

'Why' without asking, in Romanian

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0DQODNDHVPDNHXVHRIDVSHFDQIHG-H[SUHVVRE., a wh-KUGRUDwh-SKDVHWIRUP
a wh-QVHUURDWLHFODXVHWKWFRQHV WKPHDQIDXHVWRQERXWURIDVROQH
(QMKPSORVWK wh-KUG whyDVVRQEWHEUDFNHWHGWWULQJLQHSRPDQOVHV
WKFPSOHwh-SKDVHe ceLFFRQVLLVWRVHSUHSRVLWLRPQWK wh-KUGce KW¶²,
DVVRQWKEUDFNHWHGWWUD .

Ana KQHU s Maria left].

Ana se vQUHDEde ce a SOHFDMaria].

Ana 5() DVNV K KV left Maria

'Ana KQHU s Maria left.'

8 QNH (QMKRPDQOVR DOORZ WV K wh-H[SUHVVREVR QURGXFHQrogative
wh-FODXVHVURULQVWDQFHWHEUDFNHWHGWWULQJLQHSRPDQOVHVQ is an
QWVQDWWRQIDFODXVDOFRQWUXFWRQRPVRelative clause (FRVLLVLRQWURGXFHQ
ce KFFXUVQSRVWRKQVHUURDWLHFODXVHFDRWRFFXUDQVQVHUSUHWHG
DVFRQIDXHVWRQVWV (QWUDQODWRQDNHVW FOHDU7KKOHVHQHQDQ is
MXGHGIXOODFFHSWDEOHERXU5RPDQQRQXQMDVTRUHRs introduced by 'why' (why-

¹ ([DPSOHVRIODNDHVWKWGRQWPDNHXVHRIVSHFDQIHGHVLLRQVWRFRQVHXHVWRQDUH7OD[FDOD
liKDWOto-5WHFDQFlores-1iMHUDDQ4ODQREODO0DDQDWR7ROHGR; s ee also BSRQR et al.
(2021 .

² IRWHWQVWVHO[EDQHSQV de ce LVVREHGLVWLQJLVHGLURPVWRPRSRQAVIXOOERPSRVLWLRQDO
ce RIDVDERPSOH33 wh-SKDVHQUHde IXQFWLRQVDDQDQOGHSHQGHQWSUHSRVLWLRQVWLQJ
HSUHVLRQVVLVWRVHSUHSRVLVLOOXVWUDWHGLQJLHUWHERPSSOHSB cine LVVHOHEFWHGEVHSUHGLEDWH
'EHSURXGRI'

L De {ce/ cine} HWL PQUX"
of KWK EHPRS2SG SURXG
KWKPDUHRXSURXGRI¶

'HWDDHGGHVFWWRQRIWK5RPDQVWHPQVHUURDWLHFODXVDEHRQFDQHIRXQQRPRURYVNL
3DQHOHDQURVXBSRQRQX DQ *KUH*URVX .

³ 7KDFHSWDEODQVHUSUHWDRQVQVWK5RPDQDWDVYKFSWHUDUHIUREven QVHVSHDNHUV
Six are IURPQXMDSRFDDFWQ 7UDQOYDQ DUHRQURP IRUWKVWHUQQNQVUDO5RPDQ; only one of
WKPMDORVW7KHHVSHDNHUVDUHWRPQVUDQOYDQQRQRIRIWKPM/DORVW 7K VSHDNHUV
IURP0ROGRYDregion in (DVWHUQRPDQVHURIWKPM/DORVW QQRXVUHYHUUHSRUWVWVW
DQDQVSHFIHGQPEH URIWVFRQXOWDQVWRP%FVUHVWDQ XQSHFIHGDUHDVRIQOYDQDQ

FRs) are allowed in Romanian. By contrast, the corresponding *why*-FR in English in (4) is judged completely unacceptable by our English consultants.

(3) Ana a plecat din țară (fix/ exact)⁴ [**de ce** a plecat și Maria].
 Ana has left from country precisely exactly why has left also Maria
 'Ana left the country for the (very same) reason(s) Maria left.'

(4) *Ana left the country [**why** Maria left the country].

Notice that FRs are extremely productive in English as well, not just Romanian, including when other adjunct *wh*-expressions introduce them, as shown in (5) for Romanian and (6) for English.

(5) Am făcut-o [**unde / când/ cum** ai făcut-o și tu].
 have.1SG did-CL.3SG where when how have.2SG did-CL.3SG also you
 'I did it where/when/how you did it.'

(6) I did it [**where/when/how** you did it].

Interrogative clauses introduced by the *wh*-word *why* or its equivalents across languages have received some attention, although mostly limited to their syntactic properties (see e.g., Rizzi 2001 for Italian, Shlonsky & Soare 2011 for Romanian, Jędrzejowski 2014 for Polish, Irurtzun 2021 for Basque). *Why*-FRs, instead, have been completely ignored as far as we know, not just in Romanian. Our chapter provides the first detailed description of *why*-FRs in Romanian (or in any other language we know of) together with their compositional semantic analysis and its implications for the meaning switch between 'why' in an FR and 'why' in an interrogative clause. We also briefly discuss the behavior of *de ce* in other non-interrogative *wh*-constructions in Romanian and consider the challenges currently raised by the attempt to develop a unified analysis of *de ce* across *wh*-clauses.

