), (30), and (31), however, examples in (39), (40), and (42) indicate that it does not do so with respect to external arguments. In other words, the data concerning the external argument of the verb contrast with the observations regarding the internal arguments of the verb. Specifically, while in (30) and (31), the introduction of one internal DP argument blocked LBE out of the other internal argument that was fully Serbian. This was not the case with external-internal argument interaction: the introduction of a DP external argument does not block LBE out of internal arguments. As I concluded above, mixing the TNP status of the internal arguments of the verb (within the spell-out domain of vP) is not allowed. In contrast, LBE out of the subject -- an external argument -- was not affected by the categorical status of either internal argument of the verb, as illustrated by (39) and (40). Also, a Romanian subject does not force DP-hood on a Serbian internal argument, as shown by (41). Finally, a Romanian verb forces DP-hood on internal arguments, but not external ones, as shown by (42).

Based on all these data, the generalization in (43) emerges. In light of this, (32) can be modified as (44):

(43)   *A Romanian internal DP argument or an element requiring a DP complement forces DP-hood on the internal argument of the verb. In contrast, a Romanian internal DP argument or an element requiring a DP complement does not force DP-hood onto the external argument of the verb. Furthermore, a Romanian external argument does not force DP-hood on internal arguments.*

(44)   *No mixing of the categorial status of the TNP within a spell-out domain, where the spell-out domain is a phasal complement. However, mixing of the categorial status of the TNP across spell-out domains is allowed.*

To further address the extent of CS consequences on the entire structure, I will now examine cases where a verb takes a clausal complement. In (45), the Romanian verb *susține* 'claim' takes a fully Serbian clausal complement, the difference being that the complementizer is Romanian in (45a) and Serbian in (45b). Apparently, the Romanian verb requires a Romanian C in the complement, yielding (45a) as grammatical and (45b) as ungrammatical. This is illustrated below[28]:

(45)   a. **Susțini**   **că**   *tvoj*   *kolega*   *zna*   *moju*
      claim-2SG   that   your.M.SG   colleague.M   knows   my.ACC.F.SG

      drugaricu.
      friend.ACC.F
'You claim that your coworker knows my friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. ***Susțini**   *da*   *tvoj*   *kolega*   *zna*   *moju*
      claim-2SG   that   your.M.SG   colleague.M   knows   my.ACC.F.SG

      drugaricu
      friend.ACC.F
'You claim that your coworker knows my friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

---

[28] Additionally, this is confirmed by the examples below:
(i) **Susțini**   **că**   *moja*   *drugarica*   **trimete** **cartea**   **lui**   **fratele**   **meu**
claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG friend.F   sends   book-the.F.SG   to   brother-the.M.SG my.M.SG
(ii) ***Susțini**   *da*   *moja*   *drugarica*   **trimete** **cartea**   **lui**   **fratele**   **meu**
claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG friend.F   sends   book-the.F.SG   to   brother-the.M.SG my.M.SG
'You claim that my friend sends the book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

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Interestingly, the same does not apply for the Serbian verb, as it can take a Romanian C in its complement, as shown in (46):[29]

(46) a. *Tvrdiš* **că** *tvoj* *kolega* *zna* *moju*
      claim-2SG that your.M.SG colleague.M knows my.ACC.F.SG
      drugaricu.
      friend.ACC.F
'You claim that your colleague knows my friend.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

I take this to indicate that the NP/DP distinction has some kind of reflex in CP, making the CP in DP languages (CPDP) different from the CP in in NP languages (CPNP). It follows then that, just as the Romanian verb imposes its properties on the TNP-level, it also does so at the CP-level, requiring a CPDP. This, however, is not the same for the Serbian verb, which can take both a CPNP as it does in Serbian, or a CPDP as it does in CS, as shown in (46). Thus, the following broader generalization emerges:

[29] For some reason, LBE in CS seems to be clause-bounded, with one exception which is marginal. This is illustrated in (i) below:
(i) a. **Moju_i* **susțini** **că** (Ivan) *zna* [NP *t_i drugaricu*]
my.ACC.F.SG claim-2SG that (Ivan) knows friend.ACC.F
b. **Moja_i* **susțini** **că** [NP *t_i drugarica*] *zna* *Ivana*
my.NOM.F.SG claim-2SG that friend.ACC.F knows Ivan.ACC
c. **Moja_i* *tvrdiš* **că** [NP *t_i drugarica*] *zna* *Ivana*
my.NOM.F.SG claim-2SG that friend.ACC.F knows Ivan.ACC
d. **Moju_i* *tvrdiš* **că** *zna* [NP *t_i drugaricu*]
my.ACC.F.SG claim-2SG that knows friend.ACC.F
e. *?Moju_i* *tvrdiš* **că** *Ivan* *zna* [NP *t_i drugaricu*]
my.ACC.F.SG claim-2SG that Ivan knows friend.ACC.F
cf. Susțini că Ivan zna moju drugaricu.
'You claim that Ivan knows my friend.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)
(ii) **Moja_i* **susțini** **că** [NP *t_i drugarica*] **trimete** **cartea** **lui** **fratele** **meu**
my.NOM.F.SG claim-2SG that friend.ACC.F sends book-the.F.SG to brother-the.M my.m.SG
cf. Susțini că moja drugarica trimete cartea lui fratele meu.
'You claim that my friend sends the book to my brother.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)
      I am leaving this issue open for now. (Notice that non-LBE extraction is not clause-bounded. If it were, we could assume that the issue here is PIC, where a Serbian element could not move to the edge of the Romanian C (to satisfy the EPP feature-agree with the "wrong" C).

(47)   *The Romanian verb imposes its requirements on the complement, while the Serbian verb*

does not.

However, there may be an alternative to this. Regarding C, it turns out that Romanian C can take a Serbian IP complement, as in (48a), but the Serbian C cannot take a Romanian IP complement, as in (48b):

(48)   a. **Susțini**   **că**   *tvoj*   *kolega*   *zna*   *moju*
           claim-2SG   that   your.M.SG   colleague.M   knows   my.ACC.F.SG

           drugaricu.
           friend.ACC.F

           b. **Tvrdiš*   *da*   **colega**   **tea**   **o**   **cunoaște**
           claim-2SG   that   colleague.F   your.M.SG   her-CL   knows-3SG

           pe   **prietena**   **mea**
           PE   friend.F   my.F.SG
 'You claim that your colleague knows my friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Given that, in general, Romanian elements are more selective than Serbian ones, this could be interpreted to indicate that the Serbian complementizer *da* 'that' simply cannot participate in CS in cases where what precedes it or follows it is Romanian. This could be connected with the fact that *da* is a multifunctional item in Serbian with a range of usages in the split CP domain (Todorović & Wurmbrand, 2015; Vrzić 1996). It may also be relevant that, because of that, there is more than one counterpart to the Serbian *da* in Romanian. Namely, Serbian *da* varies in corresponding to Romanian indicative complementizers *că* and the subjunctive marker *să*. This is illustrated in (49) for Serbian, and (50) for CS:

(49) a. *Odlučila*   *sam*   *da*   *pevam.*
      decided.F.SG-PTCP   am-AUX   to   sing.1SG
'I decided to sing.'   (*Serbian*)

(50) a. **Am*   *odlučila*   **că**   **pevam.**
      have.1SG-AUX   decided.F.SG-PTCP   to   sing.1SG

      b. **Am**   *odlučila*   **să**   **pevam.**
      have.1SG-AUX   decided.F.SG-PTCP   to   sing.1SG
'I decided to sing'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

I will leave the issue of the complementizer aside for future research.

3.3. CONCLUSIONS

Due to the NP/DP difference between Romanian and Serbian, LBE has proven reliable in showing that mixing two languages may not necessarily result in a homogenous DP or NP system. In other words, this variant of CS shows flexibility when it comes to elements that are switched, but also regarding what parameter setting prevails depending on where CS occurs in the derivation. Furthermore, LBE has is also useful in determining the points where CS may occur. With respect to the interaction of Romanian and Serbian elements beyond the TNP, the following generalizations in (34), (43), and (44), repeated here as (51), (52), and (53) respectively, hold:

(51)   *Any D-like element or an element that requires a DP complement within a spell-out domain will force DP-hood onto the structure of the TNP elements in that spell-out domain. While a Romanian verb must take a DP complement, a Serbian verb can take either a DP or NP complement.*

(52)   *A Romanian internal DP argument or an element requiring a DP complement forces DP-*

hood to the internal argument of the verb. In constrast, a Romanian internal DP argument or an element requiring a DP complement does not force DP-hood onto the external argument of the verb. Furthermore, a Romanian external argument does not force DP-hood on internal arguments.

(53)   *No mixing of the categoriaal status of the TNP within a spell-out domain, where the spell-out domain is a phasal complement. However, mixing of the categorial status of the TNP across spell-out domains is allowed.*

Based on the data and the generalizations presented in this Chapter, and following researchers like González-Vilabzo (2012), Alexiadou (2017), and López, Alexiadou, and Veenstra (2017), the significance and implication of phases in CS cannot be ignored. Specifically, as seen above, the universal application of phases as boundaries that determine various operations in languages in isolation is obviously present in CS, as well. While this should not be completely surprising due to CS being a mixture of elements and structure that operate within the boundaries of phases in their input grammars, what is particularly striking is the requirements that are maintained within spell-out domains, which, as we have seen, are particularly relevant for CS is spell-out domains. The switching between the NP and the DP parameter settings is crucially affected by spell-out domains to the effect that a DP argument will force DP status on other arguments within a spell-out domain, which results in the impossibility of mixing the categorial status of TNP within a spell-out domain. These restrictions do not hold between elements in the same phase, as long as they belong to different spell-out domains. The crucial theoretical mechanism here is then phasal domains, not phases.

This Chapter has also shown that Romanian elements are more picky than Serbian elements. Thus, Romanian DP arguments force DP-hood. Furthermore, a Romanian verb can only take a DP complement, while Serbian verbs can take either a DP or an NP complement. A striking confirmation of this concerns examples like (54), where there is no Romanian element in the object; still, the object is a DP, as confirmed by the impossibility of LBE in (54b). This contrasts with (55), which involves a Serbian main verb, where LBE becomes acceptable, as in (55b).

(54)　a. **Am**　　　　**tăiat**　　　*visoki*　　　*stub.*
　　　have.1SG-AUX cut-PTCP　　　tall.LF.M.SG　pole.M
‘I cut the tall pole.’　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（**Romanian**-*Serbian*）

　　　b. *Visoki　　**am**　　　　**tăiat**　　　*stub*
　　　tall.LF.M.SG　have.1SG-AUX cut-PTCP　　　pole.M
cf. Am tăiat visoki stub.
‘I cult the tall pole.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（**Romanian**-*Serbian*）

(55)　a. **Am**　　　　*odsekla*　　*visoki*　　　*stub.*
　　　have.1SG-AUX cut.F.SG-PTCP tall.LF.M.SG　pole.M
‘I cut the tall pole.’　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（**Romanian**-*Serbian*）

　　　c. ?*Visoki*　　**am**　　　　*odsekla*　　*stub*
　　　tall.LF.M.SG　have.1SG-AUX cut.F.SG-PTCP pole.M
cf. Am odsekla visoki stub.
‘I cut the tall pole.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（**Romanian**-*Serbian*）

At any rate, the discussion in this Chapter has shown that investigating CS between languages that differ in the critical areas like the NP/DP parameter setting, such as Romanian and Serbian, can be particularly fruitful. The discussion in this Chapter has in fact provided strong evidence for the concept of phases and spell-out domains, a particular contextual approach to phases (Bošković, 2014a), and the NP/DP language distinction.

As noted above, a commonality throughout this Chapter is the restrictive pickiness of Romanian over Serbian elements. In other words, it seems like elements originating in Romanian (a DP-language) are less flexible than elements originating in Serbian (an NP-language). To confirm that this is the case beyond the vP domain, I will focus on coordination in Chapter 4, in order to explore another area beyond the TNP domain through the interaction of coordinated TNPs.

4. coordination

As seen in the previous Chapter, certain elements are more picky than others in terms of what structures they select or allow in CS. Specifically, we have seen that Romanian verbs can only take DP internal arguments, while Serbian verbs can take either NP (like in Serbian) or DP internal arguments (unlike in Serbian). When it comes to verbs in CS, the input grammar apparently may influence the type of internal argument the verb from either language requires. In this respect, the Romanian verb can only take a DP complement due to it originating in a DP language. The Serbian verb, on the other hand, seems to be more flexible, allowing for either an NP argument (as it would take in Serbian), or a DP argument.

With additional cases of pickiness across different structures, the goal of this Chapter is to determine the pattern of elements that participate in CS. This Chapter addresses coordination in CS, focusing on coordinated TNPs. The relevant coordinated structures involve a conjunction and TNP conjuncts. While the main focus will be on the conjuncts as elements that interact in CS, I will begin by discussing Romanian and Serbian conjunctions themselves, in isolation and in CS. This slight deviation is important because, as will be seen in Section 4.1, only Romanian, and not Serbian conjunctions are allowed in structures that involve CS conjuncts. This restrictive property of the Serbian conjunctions contrasts with the flexibility of the Serbian verb, as demonstrated in the previous Chapter. Once the question on the conjunction is resolved, I will turn to the conjuncts, where I will illustrate, discuss, and analyze numerous paradigms involving the Romanian conjunction and CS TNPs. I will conclude this section with generalizations that will be then discussed in combination with generalizations from the previous Chapter on Left Branch Extraction (LBE) in CS. The overall question of 'pickiness' of some elements over others will be,

then, revisited in Section 4.4. Finally, I will also discuss this pickiness from the point of view of language acquisition, focusing on the difference between NP and DP parameter settings.

4.1. ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN CONJUNCTS

In Romanian-Serbian CS, the only conjunct able to coordinate two structures is the Romanian *și* 'and'; its Serbian counterpart element *i* cannot do that. Examples in (1) - (14) contain TNPs that are coordinated with either Romanian *și* or Serbian *i*. In all cases, only the Romanian conjunct is allowed.

To begin with, examples in (1) and (2) illustrate coordinated TNPs that include a Romanian or Serbian noun and a Romanian indefinite and definite article respectively. In (1a) and (2a), both TNPs are fully Romanian and the coordinated structure is grammatical only when the conjunction is Romanian. Next, (1b-c) and (2b-c) show that when either of the TNPs contain a Romanian noun, the structures are again grammatical only when the conjunction is Romanian. Finally, (1d) and (2d) show that even when both nouns hosting the Romanian definite article in each TNP are Serbian, still, only the Romanian conjunction is allowed.

(1)   a. **un**   **gheozdan**   **și**-*i   **un**   **calculator**
           a.M.SG   backpack.M   and   a.M.SG   computer.M

       b. **un**   **gheozdan**   **și**-*i   **un**   *kompjuter*
           a.M.SG   backpack.M   and   a.M.SG   computer.M

       c. **un**   *ranac*   **și**-*i   **un**   **calculator**
           a.M.SG   backpack.M   and   a.M.SG   computer.M

       d. **un**   *ranac*   **și**-*i   **un**   *kompjuter*
           a.M.SG   backpack.M   and   a.M.SG   computer.M
'a backpack and a computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

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(2)   a. **gheozdan-ul**   **și-****i***   **calculator-ul**
          backpack-the.M   and   computer-the.M

          b. *ranac*-**ul**   **și-****i***   *kompjuter*-**ul**
          backpack-the.M   and   computer-the.M

          c. **gheozdan-ul**   **și-****i***   *kompjuter*-**ul**
          backpack-the.M   and   computer-the.M

          d. *ranac*-**ul**   **și-****i***   *kompjuter*-**ul**
          backpack-the.M   and   computer-the.M
'the backpack and the computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The situation does not change with the addition of adjectives. The relevant paradigms in (3) - (10) consist of coordinated TNPs that include a Romanian indefinite article, a Romanian or Serbian noun, and a Romanian or Serbian adjective. An overview of the configuration of the elements involved is given in **Table 1**, followed by examples below:

Paradigm I: Romanian Indefinite Article (A), Romanian or Serbian pre-nominal Adjective (Adj), Romanian or Serbian Noun (N)							
		A	Adj.	N	&	A	Adj	N
(3)	a.	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*
	c	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**
	d	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
(4)	a.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*
	c.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**
	d.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
(5)	a.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*
	c.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**
	d.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
(6)	a.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*
	c.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**

					și / *i			
	d.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*

Table 1: *Paradigm I*

Paradigm II: Romanian Indefinite Article (A), Romanian or Serbian Noun (N), Romanian or Serbian post-nominal Adjective (Adj)								
		A	N	Adj.	&	A	Adj	N
(7)	a.	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**
	c	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*
	d	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
(8)	a.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**
	c.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*
	d.	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
(9)	a.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**
	c.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*
	d.	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
(10)	a.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**
	c.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	d.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i	**Rom**	*Srb*	**Rom**

Table 2: *Paradigm II*

The first paradigm is given in (3) - (6), and it includes coordinated TNPs with the Romanian indefinite article, a Romanian or Serbian pre-nominal adjective, and a Romanian or Serbian noun. In all cases, only the TNPs coordinated with the Romanian conjunction yields grammatical structures.

(3)   a. **un greu gheozdan și / *i un nou calculator**
        a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

      b. **un greu gheozdan** și / *i **un nou** *kompjuter*
        a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

      c. **un greu gheozdan** și / *i **un** *nov* **calculator**
        a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M. and a.M.SG new.SF.M.SG computer.M

      d. **un greu gheozdan** și / *i **un** *nov kompjuter*
        a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.sf.M.SG computer.M
'a heavy backpack and a new computer' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(4) a. **un** *težak* *ranac* **și / *i un** **nou** **calculator**
a.M.SG heavy.SF.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

b. **un** *težak* *ranac* **și / *i un** **nou** *kompjuter*
a.M.SG heavy.SF.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

c. **un** *težak* *ranac* **și / *i un** *nov* **calculator**
a.M.SG heavy.SF.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.SF.M.SG computer.M

d. **un** *težak* *ranac* **și / *i un** *nov* *kompjuter*
a.M.SG heavy.SF.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.SF.M.SG computer.M
'a heavy backpack and a new computer' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(5) a. **un** **greu** *ranac* **și / *i un** **nou** **calculator**
a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

b. **un** **greu** *ranac* **și / *i un** **nou** *kompjuter*
a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

c. **un** **greu** *ranac* **și / *i un** *nov* **calculator**
a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M.SG and a.M.SG new.SF.M.SG computer.M.SG

d. **un** **greu** *ranac* **și / *i un** *nov* *kompjuter*
a.M.SG heavy.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.SF.M.SG computer.M
'a heavy backpack and a new computer' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(6) a. **un** *težak* **gheozdan** **și / *i un** **nou** **calculator**
a.M.SG heavy.sf.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

b. **un** *težak* **gheozdan** **și / *i un** **nou** *kompjuter*
a.M.SG heavy.SF.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.M.SG computer.M

c. **un** *težak* **gheozdan** **și / *i un** *nov* **calculator**
a.M.SG heavy.SF.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.SF.M.SG computer.M

d. **un** *težak* **gheozdan** **și / *i un** *nov* *kompjuter*
a.M.SG heavy.sf.M.SG backpack.M and a.M.SG new.SF.M.SG computer.M
'a heavy backpack and a new computer' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The second paradigm in (7) - (10) includes coordinated CS TNPs with a Romanian indefinite article, a Romanian or Serbian noun, and a Romanian or Serbian post-nominal adjective. Identically to the paradigm involving pre-nominal adjectives, these coordinated structures are also only grammatical when the conjunction is Romanian, and ungrammatical when the same conjuncts are coordinated with the Serbian conjunction.

(7)   a. **un gheozdan** **greu** **și** / *i* **un** **calculator** **nou**
        a.M.SG backpack.M difficult.M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M new.M.SG

        b. **un gheozdan** **greu** **și** / *i* **un** *kompjuter* **nou**
        a.M.SG backpack.M difficult   and a.M.SG computer.M new.M.SG

        c. **un gheozdan** **greu** **și** / *i* **un** **calculator** *nov*
        a.M.SG backpack.M difficult.M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M new.SF.M.SG

        d. **un gheozdan** **greu** **și** / *i* **un** *kompjuter* *nov*
        a.M.SG backpack.M difficult.M.S and a.M.SG computer.M new.SF.M.SG
'a heavy backpack and a new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(8)   a. **un** *ranac* *težak* **și** / *i* **un** **calculator** **nou**
        a.M.SG backpack.M heavy.SF.M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M new.M.SG

        b. **un** *ranac* *težak* **și** / *i* **un** *kompjuter* **nou**
        a.M.SG backpack.M heavy.SF.M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M new.M.SG

        c. **un** *ranac* *težak* **și** / *i* **un** **calculator** *nov*
        a.M.SG backpack.M heavy.SF.M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M new.SF.M.SG

        d. **un** *ranac* *težak* **și** / *i* **un** *kompjuter* *nov*
        a.M.SG backpack.M heavy.SF.M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M new.SF.M.SG
'a heavy backpack and a new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(9)   a. **un** *ranac* **greu** **și** / *i* **un** **calculator** **nou**
        a.M.SG backpack.M.SG heavy .M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M.SGnew.M.SG

        b. **un** *ranac* **greu** **și** / *i* **un** *kompjuter* **nou**
        a.M.SG backpack.M heavy.M.SG and a.M.SG computer.M new.M.SG

        c. **un** *ranac* **greu** **și** / *i* **un** **calculator** *nov*

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a.M.SG backpack.M   heavy.M.SG   and   a.M.SG computer.M   new.SF.M.SG

d. **un** *ranac*   **greu**   **și** / **i* **un**   *kompjuter*   *nov*
a.M.SG backpack.M   heavy.M.SG   and   a.M.SG computer.M   new.SF.M.SG
'a heavy backpack and a new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(10)　a. **un**　**gheozdan**　*težak*　　**și** / **i*　**un**　　　　**calculator**　**nou**
　　　　a.M.SG backpack.M　heavy.SF.M.SG and　　a.M.SG　　　computer.M　new.M.SG

　　　　b. **un**　**gheozdan**　*težak*　　**și** / **i*　　**un**　　*kompjuter*　**nou**
　　　　a.M.SG backpack.M　heavy.SF.M.SG and　　a.M.SG　　computer.M　new.M.SG

　　　　c. **un**　**gheozdan**　*težak*　　**și** / **i*　**un**　　　　**calculator**　*nov*
　　　　a.M.SG backpack.M　heavy.SF.M.SG and　　a.M.SG　　computer.M　new.SF.M.SG

　　　　d. **un**　**gheozdan**　*težak*　　**și** / **i*　**un**　　*kompjuter*　*nov*
　　　　a.M.SG backpack.M　heavy.SF.M.SG and　　a.M.SG　　computer.M　new.SF.M.SG
'a heavy backpack and a new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The same applies to TNPs with post-nominal adjectives in the presence of the definite article. The third paradigm involves TNPs as conjuncts that include a Romanian or a Serbian noun, a Romanian definite article, and a Romanian or Serbian post-nominal adjective. Again, in all cases, the only permitted conjunction is the Romanian *și* and not the Serbian *i*. The configuration of the TNPs is illustrated in Table 3, with concrete examples

(11) - (14) below:

Paradigm III: Romanian or Serbian Noun (N), Romanian Definite Article (A), Romanian or Serbian pre-nominal Adjective (Adj),

		N	A	Adj	&	N	A	Adj
(11)	a.	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**
	c	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
	d	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	*Srb*	*Srb*	*Srb*
(12)	a.	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**
	c.	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
	d.	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**și** / **i*	*Srb*	*Srb*	*Srb*
(13)	a.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	**și** / **i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**

	b.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i*	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**
	c.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
	d.	**Rom**	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i*	*Srb*	*Srb*	*Srb*
(14)	a.	*Srb*	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i*	**Rom**	**Rom**	**Rom**
	b.	*Srb*	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i*	*Srb*	**Rom**	**Rom**
	c.	*Srb*	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i*	**Rom**	*Srb*	*Srb*
	d.	*Srb*	**Rom**	*Srb*	și / *i*	*Srb*	*Srb*	*Srb*

Table 3: *Paradigm III*

(11) a. **gheozdan-ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   **calculator-ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

b. **gheozdan-ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   *kompjuter*-**ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

c. **gheozdan-ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   **calculator-ul**   *nov*
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG

d. **gheozdan-ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   *kompjuter*-**ul**   *nov*
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG
'the heavy backpack and the new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(12) a. ranac-**ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   **calculator-ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

b. ranac-**ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   *kompjuter*-**ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

c. ranac-**ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   **calculator-ul**   *nov*
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG

d. ranac-**ul**   **greu**   **și** / **i*   *kompjuter*-**ul**   *nov*
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.M.SG   and   computer-the.M.SG   new.sf.M.SG
'the heavy backpack and the new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(13) a. **gheozdan-ul**   *težak*   **și** / **i*   **calculator-ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.SF.M.SG and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

b. **gheozdan-ul**   *težak*   **și** / **i*   *kompjuter*-**ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.SF.M.SG and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

c. **gheozdan-ul**   *težak*   **și** / **i*   **calculator-ul**   *nov*

backpack-the.M.SG	heavy.SF.M.SG and	computer-the.M.SG	new.SF.M.SG

d. **gheozdan-ul**   *težak*   **și** / ***i**   *kompjuter-ul*   *nov*
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.SF.M.SG and   computer-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG
'the heavy backpack and the new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(14)   a. *ranac*-**ul**   *težak*   **și** / ***i**   **calculator-ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.SF.M.SG and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

b. *ranac*-**ul**   *težak*   **și** / ***i**   *kompjuter*-**ul**   **nou**
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.SF.M.SG and   computer-the.M.SG   new.M.SG

c. *ranac*-**ul**   *težak*   **și** / ***i**   **calculator-ul**   *nov*
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.SF.M.SG and   computer-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG

d. *ranac*-**ul**   *težak*   **și** / ***i**   *kompjuter*-**ul**   *nov*
backpack-the.M.SG   heavy.SF.M.SG and   computer-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG
'the heavy backpack and the new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

It is puzzling why the Serbian conjunction is not permitted, when other Serbian elements productively participate in CS. As seen in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, elements like nouns, adjectives, verbs, and possessive adjectives are all allowed; even undergoing agreement with Romanian elements. Still, the paradigms above show a preference for the Romanian *și* over Serbian *i*.

