On bare and non-bare temporal names in Romanian*

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Abstract

The present paper investigates punctual vs. habitual readings of Romanian proper temporal names of the type *luni* 'Monday' vs. *lunea* 'Monday.DEF'. These readings are associated with the absence vs. presence of the definite article (Franco and Lorusso 2022). The paper makes two major claims. Firstly, following Longobardi (1994, 2005), and Franco and Lorusso (2020), the paper claims that with bare, i.e., definiteless, proper time names, N-to-D movement triggers individual-like reference, which, in turn, explains why the event is interpreted as punctual. Secondly, the paper shows that the structure of proper temporal names is complex, in the sense that it contains the classifier *zi* 'day', thus paralleling the structure of complex descriptive proper names of the type 'the planet Venus' (see van Riemsdijk 1998, Cornilescu 2007 a.o.). This classifier is shown to be overt when there is no N-raising, and silent when N raises to D in the structure of proper temporal names.

Keywords: temporal names, classifiers, N-raising

1. Introduction and aims

The aim of the present paper is two-fold. On the one hand, the paper aims at investigating punctual readings (1) versus habitual readings (2) of proper temporal names in Romanian, focusing on names of days (see Franco and Lorusso 2020 for Italian):[1]

(1) *Merg   la film   marți.*
     go.PRES.1SG to movie   Tuesday
     'I'm going to the movies on Tuesday.' = one specific Tuesday

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[1] The abbreviations used in the paper are the following: ACC – accusative; CL – clitic; DAT – dative; DEF – definite article; DOM – differential object marking; FEM – feminine; FUT – future; IMPERF – imperfective; MASC – masculine; PL – plural; PRES – present; REFL – reflexive; SG – singular

(2)   *Merg   la film   marţea.*
        go.PRES.1SG   to movie   Tuesday.DEF
        'I go to the movies on Tuesdays.' = every Tuesday[2]

As shown in example (2), when names of days appear as adverbials modifying an event, the event is interpreted as a *habitual* one if the temporal name is accompanied by the definite determiner. The example in (1), on the other hand, shows that the event is interpreted as a *punctual* one if the temporal name is bare.

Following Longobardi (1994, 2005), and Franco and Lorusso (2020), the paper claims that with bare proper time names, N-to-D movement triggers individual-like reference, which, in turn, explains why the event in interpreted as punctual. N-to-D movement is apparent in the syntax of (3 a, b). (3a) illustrates the base position of the noun *marţi* / 'Tuesday', viz. the N position. In (3b), the noun *marţi* / 'Tuesday' raises across the adjective *viitoare* / 'next' and incorporates the definite article.

(3)
a.   *Merg   la film   viitoarea   *(zi de)   marţi.*
        go.PRES.1SG   to movie   next.DEF   *(day of)   Tuesday
        'I'm going to the movies next Tuesday.'
b.   *Merg   la film   marţea   viitoare.*
        go.PRES.1SG   to movie   Tuesday.DEF   next
        'I'm going to the movies next Tuesday.'

The process of N-raising in (3b) is accompanied by an interesting phenomenon, the obligatory emergence of the classifier *zi* 'day' (to be discussed in section 3.2). Therefore, the second aim of the paper is to show that, with names of days, Romanian uses *zi* 'day' as a

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[2] An anonymous reviewer points out that the definite, i.e. *marţea* 'Tuesday.DEF' should not be interpreted as universal, but as generic. Similarly, indefinite temporal nominals like *marţi* 'Tuesday' can also have a generic interpretation. However, according to my and my informants' judgments, the most natural interpretation of the pair (1)-(2), in an out-of-the-blue scenario, is punctuality (one event) versus habituality (a sequence of events).

   The anonymous reviewer suggests that the right generalization with respect to the data in (1) and (2) seems to be that while the definite forms get interpreted as habitual, bare temporal nominals are the elsewhere realization, in the sense that they can be both habitual and punctual. They offer the example in (a) as an illustration of the fact that bare proper temporal names can have a habitual interpretation (I have taken out the glosses for simplification):

(i) *Mariei îi place rutina. Are un program săptămânal pe care îl respectă cu stricteţe.* **Luni** *se duce la teatru,* **marţi** *se duce la operă,* **miercuri** *are ore de balet...*
   'Maria likes routine. She has a weekly schedule that she strictly sticks to. On Monday she goes to the theatre, on Tuesday she goes to the cinema, on Wednesday she takes ballet classes…'

However, my and my informants' judgments point to the fact that even when the bare temporal name is embedded in a larger scenario, i.e. as opposed to out-of-the-blue sentences, the habitual interpretation is likely to pair with the definite proper temporal name:

(ii) *Mariei îi place rutina. Are un program săptămânal pe care îl respectă cu stricteţe.* **Lunea** *se duce la teatru,* **marţea** *se duce la operă,* **miercurea** *are ore de balet...*
   'Maria likes routine. She has a weekly schedule that she strictly sticks to. On Monday.DEF she goes to the theatre, on Tuesday.DEF she goes to the cinema, on Wednesday.DEF she takes ballet classes…'

classifier (see also the analysis of restrictive appositives in van Riemsdijk 1998 and complex or descriptive proper names in Cornilescu 2007). The paper shows that the classifier is overt when there is no N-raising (5); it is silent, however, when N raises to D (6).