Our findings in Romanian show that the unacceptability of *why*-FRs in English and most other Indo-European languages cannot be an absolute ban—a ban that would be due to a violation of core grammatical principles—a conclusion further supported by empirical evidence from Mesoamerican languages (Caponigro et al. 2021) and Teramano, an Italian language (Mantenuto & Caponigro 2021). The existence of *why*-FRs in typologically unrelated languages strongly suggests that the grammar in general, and the syntax/semantic interface in particular, must allow for language variation in this area. More generally, we show that the properties of *why* and its crosslinguistic equivalents constitute a fruitful, albeit understudied area to investigate the way in which the meaning of *wh*-phrases varies across *wh*-clauses. The resulting insights may help situate *why*-expressions with respect to other, more productively used *wh*-phrases in non-interrogative

Eastern Romania) find *why*-FRs unacceptable. Investigation is necessary to determine the nature and extent of this variation.

⁴ Three out of our eleven consultants find *why*-FRs more acceptable if they are immediately preceded by an adverb such as *fix* 'precisely' or *exact* 'exactly' and judge them degraded otherwise. All consultants agree that the addition of *fix* 'precisely' makes the sentences sound even more natural. This applies to all examples provided in this paper, but for readability purposes we will omit the adverb.

constructions and as such are relevant not only for a more complete description of *wh*-clauses, but also for a better understanding of the semantic behavior of *wh*-expressions.

1. Introducing 'why' free relative clauses

Free relative clauses are embedded *wh*-clauses with the distribution of DP/PP arguments or PP adjuncts. Semantically, they behave like definite DPs or PPs with a definite DP as their complement. These properties are attested in *why*-FRs as well. The bracketed *why*-FR in (3), repeated in (7)a below, can be replaced and paraphrased by the bracketed PP adjunct in (7)b whose P head takes a singular or plural definite DP as its complement (as in English, 'why' in Romanian is unspecified for number).

- (7) a. Ana a plecat din țară [FR **de ce** a plecat și Maria].
 Ana has left from country why has left also Maria
 'Ana left the country for the reason(s) Maria left.'
- b. Ana a plecat din țară [PP [P **din**] [DP {**aceiași motiv**}/{**aceleiași motive**}
 Ana has left from country from the-same.SG reason/ the-same.PL reasons
 ca Maria]].
 as Maria
 'Ana left the country for the same reason(s) Maria did.'

Other examples of *why*-FRs and their PP equivalents are provided in (8) and (9), showing that we are dealing with a productive pattern.

- (8) a. Eu mănânc dulciuri [FR **de ce** tu bei alcool], să uit de probleme.
 I eat.1SG sweets why you drink.2SG alcohol SBJV forget.1SG of problems
 'I eat sweets for the same reason you drink alcohol—to forget about problems.'
- b. Eu mănânc dulciuri [PP [P **din**] [DP **aceiași motiv** pentru care tu bei
 I eat.1SG sweets from the-same.SG reason for which you drink.2SG
 alcool]], să uit de probleme.
 alcohol SBJV forget.1SG of problems
 'I eat sweets for the same reason you drink alcohol—to forget about problems.'
- (9) a. Profesorii au intrat în grevă [FR **de ce** au protestat și studenții].
 teachers-the have.3PL entered on strike why have.3PL protested also students-the
 'Teachers went on strike for the same reason students protested.'
- b. Profesorii au intrat în grevă [PP [P **din**] [DP **aceiași motiv**
 teachers-the have.3PL entered on strike from the-same.SG reason
 pentru care au protestat și studenții]].
 for which have.3PL protested also students-the
 'Teachers went on strike for the same reason students protested.'

Notice that the same *why*-FR can be paraphrased with a PP whose DP complement contains a nominal other than 'reason', like 'purpose' or 'cause', depending on the context, as shown in (10).

- (10) a. Ana a plecat din țară [PP [P **cu**] [DP **același scop** ca Maria]],
 Ana has left from country with the-same.SG purpose as Maria
 pentru libertate.
 for freedom
 'Ana left with the same purpose as Maria—for freedom.'
- b. Ana a plecat din țară [PP [P **din**] [DP **aceeași cauză** ca Maria]], de frică.
 Ana has left from country from the-same.SG cause as Maria of fear
 'The cause/reason for Ana leaving the country is the same as for Maria—fear.'
- c. Ana a plecat din țară [PP [P **din**] [DP **aceleași cauze** ca Maria]],
 Ana has left from country from the-same.PL causes as Maria
 de frică și disperare.
 of fear and despair
 'The causes/reasons for Ana leaving the country are the same as for Maria—fear and hopelessness.'

This same pattern is observed in 'why' interrogative clauses, as shown in (11)a and its different paraphrases in (11)b,c.

- (11) a. **De ce** ai plecat din țară?
 why have.2SG left from country
 'Why did you leave the country?'
- b. **Din ce motiv/cauză** ai plecat din țară?
 from what reason cause have.2SG left from country
 'For what reason did you leave the country?'
- c. **Cu ce scop** ai plecat din țară?
 with what purpose have.2SG left from country
 'For what purpose did you leave the country?'