With respect to this preference, there are a couple of possibilities why the Serbian conjunction is not allowed in CS; and they maybe be phonological and-or syntactic in nature. With regards to phonology, in contrast to Romanian, Serbian conjunctions are proclitics (Stjepanović, 2014). It might be the case that the conjunction cannot be adapted phonologically into the switch when there is at least one Romanian element in the structure. On the other hand, when it comes to syntax, it is possible that Serbian conjunctions cannot coordinate two DPs, given that they originate in an NP-language. More generally, it is possible that a Serbian conjunction cannot be a point of CS at all.

Note also that *i* is not an exception in this relevant respect. In fact, other Serbian conjunctions are not permitted either. For example, cases in (15) show that only the Romanian *sau* 'but', but not the Serbian variant *ili* is allowed in CS:

(15) a. **un   gheozdan**   **sau** / *ili*   **un**   **calculator**
      a.M.SG backpack.M   or   a.M.SG computer.M

      b. **un   gheozdan**   **sau** / *ili*   **un**   *kompjuter*
      a.M.SG backpack.M   or   a.M.SG computer.M

      c. **un** *ranac*   **sau** / *ili*   **un**   **calculator**
      a.M.SG backpack.M   or   a.M.SG computer.M

      d. **un** *ranac*   **sau** / *ili*   **un**   *kompjuter*
      a.M.SG backpack.M   or   a.M.SG computer.M
'a heavy backpack and a new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Additionally, examples in (16) also confirm this pattern; only the Romanian *nici* 'nor', and not the Serbian *ni*, is allowed in the examples below:

(16) a. **nici**-*ni*   **gheozdan-ul**   **nici**-*ni*   **calculator-ul**
      nor   backpack-the.M.SG   nor   computer-the.M.SG

      b. **nici**-*ni*   **gheozdan-ul**   **nici**-*ni*   *kompjuter*-**ul**
      nor   backpack-the.M.SG   nor   computer-the.M.SG

      c. **nici**-*ni*   *ranac*-**ul**   **nici**-*ni*   **calculator-ul**
      nor   backpack-the.M.SG   nor   computer-the.M.SG

      d. **nici**-*ni*   *ranac*-**ul**   **nici**-*ni*   *kompjuter*-**ul**
      nor   backpack-the.M.SG   nor   computer-the.M.SG
'neither the backpack, nor the computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Based on the paradigms from (1) - (16), the following generalization emerges:

(17)   *In Romanian-Serbian CS, only Romanian conjunctions are permitted.*

Although this generalization seems to hold, as we will see, it is not the case that any and all coordination cases become grammatical simply because of the Romanian conjunction *şi*. Moreover, the inability to include the Serbian conjunct in CS does not change relevant to variations in the NP/DP conjuncts. Regardless of the combination of TNPs (i.e. even when one conjunct is an NP, in contrast to the examples discussed above where both conjuncts are DPs), including the Serbian *i* results in ungrammaticality. This is further illustrated below, with some representative examples in (18) - (25), where one conjunct is always fully Serbian:

(18)   a. ***greu-l**   **gheozdan**   *i*   *teški*   *ispit*
        heavy-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
        'the heavy backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. ***greu-l**   **gheozdan**   *i*   *težak*   *ispit*
        heavy-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M
        'the heavy backpack and a new computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(19)   a. ***gheozdan-ul**   **mare**   *i*   *teški*   *ispit*
        backpack-the.M.SG   big.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
        'the big backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. ***gheozdanul**   **mare**   *i*   *težak*   *ispit*
        backpack-the.M.SG   big.M.SG   and   difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M
        'the big backpack and a heavy computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(20)   a. *teški   *ispit*   *i*   **mare-le**   **gheozdan**
        difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big-the.M.SG   backpack.M
        'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. *težak   *ispit*   *i*   **mare-le**   **gheozdan**
        difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big-the.M.SG   backpack.M
        'a difficult exam and the big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(21)   a. *teški   *ispit*   *i*   **gheozdan-ul**   **mare**
        difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big-the.M.SG   backpack.M.SG

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'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

    b. *težak   *ispit*   *i*   **gheozdan-ul**   **mare**
difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M   and   backpack-the.M.SG   big.M.SG
'a difficult exam and the big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(22)   a. *ispit-**ul**   *težak*   *i*   *veliki*   *ranac*
exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

    b. *ispit-**ul**   *težak*   *i*   *velik*   *ranac*
exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   and   big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and a big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(23)   a. *ispit-**ul**   **greu**   *i*   *veliki*   *ranac*
exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and the big backpack;   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

    b. *i*spit*-**ul**   **greu**   *i*   *velik*   *ranac*
exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG and   big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and a big backpack   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(24)   a. *veliki   *ranac*   *i*   *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the big backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

    b. *velik   *ranac*   *i*   *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'a big backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(25)   a.*veliki   *ranac*   *i*   **examen-ul**   *težak*
big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'a big backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

    b. *velik   *ranac*   *i*   **examen-ul**   *težak*
big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
 'a big backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

As can be seen, if a Romanian element is present in any of the conjuncts, the structure is

ungrammatical. Given that Serbian conjunctions do not occur in CS, there may be indeed be a

structural incompatibility at work here for this variant of CS. I will not attempt to further address

this question here. Instead, I will put the issue of the conjunction aside and I will only examine cases that include a Romanian conjunction from this point forward.

4.2. COORDINATED STRUCTURES IN INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES

Having put the issue of the conjunction aside, I will now turn to coordinated structures containing the Romanian conjunction *și*. Before tackling coordinated structures, I will present the basic paradigm for coordination with nouns and adjectives from Romanian and Serbian separately in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 respectively. Then, I will present coordinated structures in CS in Section 4.3. In all cases, I will focus on definite TNPs (i.e., TNPs that contain Romanian definite articles).

4.2.1. Coordination in Romanian

As seen, CS occurs both in indefinite and definite contexts, however, before examining coordinated structures, I will briefly remind the reader of the relevant DP properties in Romanian.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, the Romanian definite article **-(u)l** (and its allomorphs) is a bound morpheme that undergoes agreement for gender and number with the noun. As a bound morpheme, **-(u)l** requires a phonological host to be realized. With respect to what can be considered its host, Chapter 2 defines it as an element with a [+nominal] feature that undergoes agreement with D. Although there may be multiple elements with compatible features in a DP, the host is roughly the linearly closest such element to D in the DP. This is usually the noun, as in (26a) or the adjective, as in (26b), but never both categories within the same DP, as in (28). For current purposes, the relevant hosts are nouns and adjectives, as illustrated by the examples below, where the definite article **–(u)l** is given in bold.

(26) a. băiat-**ul**   important   b. important-**ul**   băiat
      boy-the.M.SG   important.M.SG   important-the.M.SG   boy.M
      'the important boy'   'the important boy'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(27) a. *băiat   important-**ul**   b. *important   băiat-**ul**
      boy.M   important-the.M.SG important.M.SG   boy-the.M.SG
      'the important boy'   'the important boy'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(28) a. *băiat-**ul** important-**u-l**   b. *important-**ul**   băiat-**ul**
      boy-the.M.SG important-the.M.SG important-the.M.SG   boy-the.M.SG
      'the important boy'   'the important boy'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Examples in (26) show that D is hosted by the linearly closest element, which happens to be a noun in (26a), and an adjective in (26b). Since nouns and adjectives both qualify as potential hosts, the examples are grammatical. In contrast, examples in (27) show that when the article skips the linearly closest element--as is the case with the noun in (27a) and the adjective in (27b)--the structures are ungrammatical. Finally, the article occurring on two categories within a single DP is also not permitted, as illustrated by the ungrammatical examples in (28).

When it comes to the mechanism behind the article cliticization on its host, I gave an account in Chapter 2 that works for both Romanian and CS constructions. This account makes use of the mechanisms of Multiple Agree and Affix Hopping, and it manifests in the following way: First, (Multiple) Agree (Hiraiwa 2001) is used to determine what kind of element can be considered as a host for **-(u)l**. For current purposes, relevant elements that can act as hosts for the definite article are nouns and adjectives, but not adverbs (for a detailed explanation, I refer the reader to Chapter 2). Second, Affix Hopping (Chomsky 1957, Halpern 1992) is used in merging the affix **-(u)l** with a host in PF. Here, I proposed that the article **-(u)l** is an affix in D, valued for definiteness, and that it hops on a linearly closest potential host in PF. As discussed in Chapter 2, some elements,

such as Romanian adverbs and Serbian long-form adjectives in CS, may be skipped. An example

of this mechanism is illustrated in (29a), and the step-by-step derivation in (29b-c):

(29)   a. mic-**ul**   băiat
           small-the.M.SG   boy.M
    'the small boy'   (**Romanian**)

The first step in this derivation is actually the agreement between the noun and the

adjective, followed by the agreement between the article and the closest element to it. In the case

of (29), this is the adjective.

b. Agree
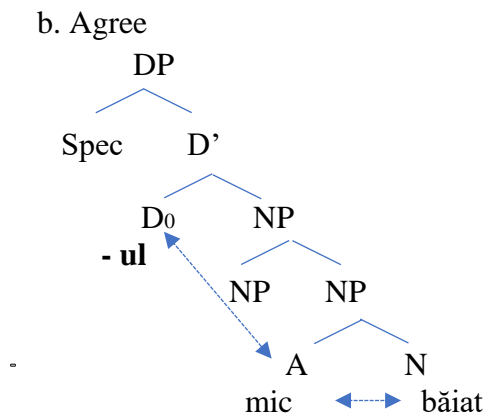
Then, the article hops onto the host via Affix Hopping in PF, which is the adjective in this case.

This completes step three and the derivation.

c. Affix-Hopping
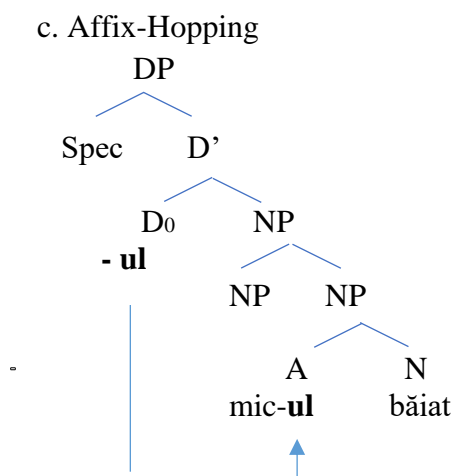
Not surprisingly, each conjunct in a coordinated TNP must follow the same restrictions on article placement. Thus, examples in (30) are unacceptable because each conjunct must adhere to the restrictions regarding article placement discussed above, which state that the definite article must be hosted by the linearly closest potential host. As such, the problem is the second conjunct in (30a), and, in (30b), the problem is the first one:

(30)   a. *greu-**l**   examen   şi   mic   gheozdan-**ul**
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   and   small.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. *greu   examen-**ul**   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan
         difficult.M.SG exam-the.M.SG   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The same applies in (31), when two DPs are coordinated; if **-(u)l** is hosted by any other element but the linearly closest one in both conjuncts, as in (31b), or if it is hosted by both elements in each conjunct, as in (31c), we get ungrammaticality.

(31)   a. greu-**l**   examen   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. *greu   examen-**ul**   şi   mic   gheozdan-**ul**
         difficult.M.SG exam-the.M.SG   and   small.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       c. *greu-**ul**   examen-**ul**   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan-**ul**
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Similarly, although there is one "legitimate" conjunct in (32a) and (32b), the entire structure is ungrammatical because of the ungrammaticality of other conjunct (the second conjunct in (32a) and the first conjunct in (32b)).

(32) a. *greu-**l**   examen   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan-**ul**
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *greu-**ul**   examen-**ul**   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Finally, examples in (33) are also ungrammatical: here, both conjuncts are ungrammatical in isolation, thus, in coordination, as well.

 (33) a. *greu   examen-**ul**   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan-**ul**
          difficult.M.SG   exam.M.SG   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *greu-**ul**   examen-**ul**   şi   mic   gheozdan-**ul**
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   and   small.M.SG   backpack.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

What is more, in addition to **-(u)l** being required to be hosted by the linearly closest element, it is also not possible to omit it in definite contexts. Thus, examples in (34) - (35) show that a TNP with no definite article causes ungrammaticality in coordinated structures. It is important to note that these cases also contain conjuncts that are not good in isolation, namely, article-less TNPs.

(34) a. *greu   examen   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan
         difficult.M.SG exam.M   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack.M
'a difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *greu   examen   şi   mic   gheozdan-**ul**
         difficult.M.SG exam.M   and   small.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'a difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

c. *greu   examen   şi   mic-**ul**   gheozdan-**ul**
difficult.M.SG exam.M   and   small-the.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'a difficult exam and the small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(35)   a. *greu-**l**   examen   şi   mic   gheozdan
difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   and   small.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and a small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. *greu   examen-**ul** şi   mic   gheozdan
difficult.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG and small.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and a small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       c. *greu-**ul**   examen-**ul** şi   mic   gheozdan
difficult.M.SG   exam.M.SG and small.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and a small backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Based on the paradigms from (31) - (35), two generalizations are emerging: First, examples of coordinated structures in (31b), (34a), (34c) and (35) show the same pattern as examples in simple DPs do regarding article placement: Article-less DPs are not permitted in definite contexts in Romanian.[30] Second, the rule for article placement in Romanian is also reflected in these paradigms. Specifically, the article is always placed on the linearly closest element (which is a potential host) in the DP in Romanian. As illustrated above, this applies to coordinated DPs as well: yielding only (31a) as grammatical (with the article placed on the linearly closest element on both conjuncts) and the rest of the examples in (31) - (35) as ungrammatical (with the article being misplaced in either one or both conjuncts).

To summarize, the examples in (31) - (35) all indicate that the rules for individual DPs must also be followed in coordination. In other words, conjuncts that are grammatical in isolation

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[30] For details on this, I refer the reader to Chapter 2.

will yield grammatical coordinated structures, and vice versa; ungrammatical conjuncts in isolation will yield ungrammaticality when coordinated.

In the following section, I will illustrate the behavior of conjuncts in coordination in Serbian.

4.2.2. Coordination in Serbian

In Serbian, coordinated structures in question may include two (or more) NPs. For current purposes, there are two relevant types of TNPs: TNPs that contain a noun, as in (36), and TNPs that contain nouns and adjectives, as in (36b) With respect to their position within the TNP, adjectives are always pre-nominal in Serbian.31

(36) a. *ispit*   b. *težak*   *ispit*
        exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M
'an exam'   'a difficult exam'   (*Serbian*)

(37) a. *težak*   *ispit*   b. **ispit*   *težak*
        difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M   exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG
'a difficult exam'   'a difficult exam'   (*Serbian*)

Since Serbian lacks articles, there are no explicit definite elements involved. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, there are elements that can receive (non-)specific interpretation, such as adjectives (Aljović 2002; Despić 2011; Talić 2013, 2017). Namely, Serbian adjectives come in two forms – short form (SF) and long form (LF) – that can receive non-specific and specific interpretation respectively. This is illustrated in (38a) for SF, and in (38b) for LF adjectives.

(38) a. *Treba*   *mi*   *velik*   *ranac.*
        need.3SG   me.CL.DAT   big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M
'I need a big backpack.'   (*Serbian*)

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31 For details regarding the placement and distribution of adjectives in Serbian, I refer the reader to Chapter 2.

b. *Treba*   *mi*   *veliki*   *ranac.*
need.3SG   me.CL.DAT   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M
'I need the big backpack.'   (*Serbian*)

Moving on to coordinated structures, the example in (39) contains two coordinated nouns, and examples in (40) - (41) represent complete paradigms of coordinated structures that include nouns and adjectives.

(39)   a. *ispit*   *i*   *ranac*
exam.M   and   backpack.M
'an exam and a backpack'   (*Serbian*)

Next, a complete paradigm including coordinated TNPs with SF adjectives is illustrated in (40) and with LF adjectives in (41). In all cases, Serbian adjectives can only occur pre-nominally. This is illustrated by the contrast between (40a) and (40b) - (40d), and (41a) and (41b) - (41d).

(40)   a. *težak*   *ispit*   *i*   *velik*   *ranac*
difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M
'a difficult exam and a big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

    b. *težak   *ispit*   *i*   *ranac*   *velik*
difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M   and   backpack.M   big.SF.M.SG
'a difficult exam and a big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

    c. *ispit   *težak*   *i*   *velik*   *ranac*
exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG   and   big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M
'a difficult exam and a big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

    d. *ispit   *težak*   *i*   *ranac*   *velik*
exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG   and   backpack.M   big.SF.M.SG
'a difficult exam and a big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

(41)   a. *teški*   *ispit*   *i*   *veliki*   *ranac*
difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M
'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

b. *teški   ispit   i   ranac   veliki*

difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M   and   backpack.M   big.LF.M.SG

'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

c. *ispit   teški   i   veliki   ranac*

exam.M   difficult.LF.M.SG   and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M

'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

d. * ispit   teški   i   ranac   veliki*

exam.M   difficult.lf.M.SG   and   backpack.M   big.LF.M.SG

'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

Moreover, mixing two TNPs with an LF and SF adjective in each is also permitted, as shown in (42a) and (43a). Similarly, here, too, the adjectives can only occur pre-nominally, as shown by the ungrammatical examples in (42b) - (42d) and (43a) - (43d):

(42)   a. *težak*   *ispit*   *i*   *veliki*   *ranac*

difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M

'a difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

b. *ispit   težak   i   veliki   ranac*

exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG   and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M

'a difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

c. *težak*   *ispit*   *i*   *ranac*   *veliki*

difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M   and   backpack.M   big.LF.M.SG

'a difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

d. *ispit   težak   i   ranac   veliki*

exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG   and   backpack.M   big.LF.M.SG

'a difficult exam and the big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

(43)   a. *teški*   *ispit*   *i*   *velik*   *ranac*

difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big.SF.M.SG   backpack.M

'the difficult exam and a big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

b. *ispit   teški   i   velik   ranac*

exam.M   difficult.LF.M.SG   and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M

'the difficult exam and a big backpack'   (*Serbian*)

c. *teški*   *ispit*   *i*   *ranac*   *velik*

difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M   and   backpack.M   big.SF.M.SG
‘the difficult exam and a big backpack’   (*Serbian*)

d. *ispit   teški*   *i   ranac   velik*
exam.M   difficult.LF.M.SG   and   backpack.M   big.SF.M.SG
‘the difficult exam and a big backpack’   (*Serbian*)

Having overviewed relevant coordinated structures in Romanian and Serbian, I will now

turn to coordinated structures in CS.

4.3. COORDINATED STRUCTURES IN CS

The overview of single and coordinated structures in Romanian and Serbian has shown the

following. First, Romanian adjectives can occur pre- and post-nominally in a TNP, while Serbian

adjectives can only occur pre-nominally in Serbian. Second, in both Romanian and Serbian, the

grammaticality of the coordinated structure is dependent on the grammaticality of its conjuncts.

This means that both conjuncts have to be grammatical in isolation for the coordinated structure

to be grammatical as a whole.

Keeping this in mind for Romanian and Serbian elements and structures in isolation, I will

now turn to coordinated CS TNPs next. Before tackling coordinated structures, I will give a brief

overview of single CS TNPs to remind the reader of the relevant distribution and mechanisms.

4.3.1. Review of Single CS TNPs

As seen in the previous chapter, CS TNPs may contain both Romanian and Serbian

elements. Specifically, while the definite article is always Romanian (Serbian lacking articles

altogether), the nouns and-or adjectives can alternate between the two languages. Some

representative individual (non-coordinated) examples are illustrated in (44) for CS TNPs including indefinite articles, and in (44b) for CS TNPs with definite articles.

The interaction between Romanian and Serbian elements and structures introduces some differences in the behavior of certain elements in CS. Specifically, while Serbian adjectives are only found pre-nominally in Serbian TNPs, when participating in CS, SF adjectives can occur both pre- and post-nominally in CS, as in (44). Here, (44a) represents a TNP that contains a Romanian indefinite article, a Romanian noun, and a Serbian SF post-nominal adjective. Similarly, the example in (44b) has the same three components, except that the Serbian SF adjective is pre-nominal here.

(44) a. un **examen**   *težak*   b. **un** *težak*   **examen**
      a.M.SG exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG   a.M.SG difficult.SF.M.SG   exam.M
‘a difficult exam’   ‘a difficult exam’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

However, while, , SF adjectives in CS can occur both pre- and post-nominally (unlike in Serbian), Serbian LF adjectives can still only occur pre-nominally in CS (like in Serbian). This is illustrated by the contrast between (44) and (45), where (45a) containing a pre-nominal LF adjective is grammatical (45b) is ungrammatical with the Serbian LF adjective in the post-nominal position, as illustrated below:

(45) a. *teški*   **examen-ul**   b. *examen-ul**   *teški*
      difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
‘the difficult exam’   ‘the difficult exam’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

This indicates that while Serbian SF adjectives may deviate from their input grammar when found in CS, Serbian LF adjectives maintain their position requirements from Serbian.

Next, the properties and requirements of the Romanian (in)definite article remain the same in CS. For example, cases like (46a-b) are grammatical, with the definite article being hosted by the linearly closest element to D0. In contrast, (46c) is ungrammatical. The reason for this is that the definite article skips the linearly closest element, being hosted by the noun in (46c).

(46) a. *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
        exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. *ispit*-**ul**   **greu**
        exam-the.M.SG   exam.M.SG
'the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        c. ***examen** / *ispit*   **greu-l**
        exam.M / exam.M   difficult-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Moving on, the construction in (47) is grammatical despite the article not being hosted by the linearly closest element in the DP. Although the article is hosted by the second element in the linear order, Chapter 2 provides an account for how such cases fit within the overall paradigm. The reasons for the acceptability of cases like (47) are discussed in detail in Chapter 2 and are not relevant for current purposes. What is relevant for us is that (47) is acceptable. What will be particularly important regarding such cases is that, as will be seen, constructions like (47) *are grammatical in isolation, but they are not grammatical in coordinated structures*.

(47) *teški*   **examen-ul** / *ispit*-**ul**
      difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

With respect to the overall behavior of the relevant TNP elements that participate in CS, I have determined in Chapter 2 that, in addition to Romanian and Serbian nouns, Romanian plain

and Serbian SF adjectives can be used interchangeably with respect to their syntactic properties and their position in the CS TNP. Furthermore, articles only being found in Romanian, they maintain their properties in CS. Similarly, Serbian LF adjectives only occurring in Serbian, they also maintain their properties in CS. While position-wise, Serbian LF and Romanian adjectives hosting D act the same, they differ in that the former cannot host **-(u)l**. Here, I repeat the relevant acceptable paradigm with post-nominal adjectives in (48), and with pre-nominal adjectives in (49). Finally, the example in (50) represents a fully Serbian TNP which, although not obviously participating in CS in isolation, is still a relevant construction with respect to coordination.[32]

(48) a. *ispit*-**ul**   **greu**   b. *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
         exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
‘the difficult exam.   ‘the difficult exam’

                                                                           (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(49) a. **greu-l**   *ispit*   b. *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
         difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
‘the difficult exam.   ‘the difficult exam’

                                                                           (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(50) *teški*   *ispit*
         difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
‘the difficult exam.’   (*Serbian*)

These are all grammatical structures in isolation that will be used as conjuncts in the following section.