(4)   Merg   la film   viitoarea *(zi de) marți.
        go.PRES.1SG to movie next.DEF   (day of) Tuesday
        'I'm going to the movies next Tuesday.'

(5)   minunata   *(zi de) marți
        wonderful.DEF   day of   Tuesday
        'the wonderful Tuesday'

(6)   marțea   minunată
        Tuesday.DEF   wonderful
        'the wonderful Tuesday'

It will be shown that proper temporal names take classifiers, as illustrated in (4), while the role of 'de'/'of' is that of a partitive marker, assigning abstract genitive case (see Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2009, 2017).

2. The data

In Romanian, the set of proper temporal adverbials that modify verbal events differ in interpretation. This set includes days of the week (e.g., *luni*, Monday, *marți*, Tuesday, etc.).

(7)   *Merg   la magazine   lunea.*
        go.PRES.1SG at shop   Monday.DEF
        'I go shopping on Mondays.'

(8)   *Merg   la magazine   luni.*
        go.PRES.1SG at shop   Monday
        'I'm going shopping on Monday.'

When the temporal modifier is accompanied by the definite determiner (7), the event is interpreted as a habitual one, while when the proper temporal modifier lacks a definite determiner and it, therefore, appears 'bare' (8), the event is perceived as punctual, non-iterable[3].

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3   Not all native speakers share the judgements concerning the data in (7) and (8). However, in out-of-the-blue sentences or natural question-and-answer pairs of the type in (a) (where speaker A inquires about speaker B's arrangement on a specific Monday, i.e. next Monday).

   (iii)   A: *Ce   faci   luni?*
              what   do.PRES.1SG   Monday?
              'What are you doing on Monday? / this Monday?'
           B: *Merg   la film   luni /   Luni   merg   la film.*
              go.PRES.1SG at movie   Monday / Monday go.PRES.SG at movie
              'I'm going to the movies on Monday.'

The same variation can be found in Italian (Franco and Lorusso 2022). (9b) shows the habitual reading, encapsulated by the definite proper temporal name, while (9c) shows the punctual reading, with the bare temporal name. Unlike Romanian, Italian also has the variant in (9a) for the habitual reading, featuring the genitive-assigning preposition *di* (Franco and Lorusso 2022: 2):

(9)
a. *vado   al   cinema di lunedì*   = habitual reading
    go.PRES.1SG to.the cinema of Monday
    'I (usually) go to the cinema on Mondays.'
b. *vado   al   cinema il   lunedì*   = habitual reading
    go.PRES.1SG to.the cinema DEF   Monday
    'I (usually) go to the cinema on Mondays.'
c. *vado   al   cinema lunedì*   = punctual reading
    go.PRES.1SG to.the cinema Monday
    'I go to the cinema next Monday.'   Franco and Lorusso (2022: 2)

Unlike Italian, where the contrast between the punctual and the habitual reading holds only for irrealis contexts (see Franco and Lorusso 2022), in Romanian the contrast holds for other tenses, the past (10) or the future (11), which indicates that it is the peculiar behavior of proper temporal adverbs that triggers the asymmetry in the aspectual interpretation of the event, and not the interpretation of the tense involved, i.e., realis or irrealis.

(10) *Mergeam   la magazin lunea /   luni.*
      go.IMPERF.1SG at shop   Monday.DEF / Monday
      'I went shopping on Mondays / I went shopping on Monday.'

(11) *Voi   merge la magazin lunea /   luni*
      will.1SG go   to shop   Monday.DEF /   Monday
      'I'll go shopping on Mondays / I'm going shopping on Monday.'

Another relevant observation concerns time adverbs. Time adverbs like *ieri* 'yesterday' or *azi* 'today' cannot be employed with definite determiners, irrespective of their realis or irrealis orientation (12)-(13). They can convey only a punctual interpretation of the event, just like the 'bare' adverbials in (8) (for the Italian data see Franco and Lorusso 2022:6).

(12) *Am   mers la magazin ieri /   *ieriul.*
      have.1SG gone to shop   yesterday / yesterday.DEF
      'I went shopping yesterday.'