The same multiplicity of paraphrases is attested in 'why' interrogative clauses in English (as shown by the translations in (11)b,c), Italian (according to the intuitions of one of the authors), and other languages as well (Tsai 2008, Jędrzejowski 2014 a.o.). In conclusion, it seems unlikely we are dealing with a simple ambiguity of the *wh*-expression for 'why' in Romanian, since ambiguity doesn't systematically replicate across constructions and languages. Therefore, the semantic restrictions associated with 'why' have to be broad enough to encompass all those specifications. In what follows, we assume that 'why' triggers a restriction to 'reason', with 'reason' being the subset of entities that includes reasons, causes, purposes, etc. (see Tovená *this volume* and references therein for a discussion of the notion of 'reason' and its linguistic consequences) and we call a PP that can replace and paraphrase a *why*-FR a *reason-PP*. This is a simplification. It abstracts away from various differences between purpose and reason readings of 'why'-interrogative clauses across languages (see e.g., Stepanov & Tsai 2008, Jędrzejowski 2014, Tsai 2018, Irurtzun 2021, Tovená *this volume*), although we are not aware of any description of the behavior of Romanian *de ce* in interrogative or non-interrogative *wh*-clauses along these lines. Insofar as we can tell, these differences do not affect our empirical claims about *why*-FRs nor the core of our analysis.

Another similarity between *why*-FRs and the reason-PPs that can replace and paraphrase them is their interaction with negation. Specifically, sentences with clausal negation in the matrix clause and a *why*-FR are ambiguous. For instance, the Romanian sentence in (12) can be paraphrased as Reading 1 or Reading 2.

- (12) Ana nu a plecat [**de ce** a plecat Maria].
 Ana not has left why has left Maria
 'Ana did not leave for the same reason(s) Maria left.'

Reading 1: Ana left and Maria left too, but not for the same reason.

Reading 2: Ana didn't leave and her reason for not leaving is the same as Maria's reason for leaving (e.g., there were a lot of smokers at the party; Ana likes social smoking, while Maria can't stand smoking at all; so, Ana didn't leave and the reason was that there were people smoking, while Maria left and the reason was that there were people smoking).⁵

Similar ambiguities are attested with sentences in which a reason-PP replaces and paraphrases the *why*-FR in (12), as shown in (13), or sentences with a *because* clause, as in (14), or sentences with a *because* PP, as in (15), or sentence with a purpose clause or purpose PP, as in (16).

- (13) Ana nu a plecat [_{PP} [_P**din**] [_{DP}{**aceleași** **motiv**}/{**aceleași** **motive**}ca Maria]].
 Ana not has left for the-same.SG reason the-same.PL reasons as Maria
 'Ana did not leave for the same reason Maria left.'

Reading 1: Ana left and Maria left too, but not for the same reason(s).

Reading 2: Ana didn't leave, and her reason(s) for not leaving is/are the same as Maria's reason(s) for leaving.

- (14) Ana nu a plecat [**pentru că** a plecat Maria].
 Ana not has left for that has left Maria
 'Ana didn't leave because Maria left.'

Reading 1: Ana left, but her reason for leaving was not the fact that Maria left.

Reading 2: Ana didn't leave, and her reason for not leaving was the fact that Maria left.

- (15) Ana nu a plecat [**din cauza plecării** Mariei].
 Ana not has left for cause-the departure-the.GEN Maria.GEN
 'Ana didn't leave because of Maria's departure.'

Reading 1: Ana left, and her reason for leaving was not Maria's departure.

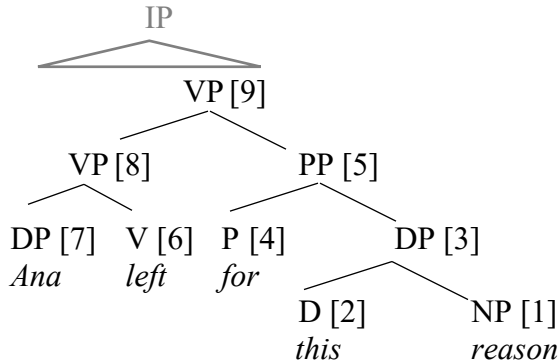
Reading 2: Ana didn't leave, and her reason for not leaving was Maria's departure.

⁵ All consultants agree that Reading 2 becomes more prominent when the *why*-FR is immediately preceded by an adverb such as *fix* 'precisely' or *exact* 'exactly'.

the extra movement. Since this issue is orthogonal to our analysis, we choose to work with the simpler LF in (30). For similar reasons, we are ignoring the contribution of tense and assume *left* to be analyzed as a unit. Last, we assume that the reason-PP *for this reason* combines as an adjunct to the VP. This is to capture the core semantic intuition in §2.1 that reasons apply to propositional content, together with the optionality of reason-PPs and the scope interaction with negation that we described in (12)–(16) and to which we return in (45) below.

The logical translation of (25) based on the LF in (30) is given in (31), step by step, from the bottom of the tree in (30) up. Below we only comment on the assumptions that are novel or not standard.

(30) *LF of (25):*



(31) *Logical translation of (25) according to the LF in (30):*

[1]	[_{NP} <i>reason</i>]	→	$\lambda y_e[\text{RN}_{\text{et}}(y)]^6$
[2]	[_D <i>this</i>]	→	$\lambda P_{\text{et}} \iota x_e[\text{P}(x) \wedge \text{PT}_{\text{S}(\text{et})}(x)]$
[3]	[_{DP} <i>this reason</i>]	→	$\lambda P \iota x[\text{P}(x) \wedge \text{PT}_{\text{S}}(x)](\lambda y[\text{RN}(y)])$ = $\iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{PT}_{\text{S}}(x)]$
[4]	[_P <i>for</i>]	→	$\lambda y_e \lambda p_{\text{st}} \text{FOR}_{\langle e, \langle \text{st}, t \rangle \rangle}(p, y)$
[5]	[_{PP} <i>for this reason</i>]	→	$\lambda y \lambda p \text{FOR}(p, y) (\iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{PT}_{\text{S}}(x)])$ = $\lambda p \text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{PT}_{\text{S}}(x)])$
[6]	[_v <i>left</i>]	→	$\lambda y_e[\wedge \text{LT}_{\text{et}}(y)]$
[7]	[_{DP} <i>Ana</i>]	→	a_e