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[32] For a detailed discussion of the contextual relevance of cases like (50), I refer the reader to Chapter 3.

4.3.2. Coordination in CS

In sections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2., paradigms including individual and coordinated TNPs for Romanian and Serbian were illustrated and described. As seen, in both participating languages, the grammaticality of the individual TNPs determines the grammaticality of the coordinated structures where those TNPs are conjuncts. Then, section 4.3.1. gave a brief overview of individual CS TNPs, providing the relevant paradigms of TNPs in isolation that will serve as conjuncts in the coordinated structures in this section. Recall that only the Romanian conjunction may be used in coordination in CS, as determined in Section 4.1.

Following the patterns from individual participating languages, it should be the case that conjuncts that are grammatical on their own should also be grammatical in coordination, and vice versa; conjuncts that are bad in isolation should yield ungrammatical coordinated structures. However, it turns out that this is not always the case in CS. On the one hand, TNPs in isolation like (48), (49b) and (50) (repeated here as (51a), (52a), and (53a)) do follow this pattern when coordinated with the same type of a conjunct, as shown in (51b), (52b), (53b).

(51) a. **examen-ul**   *težak*
         exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
    'the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. **examen-ul**   *težak*   **și**   **gheozdan**-**ul**   *velik*
         exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG   and   backpack-the.M.SG   big.SF.M.SG
    'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(52) a. *teški*   **examen**
         difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
    'the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *teški*   **examen**   **și**   *veliki*   **gheozdan**
         difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M   and   big.LF.M.SG   backpack.M
    'the difficult exam and the big backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

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(53)　a. *teški*　　　　　*ispit***-ul**
　　　difficult.LF.M.SG　　exam-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

　　　b. ?*teški*　　　　　*ispit***-ul**　　**şi**　*veliki*　　　*ranac***-ul**
　　　difficult.LF.M.SG　　exam-the.M.SG　and　big.LF.M.SG　backpack-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the big backpack'　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

However, this may not always be the case. Interestingly, while the relevant conjuncts are grammatical in isolation and can participate in coordination in examples like (51), (52), and (53), when they are coordinated with different kind of conjuncts, we get ungrammaticality.

(54)　a. ***examen-ul***　　*težak*　　　　　**şi**　*novi*　　　　*ranac***-ul**
　　　exam-the.M.SG　　　difficult.SF.M.SG　and　new.LF.M.SG　backpack-the.M.SG
'the difficult exam and the heavy backpack'　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

　　　b. **novi*　　　　　*ranac*　　**şi**　*teški*　　　　　*ispit***-ul**
　　　new.LF.M.SG　　　backpack.　　and　difficult.LF.M.SG　exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

There is no obvious reason why this is the case. Therefore, in the remainder of this section, I will tackle the question of what makes coordinated structures and isolated conjuncts different to the extent that they may contrast with respect to grammaticality. In order to address this issue, I will examine several paradigms involving coordinated CS TNPs. I will first present the paradigm including TNPs with post-nominal adjectives in Section 4.3.2.1., and then move on to TNPs with pre-nominal adjectives in Section 4.3.2.2. As will be seen, structures that include post-nominal adjectives show no inconsistencies with respect to (un)grammaticality in comparison to non-coordinated structures. In contrast, the paradigms with pre-nominal adjectives do show such inconsistencies.

4.3.2.1. CS TNPs with Post-Nominal Adjectives

The paradigms below involve nouns and post-nominal adjectives. As discussed in Chapter 2 and reviewed above, when the adjective is post-nominal, loosely speaking, it cannot have any definite properties. This means that only Romanian plain and Serbian SF adjectives are allowed post-nominally. This is again illustrated in (55), (56), and (57), for individual CS TNPs that include a noun, a definite article, and a post-nominal adjective. As discussed in the previous section, examples in (55) - (57) show that when the noun is TNP-initial, the article must be hosted by it. Additionally, (56b) and (57b) show that Serbian LF adjectives are not permitted post-nominally.

(55)　a. *ranac*-**ul**　　　**nou**　　　　　b. *ranac*-**ul**　　　*nov*
　　　backpack-the.M.SG　new.M.SG　　　backpack-the.M.SG　new.SF.M.SG
　'the new backpack'　　　　　　　　　'the new backpack'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(56)　a. **ranac*　　　　**nou-l**　　　　b. **ranac*　　　*novi*
　　　backpack.M　　　new-the.M.SG　　backpack.M　　　new.LF.M.SG
　'the new backpack'　　　　　　　　　'the new backpack'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(57)　a. **ranac*-**ul**　　**nou-l**　　　　b. **ranac*-**ul**　　*novi*
　　　backpack-the.M.SG　new-the.M.SG　backpack-the.M.SG　new.LF.M.SG
　'the new backpack'　　　　　　　　　'the new backpack'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

When it comes to coordination, the same applies; if phrase-initial, the noun will host the article in both conjuncts, whereas the adjective may follow the noun in its plain (Romanian) or its short form (Serbian). Coordinated TNPs with Serbian nouns and Romanian post-nominal adjectives are illustrated in (58), and Serbian post-nominal adjectives in (59). In all cases, the grammaticality of coordinated TNPs patterns identically with the ones in isolation.

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(58) a. *ranac*-**ul**   **nou**   și   *ispit*-**ul**   **greu**
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *ranac   **nou-l**   și   *ispit*   **greu-ul**
      backpack.M   new-the.M.SG   and   exam.M   difficult-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. *ranac-**ul**   **nou-l**   și   *ispit*-**ul**   **greu-ul**
      backpack-the.M.SG   new-the.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(59) a. *ranac*-**ul**   *nov*   și   *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *ranac   *novi*   și   *ispit*   *težak*
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. *ranac-**ul**   *novi*   și   *ispit*-**ul**   *teški*
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Furthermore, when coordinating TNPs that are grammatical in isolation with TNPs that are ungrammatical in isolation, we get ungrammaticality. Specifically, in (60), the only grammatical example is (60a) where two DPs, which are grammatical in isolation, are coordinated. In the cases of (60b-c), although the TNPs may contain one conjunct that is grammatical in isolation, coordinating it with a DP that is ungrammatical in isolation results in ungrammaticality.

(60) a. *ranac*-**ul**   *nov*   și   *ispit*-**ul**   **greu**
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *ranac-**ul**   *nov*   și   *ispit*   **greu-ul**
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   exam.M   difficult-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. *ranac-**ul**   *nov*   și   *ispit*-**ul**   **greu-ul**
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The same applies for examples in (61) and (62); the first conjunct being ungrammatical in both cases, the coordinated structures are all ungrammatical. Similarly, the ungrammaticality does not improve in cases like (61a) and (62a), where the second conjunct is grammatical in isolation.

(61)   a. *_ranac_   _novi_   **și**   _ispit_-**ul**   _težak_
backpack.M   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

b. *_ranac_   _novi_   **și**   _ispit_   _težak_
backpack.M   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and a difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

c. *_ranac_   _novi_   **și**   _ispit_-**ul**   _teški_
backpack.M   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

(62)   a. *_ranac_-**ul**   _novi_   **și**   _ispit_-**ul**   _težak_
backpack-the.M.SG   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

b. *_ranac_-**ul**   _novi_   **și**   _ispit_   _težak_
backpack-the.M.SG   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam.M   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and a difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

c. *_ranac_-**ul**   _novi_   **și**   _ispit_-**ul**   _teški_
backpack-the.M.SG   new.LF.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

This section has shown that simple and coordinated TNPs including nouns and post-nominal adjectives pattern like their individual counterparts with respect to (un)grammaticality. In other words, the grammaticality of coordinated TNPs can be predicted from their grammaticality in isolation. In contrast, the same does _not_ apply for all CS TNPs that include pre-nominal adjectives. As will be seen, when pre-nominal adjectives are involved, not all types of TNPs that are grammatical in isolation are acceptable as a part of a coordinated structure.

4.3.2.2. CS TNPs with Pre-Nominal Adjectives

This section explores TNPs that include definite articles, pre-nominal adjectives, and nouns. Before getting into the paradigms of coordinated structures, recall that Romanian adjectives can occur both pre- and post-nominally within a TNP. Crucially, when occurring pre-nominally, the adjective always hosts the definite article. This is illustrated in (63):

(63)   a. **greu-l**   *ispit*   b. ***greu**   *ispit-**ul***
           difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M   difficult.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
   ‘the difficult exam’   ‘the difficult exam’

                                                         (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Secondly, the contrast between (64a) and (64b) shows that only Serbian SF adjectives can occur post-nominally, while Serbian LF adjectives can only occur pre-nominally, as illustrated by the contrast in (64c) and (64d).

(64)   a. **težak*   *ispit-**ul***   b. *ispit-**ul***   *težak*
           difficult.SF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
   ‘the difficult exam’   ‘the difficult exam’

                                                          (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

          c. *teški*   *ispit-**ul***   d**.** **ispit-**ul***   *teški*
           difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
   ‘the difficult exam’   ‘the difficult exam’

                                                          (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Notice also the contrast between (65a) and (66c). In (66c), the article is not hosted by the adjective, but by the noun. As we will see, example in (64c) is especially intriguing, given that this is a construction that is grammatical in isolation but ungrammatical in coordination.

Below, Table 4 shows structures that include Romanian and Serbian prenominal adjectives and nouns, resulting in three types of TNPs (1) DP_{SA(LF)}, which includes a Serbian LF adjective (SA(LF)), and a noun (N) hosting **-(u)l** (D), (2) DP_{RA}, which contains a Romanian adjective (RA) hosting **-(u)l** (D) and a noun (N), and (3) NP_{SA(LF)}, which includes a Serbian LF adjective (SALF) and a noun (N). I consider each TNP that includes an overt definite article to be a DP, whereas a TNP that does not include definite articles to be an NP. For ease of exposition, I will stick to examples that contain Serbian nouns (which act identically as Romanian nouns in CS with respect to relevant syntactic and semantic aspects).

TYPE OF TNP	ELEMENTS CONTAINED		EXAMPLE	
	Adjective	Noun		
DP_{SA(LF)}	S LF adjective	R-S noun + **ul**	*teški* difficult.LF.M.SG	*ranac*-**ul** backpack-the.M.SG
DP_{RA}	R adjective + **ul**	R-S noun	**greu-l** difficult-the.M.SG	*ranac* backpack.M.SG
NP_{SA(LF)}	S LF adjective	R-S noun	*teški* difficult.LF.M.SG	*ranac* backpack.M.SG

Table 4: *Three types of CS TNPs as conjuncts*

The examples below include paradigms of coordinated TNPs from Table 4, with DPs as first conjuncts in (65) and (66), and NPs as first conjuncts in (67).

(65)   a. *novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   **greu-l**   *ispit*
      new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M.SG
‘the new backpack and the difficult exam’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. ?*novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
      new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
‘the new backpack and the difficult exam’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

c. *_novi_   _ranac_-**ul**   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_
new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

(66)   a. **nou-l**   _ranac_   **și**   **greu-l**   _ispit_
new-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

     b. ***nou-l**   _ranac_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_-**ul**
new-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

     c. ***nou-l**   _ranac_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_
new-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

(67)   a. _novi_   _ranac_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_
new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   heavy.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

     b. _novi_   _ranac_   **și**   **greu-l**   _ispit_
new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   heavy-the.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

     c. *_novi_   _ranac_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_-**ul**
new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   heavy.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

Based on the examples in (65), (66), and (67), the following observations can be made. First, (65a) and (66a) show that DPRA (e.g., **nou-l** _ranac_) is permitted as the first and as the second conjunct. Next, a DPSA(LF) is also permitted as the first conjunct, as in (65a). However, while it is also permitted as a second conjunct, this is only possible in one case; when the first conjunct is also a DPSA(LF), as in (65b). In all other cases, DPSA(LF) is not permitted as a second conjunct. Finally, while NPSA(LF) is permitted as the first conjunct, as in (67a) and (67b), it is not allowed as a second conjunct when the first conjunct is a DP, as illustrated in (65c) and (66c). It is, however, possible as the second conjunct in (67). It follows that, a coordinated structure containing a DP(SA(LF)) and NPSA(LF) as second conjuncts is allowed only when they are coordinated with an

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identical TNP (i.e., DP(SA(LF) as the second conjunct can only be coordinated with another DP(SA(LF) as the first conjunct, and NPSA(LF) as the second conjunct can only be coordinated with another NPSA(LF) as the first conjunct).

The relevant cases from (67), repeated here as (68), differ from the relevant cases from (65) - (66), repeated here as (69), in that the NP as the first conjunct seems to not be as picky as the DP as the first conjunct. Specifically, as shown in (68), NP as the first conjunct can take either an NP or a DP in the second conjunct. The difference in the pickiness of the DP and the NP as first conjuncts is illustrated by the contrast between (68) and (69). Specifically, while NP is the first conjunct in (68) and it allows both NPs and DPs as the second conjunct, DP is the first conjunct in (69) and it only allows another DP as the second conjunct. As a result, NP as the second conjunct is not allowed if the first conjunct is a DP, as shown in (65c) and (66c), repeated here as (70a-b):

(68) a. *novi*   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
         new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
      'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *novi*   *ranac*   **și**   **greu-l**   *ispit*
         new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M
      'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(69) a. *novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   **greu-l**   *ispit*
         new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M
      'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. ?*novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
         new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
      'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. **nou-l**   *ranac*   **și**   **greu-l**   *ispit*
         new-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M
      'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(70) a. **novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
         new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
      'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

b. *__nou-l__ _ranac_ __și__ _teški_ _ispit_
new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

Additionally, regarding the distribution of a TNP of the structure DPSA(LF) when ocurring as the second conjunct, the cases from (65b), (66b), and (67c) are repeated below as (71a), (71b), and (71c) respectively. As seen below, the only acceptable instance of a DPSA(LF) as the second conjunct is in (71a), where the first conjunct is also a DPSA(LF). In all other cases, DPSA(LF) as the second conjuncts yields ungrammaticality, as illustrated in (71b) and (71c).

(71)   a. ?_novi_   _ranac_-__ul__   __și__   _teški_   _ispit_-__ul__
          new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

       b. *__nou-l__   _ranac_   __și__   _teški_   _ispit_-__ul__
          new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

       c. *_novi_   _ranac_   __și__   _teški_   _ispit_-__ul__
          new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

Based on the paradigms from above, the following generalizations emerge:

(72)   _If the first conjunct is a DP, the second one has to be a DP as well._

(73)   _If the first conjunct is an NP, the second conjunct can be either an NP or a DP (the DP in the second conjunct, however, has to be a DPRA)._

(74)   _If the second conjunct is a DPSA(LF) or NPSA(LF), the first conjunct must also be a DPSA(LF) or NPSA(LF) respectively._

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Another way to look at the generalizations in (72) and (73) is that the second conjunct cannot have less structure than the first one. This is captured by (72) and illustrated by the example in (70), where DP as the first conjunct cannot "take" an NP conjunct, NP having has less structure (given the missing DP layer). This allows us to state (68), where an NP conjunct can take either an NP or a DP conjunct. An NP conjunct taking another NP conjunct is acceptable since there is no relevant difference in the structure. Also, an NP conjunct taking a DP conjunct is also acceptable, given that a DP has *more* structure. Therefore, a new generalization combining (72) and (73) emerges in (75):

(75)   *In a coordinated structure that involves two TNP conjuncts and a conjunction, the second conjunct cannot have less structure than the first one.*

As for the generalization in (74), it is still not clear yet why a DP$_{SA(LF)}$ or NP$_{SA(LF)}$ are allowed as conjuncts only in the case when they are coordinated with a TNP of the same configuration. One possibility for this might be that certain structures have to follow an appropriately formulated Law of the Coordination of Likes (CL), according to which two elements may be coordinated only if they belong to the same syntactic category (Chomsky 1957; Schachter 1977; Williams 1978; Sag, Gazdrar, Wasow, & Weisler 1985; Bowers 1993; Beavers & Sag 2004; Chaves 2006; Bošković 2018, a.o.). However, although these exceptional cases might show a tendency towards CL, this cannot be the case across the entire paradigm, as CL would ban other NP&DP conjunct combinations. This issue will be revisited later.

4.3.2.3. Mixed CS TNPs: Pre- and Post-Nominal Adjectives

To confirm the validity of the generalizations from above, this section includes exhaustive paradigms of coordinated CS TNPs with pre- and post-nominal adjectives in definite contexts. The paradigm includes five types of TNPs, illustrated in Table 5. Notice that the list of TNPs with pre-nominal adjectives from Table 1 is expanded here to include DPs with pre-nominal adjectives. The new paradigms are highlighted in gray, and they have the following configuration: (1) DP_SA(SF), that includes a DP with a noun (N) hosting **-(u)l** (D) and a Serbian SF post-nominal adjective, and (2) DP_RA2, a DP that includes a a noun (N) hosting **-(u)l** (D) and a Romanian post-nominal adjective.

Type of TNP	Elements Contained		Example	
TNPS WITH PRE-NOMINAL ADJECTIVES				
	Adjective	Noun		
DP_RA	R adjective + (u)l	R-S noun	**greu-l** difficult-the.M.SG	*ranac* backpack.M.SG
DP_SA(LF)	S LF adjective	R-S noun + **ul**	*teški* difficult.LF.M.SG	*ranac*-**ul** backpack-the.M.SG
NP_SA(LF)	S LF adjective	R-S noun	*teški* difficult.LF.M.SG	*ranac* backpack.M.SG
TNPS WITH POST-NOMINAL ADJECTIVES				
	Noun + **-(u)l**	Adjective		
DP_SA(SF)	R-S noun + -(u)l	S SF adjective	*ranac*-**ul** backpack-the.M.SG	*nov* new.SF.M.SG
DP_RA2	R-S noun + -(u)l	R adjective	*ranac*-**ul** backpack-the.M.SG	**nou** new.M.SG

Table 5: *Five Types of TNP Conjuncts*

In the examples below, I give exhaustive paradigms of coordinated TNPs, focusing on the requirements that the first conjunct may impose. To begin with, in (76), the first conjunct is a DP_RA, with the second conjunct being a DP_RA in (76a), a DP_SA(SF) in (76b), a DP_SA(LF) in (76c), and an NP_SA(LF) in (76d).

(76) a. **nou-l**   *ranac*   **și**   **greu-l**   *ispit*
      new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. **nou-l**   *ranac*   **și**   *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
      new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. *__nou-l__   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
      new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      d. **__nou-l__**   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
      new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

This paradigm yields two grammatical structures in (76a) and in (76b), where the first conjunct is a DP_{RA} and the second one is either DP_{RA} or DP_{SA(SF)} respectively. In contrast, structures with DP_{RA} as the first conjunct and NP_{SA(LF)} or DP_{SA(LF)} as the second conjunct are not grammatical.

The second paradigm involves DP_{SA(SF)} as the first conjunct. Here, (77a) and (77b) are grammatical, with both second conjuncts being DPs. The ungrammatical structures are given in (77c) -- where the second conjunct is DP_{SA(LF)}, and (77d) -- where the second conjunct is an NP.

(77) a. *ranac*-**ul**   *nov*   **și**   **greu-l**   *ispit*
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   difficult-the.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *ranac*-**ul**   *nov*   **și**   *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.M.SG   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. *__ranac__-**ul**   *nov*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      d. *__ranac__-**ul**   *nov*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*

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backpack-the.M.SG new.SF.M.SG and difficult.LF.M.SG exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Next, the paradigm in (78) has DPSA(LF) as the first conjunct. In this case, the only ungrammatical example is (78d), which is an NP. As seen above, although DPSA(LF) is not allowed as a second conjunct in all previous paradigms, the example in (53b), repeated here as (78c), is acceptable (note, however, that here both conjuncts are of the configuration DPSA(LF)).

(78) a. *novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și** **greu-l**   *ispit*
    new.LF.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG and difficult-the.M.SG exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

   b. *novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și** *ispit*-**ul**   *težak*
    new.LF.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG and exam-the.M.SG difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

   c. *?novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și** *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
    new.LF.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG and difficult.LF.M.SG exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

   d. *novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și** *teški*   *ispit*
    new.LF.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG and difficult.LF.M.SG exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Finally, the last paradigm in (79) involves NPSA(LF) as the first conjunct. Here, the only ungrammatical example is (79c) where the second conjunct is DPSA(LF). This, however does not mean that NP as the first conjunct cannot take a DP as the second conjunct. As illustrated in (79a) and (79b), both second conjuncts are DPs. In fact, apart from allowing DPs as second conjuncts, NP as the first conjunct can also take another NP, as in (79d).

(79) a. *novi*   *ranac*   **și** **greu-l**   *ispit*
    new.LF.M.SG backpack.M and difficult-the.M.SG exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

b. *novi*   *ranac*   **și**   *ispit-***ul**   *težak*
new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   exam-the.M.SG   difficult.SF.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

c. *novi   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit-***ul**
new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

d. *novi*   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The summary of the structures examined above is presented in Table 6, with explanations below.

Conjunct 2 / Conjunct 1	DP_{RA}	DP_{SA(SF)}	DP_{SA(LF)}	NP_{SA(LF)}
DP_{RA}	✓	✓	✗	✗
DP_{SA(LF)}	✓	✓	?	✗
DP_{SA(SF)}	✓	✓	✗	✗
NP_{SA(LF)}	✓	✓	✗	✓

Table 6: The distribution and grammaticality of mixed CS TNPs

When testing the paradigms in (76) - (79), the results confirm the generalization from (75), repeated here as (80):

(80) *In a coordinated structure that involves two TNP conjuncts and a conjunction, the second conjunct cannot have less structure than the first one.*

As seen above, while both NPs and DPs are allowed as first conjuncts, the second conjunct is not as flexible. Specifically, DPs as first conjuncts only allow DPs as second conjuncts. In

contrast, NP as the first conjunct can only be coordinated with another NP. Curiously, the same seems to apply to DP$_{SA(LF)}$. Specifically, while DP$_{SA(LF)}$ is more flexibly allowed as a first conjunct, it is allowed as the second conjunct only in cases where it is coordinated by another DP$_{SA(LF)}$. Interestingly, this type of parallelism applies to NP$_{SA(LF)}$ as the second conjunct, as well. Namely, as illustrated in (79d), while NP$_{SA(LF)}$ is permitted as a first conjunct in several environments, it is found as the second conjunct only when it is coordinated with a conjunct of the same structure.

More generally, as noted in the cases of both LBE and coordination, there seems to be more flexibility associated with NP- than DP-elements. In other words, it seems that Romanian elements--which require a DP in Romanian--are more picky than Serbian elements which, in turn, take an NP in Serbian. This was also noted in the case of LBE, where the Romanian verb cannot take an NP complement, but a Serbian verb can take both and NP and a DP complement.

In the case of coordination, something similar seems to be going on. While the Serbian conjunction is disallowed altogether, the Romanian conjunction can be used with certain restrictions. Specifically, while the first conjunct can be either an NP or a DP, the second conjunct---which is the complement of the conjunction--is more restricted, preferring DP conjuncts. However, there is one exception - an NP second conjunct is allowed only when the first conjunct is also an NP. This may be due to the Law of Coordination of Likes (CL), according to which two elements may be coordinated only if they belong to the same syntactic category. In the case of NP$_{SA(LF)}$ as the second conjunct, only (79d), repeated here as (81a), is grammatical, where the first conjunct is also an NP. In all other cases where DP is the first conjunct, the coordinated structure is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (81b-d):[33]

[33]As mentioned above, a CL analysis, however, would be too strong since it would rule out DP&NP coordination (possibly, in some cases, what appears to be an NP is structurally a DP, as discussed in Chapter 3 regarding cases where a Romanian verb takes a DP complement with only Serbian elements. I will return to this issue below.

(81) a. *novi*   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
      new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. ***nou-l**   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
      new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      c. *ranac-**ul**   *nov*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
      backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      d. *novi   *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
      new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

What is interesting here is that in an exceptional case–where *și* takes an NP complement–
both conjuncts have an identical configuration. This also holds true for another exceptional case,
where DP$_{SA(LF)}$ is not allowed as a second conjunct except when the first conjunct has an identical
structure. These grammatical cases from (81a) and (67a) are repeated as (82a) and (82b):

(82) a. *novi*   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
      new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *?novi*   *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
      new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

In contrast, ungrammatical cases involving these two TNPs are illustrated in (83) for
NP$_{SA(LF)}$ as the second conjunct, and in (84) for DP$_{SA(LF)}$ as the second conjunct. All the cases
below are ungrammatical.