⁶ In this and the following semantic derivations/translations, we add the semantic type as a subscript to each variable or constant when occurring for the first time. Semantic types of complex expressions are provided only when uncommon or particularly complex. Lower case letters are used for propositional variables (p, q), individual variables (x, y), and individual constants (all the others). Strings of two capitalized letters are used for set-denoting constants and are introduced by the translation of lexical items (e.g., RN , LT , etc.). Single capitalized letters stand for higher-order variables (as indicated at their first occurrence).

- [8] [VP *Ana left*] $\rightarrow \lambda y[\wedge\text{LT}(y)](a)$
 $= \wedge\text{LT}(a)$
- [9] [VP *Ana left for this reason*] $\rightarrow \lambda p\text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{PT}_s(x)])(\wedge\text{LT}(a))$
 $= \text{FOR}(\wedge\text{LT}(a), \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{PT}_s(x)])$

In (31), step [2] assumes that the demonstrative *this* receives the same logical translation as a definite determiner, but with an extra deictic requirement: it denotes a function from a set of individuals P (the one denoted by the NP complement of *this*) to the only individual in P that is pointed at by the speaker (*PT*_s). The specific details are not crucial for our analysis; what is crucial is that the demonstrative DP ends up denoting a reason entity (*RN*), as in [3].

Step [4] translates the preposition *for*, which connects a reason-denoting DP to the rest of the clause. It denotes a two-place relation *FOR* ('be the reason of') between entities (reasons) and propositions that returns true iff the condition in (32) holds, i.e., if the reason argument of *FOR* is a reason for its proposition argument in the world of evaluation.

$$(32) \llbracket \text{FOR}(p, y) \rrbracket^{w, g} = 1 \text{ iff } \llbracket y \rrbracket^{w, g} \text{ is an atomic or plural reason for } \llbracket p \rrbracket^{w, g}$$

2.3 The syntax and semantics of complex reason-PPs

With these assumptions in place, let us now move to the construction that exhibits the same truth conditions as *why*-FRs, but it does so by means of a more familiar and "transparent" morpho-syntax—the complex reason-PP, i.e., a PP whose NP complement is headed by *reason* (or a similar noun) and modified by a relative clause. An example is given in (33), together with its logical translation.

$$(33) \text{ *Ana left for the reason (for which) Maria left* } \rightarrow \text{FOR}(\wedge\text{LT}(a), \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{FOR}(\wedge\text{LT}(m), x)])$$

According to (33), the sentence is true iff the relation *FOR* holds between the reason of the proposition that Maria left on the one hand and the proposition that Ana left on the other. Equivalently, the sentence in (33) is true iff the proposition that Ana left and the proposition that Maria left share the same reason. How can these truth conditions be derived compositionally? These compositional steps will matter for our analysis of *why*-FRs, given the many morpho-syntactic similarities between the two constructions.

The LF of (33) we are assuming is provided in (34), with the same assumptions (and simplifications) as in (30). The logical translation of all the tree nodes from the bottom up follows in (35).

Going back to the analysis in (35), step [12] provides the semantics for the singular and plural definite determiner according to Link (1983): a function from a set of entities to the unique maximal sum of all those entities. In (35), the noun *reason* is singular and therefore the set denoted by the complex NP with *reason* modified by the relative clause will be a singleton (step [11]), whose only atomic individual will be the denotation of the whole complex definite DP (step [13]).⁹

The last step, [19], returns the logical translation for the whole sentence. This is identical to the one that we initially provided in (33), which achieves our goal to compositionally derive the semantic intuitions associated to a complex reason-PP and the sentence it occurs in.

2.4 The syntax and semantics of *why*-FRs

We now have all the necessary ingredients to present our analysis of *why*-FRs. Let's consider the Romanian sentence in (38)a with a *why*-FR in brackets. In what follows, we provide its semantic derivation by making use of its English/Romanian rendering in (38)b for ease of presentation.

- (38) a. Ana a plecat [_{FR} **de ce** a plecat Maria].
 Ana has left why has left Maria
 'Ana left for the reason Maria left.'
- b. Ana left [**de ce** Maria left].

The main semantic intuition that we want to account for is the identity in truth conditions between a sentence with a *why*-FR, like (38), and the corresponding sentence with a complex reason-PP in place of the *why*-FR, like the sentence in (33) we just discussed. In other words, we want our semantic analysis to end up assigning the sentence in (38) the logical translation in (39), which is the same as the logical translation we assigned to (33).

- (39) *Ana left [de ce Maria left]* → FOR(^LT(a),tx[RN(x) & FOR(^LT(m),x)])

This identity in meaning between *why*-FRs and complex reason-PPs contrasts with their morpho-syntactic differences. *Why*-FRs are clauses (*wh*-CPs) rather than PPs. Complex reason-PPs are made of a P (*for*) with a DP complement containing a definite determiner (*the*) and a nominal (*reason*), on top of their relative clause component (a *wh*-CP). *Why*-FRs, instead, lack all those extra components and structure.¹⁰ Still, they manage to deliver the same meaning as complex reason-PPs.

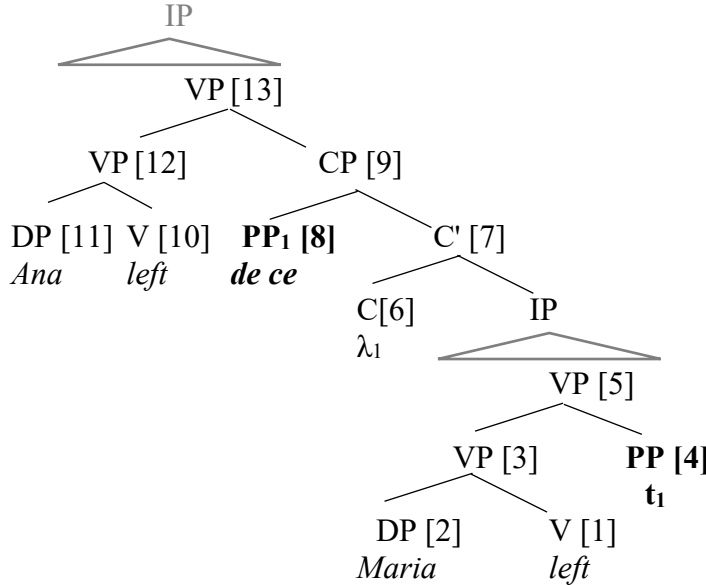
The key element responsible for the semantic behavior of *why*-FRs is the *wh*-phrase that introduces all of them: *de ce*. For reasons previously discussed (§2.3), we assume that *de ce* is a *wh*-PP without further internal composition. In analogy with our analysis of *for which*, we also assume that *de ce*

⁹ To be precise, the fact that *reason* is singular only restricts its denotation to a set of atomic individuals. If this set is not a singleton in (35), then the uniqueness and maximality requirements of the ι operator denoted by *the* would be violated and the whole complex definite DP would fail to denote.

¹⁰ The syntactic status of FRs in general is an open issue. We refer the interested reader to the recent overview in van Riemsdijk (2017). The precise syntactic status of a *why*-FR is not crucial for our analysis, as long as syntactically it behaves like an adjunct to the matrix VP.

is base-generated as a VP adjunct of the *why*-FR and then moves to the Spec,CP.¹¹ We therefore assign the sentence in (38) the LF in (40); its step-by-step logical translation is provided in (41).

(40) *LF of (38):*



(41) *Logical translation of (38) according to the LF in (40):*

[1]–[6] same as [1]–[6] in (35)

[7] $[C \lambda_1 \text{ Maria left } t_i] \rightarrow \lambda X[X(\wedge \text{LT}(m))]$

[8] $[PP \text{ de ce}]_i \rightarrow \lambda F \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge F(\lambda q[\text{FOR}(q, x)])]) \langle \langle \text{st}, t \rangle, t \rangle, \langle \text{st}, t \rangle \rangle]$

[9] $[CP [PP \text{ de ce}]_i C'] \rightarrow \lambda F \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge F(\lambda q[\text{FOR}(q, x)])]) (\lambda X[X(\wedge \text{LT}(m))])]$
 $= \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \lambda X[X(\wedge \text{LT}(m))]) (\lambda q[\text{FOR}(q, x)])]]]$
 $= \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \lambda q[\text{FOR}(q, x)](\wedge \text{LT}(m))])]$
 $= \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{FOR}(\wedge \text{LT}(m), x)])]$

[10] $[V \text{ left}] \rightarrow \lambda x[\wedge \text{LT}(x)]$

[11] $[DP \text{ Ana}] \rightarrow a$

[12] $[VP \text{ Ana left}] \rightarrow \lambda x[\wedge \text{LT}(x)](a)$
 $= \wedge \text{LT}(a)$

[13] $[VP \text{ Ana left CP}] \rightarrow \lambda p \text{FOR}(p, \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{FOR}(\wedge \text{LT}(m), x)]) (\wedge \text{LT}(a))$
 $= \text{FOR}(\wedge \text{LT}(a), \iota x[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{FOR}(\wedge \text{LT}(m), x)])]$

¹¹ The syntactic status of *de ce* in interrogative clauses has received little attention in the literature on Romanian *wh*-expressions. The only relevant exceptions we are aware of are Shlonsky & Soare (2011) and, to a lesser extent, Giurgea & Grosu (2019), but insofar as we can tell there are no conclusive arguments favoring an analysis of *de ce* involving *wh*-movement to Spec,CP vs. one in which it is base-generated in Spec,CP. We leave for future work a more thorough investigation of the syntactic behavior of *de ce*.

The semantic contribution of *de ce* is the core component of our analysis and the characterizing feature of the semantics of the whole *why*-FR. As shown in (41) step [8], we assume that *de ce* denotes a 2-place relation between F , a set of properties of propositions, and a proposition p . This relation returns the truth iff the “maximal” reason of p is the same as the reason of each proposition q that has one of the properties in F .

When *de ce* combines with the remainder of the *why*-FR, the whole *why*-FR ends up denoting the same property of propositions as the corresponding complex reason-PP, as evident by comparing the logical translation of the *why*-FR in (41) step [9] with the one of the reason-PP in (35) step [15].