(83) a. ***nou-l**   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
      new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

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b. *_ranac_-**ul**   _nov_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_-**ul**
backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the .M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

c. *_novi_   _ranac_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_-**ul**
new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

(84)   a. ***nou-l**   _ranac_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_
new-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

b. *_ranac_-**ul**   _nov_   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_
backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

c. *_novi_   _ranac_-**ul**   **și**   _teški_   _ispit_
new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult..LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

The above discussion implies that the Serbian conjunct in the complement of _și_ is an NP, thus, _și_ can take either an NP or a DP as its complement. Specifically, when a Romanian definite article is present, we are dealing with a DP (like in Romanian), but when a Serbian conjunct is in the complement position of _și_, the complement is an NP.

However, recall that the situation is different with verbs. As discussed in Chapter 3, Romanian verbs require a DP complement. As seen, even when there is a seemingly fully Serbian TNP with no Romanian elements (i.e., no obvious CS), the Romanian verb imposed a null DP onto the Serbian NP, as in (85), where the impossibility of LBE provides evidence for the DP status of the verbal complement.

(85)   a. **Am**   **adus**   _teški_   _ranac._
have.1SG-AUX   brought-PTCP   difficult.LF.M.SG   backpack.M
'I brought the heavy backpack.'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)
b.*_Teški_   **am**   **adus**   _ranac._
difficult.LF.M.SG   have.1SG-AUX   brought-PTCP   backpack.M
cf. Am adus teški ranac.
'I brought the heavy backpack.'   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

The above discussion indicates that, in contrast to the verb, *şi* does not add a null DP to its complements, hence the generalization in (86):

(86) *In a coordinated structure that involves two TNP conjuncts and a conjunction, the second conjunct cannot have less structure than the first one.*

A question, however, arises regarding cases where a structure with an NP conjunct is not used in isolation, as in (87), but with a Romanian verb, as in (88). Interestingly, (88) is ungrammatical.

(87)   *novi*   *ranac*   **şi**   *teški*   *kompjuter*
         new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   heavy.LF.M.SG   computer.M
'the new backpack and the heavy computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(88)   *****Am**   **cumpărat**   *novi*   *ranac*   **şi**
         have.1SG-AUX   bought-PTCP   new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   *and*
         teški   *kompjuter.*
         heavy.LF.M.SG   computer.M
'I bought the new backpack and the heavy computer.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Apparently, what is going on here is that, as seen above and in Chapter 3, the Romanian verb must take a DP complement. It *can impose a null DP on its complement, as in (85), but it cannot do so on the elements within its complement*, which would have to happen in (88). Interestingly, while a structure where the second conjunct has less structure than the first one (as in (89a)) is not allowed in isolation, it is acceptable with a Romanian verb, as in (89b).

(89) a. *__nou-l__ *ranac* __și__ *teški* *kompjuter*
new-the.M.SG backpack.M and heavy.LF.M.SG computer.M
'the new backpack and the heavy computer' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

b. __Am__ __cumpărat__ __nou-l__ *ranac* __și__
have.1SG-AUX bought-PTCP new-the.M.SG backpack.M and

teški *kompjuter*.
heavy.LF.M.SG computer.M
'I bought the new backpack and the heavy computer.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Apparently, as long as one of the conjuncts is a DP, the DP requirement of the Romanian verb can be satisfied. This seems to be different from the double-object constructions from Chapter 3 where both objects had to be DPs. An intervening element here might be the Romanian *și,* which apparently has its own requirements that it needs to satisfy, and may in fact be introducing another spell-out domain (see Bošković (2018) and the discussion below).

Finally, notice that CS cases with both DP conjuncts are also possible, as in (90):

(90) __Am__ __cumpărat__ *novi* *ranac*-*ul* __și__
have.1SG-AUX bought-PTCP new.LF.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG and

__greu-l__ *kompjuter.*
heavy-the.M.SG computer.M
'I bought the new backpack and the heavy computer.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

What we see here is that the requirement of the Romanian verb to take a DP complement can be satisfied by either conjunct, as seen in (89). Regarding the difference between the Romanian conjunction and the Romanian verb in the ability to add a null DP, I suggest the following. As we have seen, the DP requirement holds for the Romanian verb, but not the Romanian conjunction. I suggest that the Romanian verb can impose a null DP because it has this requirement. In contrast,

Romanian conjunction does not impose a null DP because it does not have this requirement. All of this confirms the generalization from (86), repeated here as (91):[34]

(91)   *In a CS coordinated structure that involves two TNP conjuncts and a conjunction, the second conjunct cannot have less structure than the first one.*

The question is now whether (91) can be deduced from other requirements. Recall here the tendency of the two exceptional cases in (67) and (71) to adhere to the CL of likes principle. Keeping those cases in mind, I suggest that (91) follows from CL. CL is assumed to require conjuncts to be of the same category. Instead, I suggest the formulation of CL in (92), which applies derivationally:

(92)   *In a CS coordinated structure, the two conjuncts should be non-distinct in their categorial status.*

I assume that both NP and DP are specified as +N (since they both belong to the extended projection of N), NP is then not distinct from DP. However, DP is also specified as +D, which NP is not. In other words, DP is specified as +D, +N, and NP as +N. What is important here is that, assuming a bottom-up approach, there is never a point in the derivation where the linearly first conjunct is present within the coordination without the second one. Consequently, there is never a point where the linearly first conjunct can dictate the properties of the second one. However, the second conjunct is present in the coordination before the first one, hence, it can impose its properties on the first conjunct through percolation. The relevant structure is given in (93):

[34] I am putting aside here the issue of why (89a) is acceptable in the context given in (89b), returning to it below.

(93)　　　　　　ConjP

　　　　TNP₁　　ConjP

　　　　　　Conj　　TNP₂
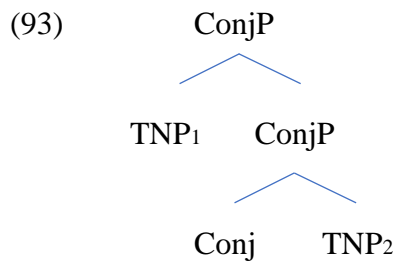
To put it more formally, let's observe step-by-step derivations of the derivations that involve two possibilities; a DP&DP and an NP&DP conjunct.

First, the conjunction **şi** and the conjunct TNP₂ merge resulting in a ConjP, as in (94):

(94)　ConjP

　Conj　　TNP₂
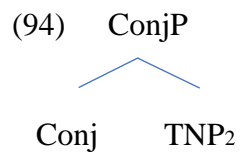
At this point in the derivation, TNP₂ can either be a DP [+D, +N] or an NP [+N]. This is illustrated in (95a) and (95b) respectively:

(95)　a. ConjP　　　　　　　　　　　　　　b. ConjP

　　Conj　　DP　　　　　　　　　Conj　　NP
　　　　　[+D, +N]　　　　　　　　　　　　[+N]

Since the properties of the TNP₂ are percolated onto the conjunction, then in (95a) we have a ConjP with [+D, +N], and in (95b), a ConjP with [+N].

(95)   a. ConjP [+D, +N]

                 Conj   DP
                          [+D, +N]
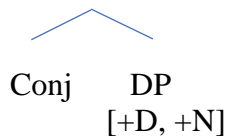
b. ConjP [+N]

         Conj   NP
                  [+N]
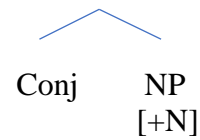
Following the modified CL, TNP₁, which is merged next into the coordination, cannot be *categorially* distinct from TNP₂. Then, with respect to the ConjP in (95a), there are two options. First, TNP₁ can be a DP, specified as [+D, +N], which is identical to the relevant properties of TNP₂. Second, it can be an NP, specified as a [+N] (which is included in the specifications of TNP₂). This is illustrated in (96a) for DP&DP and in (96b) for NP&DP.

(96)   a.   ConjP

        DP   ConjP [+D, +N]
      [+D, +N]
                   Conj   DP
                            [+D, +N]

       b.   ConjP

        NP   ConjP [+N]
       [+N]
              Conj   NP
                         [+N]
       c.   ConjP
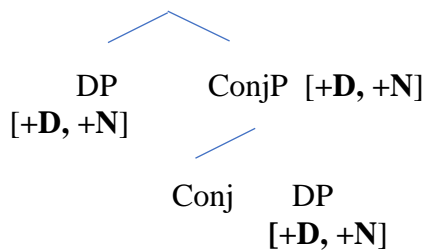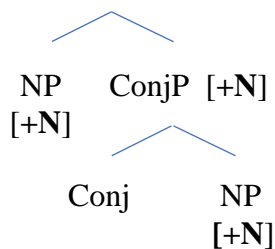
        NP   ConjP [+D, +N]
       [+N]
              Conj   DP
                           [+D, +N]
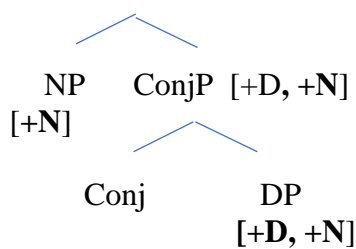
In both cases, the merging conjunct, TNP₁, is non-distinct from the existing coordination

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structure.

On the other hand, this is not the case for the ungrammatical DP&NP conjuncts, as in (97). Namely, what is going on here is that the percolated property from TNP2 (which, in this case is an NP) only includes [+N]. Therefore, if TNP1 is a DP, then it must have both [+D] and [+N]. However, [+D] is not a property of TNP2, so it could not have percolated on ConjP, therefore, this construction is not permitted, under the concept of CL adopted here.

(97)　　　　*ConjP

　　　　DP　　ConjP [+**N**]
　　[+**D, +N**]

　　　　　Conj　　　NP
　　　　　　　　　　[+**N**]
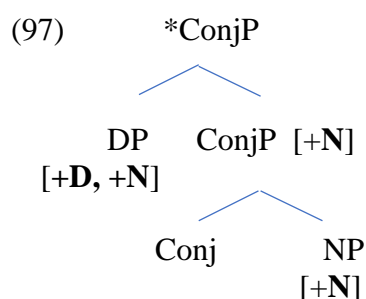
To put it simply, in neither example in (96) does TNP1 contain categories that are not found in TNP2, whereas TNP1 is *categorially* different than TNP2 in (97). Then, the construction in (97) violates the modified CL, which is stated in terms of non-distinctness, applied derivationally in a way where the second conjunct (which enters the structure before the first conjunct) dictates the relevant properties of the first conjunct.

One remaining question is why DP_SA(LF) requires DP_SA(LF) in the first conjunct, as shown below again with (98):

(98)　a. *?novi*　　*ranac*-**ul**　　　　**și**　*teški*　　　　*ispit*-**ul**
　　　　new.LF.M.SG　backpack-the.M.SG　and　difficult.LF.M.SG　exam-the.M.SG

　　　b. . **nou-l**　*ranac*　　　**și**　*teški*　　　　*ispit*-**ul**
　　　　new-the.M.SG　backpack.M　　and　difficult.LF.M.SG　exam-the.M.SG

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c. *_ranac_-**ul**   _nov_   **şi**   _teški_   _ispit_-**ul**
backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG

d. *_novi_   _ranac_   **şi**   _teški_   _ispit_-**ul**
new.LF.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
                                                        (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

I speculate that CL may be relevant here, the reason being that a DP$_{SA(LF)}$ (i.e., _teški ispit-_**ul**) type of TNP has a feature specification which makes all other types of TNPs distinct from it, hence, disallowing it in the first conjunct. This would require a more fine-grained feature specification than what I have assumed above, which I leave for future research.

I will briefly note only one possibility here. It may be that, when N exceptionally hosts an article, although it is not the initial element in the TNP, parallelism requires that the article must be hosted by the final element in the first conjunct as well.[35] This is illustrated in (99a) with the article being exceptionally hosted by the linearly non-initial element (i.e., noun) in a DP$_{SA(LF)}$ in isolation, and in (99b) with two coordinated DP$_{SA(LF)}$, where the article is hosted by the final element in both conjuncts, hence the parallelism requirement in question is satisfied.

[35] This still must satisfy independent constraints on article placement discussed in Section 4.2.1., and in more detail in Chapter 2. Briefly, the article is hosted by the first potential host in a TNP, as in (i) (as discussed in Chapter 2, the noun precedes the adjective in (ib, ic)). For the reasons discussed in Chapter 2, Serbian LF adjectives cannot host Romanian definite articles. Therefore, in the cases where TNPs include Serbian LF adjectives, the article is hosted by the linearly next element, which is generally the noun, as in (ii).

(i)   a. **nou-l**   _ranac_   b. _ranac_-**ul**   **nou**   c. _ranac_-**ul**   _nov_
       new-the.M.SG backpack.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG new.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG new.SF.M.SG
                                                      (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)
(ii)   a. _novi_   _ranac_-**ul**   b. _novi_   **gheozdan-ul**
       new.LF.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG new.LF.M.SG backpack-the.M.SG   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)
       For this reason, the individual TNP in (iii) and the coordinated TNPs in (iv) are not permitted, despite the parallelism requirement being satisfied in (iv):
(iii) a. ***nou**   _ranac_-**ul**
       new.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)
(iv) a. ***nou**   _ranac_-**ul**   **şi**   **greu**   _ispit_-**ul**
       new.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG and difficult.M.SG exam-the.M.SG
       b. *_ranac_   **nou-l**   **şi**   _ispit_   **greu-l**
       backpack.M.SG new-the.M.SG and   exam.M.SG   difficult.LF.M.SG
                                                      (**Romanian**-_Serbian_)

(99)   a. *novi   ranac-**ul**
       new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG
'the new backpack'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. *?novi   ranac-**ul**   **și**   *teški*   *ispit-**ul***
       new.LF.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the heavy computer'

                                                                         (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Because of this requirement, all other cases with a DPSA(LF) in the second conjuncts are not

permitted, even when the other conjunct is possible in isolation. This is illustrated in (83), repeated

here as (100):

(100)   a. ***nou-l**   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit-**ul***
        new-the.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the heavy computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. **ranac-**ul***   *nov*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit-**ul***
        backpack-the.M.SG   new.SF.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the heavy computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        c. **novi   ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit-**ul***
        new.LF.M.SG   backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the new backpack and the heavy computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

None of these examples satisfy the proposed parallelism requirement, and, as a result, they

are all ungrammatical.

Notice, however, that this issue does not arise in cases like (101). Here, the first conjunct

consists of only one element (i.e., a noun hosting the article); this element (as the only one) is then

also the final element in the conjunct. This is why, when coordination with a DPSA(LF) as the second

conjunct is possible here, the parallelism requirement in question is satisfied.

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(101) *ranac*-**ul**   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
       backpack-the.M.SG   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'the backpack and the difficult exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The remaining issue concerns cases like (89), repeated here as (102). Recall the contrast between a coordinated structure in isolation like (102a) and the same structure as a complement of the Romanian verb in (102b). A coordinated structure like the one in (102a), which includes a DP as the first conjunct and an NP as the second conjunct, is ungrammatical in isolation. On the other hand, the same coordinated structure found as the complement of the Romanian verb (which, as shown above and in Chapter 3, requires a DP argument) is grammatical.

(102) a. *__nou-l__   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *kompjuter*
       new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
'the new backpack and the heavy computer'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. **Am**   **cumpărat**   **nou-l**   *ranac*   **și**
       have.1SG-AUX   bought-PTCP   new-the.M.SG backpack.M   and

       teški   *kompjuter*.
       difficult.LF.M.SG   computer.M
'I bought the new backpack and the heavy computer.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Interestingly, the coordination in (102) fits the generalization in (92), since the conjuncts here are non-distinct. However, it does not fit the deduction of (92) given above, where (92) was applied derivationally, in a way where the second conjunct essentially imposes its properties on the first conjunct. It appears that a Romanian verb may actually impose DP-hood on the second conjunct, but only if the first conjunct is a DP, hence, this is not possible in (88). Implementing this, however, is not trivial, and I leave it open at this point, putting the issue in question aside.

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4.4. SPELL-OUT DOMANIANS: vP AND CONJP

A broader parallelism can be drawn between the data and analysis of LBE cases from Chapter 3 and the coordinated structures in this Chapter. Looking back, the LBE data showed that mixing the NP/DP status of the arguments in the same spell-out domain is not permitted Let's examine examples (103a) and (103b), and (104a) and (104b). Recall the contrast between LBE out of the object (i.e., internal argument of the verb) where the extraction is disallowed in (103) and allowed in (104).

(103) a. *Svom_i   moja   drugarica   predstavlja   [NP t_i   prijatelju]
          her.REFL.DAT.M.SG   my.F.SG   friend.F   introduces   friend.DAT

       [DP **pe Jovan**].
       PE   Jovan
cf. Moja drugarica predstavlja svom prijatelju pe Jovan
'My friend introduces Jovan to my friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. *Svoju_i   moja   drugarica   šalje   [NP t_i knjigu]
       her.REFL.ACC.F.SG   my.F.SG   friend.F   sends   book.ACC.F

       [DP **lui fratele**   **meu**]
          to   brother-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
cf. Moja drugarica šalje svoju knjigu lui fratele meu.
'My friend sends her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(104) a. *Moja_i   tvrdiš   da   [NP t_i drugarica]   predstavlja   [NP Petru]
          my.F.SG   claim-2SG   that   friend.F   introduces   Petar.DAT

       [DP **pe   Jovan**].
         PE   Jovan
cf. Tvrdiš da moja drugarica predtavlja Petru pe Jovan.
'You claim that my friend introduces Jovan to Petar.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

       b. *Moja_i   tvrdiš   da   [NP t_i drugarica]   šalje   [NP svoju
       my.F.SG   claim-2SG   that   friend.F   sends   her.REFL.ACC.F.SG

       knjigu]   [DP **lui fratele**   **meu**]
       book.ACC.F   to   brother-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
cf. Tvrdiš da moja drugarica šalje svoju knjigu lui fratele meu.
'My friend sends her book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The above data indicate that a Romanian DP imposes DP-hood on TNPs in the same spell-out domain, hence the impossibility of LBE in (103). Importantly, a Romanian internal argument DP does not force DP-hood on an external argument, as shown by the possibility of LBE from the subject in (104). These examples show that mixing of the categorial status between internal arguments (i.e., within a single spell-out domain) of the verb is not permitted, whereas mixing the categorial status of arguments across spell-out domains is allowed. This was captured by the following generalization:

(105) *No mixing of the categorial status of the TNP within a spell-out domain, where the spell-out domain is a phasal complement. However, mixing of the categorial status of the TNP across spell-out domains is allowed.*

A question arises now whether (105) is satisfied with coordination, given the discussion above. Taking (105) into consideration while looking at the coordination data where NP/DP conjuncts are mixed within a ConjP, (105) indicates that the two conjuncts, TNP1 and TNP2, should be in two different spell-out domains. Indeed, Bošković (2018) and Oda (in press) have proposed that this is the case. In their proposal, ConjP is a phase, with TNP2 as the spell out domain, as shown below in (106).

(106)

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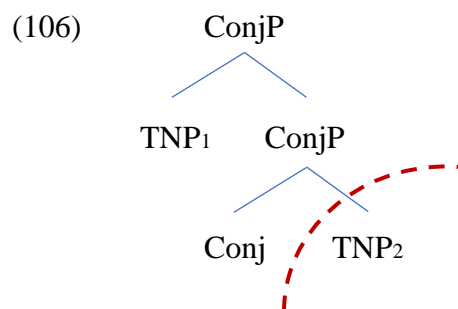
Like the external and internal arguments of a verb, TNP1 and TNP2 here are not in the same spell-out domain. As a result, mixing the categorial status of the first and the second conjunct is allowed. We may also be able to explain why in contrast to the verb, *şi* does not impose DP-hood on the second conjunct, as discussed above. While the verb and its complement are in the same spell-out domain, the conjunction head and its complement are not. This suggests that this kind of imposition, which is basically subcategorization, can hold only within a spell-out domain.

4.5. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Among various issues tackled, a commonality that has emerged in the cases of LBE and coordination is the difference in the tendencies (and the lack thereof) between structures associated with the DP or an NP parameter setting. Specifically, in the case of the LBE discussion from the previous Chapter, the Romanian verb is more picky (i.e., it requires a DP argument), whereas the Serbian verb can take either an NP or DP argument. In coordination, there are two generalizations. First, only a Romanian conjunction is allowed, which, in turn, may be affecting the structure of the entire ConjP. Second, within the structure of the ConjP, the percolating properties of the second conjunct have to be matched by the first one. This led to reformulation of Coordination of Likes in (92), which was applied derivationally, taking advantage of the fact that the second conjunct enters the structure before the first one, so that the second conjunct ends up imposing its properties to the first conjunct, in a way that the first conjunct has to be non-distinct from it.

In other words, what seems to hold for both LBE and coordination is that the structures associated with Romanian, a DP-language, seem to be less flexible than the structures associated with Serbian, an NP-language. It follows that the NP/DP distinction as the common area where

generalizations emerge may be a key factor in teasing these requirements apart. The question is, then, what makes DP inherently more picky in CS? Recall also that in the case of LBE, Romanian elements may force DP-hood within a phasal domain. More precisely, we have seen that the Romanian verb, adjective, noun (DP), and even a complementizer can 'add' a null DP even on structures that are overtly fully Serbian. One exception is the conjunction, which cannot do this in coordinated TNPs. Thus, the conjunction does not impose DP-hood on its complement, in contrast to the verb, the reason being that, in contrast to the verb and its complement, the conjunction and its complement do not belong to the same spell-out domain. It should, however, be noted that NP conjunct cases are still rather limited in the distribution: they are only possible in fully parallel conjuncts, as in (107).

(107) *novi*   *ranac*   **și**   *teški*   *ispit*
      new.LF.M.SG   backpack M   and   difficult.LF.M.SG   exam.M
      'the new backpack and the difficult exam'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

To address the issue of the difference in the pickiness between DP and NP, I will turn to acquisition. Generally speaking, it has been observed that children rely on learnability to set the corresponding parameter setting for the language they are acquiring (Snyder 2007). What is relevant here is that, as discussed in Bošković (2010; 2016), languages without articles lacking the DP implies that definite articles cannot be phonologically null. Bošković (2010, 2016) suggests that the reason for this lies in language acquisition: the definite article is the trigger for the DP parameter setting.[36] Additionally, Koulidobrova (to appear) shows that there is a link between the emergence of overt definite article and other D-like elements in DP-languages, interpreting this as

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[36] See also Todorović (2016) for an extension of this to TNP, under the claim that languages that lack DP also lack TP, and overt temporal morphology.

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a confirmation that the definite article is a trigger for the DP parameter setting. Although I will not concern myself with acquisition in CS, some relevant connections between NP/DP elements in acquisition and CS are emerging.

With respect to the NP/DP parameter setting, language acquisition research has maintained that children seem to start with (among others) the NP parameter setting regardless of the parameter setting set in the adult version of the language being acquired. That is, when children start acquiring a DP or an NP language, they all produce article-less nouns or noun phrases (Bloom 1970, Brown 1973, Pine & Lieven 1997, i.a.). This does not only affect the DP structure, as children navigating through different structures during their acquisition period all show evidence pointing towards the tendency of starting from more simplistic to more complex structures, utterances, etc., in all areas of the language.

Related to the NP/DP parameter setting, researchers like Bošković (2005) and Koulidobrova (to appear) have identified so-called 'trigger words', which represent elements that, once acquired, facilitate the acquisition and learnability of other related elements or syntactic structures. In this respect, articles have been shown to be trigger words for other D-like elements (once articles are acquired, the children also stop making mistakes in the usage of other D-like elements, e.g., pronouns, demonstratives, and articles (Koulidobrova, to appear), and, as such, for setting the parameter setting from the initial default NP to DP (in languages that have articles). More generally, while children all start with the NP-stage (i.e., producing structures that are typical for NP-languages, including article omission, among others), only later--through exposure to positive evidence--do they acquire first articles, then, the appropriate usage of other D-like elements, as well as structures that piggy-back on the DP parameter setting (Bošković 2002, 2008, 2014a; Koulidobrova, to appear). This indicates that from the mere onset of the acquisition period,

the NP parameter setting may be more adaptive. In other words, it is shown to be able to be modified through addition of more structure, such as the addition of the DP layer when articles start to emerge in a DP language. In contrast, the same has not been observed for the structures with the DP parameter setting. To put it simply, children do not happen to start with a DP parameter setting and then reduce the amount of structure and-elements to reset the parameter setting to NP.[37]

Following this, if we informally assume that NP is the default (initial) parameter setting, the pickiness of elements originating in a DP-environment (i.e., such as, for example, the Romanian verb) can be justified. Namely, given that, as a default, NP may be subject to modification during acquisition when children acquiring a DP language start with the NP stage, it follows that NP should allow modifications in CS, as well. Furthermore, it is conceivable that CS, in a way, resembles the acquisitional stage where the language user navigates between multiple structural possibilities. Therefore, as the NP parameter setting (and NP-like elements) allows additions and modifications during acquisition, it seems as these properties are still available in the adult CS. Finally, following this idea, it may be the case that adding elements or structure is a natural linguistic process, whereas removing elements or structure is more difficult. This is why having a DP parameter setting set in a certain part of the derivation in CS will not allow for the reduction of that structure, or for the modification of elements that originally require another DP element. If seen from the perspective of acquisition, this makes sense, as CS is expected to adhere to the natural structure building process that takes place in regular monolingual language acquisition.