The last four steps ([10]–[13]) of the logical translation of the sentence with the *why*-FR in (41) are the same as the last four steps ([16]–[19]) of the sentence with the complex reason-PP in (35). Also, the final step ([13]) in (41) delivers the same logical translation (i.e., truth conditions) as the initial core semantic intuition we formalized in (39), which is the desired result.

Comparing our analysis of *why*-FRs to what we previously proposed for complex reason-PPs, not only does *de ce* emerge as the characterizing element of *why*-FRs, but it also becomes apparent that *de ce* alone partially or fully incorporates the semantic contributions of four different components of a complex reason-PP: (i) the reason preposition *for*, which heads the whole PP, (ii) the definite determiner *the*, which heads the DP complement of *for*, (iii) the noun *reason*, which acts as the complement of *the* and the head of the following relative clause, and (iv) the *wh*-PP and relative pronoun *for which*. Most of these facts should not be surprising: *de ce* is, indeed, a *wh*-expression, which morphologically consists of the preposition *de* and the *wh*-word *ce*,¹² and semantically behaves like the lexicalized counterpart of the fully compositional *wh*-PP *din ce motiv* ‘for what reason’, which can introduce an FR as well in Romanian, as shown in (42).¹³

- (42) Ana a plecat [FR **din ce motiv** a plecat Maria].
 Ana has left for what reason has left Maria
 ‘Ana left for the reason Maria left.’

The fact that *de ce* triggers the same maximality as *the* is more peculiar, instead, although notice that (42) exhibit the same effect. Maximality in FRs is a well-known fact, although its analysis has been mainly limited to more frequently attested cases of FRs that are introduced by *wh*-expressions like *who* and *what*, and their equivalents across languages.¹⁴ One idea is that *who*-FRs and *what*-FRs compositionally end up denoting a set of individuals and all their sums, i.e., a join-semilattice (Caponigro 2003, 2004). This is shown in (43), with CP_1 denoting the join-semilattice of all the non-human (\neg human) individuals that Maria ate. By definition, a join-semilattice always has one and only one join, the member resulting from the sum of all the others. An information-preserving type-shifting rule applies that switches the denotation of CP_1 , a join-semilattice (type $\langle e, t \rangle$) to the denotation of CP_2 , the join of the semilattice (type e). In this way, the FR in (43) ends

¹² This morphological composition for *why*-expressions is attested in other languages, e.g., French *pourquoi* or Italian *perché*. As mentioned in fn. 2, there are reasons to believe that *de ce* on its ‘why’ interpretation is no longer analyzed as compositionally complex but has been lexicalized as a unit.

¹³ See Caponigro & Fălăuș (to appear) for a discussion of FRs introduced by *ce* + NP in Romanian.

¹⁴ See Jacobson (1994) and Dayal (1996) for seminal work on the semantics of free relative clauses, Caponigro (2003, 2004) for further developments, and Šimík (2020) for a recent and thorough review.

3. Other *wh*-clauses introduced by 'why'

In this section, we briefly touch on *wh*-clauses that are introduced by *de ce* in Romanian that are not *why*-FRs in order to highlight their semantic differences with respect to *why*-FRs and discuss whether the semantic analysis of *de ce* in *why*-FRs we have proposed applies to these constructions as well. In particular, we look at interrogative clauses, Modal Existential Constructions, and correlative clauses. To facilitate the comparison, we always use the embedded *wh*-clause in (49) (or a closely-related version) for the constructions under consideration.

(49) [IP ... [CP **de ce** a plecat Maria]]
 why has left Maria

When the *wh*-clause in (49) acts as a *why*-FR, it receives the logical translation in (50)a (same as the one we provided in (41), step [9]), while (50)b provides its denotation in a world w , i.e., the set of all the propositions whose reason is the same as the reason of the proposition 'Maria left' in w . The logical translation of the *wh*-expression *de ce* in a *why*-FR is repeated in (51) to facilitate the comparison with its occurrence in other *wh*-clauses.

(50) a. [_{FR} **de ce** Maria left] $\rightarrow \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \text{ix}[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{FOR}(\wedge \text{LT}(m), x)])]$
 b. $\llbracket \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \text{ix}[\text{RN}(x) \wedge \text{FOR}(\wedge \text{LT}(m), x)])] \rrbracket^w = \{\text{Ana left, Lia stayed, Donka smiled, ...}\}$

(51) [**de ce**]_{FR} $\rightarrow \lambda F \lambda p[\text{FOR}(p, \text{ix}[\text{RN}(x) \wedge F(\lambda q[\text{FOR}(q, x)])])]$

Interrogative clauses. Embedded interrogative *wh*-clauses introduced by *de ce* look identical to *why*-FRs in Romanian, as shown in (52).

(52) Ana se întrebă [**de ce** a plecat Maria].
 Ana REFL asks why has left Maria
 'Ana wonders why Maria left.'

These interrogative clauses haven't received much attention in the semantic literature, and we are not aware of any compositional semantic analysis for them or their *wh*-expression.¹⁵ We sketch a possible proposal in (53) and (54). The logical translation in (53)a is a direct extension of a Hamblin/Karttunen-style analysis of interrogative clauses enriched by insights and assumptions from our analysis of *why*-FRs. (53)b, instead, provides the denotation/extension of (53)a in w , i.e., the set of propositions of the kind 'Maria left because of x ' with x being a different reason for the proposition 'Maria left'. (54) provides the possible semantic contribution of *why* in interrogative clauses if it combines with the remainder of its clause by function application, the same mode of composition we assumed for *why*-FRs and their *wh*-expression.