[37] Additional evidence for this view is Snyder's (2007) *Grammatical Conservatism*, according to which children's errors in acquisition seem to be marked by omission, rather than co-omission, of elements or structures during their spontaneous production. This is relevant, because it further confirms the natural process of structure building that works on the principle of addition, not reduction. For a comprehensive and detailed discussion of this theory and its application, I refer the reader to Snyder (2007).

Taking all of this in consideration, the behavior of Romanian and Serbian elements in CS (e.g., the requirement of the Romanian verb to take a DP complement, and the flexibility of Serbian verb to take either an NP or a DP complement) is simply due to these elements demonstrating the same properties as during the general acquisition period.

5. clitics

In Chapters 2-4, it was determined that nouns and verbs participate in CS quite productively. Here, I will focus on clitics -- pronominal and auxiliary -- and their distribution and interaction with other elements in CS. As will be seen, as opposed to nouns and verbs which are most frequently interchangeable, pronominal and auxiliary clitics are more restrictive in CS.

While both Romanian and Serbian have a rich clitic system, clitics in these two languages differ in several aspects. First, recall that Romanian is a DP and Serbian is an NP language, which introduces questions regarding the type of elements clitics are in each language. Second, Serbian clitics are second-position clitics, occupying the second position in an Intonational Phrase (typically the clause) without an adjacency requirement to any specific element. In contrast, Romanian clitics are verbal clitics, meaning that they cluster around the verb. Another distinction important for the discussion in this Chapter is that Romanian pronominal clitics incorporate syntactically into the (auxiliary or lexical) verb (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), while Serbian pronominal clitics do not (Bošković 2001). In contrast, Romanian auxiliaries are not incorporated syntactically into the verb, while Serbian auxiliary clitics do incorporate (and may optionally excorporate in certain circumstances, see Bošković (1997)). All of these properties and differences will inevitably affect CS possibilities, all of which will be discussed in this Chapter.

To explore the distribution of Romanian-Serbian clitics in CS, I will examine them in contexts with Serbian-Romanian verbs respectively. Therefore, this Chapter is outlined as follows. Before exploring clitics, I will briefly discuss pronouns in CS in Section 5.1. In Sections 5.2., Romanian pronominal clitics in combination with Serbian verbs will be discussed. Similarly, Romanian auxiliaries and Serbian verbs will be examined in Section 5.3. Then, Section 5.4. and

5.5. will explore Serbian pronominal and Serbian auxiliary clitics in combination with Romanian verbs respectively. Finally, Section 5.5. will conclude this Chapter.

5.1. PRONOUNS

The NP/DP difference between Romanian and Serbian has been argued to have a reflex with pronouns. In this section, I will focus on subject pronouns since we will see that an interfering factor arises with object pronouns, as discussed in Chapter 6. Some representative examples of pronouns as subjects and as objects are given in (1) for Romanian and in (2) for Serbian below:

(1)   a. (**Eu)**   **am**   **plecat**.
        I   have.1SG-AUX   left-PTCP
'I left.'   (**Romanian**)

        b. **I-am**   **dat**   **cartea**   **lui.**
        him.DAT-CL-have.1SG-AUX   given-PTCP   book-the.F.SG   him.DAT
'I have the book to him.'   (**Romanian**)

(2)   a. (*Ja*)   *sam*   *krenula*.
        I   am-AUX   left.F.SG-PTCP
'I left.'   (*Serbian*)

        b. *Videla*   *sam*   *njega*.
        seen.F.SG-PTCP   am-AUX   him.ACC
'The books is his.'   (*Serbian*)

With respect to what type of elements pronouns are in these two languages, Bošković (2008) suggests that pronouns in NP languages (e.g., Japanese, Serbo-Croatian, etc.) are N elements, and that those in DP languages (e.g., Bulgarian, Macedonian, English, etc.) are D elements. The test for this is productive pronoun modification which is allowed in, for instance,

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Japanese and Serbo-Croatian, but not in English.[38] Here, following Bošković (2008), I assume that Serbian and Romanian pronouns differ in that pronouns are N elements in Serbian and D elements in Romanian. This distinction is important because, as will be seen, Romanian and Serbian pronouns behave differently in CS.[39] Specifically, while Romanian pronouns are allowed with both Romanian and Serbian verbs, Serbian pronouns can only occur with Serbian verbs in domains affected by CS. This is shown in (3):

(3) a. **El**   **ia** / *polaže*   *ispit*-**ul**
     b. *On*   ***ia** / *polaže*   *ispit*-**ul**
     he   takes   exam-the.M.SG
'He takes the exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Similarly, with Romanian auxiliaries followed by either a Romanian or a Serbian lexical verb, only Romanian pronouns are allowed, as shown by the contrast in (4):

(4) a. **El**   **o**   **luat** / *položio*   *ispit*-**ul**
     b. **On*   **o**   **luat** / *položio*   *ispit*-**ul**.
     he   has.3SG-AUX   passed-PTCP / passed.M.SG-PTCP   exam-the.M.SG
'He passed the exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Based on this, two new generalization arise, given in (5) and (6):

(5)   *In CS, Romanian subject pronouns can occur with both Romanian and Serbian verbs-auxiliaries.*

(6)   *In CS, Serbian subject pronouns can occur with Serbian verbs-auxiliaries only.*

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[38] The details of this analysis are not relevant for current purposes; therefore, I refer the reader to Fukui (1988), Bošković (2008), Runić (2014) and the references therein for further discussion.
[39] Recall that the focus is on subject pronouns in this section.

Furthermore, given that auxiliaries are located in Infl and that a Romanian/Serbian verb co-occurs with a Romanian/Serbian Infl, the generalizations from (5) - (6) can be restated as (7) - (8):

(7)   *In CS, Romanian subject pronouns can occur with both Romanian and Serbian Infl.*

(8)   *In CS, Serbian subject pronouns can occur with Serbian Infl only.*

One possibility why Serbian pronouns are not allowed here may be related to the type of categories pronouns in each language are. Recall that Romanian pronouns (originating in a DP language) are inherently D elements, whereas Serbian pronouns (originating in an NP language) are inherently N elements (Bošković 2008). Notice, however, that the relevant restriction is specific to pronouns; it does not hold for full NPs. That full NPs differ with respect to their distribution and occurrence in CS has been evident throughout the dissertation with examples such as (9). Here, fully Serbian NPs can productively occur with Romanian verbs (lexical and auxiliary):

(9)   a. *Moja   drugarica*   **citește**   **o**   **carte.**
        my.F.SG   friend.F   reads   a.F.SG   book.F
'My friend is reading a letter.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. *Moja   drugarica*   **o**   **citit**   **o**   **carte.**
        my.F.SG   friend.F   has   read-PTCP   a.F.SG   book.F
'My friend read a letter.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Recall also that fully-Serbian subject TNPs in this kind of CS are actually NPs, as confirmed by the possibility of LBE in Chapter 3, as in (10):[40]

(10) a. *Tvrdiš*   *da*   *moja*   *drugarica*   **trimete**   **cartea**
       claim-2SG   that   my.F.SG   friend.F   sends   book-the.F.SG

       lui   **fratele**   **meu**
       to   brother-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
'You claim that my friend sends the book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. *Moja*ᵢ   *tvrdiš*   *da*   [NP *ti drugarica*]   **trimete**   **cartea**
       my.F.SG   claim-2SG   that   friend.F   sends   book-the.F.SG

       lui   **fratele**   **meu**
       to   brother-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
cf. Tvrdiš da moja drugarica trimete cartea lui fratele mey.
'You claim that my friend sends the book to my brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

This indicates that the category of the subject is not what is at issue here. One possibility why pronouns and full NPs behave differently here is that for some reason pronouns cannot undergo semantic type-shift in CS (assuming that they are of the type <e, t>, as argued in Runić (2014), in Serbo-Croatian). I will, however, suggest an alternative account of why Serbian pronouns are not permitted with Romanian verbs/Infl in Chapter 6.

Having presented the distribution of pronouns in CS, I leave pronouns aside for now, focusing on the clitics from this point on.

[40] Recall that LBE is an NP-language phenomenon, therefore, for reasons discussed in detail in Chapter 3, adjectives can only be extracted out of an NP and not a DP. For a full discussion and analysis, I refer the reader to Chapter 3.

5.2. ROMANIAN CLITICS

5.2.1. Pronominal Clitics in Romanian

As mentioned above, Romanian pronominal clitics are verbal clitics, meaning that they cluster around the verb. Moreover, they are also syntactically incorporated into the verb (including lexical and auxiliary verbs).[41] In other words, the clitic and the verb form a word-like element, i.e. an X_0 constituent through syntactic incorporation (Bredermeier 1976; Kok 1985, 1989; Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994; Dobrovie-Sorin & Guirgea 2013; i.a..). Clitics in Romanian are thus hosted by the inflected verb (including lexical and auxiliary verbs), as shown in (11). For current purposes, I will only discuss lexical verbs as hosts; auxiliary verbs will be discussed in Section 5.2.2.

With respect to their distribution, pronominal clitics can be pre- or post-verbal, as in (11a) and (11b) respectively. For ease of exposition, pronominal clitics are underlined:

(11) a. **Îl**   **sun**.   b. **Sună-l!**
      him.ACC-CL   call.1SG   call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL
   'I'm calling him'   'Call him!'
                                                                    (**Romanian**)

Another property of Romanian pronominal clitics is that they can undergo *clitic weakening* (Bošković 2001). In other words, clitics can have full or reduced forms, as illustrated in Table 1:

Form	3MSG	3FSG	3FPL	3MPL
Full	îl	o	le	îi
Reduced	-l; l-	-w-	-le; le-	-i; i-

Table 1: *Clitic weakening - Pronominal clitics*

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41 A more statement would actually be that they incorporate into the element located in Infl, which I will ignore here for ease of exposition.

Whether a clitic will undergo clitic weakening depends on the context. Specifically, there are two obligatory and one optional clitic weakening context, and they are illustrated below:

A. *Obligatory: As a proclitic, before an auxiliary verb beginning with a vowel* (cf. (12));

(12)   a. **L-am**   **sunat**.
        him.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   called-PTCP

        b. ****Îl**   **am**   **sunat.**
        him.ACC-CL   have.1SG-AUX   called-PTCP
 'I called him.'   (**Romanian**)

B. *Optional: As a proclitic, before a lexical verb beginning with a vowel* (cf. (13))42;

(13)   a. **Îl**   **aud**.   b. **L-aud**.
        him.ACC-CL   hear.1SG   him.ACC-CL-hear.1SG
'I hear him.'   (**Romanian**)

C. *Obligatory: As an enclitic, after a lexical verb ending in a vowel (obligatory)* (cf. (14)).

(14)   a. **Sună-l**.   b. ****Sună**   **îl**.
        call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP   him.ACC-CL
'Call him.'   (**Romanian**)

The exception to these rules is the singular 3rd person feminine (3FSG) clitic *-o* 'her', which cannot occur pre-verbally in obligatory clitic-weakening contexts. As a result, it can only undergo clitic weakening as an enclitic, as illustrated in (15). Note that it can still occur pre-verbally in the optional clitic-weakening contexts, both in its reduced and non-reduced form, as given in (16):43

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42 As pointed out by Bošković (2001), there is disagreement with regards to whether clitic weakening can occur in in this context, with Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) claiming that it is possible and Alexander Grosu (p.c. in Bošković 2001) claiming that it is not. In the dialect spoken by the Romanian-Serbian bilinguals in Uzdin, Serbia, clitics can optionally undergo clitic weakening. In fact, even the exceptional 3FSG *-o*, discussed below, can do so, as in (i):
(i) a. **O**   **aud**   b. **O-aud**.
her.ACC-CL   hear.1SG   her.ACC-CL-hear.1SG
'I hear her.'   (**Romanian**)
43 As per observation by Grosu (p.c. in Bošković 2001), in cases involving *-o* as an enclitic, the host--not the clitic-.may actually undergo some type of weakening, whereby the word-final --e- in (i) loses syllabicity when preceded

(15) a. ***O-am**   **sunat**.   b. **Am**   **sunat-o**.
      him.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   called-PTCP   have.1SG-AUX   called-PTCP-her.ACC-CL
'I called her.'

(16) a. **O**   **aud.**   b. **O-aud.**
      her.ACC-CL   hear.1SG   her.ACC-CL-hear.1SG
'I hear her.'

A summary of the distribution of the relevant pre- and post-verbal clitcs, relative to the

Romanian lexical verb, is given in Table 2 (with clitics given in bold):

by *-o*, turning it into a glide. This is also the view that Rîpeanu Reinheimer, Tasmonowski, and Vasilescu (2013) adopt.
(i) **Cere-o**
ask.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL
Ask (for) it/her.   (**Romanian**)

The host undergoing some type of weakening is not only found with enclitics. Cases like (ii) show that the host can undergo weakening with 3fsg as a proclitic, where the initial vowel --ə- undergoes deletion.
(ii) a. **O**   **întorc**.   b. **O-ntorc.**
her.ACC-CL   return.1SG   her.ACC-CL-return.1SG
'I'm returning it.'   (**Romanian**)

		PROCLITIC[44]	**ENCLITIC**
Clitic Weakening	obligatory		trimite-**l/o** send.2SG-IMP-him/her.ACC-CL am cântat-**o** have.1SG-AUX sung-PTCP-her.ACC-CL as cânta-**o** would.1SG sung-PTCP-her.ACC-CL
	optional	**o / îl** aduc her/him.ACC-CL bring.1SG	
Full Form		**o** / **îl** văd her/him.ACC-CL see.1SG	

Table 2: *Distribution of pronominal clitics in Romanian relative to lexical verbs*

Which form of the clitic is used in Romanian is morphophonologically conditioned, the details which do not matter for current purposes. Therefore, I will not go into details regarding the phonological integration of the clitic and its host here. What will be important for us is that, as mentioned, V-adjunction is taken to indicate the presence of syntactic incorporation.

I now turn to Romanian pronominal clitics in CS.

5.2.2. Romanian Pronominal Clitics in CS

Considering that Romanian pronominal clitics incorporate syntactically into the verb, several issues arise when they are found in CS. To begin with, recall that the verb can be either Romanian or Serbian in CS constructions. This was demonstrated with examples like (17) and the following generalization in (18) which emerged in the previous chapters:

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44 Obligatory clitic weakening of proclitics is only observed with auxiliary verbs.

(17) **Am**   **trecut** / *položila*   *ispit*-**ul.**
      have.1SG-AUX   passed-PTCP / passed.F.SG-PTCP   exam-the.M.SG
'I passed the exam.   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(18) *In CS, both Romanian and Serbian verbs are allowed.*

Recall that Romanian pronouns are D elements and Serbian pronouns are N elements. Runić (2014) argues that this distinction extends to clitics, whereby Romanian pronominal clitics are D elements, and Serbian ones are N elements. Examples like (17) then indicate that Serbian verbs can take DP complements in CS. Still, although Serbian verbs *can* take DP arguments in CS, they cannot host Romanian clitics. Instead, only Romanian elements can host Romanian clitics, even in CS. This is shown by the contrasts in (19) and (20), where Romanian pronominal clitics occurring with Serbian verbs in (19b) and (20b) results in ungrammaticality.

(19) a. **Am**   **adus-o**.
         have.1SG-AUX   brought-PTCP-her.ACC-CL
      'I brought it/her.'   (**Romanian**)

      b. *****Am**   *donela*-**o**.
         have.1SG-AUX   brought.F.SG-PTCP-her.ACC-CL
      'I brought it/her.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(20) a. **L-aduc.**   b. *****L-***donosim.*
         him-it.ACC-CL-bring.1SG   him/it.ACC-CL-bring.1SG
      'I am bringing it-him.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

In fact, as illustrated by another contrast in (21), even when the clitic does not undergo clitic-weakening, it cannot be hosted by a Serbian verb.

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(21) a. **Îl**   **aduc.**   b. *****Îl**   *donosim.*
      him/it.ACC-CL   bring.1SG   him/it.ACC-CL   bring.1SG
'I am bringing it-him.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Also relevant are cases like (22). They are acceptable; however, notice that the clitic is not

hosted by the Serbian verb, but by the Romanian auxiliary:

(22) a. **L-am**   **čitala**.
      him/it.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   read.F.SG-PTCP
'I read it.   (**Romanian**)

      b. **I-am**   **pevala.**
      him/her.DAT-CL-have.1SG-AUX   sang.F.SG-PTCP
'I sang to him-her.'   (**Romanian**)

This leads to another generalization in (23):

(23) *In CS, Serbian verbs cannot host Romanian pronominal clitics; instead, only Romanian*

verbs-Infl can host Romanian pronominal clitics.

One issue to account for here concerns the fact that Serbian and Romanian clitics generally

occur in different surface order. However, this is not always the case. Thus, in the imperative

examples in (24) and

(25), they do occur in the same word order:

(24) a. *Pozovi*   *ga.*   b. *Pozovi*   *je*.
      call.2SG-IMP   him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP   her.ACC-CL
'Call him.'   'Call her.'   (*Serbian*)

(25) a. **Sună-l**   b. **Sun-o**
      call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL
'Call him.'   'Call her.'   (**Romanian**)

Still, even in these cases, the Serbian verb cannot host the Romanian clitic, as in (26):

(26)   a. *Pozovi-**l**   b. *Pozovi-**o**
            call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL
'Call him-her.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

A question also arises whether purely phonological factors could be relevant here. In this respect, let's take a look at another set of examples in (27). In (27a), the Serbian 3MSG clitic *ga* follows the verb 'freeze', and the Romanian counterpart *-l* follows the Romanian verb 'freeze' in (27b). Interestingly, when the Romanian 3MSG clitic attempts to enclitizice onto the Serbian verb in (27c), the construction is ungrammatical.

(27)   a. *Zaledi*   *ga.*   b. **Îngheaţă-l**
            freeze.2SG-IMP   him/it.ACC-CL   freeze.2SG-IMP-him/it.ACC-CL

            c. *Zaledi-**l**
            freeze.2SG-IMP-him/it.ACC-CL
'Freeze it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

However, let's observe the examples in (28). (28a) and (28b) represent a Serbian and Romanian example respectively, with the 3FSG clitic in the corresponding language following the verb 'freeze' in each example. Not surprisingly, like in (27c) above, when the Serbian verb attempts to host the Romanian clitic in (28c), the construction in ungrammatical.

(28)   a. *Zaledi*   *je*   b. **Îngheaţ-o**
            freeze.2SG-IMP   her.ACC-CL   freeze.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL

            c. *Zaledi-**o**
            freeze.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL
'Freeze her.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Interestingly, the attempted CS form from (28c) is phonologically identical to the 3FSG past

participle of the Serbian verb *freeze*, given in isolation in (29a) and in a sentence in (29b). In (29c),

it is given in a CS example.

(29) a. *zaledio*
  frozen.M.SG-PTCP

  b. *Zaledio*   *se*   *pakao.*
  frozen.M.SG-PTCP REFL-CL hell.M
'Hell has frozen.'   (*Serbian*)

  c. **S-o**   *zaledio*   **lac-ul.**
  REFL-has-AUX frozen.M.SG-PTCP lake-the.M.SG
'The lake has frozen (itself).'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Cases like this are revealing because they suggest that we are not dealing here with purely

phonological incompatibility between the elements from the two participating languages, i.e. there

is no phonological constraint that would be blocking this set of sounds in this particular case. What

is more, the form from (29a) used in CS as the feminine participle form of the verb 'freeze' in

(29c) is grammatical.[45]

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[45] Such cases are not exceptional. Below, the clitic and the verb cluster from (i) pattern just like *zaledio* from above; in (ia), the object clitic *l-* encliticizes onto a Romanian lexical verb in an optional clitic-weakening context. Not surprisingly, in (iib), when the Serbian verb acts as the syntactic host for the Romanian pronominal clitic, the structure is ungrammatical:
(i) a. **L-învaţă**.   b. *****L-*uči*.
   him.ACC-CL-teaches   him.ACC-CL-teaches
'(S)he teaches him-it.   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)
  Here, just like it was the case with *zaledio*, *luči* has an independent meaning in Serbian, which can be translated as 'produce' or 'secrete (hormones).' This is illustrated in (iia) with *luči* used in a Serbian sentence and in (iib) in CS. As illustrated, when *luči* is used as a participle, it is acceptable in CS.
(ii) a. *Ovaj*   *hormon*   *se*   *luči*   *u* *toku* *trudnoće.*
   this.M.SG   hormone.M REFL-CL produces in duration pregnancy
'This hormone is produced during pregnancy.   (**Romanian**)
   b. **Hormon-ul**   **să**   *luči*.
   hormone-the.M.SG REFL produces
'This hormone is (being) produced.'   (*Serbian*)

Based on this, it can be assumed that the reason why Serbian verbs cannot host Romanian pronominal clitics is syntactic in nature, given that even phonologically compatible cases are not permitted. However, within the syntactic reasons, recall that there are many cases where Serbian verbs can take DP arguments. Therefore, the categorial selection can then be eliminated as a factor here.

What seems to matter is here is that, as discussed, pronominal clitics and the verb form an X_0 constituent in Romanian (Bredermeier 1976; Kok 1985, 1989; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; i.a.). This is, in fact, the reason for their inseparability. Taking this to mean that Romanian pronominal clitics must incorporate, the Romanian clitic must undergo incorporation into the Serbian verb in order to be hosted by it in CS. This, however, raises an obstacle specifically related to CS. Recall the constraint on CS formalized by Bandi-Rao and den Dikken (2014) from Chapter 2, repeated here as (30) (CS within phonological units is otherwise allowed):

(30)   *Code switching within phonological words that are morphosyntactic heads (X_0s) is illicit.*
(Bandi-Rao & den Dikken, 2014)

In other words, 'word-internal' CS can occur between elements from two languages, as long as they form a phonological, but not a syntactic head (i.e. if they do not involve a head-adjunstion structure).[46] As there is independent evidence from Romanian that clitics incorporate syntactically into the verb, I take the constraint from (30) to hold here. Namely, in order for derivations like (28c), repeated here as (31), to converge, the Romanian clitic must form a *syntactic*

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[46] Recall that the word-internal CS including a Serbian noun+**(u)l** combination is allowed, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, this did not violate the constraint from above since the noun and **-(u)l** are merged through Affix Hopping, which is a phonological process. They are not located in the same head position in the syntax here; they are in fact separated in the syntax.

unit with the Serbian verb via incorporation, which, according to the constraint from (30), cannot be done in CS:

(31)   a. **Zaledi*-**o**
        freeze.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL
'Freeze her/it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. ****L**-*uči*
        him.ACC-CL-teach.2SG-IMP
'Teach him.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Furthermore, recall also that Serbian verbs cannot host Romanian clitics, regardless of whether they occur in a clitic weakening context or not. Contexts involving clitic weakening and those that do not involve clitic weakening can be taken to reflect different ways of phonological interaction between the clitic and the host, which may have a reflex in the prosodic structure itself (Talić, 2019). This is apparently not relevant here. What is relevant is that both cases are the same in the syntax - the clitic incorporates into the verb; hence, they are both excluded in the relevant CS cases. I, therefore, conclude that the generalization in (23), repeated here as (32), follows from (30):

(32)   *In CS, Serbian verbs cannot host Romanian pronominal clitics, instead, only Romanian verbs-Infl can host Romanian pronominal clitics.*

Now that the distribution of pronominal clitics in CS has been determined, the next section will focus on Romanian auxiliary clitics in CS.

5.3.3. Romanian Auxiliary Clitics in CS

Romanian auxiliaries, like Romanian pronominal clitics, cluster around the verb. More specifically, they generally precede the lexical verb, as illustrated in (33):47

(33)   a. **(Eu)**   **am**   **plecat**.
          I   have.1SG-AUX   left-PTCP
'I left.'
         b. **(Eu)**   **voi**   **pleca**.
          I   will.1SG-AUX leave
 'I will leave.'   **(Romanian)**

However, as opposed to pronominal clitics which incorporate syntactically into the verb, auxiliaries do not incorporate. Instead, they are considered to be located in a separate phrase from the verb (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). As for their distribution, they can occur sentence-initially (given that Romanian is a pro-drop language), and they agree in person and number with the subject.

For current purposes, I will only discuss the 'perfect simple' tense with the representative examples in

(34), which include the auxiliary 'have' and the participle of the lexical verb. As can be seen, the auxiliary can occur sentence-initially or following the subject which it agrees with in person and number; it always precedes the lexical verb. Regarding this particular participial form in Romanian, there is no subject-verb agreement.48

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47 There are a small number of constructions where the auxiliary may follow the lexical verb, clustering with the pronominal clitic, such as (i) below.
(i) **mânca-l-aș**
eat-it-him.ACC-CL-would.1SG
'May I eat it.'   **(Romanian)**
I will not concern myself with these constructions here since they do not occur in CS. I refer the reader to Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Bošković (2001), and Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea (2013) for analysis and discussion.
48 As opposed to the participial form in question, passives do agree in gender and number with the subject, as given in (i):
(i)   a. **Ea**   **a**   **fost**   **îmbrățișată**.   b. **Ei**   **au**   **fost**   **imbrățișați**.
             she   has   been   hugged.F.SG-PTCP   they.M have.3PL-AUX been   hugged.M.PL-PTCP
'She was hugged.'   'They were hugged.'   **(Romanian)**

(34) a. **(Eu)**   **Am**   **luat**   **examen-ul**   .
         I   have.1SG-AUX   passed-PTCP   exam-the.M.SG
'I passed the exam.'

      b. **(Tu)**   **Ai**   **cemat**   **taxi?**
         you   have.2SG-AUX   called-PTCP   taxi
'Did you call a taxi?'

      c. **(Ei-Ele)**   **Or**   **împrumutat**   **bani.**
         they.M/they.F have.3SG-AUX   borrowed-PTCP   money.M
'They borrowed money.'   (**Romanian**)

Recall that in addition to being hosted by the lexical verb, Romanian pronominal clitics can also be hosted by auxiliary verbs, as shown in (35):

(35) a. **L-a**   **sunat**   b. **A**   **sunat-o.**
         him.ACC-CL-has-AUX   called   has-AUX   called-her.ACC-CL
'(S)he called him.   '(S)he called her.   (**Romanian**)

When it comes to CS contexts, recall that although both Romanian and Serbian verbs are allowed in CS, Romanian pronominal clitics can only be hosted by Romanian verbs; Serbian verbs as clitic hosts leads to ungrammaticality. This was illustrated in (25) and (26), repeated here as (36), (37), and (38):

(36) a. **Sună-l**   b. **Sun-o**
         call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL
'Call her-him-it.'   (**Romanian**)

(37) a. *Pozovi*-**l**   c. *Pozovi*-**o**
         call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP-her.ACC-CL
'Call her-him-it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(38) a. *****Îl**   *slušam*   b. **Îl**   **aud**
         him.ACC-CL   listen.1SG   him.ACC-CL   listen.1SG
'I hear him/it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Importantly, in contrast to Romanian pronominal clitics, Romanian auxiliaries can be combined with Serbian participles, as illustrated in (39) (note that Serbian participles agree in number and gender with the subject):

(39)   a. **Am**   *položila*   *ispit*-**ul**.
           have.1SG-AUX   passed.F.SG-PTCP   exam-the.M.SG
'I passed the exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. **Ai**   *zvala*   taxi**?**
           have.2SG-AUX   called.F.SG-PTCP   taxi
'Did you call a taxi?'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        c. **Or**   *pozajmilili*   **bani.**
           have.3PL-AUX   borrowed.M.PL-PTCP   money.M
'They borrowed money.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

In addition, like with pronominal clitics, there are environments where Romanian and Serbian auxiliary clitics have the same distributions in the individual languages. For example, in (40) and (41), while Serbian auxiliary clitics cannot occur sentence-initially (Serbian clitics being second-position clitics), when the pronoun is present, the word order is identical in both languages:

(40)   a. **(Eu)**   **Am**   **luat**   **examen-ul.**   .
           I   have.1SG-AUX   passed-PTCP   exam-the.M.SG   (**Romanian**)

        b. **(Ja)*   *sam*   *položila*   *ispit.*
           I   am-AUX   passed.F.SG-PTCP   exam.M   (*Serbian*)
'I passed the exam.'

(41)   a. **(Ei-Ele)**   **Or**   **împrumutat**   **bani.**
           they.m.f   have.3PL-AUX   borrowed-PTCP   money.M   (**Romanian**)

    b.   **(Oni-one)*   *su*   *pozajmili*   *novac.*
           they.m.f   are.3PL-AUX   borrowed.M.PL-PTCP   money.M   (*Serbian*)
'They borrowed money.'

The relevant generalization concerning auxiliary clitics is given in (42):

(42)   *In CS, Romanian auxiliary clitics can occur with both Romanian and Serbian lexical verbs.*

Given that both pronominal and auxiliary clitics are verbal clitics in Romanian, the question is why auxiliary, but not pronominal clitics are allowed in CS.

Recall now that while both Romanian pronominal and auxiliary clitics are phonologically hosted by the verb, pronominal clitics also incorporate syntactically into the verb, while auxiliary clitics are only phonologically dependent on the verb.

With respect to the syntactic properties, Romanian auxiliaries are considered to be located in a separate phrase from the verb (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). This makes the Bandi-Rao and den Dikken (2014) approach, which cans CS within phonological words only if they are morphosyntactic heads, i.e., X_0s. What is important here is that the verb is only a phonological host for the Romanian auxiliaries, while it acts as both the syntactic and the phonological host for the pronominal clitics.

In Section 5.2., I have argued that Romanian pronominal clitics were disallowed with the Serbian verbs due to the inability of the Romanian pronominal clitic and the Serbian verb to form a syntactic unit in CS (i.e. X_0). Based on the above discussion, it follows that Romanian auxiliaries do not encounter this problem because they only form phonological and not a syntactic head with the verb. The contrast between the possibility of Romanian pronominal and auxiliary clitics occurring with Serbian verb thus follows from (42) above.

In the next section, I will explore what happens with Romanian clitic clusters in CS.

5.3.4. Romanian Clitic Clusters in CS

Apart from pronominal and auxiliary clitics occurring individually with a lexical verb, Romanian also has clitic clusters that include pronominal, auxiliary, and several other clitics (i.e., negation and adverbs) that are not relevant here. After discussing the distribution of Romanian pronominal and auxiliary clitics in isolation and in CS individually, the following generalizations emerged in (23) and (42), repeated here as (43) and (44):

(43)   *In CS, Serbian verbs cannot host Romanian pronominal clitics, instead, only Romanian verbs can host Romanian pronominal clitics.*

(44)   *In CS, Romanian auxiliary clitics can occur with both Romanian and Serbian lexical verbs.*

Taking this into consideration, let's observe what happens in contexts where the clitics cluster. Recall that both pronominal and auxiliary clitics in Romanian are verbal clitics, which means that both are phonologically hosted by the lexical verb. Syntactically, however, only pronominal clitics incorporate into the verb, while auxiliaries do not. As discussed above, precisely this difference is responsible for the different distribution in CS environments; pronominal clitics not being able to be combined with a Serbian verb, while the auxiliaries are able to.

Now, recall that pronominal clitics may be hosted by auxiliary or lexical verbs, as shown in (45) (by hosting, I simply mean that the pronominal clitic can precede these elements):

(45)   a. **L-am**   **auzit.**
            him.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   heard-PTCP
        'I heard him.'

b. **L-aud**
him.ACC-CL-hear.1SG
'I hear him/it.'   (**Romanian**)

Note first that the clitic cannot incorporate into the main verb (45a), given the above

discussion. I assume that the clitic incorporates into the finite verb in (45b) . In fact, this could be

the case of head.movement to Infl, with the finite verb located in Infl.

As discussed above, 3FSG object clitic -*o* is exceptional in that even in the context with an

auxiliary, it incorporates into the main verb, as in (46):

(46)   a. **Am   sunat-o**.
         have.1SG-AUX called-PTCP-her.ACC-CL
'I called her.'   (**Romanian**)

Furthermore, recall that cases like (46) are not allowed in CS environments if the syntactic
host is a Serbian verb, as in (47).

(47)   a. ***Am**   *zvala*-**o**.   b. ***O**   *zovem*.
         have.1SG-AUX   called.F.SG-PTCP-her.ACC-CL   her.ACC-CL   call.1SG
'I called her.'   'I'm calling her.'
                                                                          (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Interestingly, Romanian pronominal clitics are not completely disallowed in CS. As noted

above, there are context in which the pronominal clitics are hosted by the auxiliary verb in

Romanian. It turns out that even when a Serbian verb is present in such a case, due to the inability

of Romanian auxiliaries to occur with a Serian verb, Romanian pronominal clitics are also allowed,

as long as they are hosted by a Romanian auxiliary verb. As a result, cases like (47) with the verb

in Serbian as in (48) are allowed, since the Romanian clitic here is incorporated into the Romanian

auxiliary, not the Serbian verb. In fact, instances like these are very productive, as illustrated by

(48).

(48) a. **L-am** *nazvala.*
        him.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   heard.F.SG-PTCP
'I called him.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. **L-or** *polo*žili.
         it.ACC-CL-have.3PL-AUX   passed.M.PL-PTCP
'They passed it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The fact that Romanian pronominal clitics are not always banned in CS that includes a Serbian lexical verb further confirms that Serbian verbs can indeed take DP complements. The unacceptable cases of this sort were explained independently by a constraint on CS, which disallows CS within a syntactic X_0 constituent.

5.3.5. Interim Summary: Romanian Clitics

In the previous sections, I have examined Romanian pronominal and auxiliary clitics and their distributional asymmetry when it comes to their occurrence with Serbian verbs in CS. Namely, Serbian verbs are unable to combine with Romanian pronominal clitics, but they can combine with Romanian auxiliary clitics. The key difference that accounted for this asymmetry concerned the syntactic properties of pronominal and auxiliary clitics. Namely, while pronominal clitics incorporate syntactically into the verb, auxiliaries are located in separate phrases, depending on the lexical verb only for phonological reasons. According to Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) constraint that bans CS between two elements within X_0, I argued that Romanian pronominal clitics are not allowed with Serbian verbs in CS due to their requirement to incorporate syntactically into the verb. In contrast, Romanian auxiliaries, not being subject to syntactic incorporation, are allowed to mix with a Serbian verb. Finally, the fact that Romanian pronominal clitics that precede a Romanian auxiliary can occur in CS with a Serbian main verb strengthens

the claim that elements from two different languages may form phonological but not syntactic units since in such cases the pronominal clitics incorporate into the auxiliary clitics.

In the following Section, Serbian pronominal and auxiliary clitics will be examined to illustrate how they fair in CS.

5.3. SERBIAN CLITICS

Serbian pronominal and auxiliary clitcs are second position (2P) clitics. As discussed in Bošković (2001) (see also Radanović -Kocić (1996)), this means that the they occur in the second position of their Intonational phrase (I-phrase) (which often, but not always, corresponds to their clause).49 They are enclitics; they can encliticize to any element as long as this is the initial element of the I-phrase. I illustrate this in (49). For ease of exposition, clitics are underlined in the relevant fully Serbian examples from (49)-(50) below.

(49)   a. *Mi   mu   se   predstavljamo.*
       we   him.DAT-CL   REFL-CL   introduce.1PL
'We are introducing ourselves to him.'

       b. *Zašto   mu   se   Milan predstavlja.*
       why   him.DAT-CL   REFL-CL   Milan introduces
'Why is Milan introducing himself to him.'

       c. *Ona   tvrdi da   mu   se   Milan predstavlja.*
       she   claims that him.DAT-CL   REFL-CL   Milan introduces
'She claims that Milan introduces himself to him.'
       d. *Zašto   je   otišao?*
       why   is-AUX   left.M.SG
'Why did he leave?'   (*Serbian*)

49 There is a proposed hierarchical theory of the prosodic structure which has the following levels: prosodic (phonological) word, phonological phrase, intonational phrase (I-phrase), and utterances (Nespor & Vogel (1982, 1986), Selkirk (1986), and Hayes (1986), a.o.). Following this standard assumption, I assume that each clause can be mapped to one I-phrase, unless it is interrupted by another element that can form its own intonational domain.

Both pronominal and auxiliary clitics are subject to the 2P requirement in Serbian. However, since they differ in certain syntactic respects, I will discuss them separately, starting with pronominal clitics.

5.3.1. Serbian Pronominal Clitics in CS

What is important for us is that Serbian pronominal clitics do not undergo incorporation with the verb. Anything can either precede or follow Serbian pronominal clitics, as long they are second in their I-phrase. In fact, the clitics themselves can be separated, as in the ellipsis examples in (50) (see Bošković 2001 for a case where the pronominal clitics both surface but are not adjacent):

(50) *?Mi* *smo* *mu* *ga* *dali,* *a* *i*
   we are.1PL-AUX him.DAT-CL it.ACC-CL given.M.PL-PTCP and also

   vi *ste* *mu* *ga* *dali* *(takodje).*
   you are-2PL.AUX him.DAT-CL it.ACC-CL given.M.PL-PTCP too
'We have given it to him, and so have you.'   (*Serbian*)
                       (Bošković 2001)

As mentioned, while there are distributional differences between Romanian and Serbian pronominal clitics, there are contexts where the word order in examples involving clitics overlaps between the two languages. This is illustrated in (53) for post-verbal and in (52) for pre-verbal positions of Romanian and Serbian clitics in their input language.

(51) a. *Nazovi*   *ga*!   b. **Sună-l!**
    call.2SG-IMP   him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL
'Call him!'   (*Serbian*)

(52) a. *Ona*   *ga*   *gleda.*
    she   him.ACC-CL watches   (*Serbian*)

b. **Ea îl** **privește**
she him.ACC-CL watches
'She is watching him.' (**Romanian**)

However, when it comes to CS, Serbian pronominal clitics are not allowed to be hosted by

a Romanian element, as shown in (53):

(53) a. ***Prietena** **mea** *ga* **sună.**
friend.SG my.F.SG him.ACC-CL calls

b. *Sună *ga* (**prietena** **mea).**[50]
calls him.ACC-CL friend.F my.F.SG
'My friend is calling him.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Even when the verb is Serbian, as in (54), Romanian elements cannot act as phonological

hosts for Serbian pronominal clitics:

(54) ***Prietena** **mea** *ga* *zove.*
friend.F my.F.SG him.ACC-CL calls
'My friend is calling him.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

One possibility might be that, as 2P clitics, Serbian pronominal clitics may need a Serbian

phonological host preceding them. Interestingly, even when the host is Serbian, as in (55a), or

when the clitic is linearly adjacent to Serbian elements, as in (55b) clitics are still not allowed:

(55) a. *Moja* *drugarica* *ga* **des** **sună.**
friend.F.SG my.F him.ACC-C often calls

b. *Moja* *drugarica* *ga* *često* **sună.**
friend.F.SG my.F him.ACC-CL often calls
'My friend calls him often. (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

[50] Note that both languages allow postverbal subjects and pro-drop.

In fact, only when both the host and the verb are Serbian, as in (56), the structure is grammatical.

(56)   a. **I-am**   **spus** **că** *moj*   *prijatelj*
        him-her.DAT-CL-have.1SG-AUX   told   that   my.M.SG   friend.M
        ga   *stalno*   *zove*
        him.ACC-CL   often   calls
'I told him-her that my friend calls him often.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

     b. *Moj*   *drug*   *mu*   *donosi*   **pocărăi.**
        my.M.SG   friend.M   him.DAT-CL   bring.3SG   cookies.F
'My friend brings him cookies.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Therefore, the generalization in (57) emerges:

(57)   *In CS, Serbian pronominal clitics are allowed only if the verb and the host are Serbian. Moreover, the verb must be Serbian even when it is not the host. In all other cases, Serbian pronominal clitics are not permitted.*

The question arises why (57) holds. The host alone cannot be the issue since even when the host is Serbian, as in (55), the sentence is still bad. On the other hand, Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) constraint on CS below a X_0 constituent can also not be the reason since the Serbian pronominal clitics do not incorporate syntactically with the verb. In addition, recall that Serbian subjects (i.e., NPs) and Romanian verbs can be combined, as shown in the previous Chapters and in (58a), so the issue has to be specific to internal arguments.

(58)   *Moja*   *drugarica*   **doarme.**
      my.F.SG   drugarica.F.SG   sleeps
'My friend is sleeping.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

In Chapter 6, we will see that these is an independent issue concerning case that disallows Serbian pronominal clitics co-occurring with a Romanian verb. I will therefore leave this issue aside for now, and revisit it in Chapter 6.

In the next section, I will explore the distribution of Serbian auxiliaries in CS.

5.3.2. Serbian Auxiliary Clitics in CS

As discussed above, Serbian auxiliaries are also second-position clitics. Like Serbian pronominal clitics, they must occupy the second position in their clause, but there is no requirement on what kind of element precedes them, as illustrated in (59):

(59)   a. *Moja   drugarica   je   zaspala.*
          my.F.SG   friend.F   is-AUX   fallen-asleep.F.SG-PTCP
‘My friend fell asleep.’

          b. *Zaspala   je.*
          fell-asleep.F.SG-PTCP   is-AUX
‘She fell asleep.’

          c. *Zašto   je   juče   zaspala?*
          why   is-AUX   yesterday   fell-asleep.F.SG-PTCP
‘Why did she fall asleep yesterday.’   (*Serbian*)

Turning now to CS, like Serbian pronominal clitics, Serbian auxiliaries are not allowed with Romanian verbs. This is shown in (60), with the following contexts: In (60a), the auxiliary clitic is the only Serbian element in the structure. Next, in (60b), in addition to the auxiliary, the subject (i.e., the phonological host of the clitic) is also Serbian. Finally, in (60c), the auxiliary and the verb are both Serbian. In all these cases, the constructions are ungrammatical:

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(60) a. ***Prieten-ul**   **meu**   *je*   **adus**   **pocărăi**.
      friend-the.M.SG   my.M.SG   is-AUX   brought-PTCP   cookies.F

      b. **Moj*   *drug*   *je*   **adus**   **pocărăi**.
      my.M.SG   friend-the.M   is-AUX   brought-PTCP   cookies.F

      c. **Prieten-ul**   **meu**   *je*   *doneo*   **pocărăi**.
      friend-the.M.SG   my.M.SG   is-AUX   brought.M.SG-PTCP   cookies.F
'My friend brought cookies.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

In fact, like Serbian pronominal clitics, Serbian auxiliaries are only allowed if both the host

and the verb are Serbian, as in (61):

(61) a. *Moj*   *drug*   *je*   *doneo*   **pocărăi.**
      my.M.SG   friend-the.M.SG   is-AUX   brought.M.SG-PTCP   cookies.F
'My friend brought cookies.'

      b. **I-am**   **spus** **că**   *zvao*   *je*   *moj*
      him-her.DAT-CL-have.1SG-AUX   told   that   called.M.SG-PTCP   is-AUX   my.M.SG

      drug.
      friend.M
'I told him-her that my friend called.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Therefore, the following generalization emerges:

(62)   *In CS, Serbian auxiliaries are only allowed if the host and the verb are Serbian. In all other*

cases, Serbian auxiliaries are not permitted.

Before getting into an explanation of (62), it should be noted that, as I will argue in the

next Chapter, Serbian pronominal clitics are not allowed with Romanian verbs due to an

independent case issue, which is not applicable to auxiliaries. I will therefore put pronominal

clitics, i.e. (57) aside, focusing on (62), i.e., on the question of why Serbian auxiliary clitics are not allowed with Romanian verbs in CS.

To answer this question, the syntactic properties of Serbian auxiliary clitics need to be taken into consideration here. What is relevant here is that Bošković (1997, 2001) argues that the Serbian auxiliary clitic and the verb form a complex head. In particular, he argues that in (63a), the participle head-adjoins to Aux. After the incorporation, the auxiliary can optionally excorporate, which happens in (63b):

(63)　　a. *Zaspao*　　　　　　*je.*
　　　　　fell-asleep.M.SG-PTCP　　is-AUX
'He fell asleep.'

　　　　b. *On　je　　　　nesmetano　zaspao.*
　　　　　he　is-AUX　　unhindered　fell-asleep.M.SG-PTCP
'He fell asleep unhindered.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Serbian*)

Given this and the Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) ban on CS below X_0, I suggest that Serbian auxiliaries cannot occur with Romanian verbs because incorporation of the Serbian auxiliary with the Romanian verb would be required, which violates this constraint. We would have to have CS within a complex head, which is not possible. Note that although excorporation can follow the incorporation in question, what is relevant is that the complex head is formed at some point, which would include incompatible elements (i.e., a Serbian auxiliary clitic and a Romanian lexical verb).

While this explains why Serbian auxiliaries can only occur with Serbian verbs, it is not completely clear why the phonological host also needs to be Serbian. Recall that this is also the situation with Serbian pronominal clitics (i.e., Serbian pronominal clitics can also only occur with a Serbian host). Given that there are no syntactic reasons for this, I assume that it has to do

something with the second-position effect. Namely, it might be the case that the clitic has certain phonological properties which require a Serbian host to be realized. One possibility is the following. As discussed in Bošković (1997, 2001), Serbian clitics must be second in their I-phrase. One way to look at it is that Serbian clitics must be adjacent to an I-phrase boundary. But since they are enclitics, they also must have a host in front of them. It is possible that they project their I-phrase boundary adjacency requirement onto their host then, and that this kind of percolation of a phonological requirement is possible also only if the host is also Serbian. At any rate, these potential phonological incompatibilities between the Serbian (auxiliary) clitics and Romanian hosts will be left for future research.

Finally, although the reasons behind the distribution of pronominal and auxiliary clitics are different (see Chapter 6 regarding pronominal clitics), the two generalizations from (57) and (62), repeated here as (64) and (65) can be merged into one, as in (66):

(64)   *In CS, Serbian pronominal clitics are allowed only if the verb and the host are Serbian. Moreover, the verb must be Serbian even when it is not the host. In all other cases, Serbian pronominal clitics are not permitted.*

(65)   *In CS, Serbian auxiliaries are only allowed if the host and the verb are Serbian. In all other cases, Serbian auxiliaries are not permitted.*

(66)   *In CS, Serbian clitics are only permitted if the host and the verb are Serbian. In all other cases, Serbian clitics are not permitted in CS.*

It should be noted that the state of affairs discussed above also holds with clitic clusters (i.e., including Serbian pronominal and auxiliary clitics). This is shown below:

(67) a. *On   *ga*   *je*   **trecut.**
      he   it.ACC-CL   is-AUX   passed-PTCP
'He passed it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      g. ***Prietenul**   **meu**   *ga*   *je*   *položio***.**
         friend-the.M.SG   my.M.SG   it.ACC-CL   is-AUX   passed.M.SG-PTCP
'My friend passed it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Finally, considering the entire discussion from this Chapter, it is not surprising that there can be no CS within a clitic cluster, as shown by the ungrammatical examples in (68):

(68) a. *Položio*   *ga*   *je.*
         passed.M.SG-PTCP it.ACC-CL   is-AUX

      b. *Položio*   *ga*   **o**.
         passed.M.SG-PTCP it.ACC-CL   has-AUX

      c. *Položio*   **îl**   *je.*
         passed.M.SG-PTCP it.ACC-CL   is-AUX
'He passed it.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

5.4. CS CONSTRAINTS: WORD-INTERNAL CS AND EQUIVALENCE CONSTRAINT

In Section X of Chapter 2, I discussed two word-internal CS constraints and how they fare with respect to the Romanian-Serbian CS data: the *Free Morpheme Constraint* (Poplack 1980) and *The PF Disjunction* Theorem (MacSwan 1997). The former is repeated in (69):.

(69)   *Free Morpheme Constraint: a switch may occur at any point in the discourse at which it is possible to make a surface constituent cut and still retain a free morpheme.*

(Poplack 1980)

Both constraints ban word-internal switches, and, as I discussed in Chapter 2, they face problems with data involving Serbian nouns and Romanian definite articles. The representative example of such switches from Chapter 2 are given in (70):

(70)   a. *ispit*-**ul**   b. *ranac*-**ul**   c. *sličice*-**le**
       exam-the.M.SG   backpack-the.M.SG   stickers-the.F.PL

In Chapter 2, I showed that cases like (70) are compatible with Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) constraint that allows CS within phonological, but not syntactic heads. ince the noun and the definite article in the constructions from (70) form a word through a phonological, not a syntactic process.[51]

The data in this Chapter also warrant a discussion regarding the proposed CS constraints. Specifically, while the constructions in (71) and (72) involving Romanian pronominal clitics and Serbian auxiliary clitics and Serbian and Romanian verbs respectively are not permitted, it is not impossible for these elements to co-occur in other CS constructions. Recall that I have argued that the reason for the CS impossibilities in (72) and (73) is that in both cases, the clitics require syntactic incorporation with the verb, which is consistent with Bandi-Rao & den Dikken's approach.