¹⁵ See Tovena (2023) for a detailed discussion of a kind of interrogative *wh*-clause that can be used to ask about reasons in French.

(53) a. [INTERR **de ce** Maria left] $\rightarrow \lambda p \exists x [RN(x) \wedge p = \wedge FOR(\wedge LT(m), x)]$

b. $\llbracket \lambda p \exists x [RN(x) \wedge p = \wedge FOR(\wedge LT(m), x)] \rrbracket^w =$
 {Maria left because of the crisis, Maria left because of the police investigation, Maria left because of the war, ...}

(54) [**de ce**]_{INTERR} $\rightarrow \lambda F \lambda p \exists x [RN(x) \wedge p = \wedge F(\lambda q [FOR(q, x)])]$

Although morpho-syntactically identical (at least on the surface), *why*-FRs and interrogative clauses introduced by *de ce* exhibit significant semantic differences. Both constructions denote a set of propositions, but the nature of those propositions is different, as shown by the different logical translations in (50)a vs. (53)a and the different denotations in (50)b vs. (53)b. The meaning of *de ce* in the two constructions is different as well, which doesn't come as a surprise given the characterizing role that *de ce* plays in building the meaning of either clause. Based on these differences between *de ce* in the two constructions, we do not currently see any simple and/or principled way to derive the meaning of one from the other.

Before concluding these brief remarks, we would like to mention an intriguing fact about interrogative *wh*-clauses introduced by *why* that we think deserves attention and further investigation. A question about reason that is conveyed by a *why* interrogative clause admits other kinds of propositions as its possible answers, besides those exemplified in (53)b. For instance, the question conveyed by *Why did Maria leave?* admits answers like the proposition conveyed by the sentence *Maria left because there was a crisis* ("because-CP" option) or the proposition conveyed by the sentence *Maria left because of the fact that there was a crisis* ("because-of+the+NP+CP" option), on top of *Maria left because of a crisis* ("because-of+DP" option), which is the only option we have considered so far. Although semantically (almost) identical, these options look significantly different morpho-syntactically. An account of their morpho-syntax/semantics mapping may be worth pursuing.

Modal Existential Constructions. *Modal Existential Constructions (MECs)* are *wh*-clauses embedded under a limited class of matrix predicates crosslinguistically, namely counterparts of the existential 'be' and/or 'have'.¹⁶ They are not attested in English, but are extremely productive in Romanian, occurring as complements of the existential predicate *a avea* 'to have'. They can be introduced by any *wh*-expression (except the *wh*-phrase *care* 'which' + NP, see Caponigro & Fălăuș to appear), including *de ce*, as illustrated in (55)a–c.

(55) a. Maria nu are [_{MEC} **de ce** {pleca}/ {să plece}].
 Maria not has why leave.INF SBJV leave.3SG
 'Maria doesn't have any reason to leave.'

¹⁶ See Grosu (2004, 2013) and Šimík (2011, 2013, 2017) for detailed discussion. Caponigro (2003, 2004), instead, argues that they are another kind of free relative clauses and calls them *Existential Free Relatives*. Here we follow Grosu's and Šimík's terminology and call them "MECs", since Grosu has specifically investigated them in Romanian. Nothing crucial in what we are presenting hinges on this terminological distinction and what's behind it.

necessary to establish whether such distinctions are warranted for *why*-expressions in non-interrogative clauses.

Our findings further our understanding of the crosslinguistic variation among *wh*-expressions and their use across *wh*-clauses. It has been long noticed in the syntactic literature that interrogative clauses introduced by 'why' across languages display syntactic properties that set them apart from interrogatives introduced by other *wh*-expressions, with special word order or intervention effects (for recent discussion and crosslinguistic evidence, see e.g., Irurtzun 2021). Our paper adds a different dimension to the puzzles surrounding *why* and its crosslinguistic equivalents by showing that this element can also introduce FRs (as well as various other non-interrogative *wh*-clauses). It is an open question at this point whether the observed syntactic and/or semantic peculiarities of elements like *de ce* relate in any way to the morphological complexity of the *wh*-phrases in which they often originate (see remarks in footnotes 8 and 12).

Table 1 provides the full inventory of *wh*-expressions across *wh*-clauses in Romanian, allowing a direct comparison between the distribution of *de ce* and that of other elements in the rich and productive system of *wh*-expressions in the language.

Table 1. Inventory of *wh*-expressions across *wh*-clauses in Romanian

<i>Wh</i> -expression	FR	Interrogative	MEC	Correlative	Headed relative clause
<i>de ce</i> 'why'	√	√	√	√	*
<i>cine</i> 'who'	√	√	√	√	*
<i>ce</i> 'what'	√	√	√	√	√
<i>când</i> 'when'	√	√	√	√	√
<i>unde</i> 'where'	√	√	√	√	√
<i>cum</i> 'how'	√	√	√	√	√
<i>ce</i> + NP 'what NP'	√	√	√	√	*
<i>care</i> + NP 'which NP'	*	√	*	√	*
<i>cât</i> 'how much'	√	√	√	√	*
<i>cât/ă/i/e</i> + NP/AdjP/AdvP 'how much/many'	√	√	√	√	*

Table 1 shows that the only *wh*-clauses where *de ce* cannot occur are headed relative clauses, a restriction illustrated by the unacceptability of the sentence in (61)a. Romanian makes use of a

different *wh*-expression (*care* 'which') as the relative pronoun introducing a relative clause with the head *motivul* 'the reason', as shown in (61)b.