(71)   a. *zaledi-**o**   b. ***l**-*uči*
       freeze.2SG-IMP-her/it.ACC-CL   him-it.ACC-CL-teach.2SG-IMP
'Freeze it/her.'   'Teach him.   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

[51] I will not repeat the details of the article cliticization here, as they can be found in Section X, Chapter 2.

(72) *Moj   drug   je   **adus**   **pocărăi**.
      my.M.SG   friend.M.SG is-AUX   brought-PTCP   cookies.F
‘My friend brought cookies.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

In contrast, the derivation is not blocked in cases like (74), where elements from two

different languages still form a phonological unit, but not a syntactic one:

 (73) **L-am**   *nazvala.*
       him.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   called.F.SG-PTCP
‘I called him.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Furthermore, that this is not a phonological incompatibility was shown by the examples

from (74) and (75) below. Namely, the resulting CS combination between Romanian pronominal

clitics and Serbian verbs from (71), repeated here as (74), are identical to the related verbal past

participles in Serbian. This is illustrated (75a), and (75b). However, while the CS variants from

(74) are not permitted, when the same word is used as the past participle in (75), the examples are

grammatical.[52]

(74)   a. *zaledi-**o**   b. ***l**-*uči*
        freeze.2SG-IMP-her/it.ACC-CL   him/it.ACC-CL-teach.2SG-IMP
‘Freeze it.’   ‘Teach him.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(75)   a. **S-o**   *zaledio*   **lac-ul**
        REFL-CL-has.3SG-AUX   frozen.M.SG-PTCP lake-the.M.SG
 ‘The lake has frozen (itself).’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

        b. **Hormon-ul**   **să**   *luči*.
        hormone-the.M.SG   REFL-CL   produces
‘This hormone is being produced.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

[52] One may argue that this phonological similarity can be the reason for the inability to CS. I argue, however, that
although of these incidental cases exist, not all cases involving a Serbian participle and a CS verb-clitic construction
are homophonous.

At any rate, a constraint like Poplack's (69) and MacSwan's PF Disjunction Theorem cannot distinguish cases like those in (71) and (73), while Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's approach can do that.

Another proposal that is relevant is Poplack's (1980) suggestion that CS tends to occur at points around which the relevant languages have the same word order. The Romanian-Serbian CS data, however, do not fit this. Thus, many cases with with identical word order are not permitted, as in (76). Here, although pronominal clitics in both languages have the same post-verbal position, the switches are not allowed, showing that having the same word order between the two languages is not sufficient for a switch to occur.

(76)   a. **Sună-l.**   b. *Zovi*   *ga.*
            call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP   him.ACC-CL

           c. **Zovi*-**l**   d. *****Sună**   *ga.*
            call.2SG-IMP-him.ACC-CL   call.2SG-IMP   him.ACC-CL
'Call him.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

We have also seen many cases where the switch is allowed when the two languages independently do not have the same word order. This is the case in (77):

(77)   a. **L-am**   **văzut.**   b. *Videla*   *sam*   *ga.*
            him.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   seen-PTCP   seen.F.SG-PTCP   am-AUX   him.ACC-CL

           c. **L-am**   *videla.*
            him.ACC-CL-have.1SG-AUX   seen.F.SG-PTCP
'I saw him-it.'

5.5. CONCLUSION

This Chapter explored the distribution of Romanian and Serbian clitics in CS. The main focus was on the interaction between Romanian clitics and Serbian verbs, and vice versa; between

Serbian clitics and Romanian verbs. Based on the data and analysis from above, the following generalizations emerged in (23), (42), and (66), repeated here as (78), (79), and (80):

(78)   *In CS, Serbian verbs cannot host Romanian pronominal clitics, instead, only Romanian verbs can host Romanian pronominal clitics.*

(79)   *In CS, Romanian auxiliary clitics can occur with both Romanian and Serbian lexical verbs.*

(80)   *In CS, Serbian clitics are only permitted if the host and the verb are Serbian. In all other cases, Serbian clitics are not permitted in CS.*

I demonstrated that the ban on CS within X_0 is relevant here. Namely, Romanian pronouns and Serbian auxiliary clitics, which undergo complex head-formation with the verb, are not allowed in CS if the clitic and the verb are from different languages. Furthermore, Romanian auxiliaries can occur with Serbian verbs because the syntactic incorporation does not occur. One issue that was left open concerns Serbian pronominal clitics, which do not undergo incorporation, but cannot occur in CS. As we will see, Serbian pronominal clitics will be ruled out for independent reasons, based on issues with case assignment in CS, which will be the focus of the next Chapter. Finally, I also showed that the data discussed in this Chapter provides further support for Bandi-Rao and den Dikken's (2014) proposal that CS is allowed within phonological words if they are formed through a phonological but not through a syntactic process (i.e. if they do not form a complex X_0).

6. case assignment in cs

As has been seen, although CS is rule-governed with certain constraints on the mixing between two languages, Romanian and Serbian elements do interact in various ways. This has been seen throughout the dissertation, for example, in the case of agreement.feature-checking within the DP-NP, as in (1), and between subjects and verbs in cases involving a Romanian subject and a Serbian verb, as in (2) and (3) below:

(1)   a. *teški*   *ispit*-**ul**
          difficult.LF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG

          b. **težak*   *ispit*-**ul**
          difficult.SF.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Specifically, in (1a), in the presence of the Romanian definite article, only the long-form (LF) Serbian adjective (which corresponds to the definite interpretation) is allowed pre-nominally, having undergone agreement for definiteness with the definite article. Additionally, the Romanian article and the Serbian noun also undergo agreement for number and gender, resulting in -(**u)l** as the definite article for masculine singular. In contrast, in (1b), the short-form (SF) Serbian adjective (which is not specified for definiteness) cannot occur pre-nominally, as it has not undergone feature checking with the Romanian D. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, adjectives must undergo agreement with D in order to occur pre-nominally.

Additionally, in (2), the subject undergoes agreement for person, number, and gender with the verb (which is actually mediated by Tense (see Chomsky 2000, 2001)). In (2a), the Romanian 3rd person feminine subject *prietena mea* 'my friend' agrees in number and gender with the Serbian

participle *položila*'passed', leading to a grammatical structure. In contrast, in (2b), the features of the subject clash with the ones of the verb and the auxiliary respectively. Namely, the Romanian 3rd person feminine subject does not agree with the Serbian participle which is masculine, leading to ungrammaticality in (2b):

(2) a. **Prietena   mea   o   *položila*   *ispit*-ul.**
     friend.F   my.F.SG   has-AUX   passed.F.SG   exam-the.M.SG

     b. *****Prietena   mea   o   *položio*   *ispit*-ul.**
     friend.F   my.F.SG   has-AUX   passed.M.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'My friend passed the exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Similarly, the Serbian 3rd person subject agrees with the Romanian 1st person singular auxiliary *am* 'have' in (3a), but not in (3b), where the subject and the auxiliary verb agree in number, but not in person. This is illustrated with the contrast below:

(3) a. Moja   drugarica   **o**   položila   ispit-**ul**.
     my.F.SG   friend.F   has-AUX   passed.F.SG   exam-the.M.SG

     *Moja   drugarica   **am**   položila   ispit-**ul**.
     my.F.SG   friend.F   have.1SG-AUX passed.F.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'My friend passed the exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

6.1. CASE IN ROMANIAN, SERBIAN, AND CS

Another interaction between elements from the two languages occurs between the verb and its complement(s). As seen in the previous Chapters, broadly speaking, both Romanian and Serbian verbs can take arguments from either language. This leads to the discussion of case assignment, which will be the focus of this Chapter.

Before diving into case assignment in CS, it is important to note the properties of Romanian and Serbian nouns when it comes to the distribution of case in each language separately. Specifically, Romanian nouns do not show case distinction, while Serbian nouns do. This is illustrated in (4a) and (5a) for Romanian, and (4b) and (5b) for Serbian nouns respectively (with the relevant nouns underlined):

(4)   a. **Cântarea**   **e**   **frumoasă.**
       song-the.F.SG   is   beautiful.F.SG   (**Romanian**)

       b. Pesma   *je*   *lepa.*
       song.NOM.F.SG   is   beautiful.F.SG   (*Serbian*)
'The song is beautiful.'

(5)   a. **Am**   **auzit**   **cântarea**.
       have.1SG-AUX   heard   song-the.F.SG   (**Romanian**)

       b. *Čula*   *sam*   *pesmu*.
       heard.F.SG   am-AUX   song.ACC.F.SG   (*Serbian*)
'I heard the song.'

It will also be important below that in both Romanian and Serbian, nominative is the default case53.

Moving on to CS, some representative examples are given in (6) and (8). In (6), the auxiliary verb is Romanian, the main verb is Serbian, and the noun hosting the Romanian definite article in (6a) is Romanian and in (6b) Serbian. Note that, although most Serbian nouns have

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53 This is in contrast to English, where accusative is the default case (see (i)). That nominative is the default case in both Romanian and Serbian is shown in (ii) and (iii) for Romanian and Serbian respectively (Romanian pronouns do show case distinctions):
(i) a. Stupid? Who, me?   b. *Stupid? Who, I?
(ii) a. **Proastă? Cine,   eu?**   b. *__Proasta?__ **Cine,   mine**?
        stupid   who   I.NOM   stupid   who   me.ACC (**Romanian**)
(iii) a. *Glupa?   Ko,   ja*?   b. *Glupa?   Ko,   mene*?
        stupid   who   I.NOM   stupid   who   me.ACC (*Serbian*)

different forms for nominative and accusative, some Serbian nouns, such as '*ispit*', have the same

form in nominative and accusative.

(6) a. **Am**   *položila*   **examen-ul**
     have.1SG-AUX   passed.F.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'I passed the exam.'

     b. **Am**   *položila*   *ispit*-**ul**
     have.1SG-AUX   passed.F.SG   exam-the.M.SG
'I passed the exam.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Interestingly, while nouns that do show nominative-accusative case distinctions, like

pesma 'song' in (7), can bear accusative, they do not have to in CS, as shown by the examples in

(7), where the verb is Serbian:

(7) a. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruku***.**
     have.1SG-AUX   passed.F.SG   message.ACC.F.SG

     b. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruka***.**
     have.1SG-AUX   passed.F.SG   message.NOM.F.SG
'I sent the message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The question is then what happens to Serbian nouns as objects of Romanian verbs, as in

the examples (8) and (9) below. In (8), the auxiliary verb is Romanian, the main verb is Romanian,

and the noun hosting the Romanian definite article is Romanian and Serbian in (8a) and (8b)

respectively. Recall that *ispit* is one of the Serbian nouns that do not show nominative-accusative

case distinction. Given that Romanian verbs do not assign case, it is likely that the noun in (8b)

has default nominative case.

(8)   a. **Am**   **trecut**   **examen-ul**
        have.1SG-AUX   passed   exam-the.M.SG

        b. **Am**   **trecut**   *ispit-***ul**
        have.1SG-AUX   passed   exam-the.M.SG
I passed the exam.   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

This is confirmed with Serbian nouns that do show nominative-accusative case distinctions. Namely, while both default and accusative case were allowed with a Serbian verb in (7), only the noun bearing default nominative case is permitted as the object of the Romanian verb in (9). Given that, as mentioned, Romanian verbs do not assign case, it appears that Serbian nouns can only bear default case (which is nominative) when occurring as arguments of Romanian verbs.

(9)   a. **Am**   **trimes**   *poruka***.**
        have.1SG-AUX   sent   message.NOM.F.SG

        b. *****Am**   **trimes**   *poruku***.**
        have.1SG-AUX   passed   message.ACC.F.SG
'I sent the message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

To summarize, when a Romanian verb is involved in CS, a Serbian noun bearing default (i.e., nominative) case is permitted, as the verb cannot assign case to it. On the other hand, if the verb is Serbian (which can assign case), the same noun can occur with either accusative or default case in CS. This is illustrated in (10) for structures involving Romanian verbs, and (11) for Serbian verbs:

(10)   a. **Am**   **ascultat**   *pesma.*
        have.1SG-AUX   listened-PTCP   song.NOM.F.SG

        b. *****Am**   **ascultat**   *pesmu.*

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	have.1SG-AUX	listened-PTCP	song.ACC.F.SG
	'I listened to the song.'		(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(11) a. **Am** *poslušala* *pesma.*
      have.1SG-AUX listened.F.SG-PTCP song.NOM.F.SG

      b. **Am** *poslušala* *pesmu.*
      have.1SG-AUX listened.F.SG-PTCP song.ACC.F.SG
'I listened to the song.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

However, unlike in CS, case must be assigned in fully Serbian constructions if the noun shows case distinctions, as shown by the contrast in (12):

(12) a. *Poslušala* *sam* *pesmu.*
      listened.F.SG-PTCP am-AUX song.ACC.F.SG

      b. **Poslušala* *sam* *pesma.*
      listened.F.SG-PTCP am-AUX song.NOM.F.SG
'I listened to the song.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Based on this, the observation is that Romanian verbs do not assign case to their noun complements (in CS). A Serbian noun can be a complement of a Romanian verb in CS, but in that case, it bears default nominative case. In addition, while Serbian verbs can assign case in CS, they do not have to. Instead, a noun can occur with default nominative case as a complement of a Serbian verb in CS.

Additional illustrations of these patterns are given in (13), (14), and (15):

(13) a. **Am** *nazvala* **șpitar-ul.**
      have.1SG-AUX called.F.SG-PTCP hospital-the.M.SG

      b. **Am** **sunat** **șpitar-ul.**
      have.1SG-AUX called-PTCP hospital-the.M.SG
'I called the hospital.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

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(14)   a. **Am**   *nazvala*   *bolnica.*
       have.1SG-AUX   called.F.SG-PTCP   hospital.NOM.F.SG

       b. **Am**   **sunat**   *bolnica.*
       have.1SG-AUX   called-PTCP   hospital.NOM.F.SG
‘I called the hospital.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(15)   a. **Am**   *nazvala*   *bolnicu.*
       have.1SG-AUX   called.F.SG-PTCP   hospital.ACC.F.SG

       b. *****Am**   **sunat**   *bolnicu.*
       have.1SG-AUX   called-PTCP   hospital.ACC.F.SG
‘I called the hospital.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(16)   a. *Nazvala*   *sam*   *bolnicu**.**
       called.F.SG-PTCP   am-AUX   hospital.ACC.F.SG

       b. ***Nazvala*   *sam*   *bolnica*
       called.F.SG-PTCP   am-AUX   hospital.NOM.F.SG
‘I called (the) hospital.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

The contrast between (14b) and (15b) confirms that the complement of a Romanian verb can *only* have default case. While *bolnica* shows case distinctions, the noun *bolnica* with its default (nominative) case is the only possibility as the object of the Romanian verb in (14b) and (15b). With the Serbian verb, both default nominative and accusative are possible, as shown by (14a) and (15a). This is in contrast to fully Serbian examples in (16), where only accusative is possible.

Based on the above discussion, two generalizations emerge:

(17)   *In CS, Romanian verbs can only take Serbian nominal complements with default case*.

(18)   *In CS, Serbian verbs can take Serbian nominal complements with default case or with accusative case.*

The situation becomes more intriguing when pronouns are involved. Specifically, ungrammatical cases like (19a), where the Romanian verb takes a Serbian accusative pronoun, are expected – having seen that the Romanian verb does not assign case to its complements (nouns

and, apparently, pronouns, as well). Interestingly, while Serbian noun objects bearing default case were permitted with a Romanian verb, Serbian pronouns are not allowed at all, as illustrated in (19b):

(19)　a. *__Am__　　　　　 __sunat__　　　　　 *nju.*
　　　　 have.1SG-AUX　　　 called-PTCP　　　　 her.ACC
'I called her.'

　　　 b. *__Am__　　　　　 __sunat__　　　　　 *ona.*
　　　　 have.1SG-AUX　　　 called-PTCP　　　　 she.NOM
'I called she.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Notice also that a nominative pronoun is also not possible as a complement of a Serbian verb, as shown in (20):

(20)　a. *__Am__　　　　　 *zvala*　　　　　　　 *nju.*
　　　　 have.1SG-AUX　　　 called.F.SG-PTCP　　 her.ACC

　　　 b. *__Am__　　　　　 *zvala*　　　　　　　 *ona.*
　　　　 have.1SG-AUX　　　 called.F.SG-PTCP　　 she.NOM
'I called she.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Finally, recall that Serbian subject pronouns are also not permitted with a Romanian verb, as discussed in Chapter 5 and illustrated in (21):

(21)　a. *__Ja__　　　 __am__　　　　　　 __citit__　　　 __o__　　　 __carte__.
　　　　 I　　　　 have.1SG-AUX　　　 read-PTCP　　 a.F.SG　　 book.F
'I read a book.'

　　　 b. *__Ti__　　 __suni__　　　 __acasă__.
　　　　 you　　　 call.2SG　　　 home
'You're calling home.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Regarding the impossibility of Serbian pronouns occurring with Romanian verbs (Infl), I suggest that perhaps nominative on Serbian pronouns is not just default, but real case that needs to be assigned. Therefore, since Romanian verbs cannot assign case, Serbian pronouns are not possible. This explanation can also be extended to subject pronouns, with the Romanian Infl essentially patterns with the Romanian verb. The impossibility of a Serbian verb taking a nominative pronoun as its complement as in (20b) is also not surprising from this perspective.

Importantly, this also answers the question from Chapter 5 of why Serbian pronominal clitics are not allowed with Romanian verbs. Namely, if pronouns are not allowed for case reasons, by extension, pronominal clitics are also not possible with Romanian verbs for the same reason -- Romanian verbs cannot assign case to nominal elements. Since pronouns and pronominal clitics in Serbian need case, they cannot occur with a Romanian verb.

Having overviewed the contexts that involve verbs and their arguments in CS, I will explore case issues in environments that involve prepositions in the next section.

6.2. PREPOSITIONS AND CASE ASSIGNMENT

In Romanian, prepositions are like verbs with respect to case assignment in that they do not assign morphological case to their DP complements, as shown in (22):

(22)   a. **pe**   **sora**   /   **băiat-ul**
         PE   sister-the.F.SG   /   boy-the.M.SG

       b. **lui**   **sora**   /   **băiat-ul**
         to   sister-the.F.SG   /   boy-the.M.SG

       c. **înainte**   **de**   **sora**   /   **băiat-ul**
         before   of   sister-the.F.SG /   boy-the.M.SG

       d. **pentru**   **sora**   /   **băiat-ul**

	for	sister-the.F.SG	/	boy-the.M.SG

<div align="right">(Romanian)</div>

When found in CS, Romanian prepositions, like Romanian verbs, can take both Romanian and Serbian noun complements. However, a Serbian noun is possible only if it bears default nominative case. This is illustrated in (23) with four prepositions (the non-default case used in (23) is the one that the corresponding preposition in Serbian would assign).

(23) a. **pe**   *sestra*   /   **sestru*
       PE   sister.NOM.F.SG   sister.ACC.F.SG

     b. **lui**   *sestra*   /   **sestri*
       to   sister.NOM.F.SG   sister.DAT.F.SG

     c. **înainte de** *sestra*   /   **sestre*
       from   sister.NOM.F.SG   sister.GEN.F.SG

     d. **pentru**   *sestra*   /   **sestru*
       for   sister.NOM.F.SG   sister.ACC.F.SG

<div align="right">(Romanian-Serbian)</div>

Based on this, it can be inferred that Romanian prepositions -- like verbs -- do not assign morphological case to their noun complements. As a result, the following generalization in (24) emerges:

(24) *In CS, Romanian verbs and prepositions can only take nominal complements with default case*.

Before moving on to Serbian prepositions, a brief discussion regarding the Romanian preposition PE is needed, which distinguishes two forms in the literature. The first type is a lexical preposition which means 'on,' as given in (25):

(25) a. **Cartea**   **e**   **pe**   **masa**   **aia.**
      book-the.F.SG   is   on   table-the.F.SG   that.F.SG
‘The book is on that table.’   (**Romanian**)

      b. **Căpița**   **e**   **pe**   **capul**   **meu**.
      hat-the.F.SG   is   on   head-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
‘The hat is on my head.’   (**Romanian**)

The second type is a 'dummy' preposition, also referred to as a Differential Object Marker (DOM) (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Anagnostopolou 2006; von Heusiger, Klein, & de Swart 2008; Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2013; Mardale 2015; Hill & Mardale 2017, i.a.), as illustrated in (26). Note that, unlike the preposition from above, this version of PE does not have a lexical meaning.

(26) a. **Am**   **văzut**   **pe**   **profesoara**.
      have.1SG-AUX   seen-PTCP   *PE*   professor-the.F.SG
‘I saw the professor.’

      b. **Îl**   **sun**   **pe**   **prietenul**   **meu**.
      him.ACC-CL   call.1SG   *PE*   friend-the.M.SG   my.M.SG
‘I'm calling my friend.’   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Based on the data from CS, apart from specificity and animacy requirements associated with the DOM role (Anagnostopolou 2006; von Heusiger, Klein, & de Swart 2008, i.a.), my observation is that the dummy *PE* behaves like any other preposition in Romanian, it just happens that it is homophonous with another preposition (for a historical background of *PE*, I refer the reader to Hill, 2013). Like the rest of Romanian prepositions, in CS, it only allows for a Serbian noun with default case. It should, however, be noted that a Serbian verb cannot assign accusative case to a Serbian complement if *PE* is present. This is illustrated in (27)

(27) a. **Am**   *videla*   *vozača.*
      have.1SG-AUX   saw.F.SG-PTCP   driver.ACC.M.SG

	b. **Am**	*videla*	**pe**	*vozač*-**ul**.
	have.1SG-AUX	saw.F.SG-PTCP	*PE*	driver-the.NOM.M.SG

	c. *****Am**	*videla*	**pe**	*vozača.*
	have.1SG-AUX	saw.F.SG-PTCP	*PE*	driver.ACC.M.SG

'I saw the driver.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

As can be seen, while Serbian verbs can take a Serbian noun with either accusative or default case in CS, when the noun is preceded by *PE* (i.e. a Romanian preposition), this is not the case.

In the next Section, I will explore prepositions in Serbian.

6.2.1. Serbian Prepositions in CS

Serbian prepositions, like Serbian verbs, can also assign case to their objects. This is illustrated in (28) below, with four different prepositions. In all cases, prepositions assign case to their noun complement (some prepositions assign accusative, and some other cases).

(28)	a. *od*	*sestre*	b. *o*	*sestri*
	from	sister.GEN	about	sister.DAT

	b. *pre*	*sestre*	d. *za*	*sestru*
	before	sister.GEN	towards	sister.ACC

(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

However, unlike Serbian verbs which can take Romanian noun complements with default case, Serbian prepositions apparently must assign case. As a consequence, Serbian prepositions cannot take Romanian objects at all, given that Romanian nouns do not show case distinctions. This is illustrated in (29):

(29)   a. *od*   ***sora***   b. *o*   ***sora***
       from   sister   about   sister

       b. *pre*   ***sora***   d. *prema*   ***sora***
       before   sister   towards   sister

                                                         (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

We then have the following generalizations:

(30)   *In CS, Serbian verbs can take Romanian noun complements.*

(31)   *In CS, Serbian prepositions cannot take Romanian noun complements.*

After examining these facts, the obvious question arises that concerns the contrast between Serbian verbs and prepositions in CS with respect to case assignment (recall that that Serbian verbs can take Romanian objects with default case). Namely, why do Serbian verbs optionally assign case to their noun complements in CS (i.e. they do not have to assign it), while Serbian prepositions do not have this flexibility in CS?

One possibility is the type of case which these two elements assign. Specifically, while (most) Serbian verbs assign structural case, Serbian prepositions assign inherent case.[54] The difference between inherent and structural case is important for current purposes for two reasons. First, as claimed by Bošković (2006), structural case assignment is optional, while inherent case must be assigned due to it being associated with θ-role assignment. As a result, failing to assign inherent case would lead to a θ-Criterion violation (Chomsky 1986; Franks 1995; Bošković 2006, 2018).

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[54] See, however, Franks (1994) and Bošković (2013) for a different view.

A question then arises if inherent case must be assigned, why are Romanian nouns not able to be inflected with Serbian case? One possibility could be low level PF incompatibility. Another possibility may be related to the constraint that bans CS within a complex X_0 (Bandi-Rao & den Dikken, 2014), a constraint that has been discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 for other structures. Namely, because case assignment is a morphosyntactic process, CS cannot occur in that context since it would involve switching within a syntactic head. Note that this is not only related to complements of prepositions. Serbian verbs also cannot assign accusative to Romanian nouns across the board, as in (32).

(32) a. *__Am__   *poslušala*   __cântare-__*u*.
          have.1SG-AUX   listened.F.SG-PTCP   song.F.SG(-ACC)
      'I listened to the song.'

      b. *__Am__   *nazvala*   __prietena__-*u*
          have.1SG-AUX   called.F.SG-PTCP   friend.F.SG(-ACC)
      'I called my friend.'   (__Romanian__-*Serbian*)

For this account to work, it would have to be the case that there is a complex head involved, e.g., K_0 (case head) that is adjoined to N_0. The alternative, noted above, is that we may be dealing here with a low-level PF issue.

6.2.2. Case in Di-transitive Constructions

As seen above, there are several restrictions with respect to case in CS. What is relevant for current purposes is that Romanian verbs can take either Romanian or Serbian arguments, as long as the Serbian noun bears default case. Serbian verbs can also take either Romanian or Serbian nouns as complements, and they optionally assign accusative case to Serbian nouns. In this section,

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I will extend the exploration of case assignment, focusing on Serbian verbs in ditransitive constructions.

Recall that Serbian verbs can take Serbian nouns with default or accusative case in CS, as shown in (33):

(33) a. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruka.*
        have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.NOM.F.SG
'I sent the message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

      b. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruku.*
        have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.ACC.F.SG
'I sent the message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Serbian verbs can also take a PP complement headed by a Romanian preposition. Here, accusative case cannot be assigned, as shown by the contrast between (34a)-(34b) and (34c):

(34) a. **Am**   *videla*   brata.
        have.1SG-AUX   saw.F.SG-PTCP   brother.ACC.M.SG

      b. **Am**   *videla*   **pe**   *brat*-**ul**.
        have.1SG-AUX   saw.F.SG-PTCP   *PE*   brother.NOM-the.M.SG

      c. *__Am__   *videla*   **pe**   *brata*.
        have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   *PE*   brother.ACC.M.SG
'I saw the brother.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Based on the data above, it can be posited that a Romanian preposition blocks case assignment by the Serbian verb, leading to the ungrammaticality of (34c). This leads to the question of whether there are other elements that can block case assignment in CS in contexts that involve more complex structures. Specifically, what happens in ditransitive constructions that involve Serbian verbs and noun complements in CS?

To begin with, let's observe full paradigms of ditransitive constructions that involve a Romanian auxiliary, a Serbian verb, and CS objects. The type of objects included are fully Romanian TNPs, CS TNPs, and fully Serbian NPs. What is relevant is that TNP_R and TNP_CS bear default case, while the TNP_S bear accusative or dative case. This is illustrated with examples in Table 1 (see also (46) for examples with a fully Serbian TNP that bears default nominative case):

Denotation	Including	Example:
TNP_R	Fully Romanian TNP	**lui** *drugarica* / **Dora** to friend.NOM.F.SG / Dora.F.SG
TNP_CS	CS TNP	**lui** *drugar*-**ul** to friend.NOM-the.M.SG
TNP_S	Fully Serbian TNP	*poruku* message.ACC.F.SG

Table 1: *Types of objects in CS*

Furthermore, the full paradigms based on the denotations from above are illustrated in Table 2, with concrete examples in (35)-(44) below. The difference between (35) - (38) and (39) - (44) is that the indirect object contains a proper name in the first set of examples, and a common noun in the latter.

Example:		Object 1 (O$_I$)	Object 2 (O$_{II}$)
(35)	a.	TNP$_R$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_R$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.*	TNP$_R$	TNP$_S$
(36)	a.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_S$
(37)	a.	TNP$_R$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_R$
	c.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_R$
(38)	a.*	TNP$_R$	TNP$_S$
	b.*	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_S$
	c.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_S$
(39)	a.	TNP$_R$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_R$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.*	TNP$_R$	TNP$_S$
(40)	a.	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.*	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_S$
(41)	a.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_S$
(42)	a.	TNP$_R$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_R$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.*	TNP$_R$	TNP$_S$
(43)	a.	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.*	TNP$_{CS}$	TNP$_S$
(44)	a.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_R$
	b.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_{CS}$
	c.	TNP$_S$	TNP$_S$

Table 2: *Full paradigms of relevant ditransitive constructions*

(35) a. **Am** *poslala* **lui** **Dora** **o** **scrisoare.**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to Dora a.F.SG message.F

b. **Am** *poslala* **lui** **Dora** **o** *poruk**ǎ***
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to Dora a.F.SG message.NOM.F

c. ***Am** *poslala* **lui** **Dora** *poruku*
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to Dora message.ACC.F
'I sent Dora a message.' (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(36) a. **Am** *poslala* *Dori* **o** **scrisoare.**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP Dora.DAT.F a.F.SG message.F

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b. **Am** *poslala* *Dori* **o** *poruk**ă***
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP Dora.DAT a.F.SG message.NOM.F

c. **Am** *poslala* *Dori* *poruku*
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP Dora.DAT message.ACC.F
'I send Dora a message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(37) a. **Am** *poslala* **o** **scrisoare** **lui** **Dora**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP a.F.SG message.F to Dora

b. **Am** *poslala* **o** *poruk**ă*** **lui** **Dora**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP a.F.SG message.NOM.F to Dora

c. **Am** *poslala* *poruku* **lui** **Dora**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP message.ACC.F to Dora
'I sent a message to Dora.'

(38) a. ***Am** *poslala* **o** **scrisoare** *Dori*
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP a.F.SG message.F Dora.DAT

b. ***Am** *poslala* **o** *poruk**ă*** *Dori*
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP a.F.SG message.NOM.F Dora.DAT

c. **Am** *poslala* *poruku* *Dori*
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP message.ACC.F Dora.DAT
'I sent a message to Dora.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(39) a. **Am** *poslala* **lui** **prieten-ul** **o** **scrisoare.**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to friend-the.M a.F message.F

b. **Am** *poslala* **lui** **prieten-ul** **o** *poruk**ă*.**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to friend-the.M a.F.SG message.NOM.F

c. ***Am** *poslala* **lui** **prieten-ul** *poruku*
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to friend-the.M message.ACC.F
'I sent a-the friend a message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(40) a. **Am** *poslala* **lui** *drugar-**ul** **o** **scrisoare.**
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to friend.NOM-the.M a.F.SG message.F

b. **Am** *poslala* **lui** *drugar-**ul** **o** *poruk**ă***
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to friend.NOM-the.M a.F.SG message.NOM.F

c. ***Am** *poslala* **lui** *drugar-**ul** *poruku*
have.1SG-AUX sent.F.SG-PTCP to friend.NOM-the.M message.ACC.F
'I sent a-the friend a message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(41) a. **Am**   *poslala*   *drugaru*   **o**   **scrisoare.**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   friend.DAT.M   a.F.SG   message.F

      b. **Am**   *poslala*   *drugaru*   **o**   *poruk**ă***
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   friend.DAT.M   a.F.SG   message.NOM.F

      c. **Am**   *poslala*   *drugaru*   *poruku*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   friend.DAT.M   message.ACC.F
   'I sent a-the friend a message.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(42) a. **Am**   *poslala*   **o**   **scrisoare**   **lui**   **prieten-ul**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   a.F.SG   message.F   to   friend-the.M

      b. **Am**   *poslala*   **o**   **scrisoare**   **lui**   *drugar-***ul**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   a.F.SG   message.F   to   friend.NOM-the.M

      c. *****Am**   *poslala*   **o**   **scrisoare**   *drugaru*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   a.F.SG   message.F   friend.DAT.M
   'I sent a message to a-the friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(43) a. **Am**   *poslala*   **o**   *poruk**ă***   **lui**   **prieten-ul**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   a.F.SG   message.NOM.F   to   friend-the.M

      b. **Am**   *poslala*   **o**   *poruk**ă***   **lui**   *drugar-***ul**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   a.F.SG   message.NOM.F   to   friend.NOM-the.M

      c. *****Am**   *poslala*   **o**   *poruk**ă***   *drugaru*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   a.F.SG   message.NOM.F   friend.DAT.M
   'I sent a message to a-the friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(44) a. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruku*   **lui**   **prieten-ul**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.ACC.F   to   friend-the.M

      b. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruku*   **lui**   *drugar-***ul**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.ACC.F   to   friend.NOM-the.M

      c. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruku*   *drugaru.*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.ACC.F   friend.DAT.M
   'I sent a message to a-the friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Let's explore the data from above, focusing on the distribution of case assignment on the

TNPs. Specifically, since only Serbian nouns can be inflected with case, the main focus is

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exploring which environments and/or elements allow, and which block case assignment by the Serbian verb, in other words, the question is when TNPs is possible.

First, looking at examples involving Serbian noun complements bearing default case, they are not restricted to any position. This can be seen from examples where default case is on both arguments (i.e. O_I and O_{II}) as in (40b) and (43b), and on the second argument (O_{II}) as in (35b), (36b), (39b), (40b), (41b), (42b), (43b), and (44b). Second, accusative/dative case can be assigned to O_I only, as in (36b), (41b), (44b), or both arguments (i.e., O_I and O_{II}), as in (36c), (38c), (41c), (44c). In contrast, Serbian case morphology is not allowed on O_{II}, if O_I includes a Romanian noun (i.e. TNP_R) or Serbian noun that bears default case (i.e. TNP_{CS}), as illustrated in the ungrammatical examples from (35c), (38a-b), (39c), (40c), (42c), or (43c).

Notice that the ungrammatical examples from (38b), (40c), and (43c) may seem to indicate that default case is not permitted on the first argument (O_I). This is, however, false; the ungrammaticality here stems from the inability of the verb to assign case to the second argument (O_{II}). That a TNP bearing default case can occur next to the verb is confirmed by simple transitive constructions where the Serbian verb can successfully take an argument with default case, as illustrated in (45):

(45)   a. **Am**　　　　　　*položila*　　　　　*ispit-***ul**.
　　　　　 have.1SG-AUX　　passed.F.SG-PTCP　　exam-the.NOM.M
'I passed the exam.'

　　　　 b. **Am**　　　　　　*poslala*　　　　　*poruka*.
　　　　　 have.1SG-AUX　　sent.F.SG-PTCP　　message.NOM.M
'I sent the message.'

(**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Notice also that we get the same pattern if the default case TNP is a fully Serbian NP with default nominative case (I will refer to such NPs as TNP_{CS/S}):

(46) a. ***Am**   *poslala*   *poruka*   *Dori.*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.NOM.F   Dora.DAT

    b. **Am**   *poslala*   *Dori*   *poruka***.**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   Dora.DAT   message.NOM.F
'I sent the message to Dora.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Looking at the relevant examples from the paradigms from (35) - (46), it can be inferred that there are two issues at play here in the process of case assignment. First, adjacency plays a role in the ability of the Serbian verb to assign case to its arguments. This is shown by the contrast between (47), where only O$_I$ has non-default Serbian case morphology, and (48), where only O$_{II}$ has non-default Serbian case morphology.

(47) a. **Am**   *poslala*   *drugaru*   **o**   **scrisoare / o** *poruk***ă** / *poruka*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   friend.DAT.M   a   message/message.NOM/message.NOM

    b. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruku*   **lui prieten-ul / lui** *drugar*-**ul**
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.ACC.F   to friend-the.M / to friend.NOM-the.M
'I sent a message to the friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

(48) a. ***Am**   *poslala*   **lui prieten-ul/lui** *drugar*-**ul**   *poruku*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   to friend-the.M / to friend.NOM-the.M   message.ACC.F

    b. ***Am**   *poslala*   **o scrisoare / o** *poruk***ă** / *poruka*   *drugaru*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   a message/a message.NOM/message.NOM   friend.DAT.M
'I sent a message to the friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

However, we get grammatical constructions if both arguments bear appropriate Serbian case morphology, regardless of their position relative to the verb, as shown in (49).

(49) a. **Am**   *poslala*   *Dori / drugaru*   *poruku*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   Dora.DAT.F / friend.DAT.M   message.ACC.F

    b. **Am**   *poslala*   *poruku*   *Dori / drugaru*
      have.1SG-AUX   sent.F.SG-PTCP   message.ACC.F   Dora.DAT.F / friend.DAT.M
'I sent a message to Dora / the friend.'   (**Romanian**-*Serbian*)

Given these paradigms, what matters is not adjacency in particular, but whether an element with default case (I will refer to TNPR, TNPcs, and TNPcs/s as elements with default case)) is intervening between the Serbian verb and the argument it assigns case to (i.e. between the Serbian verb and the TNPs). Assigning case is not restricted to either position; however, there is an intervention effect which prohibits the verb to assign case to an NP across an element with default case. In the next subsection, I will further explore this intervention effect.

6.2.3. Intervention Effect with Case Assignment in CS

Based on the above discussion, and assuming a tight relationship between Agree and case licensing (Chomsky 2000, 2001), the intervention effect can be explained. For ease of exposition, the abbreviation for the three elements involved in case licensing are as follows: Vs is a Serbian verb, TNPDC is a TNP with default case, and TNPs is a Serbian NP with accusative/dative case (i.e. non-default case). I will exclude nouns whose accusative is homophonous with nominative/default case. A more compact representation of the relevant elements involved is given in Table 3, with explanations below:

Element	Type
Vs	Serbian verb
TNPDC	TNP with default case (i.e. TNPR or TNPcs or TNPcs/s)
TNPs	Serbian TNP (i.e. TNP with non-default case)

Table 3: *Relevant elements involved in CS ditransitive constructions*

In this respect, the paradigms from above can be represented through the following constructions. In (50a), the Serbian verb takes two TNPs arguments and the sentence is grammatical. Next, in (50b), the Serbian verb takes a TNPs as the first argument, and a TNPDC as

the second argument, which is also possible. The Serbian verb can assign case to the TNPs
argument in (50b) because there is no intervening element that does not get case from the verb
between the verb and the first argument. Third, the Serbian verb can take two TNP_{DC} arguments
(where no case assignment is needed), as in (50c). Finally, the structure where the Serbian verb
takes a TNP_{DC} as the first, and a TNPs as the second argument in (50d) is ungrammatical. Some
examples illustrating the constructions in (50) are given in (51):

(50)   a. Vs   TNPs   TNPs
         b. Vs   TNPs   TNP_{DC}
         c. Vs   TNP_{DC}   TNP_{DC}
         d. *Vs   TNP_{DC}   TNPs

(51)   a. **Am**   *poslala*   *drugarici*   *poruku.*
            have.1SG-AUX   sent-PTCP.F.SG   friend.DAT.F   message.ACC.F

         b. **Am**   *poslala*   *drugarici*   **o**   **scrisoare.**
            have.1SG-AUX   sent-PTCP.F.SG   friend.DAT.F   a.F.SG message.F

         c. **Am**   *poslala*   **lui**   **prietena**   **o**   **scrisoare**.
            have.1SG-AUX   sent-PTCP.F.SG   to   friend.F   a.F.SG message.F

         d. ***Am**   *poslala*   **lui**   **prietena**   *poruku*
            have.1SG-AUX   sent-PTCP.F.SG   to   friend.F   message.ACC.F

         e. ***Am**   *poslala*   **o**   **scrisoare**   *drugarici.*
            have.1SG-AUX   sent-PTCP.F.SG   a.F.SG message.F   friend.DAT.F
   'I sent a message to a friend.'

Based on this, the reason for the ungrammaticality of the pattern in (50d) must be case
assignment. In particular, I suggest that the ungrammaticality of the pattern in (50d) results from
the TNP_{DC} acting as an intervening element.

More specifically, following Chomsky (2000, 2001), I assume that case assignment takes
place through the Agree relation; the verb then undergoes Agree with the TNP it case.marks. In

(52), the Serbian verb assigns case to both arguments with no intervening elements. In (52), only the first argument needs its case assigned (the second one bearing default case), so there is no intervention effect from the second argument. In (52), the Serbian verb then undergoes Agree and assigns case to the TNPs.

(52)   Vs   TNPs   TNPDC

In (53), the verb attempts Agree with TNPs. However, another TNP, TNPDC, creates an intervention effect.

(53)   *Vs   (TNPDC)   TNPs

Now, Hiraiwa (2001) proposes the mechanism of Multiple Agree, whereby the intervention effect is voided if the relevant head also agrees with the intervener. Thus, the intervention effect from (54a) is voided in (54b) if X undergoes agree with both Z and Y.

(54)   a. X   Z   Y

       b. X   Z   Y
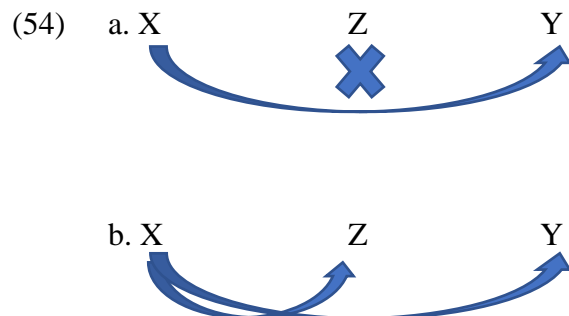
Then, the intervention effect from (54) can also be voided if the verb assigns case to the intervening TNP (which means that it also undergoes Agree with it). This is shown in (55).

(55)   Vs   TNPs   TNPs

The ungrammaticality of the relevant pattern then results from an intervention effect regarding case. The derivation is rescued when the intervention effect is voided through Multiple Agree.

The relevant descriptive generalization is given in (56) – we have seen above that it can be captured as an intervention effect.

(56)   *In CS, any Serbian argument can get Serbian case from the Serbian verb provided that there is no intervening TNP between the verb and the case-marked argument that does not get case from the verb.*

6.3. CONCLUSIONS

In this Chapter, I have shown that Romanian and Serbian verbs and prepositions behave differently regarding case assignment in CS. Romanian verbs and prepositions can only take a Serbian TNP complement with default case. Serbian verbs can take either Romanian complements, Serbian complements in accusative case, or Serbian complements in default nominative case. On the other hand, Serbian prepositions, which assign inherent case, can only take Serbian complements that bear the relevant inherent case.

Furthermore, this Chapter also shed light on a lingering question from Chapter 5. Namely, recall that while Romanian verbs cannot co-occur with Serbian object clitics. In this Chapter, we have seen that they also cannot occur with Serbian non-clitic pronouns. The reason for this is that

the relevant Romanian elements cannot assign case to the Serbian TNPs. Nouns and pronouns (therefore, clitics, too) differ with respect to what type of case they have; while the nominative on the nouns is default case, case on the pronouns is a real case that must be assigned. Since the relevant Romanian elements can only occur with Serbian TNPs with default case, they then cannot co-occur with pronouns.

Additionally, there is an intervention effect regarding case assignment. A Serbian verb cannot assign case to a Serbian TNP across a TNP with default case, i.e. a TNP that is not case-marked by the verb.

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APPENDIX A

Uzdin, Serbia: Historical and Socio-linguistic Background

All the data in the dissertation comes from interviews, elicited speech, and grammaticality judgements of Romanian-Serbian bilinguals from Uzdin, Serbia, a culturally Romanian village with a Romanian ethnic majority.

According to old church records, the initial settlement was founded around 1200s by the soldiers, bandits, and other migrants who identified as ethnically Romanian. It is presumed that around the year 500 A.D., the language spoken on this territory was Old Romanian (i.e., Protoromanian). Between then and today, the territory around modern-day Uzdin belonged to the the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman-Empire, and, ultimately, Yugoslavia. After several relocations and historical events, Uzdin was officially founded on today's territory on July 6th, 1799. (Father Moise Lința, p.c.). Today, Uzdin is located in the Banat region of the autonomous province of Vojvodina, Serbia (a map of Serbia is given in Figure 1, and a magnified map of Uzdin is given in Figure 2).

Uzdin has a Romanian ethnic majority of over 70%, with federal and public offices recognizing both Romanian and Serbian as the official languages. In addition, signs and announcements throughout the village are also displayed in both languages. Finally, the village has one K-8 school, *Sfântul Gheorghe* or 'St. George', which consists of a kindergarten, elementary school, and middle school. Students are given the option of attending classes with the Romanian or the Serbian cohort, where the primary language of instruction is Romanian and Serbian respectively. In the Romanian cohort, Romanian language is taught as a native language and Serbian is taught as a non-native language. In contrast, the Serbian cohort only offers Serbian as a native language, with no option for Romanian as a non-native language, and all classes are taught in Serbian. While there are generally options for classes in either language, some classes may be bilingual. After completing their elementary education, students attend high schools and

colleges in neighboring towns or cities, some of which also offer classes in Romanian (although these are rare).

While the initial Old Romanian is of course no longer spoken on this territory, the influences from German, Hungarian, Turkish, and most of all, Serbian language can be traced in the modern speech. There is no current written form of the dialect spoken in Uzdin (*dialectul bănăţean* or 'the Banat dialect'), and with the decreasing population in combination with intermarriage, Serbian media, and globalization, this dialect changes from generation to generation. While people who identify ethnically as Romanian are bilingual in Romanian and Serbian, they overwhelmingly code-switch between Romanian and Serbian in informal daily interactions.[55]

At the beginning of the 20th century, the population was estimated to about 7000 people. Nowadays, as a consequence of (inter)national unrests and wars, migration to the cities or abroad, and intermarriage, the population has decreased to 2029 citizens (Serbian Bureau of Statistics, n.d.), with this number decreasing yearly. Documenting the current CS speech of the Romanian and Serbian bilinguals is especially important due to this rapid decrease in population, it also testifies to the richness of linguistic and cultural diversity, and brings in a novel language pair to the linguistic exploration of CS.

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[55] The CS speech that takes places in ethnically Romanian communities in Serbia is different than the Vlach dialect not discussed in the dissertation (spoken in the area of Eastern Serbia around the Timok River, close to the border with Romania) which includes Romanian and Serbian elements as an integral part of the dialect. What is more, while some constructions may overlap, the majority constructions found in the Vlach dialect are judged as ungrammatical to the Romanian-Serbian bilinguals from Uzdin who code-switch.
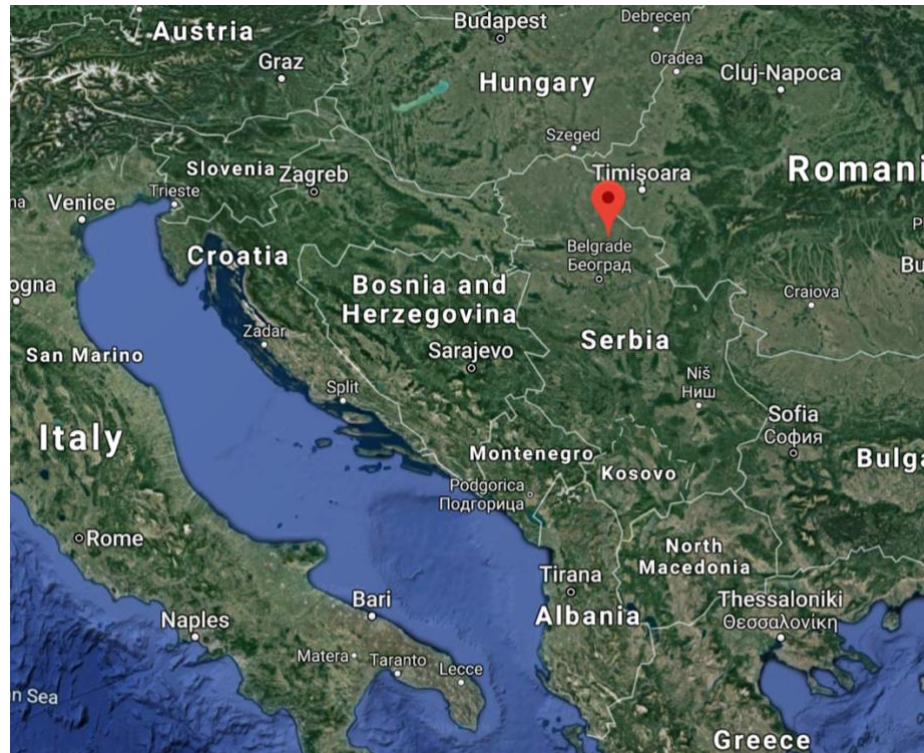
Figure 1: East-Central Europe and the Republic of Serbia (Google, n.d.)

Figure 2: Uzdin, Serbia (magnified) (Google, n.d.)