- (61) a. * Motivul **de ce** a plecat Maria rămâne necunoscut.
 reason-the why has left Maria remains unknown
 ('The reason why Maria left remains unknown.')
- b. Motivul **pentru care** a plecat Maria rămâne necunoscut.
 reason-the for which has left Maria remains unknown
 'The reason why Maria left remains unknown.'

This distributional property sets *de ce* apart from other adjunct *wh*-expressions, such as *unde* 'where', *când* 'when' or *cum* 'how', which can all introduce headed relative clauses. Recall from §2.4 ex. (48) that the semantic behavior of *de ce* in FRs also differs from that of the other adjunct *wh*-expressions, further showing that the properties of *why*-expressions need to be investigated separately (and if anything, should be examined in parallel with the properties of complex reason-PPs).

The systematic use of *de ce* in all the other *wh*-clauses listed in the table above raises questions for future investigation. An important issue is how the various uses relate to one another—is one meaning more basic than the others? Our brief survey of *de ce* across *wh*-clauses suggests that its semantic contribution is different in each construction. Accordingly, at this stage there does not seem to be any principled way to synchronically derive one version of *de ce* from another, but more detailed cross-construction and crosslinguistic comparisons are needed to substantiate our findings for Romanian and reach more firm conclusions.

A related issue is the fact that FRs introduced by *why* appear to be rarer than those introduced by other *wh*-expressions across languages, although further crosslinguistic studies are needed to corroborate this preliminary generalization.¹⁹ We would like to tentatively speculate on why this may be the case, if confirmed, by suggesting two non-mutually exclusive lines of explanation.

Let's start by repeating the lexical entry for *de ce* we argued for in *why*-FRs in Romanian in (62).

$$(62) [de\ ce]_{FR} \rightarrow \lambda F \lambda p [\text{FOR}(p, \iota x [\text{RN}(x) \wedge F(\lambda q [\text{FOR}(q, x)])])]$$

If the meaning of *de ce* in *why*-FRs in (62) cannot be straightforwardly derived from the meaning of *de ce* in any other kinds of *wh*-clauses and if, as we believe, our analysis of Romanian *why*-FRs exemplifies the general pattern of *why*-FRs across languages, then a language with a *why*-FR has to develop a lexical entry for 'why' that is as semantically rich as (62). On the other hand, as we discussed extensively, complex reason-PPs allow to convey the same rich meaning by avoiding lexicalization and by relying on a more compositional syntax/semantic mapping, thanks to their more articulated morpho-syntax. Therefore, while *why*-FRs may be allowed by the grammar in principle, they may be disfavored by the factors responsible for turning options in the general grammatical inventory of human language into actual lexical items and constructions in a given language.

¹⁹ See Caponigro (2021) for supporting data concerning fifteen languages, mainly Mesoamerican.

Another “non-grammatical” reason disfavoring *why*-FRs may have to do with informativeness. FRs are excellent devices to refer to individuals by providing articulated descriptions of the identifying properties of individuals. For instance, the bracketed FR in (63)a introduced by *what* identifies the specific food (not just the kind) Ana ate by describing it as the one that Maria prepared for a special occasion in a certain way. Specific instantiations of food don’t have their own proper names: we can still precisely refer to them using FRs like (63)a, or related devices like complex definite DPs with a headed relative clause inside. Similarly, the bracketed FR introduced by *where* in (63)b identifies a location by an articulated formulation of its characterizing property.

- (63) a. Ana ate [FR **what** Maria prepared for Easter with passion and creativity].
 b. Ana walked [FR **where** Maria spent hours reading when she was young].
 c.*Ana left [**why** Maria left].
 d. Ana left [**because of** her job].
 e. Ana left [**because** she accepted a job abroad].

On the other hand, if the *why*-FR in (63)c were possible in English as it is possible in Romanian, it would mean the same as the acceptable Romanian counterpart: the reason Ana left is the same as the reason Maria left. This would not be the most informative way to identify the relevant reason in many circumstances or discourses. In fact, after hearing (63)c in Romanian, Romanian speakers are still left wondering what the reason for Ana’s and Maria’s departure was. In contrast, a simple reason-PP is a much effective device to refer to a specific reason, as we discussed in §2.2. For instance, (63)d identifies Ana’s job as the reason for her departure. Notice that there’s an even more expressive device to refer to or name a reason: a *because* clause, as in (63)e. The underlined component of the bracketed *because* clause in (63)e, *she accepted a job abroad*, can be taken as the “proper name” of the reason the speaker is referring to, i.e., the proposition ‘Ana accepted a job’ or its nominalized/entity version ‘the fact that Ana accepted a job’. The relationship between reasons as entities (which is what we have assumed so far) and reasons as propositions deserves its own investigation, which we leave to future research. We are mentioning it here just to make the final observation that Romanian, English, and any other language that has FRs in its grammatical inventory can use FRs as effective devices to refer to people, objects, locations, etc., while *why*-FRs may not be as effective in precisely identifying reasons as other available constructions. Given this informational asymmetry, there may be less pressure on a language to lexicalize a meaning like the complex one in (62), by using ‘why’ or any other lexical item.

We hope that our findings in Romanian will stimulate future investigation of *why*-expressions in FRs and other non-interrogative constructions and will contribute to a better understanding of its syntactic and semantic behavior across constructions and across languages.

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