In contrast, in question-and-answer pairs of the type in (b), the habitual interpretation is triggered (speaker A inquires about what speaker B usually does)

(iv)   A: *Ce   faci   lunea?*
            what do.PRES.1SG   Monday.DEF?
            'What do you do on Mondays?'
        B: *Merg   la film   lunea /   Lunea   merg   la film.*
            go.PRES.1SG at movie   Monday.DEF / Monday.DEF go.PRES.1SG   at movie
            'I go to the movies on Mondays.'

(13)   *Merg   la magazine azi /   *aziul.*
       go.PRES.1SG at shop   today / *today.DEF
       'I'm going shopping today.'

Similarly, yet another category of proper temporal names in Romanian, i.e., names of months, cannot take a definite determiner either. Since names of months cannot co-occur with the definite article in Romanian, the habitual-punctual distinction is excluded in this case, as illustrated by (14).

(14)   *Merg   la țară   în mai /   *maiul.*
       go.1SG   at countryside   in May /   *May.DEF
       'I'm going to the countryside in May.'

As far as proper names of seasons are concerned, the first observation is that they are able to encode the punctual-habitual distinction by an alternation between a prepositional construction (15) and the emergence of the definite article (16). The prepositional construction in (15) encodes the punctual reading, while the definite article construction in (16) encodes the habitual reading.

(15)   *Merg   la țară   la primăvară*
       go.PRES.1SG at countryside   at spring
       'I'm going to the countryside this spring.'

(16)   *Merg   la țară   primăvara.*
       go.1SG   at countryside   spring.DEF
       'I go to the countryside in spring.'

The cursory glance at the data indicates, therefore, that an analysis is needed to account for the association between the definite determiner accompanying names of days (and seasons) and the habitual interpretation.

3. Analysis

3.1. N-to-D raising with proper temporal names

This section aims at showing that, in Romanian proper temporal adverbials, like 'canonical' proper nouns in Italian (see Longobardi 1994, 2005, Alexiadou 2001, Tănase-Dogaru 2009, a.o.), are able to raise to D. Longobardi (1994) provided evidence for N-to-D raising in Romance languages, by mainly arguing that proper nouns raise to the D-position, the locus of referentiality. Starting from the examples in (17), Longobardi (1994) assumes that the proper noun needs to move from N^0 in order to fill in the empty D^0 position, thus crossing over the adjective/ possessive:

(17)
a.   *Il   mio Gianni ha   finalmente telefonato*   (Italian)
     the   my Gianni has finally   called up

b.   **Mio   Gianni ha   finalmente   telefonato*
        my   Gianni has   finally   called up
c.   *Gianni mio ha   finalmente   telefonato*
        Gianni my   has   finally   called up   Longobardi (1994: 623)

In (17), the proper noun *Gianni* raises from N^0 in (17a) to D^0 in (17c), crossing over the possessive *mio* 'my' and incorporating the definite article. As shown by (17b), in the absence of the definite article, the proper noun cannot remain in N^0. In other words, the proper name either remains in N^0, while definiteness is expressed by the definite article in D^0, or it raises to D^0, where it incorporates definiteness.

In English, on the other hand, as illustrated by the contrast in (18a,b), proper nouns cannot raise to D^0. Therefore, by the logic of the 'only DPs as arguments' hypothesis, i.e., a nominal expression is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D, Longobardi (1994) assumes the existence of an empty determiner in the English example (18a), which is responsible for definiteness:

(18)
a.   *Old John came in* (English)
b.   **John old came in.*   Longobardi (1994: 624)

The examples in (17) and (18) show that proper names move to D overtly in Italian, while English shows covert movement of the proper noun to D. In conclusion, Longobardi (1994) proposes a parametric variation for Italian and English: Italian substitutes N for D in overt syntax while English does the same at LF.

In Romanian proper nouns also bear definite articles (19a). As the examples in (19a-c) show, in contrast to languages like German (19b) and Greek (19c), which appear in the company of a proclitic definite article, Romanian proper nouns bear enclitic definite articles.

(19)
a.   *Clujul   e   frumos. / I-am   dat   lui   Ion cartea.*
        Cluj.DEF is beautiful / CL.ACC.DAT.SG-have given DEF.DAT Ion book.DEF
        'The city of Cluj is beautiful' / 'I gave Ion the book'
b.   *Der   Hans ist weggegangen.* (German)
        DEF   Hans is   arrived
        'Hans left.'
c.   *O   Kostis   efuge.* (Greek)
        DEF Kostis   ran
        'Kostis left.'   Borer (2005: 85)

A very interesting phenomenon related to the fact that proper nouns have a complex syntactic structure is the behavior of animal names in Romanian. As shown in Tănase-Dogaru (2009: 139), animal names can get a proper noun interpretation when they appear without determiners, i.e., in D. In (20a), the noun is licensed as a common noun while in (20b) it is licensed as a proper noun.

(20)

a. *Viermele   este scârbos. /   Hiena   este moartă*
    worm.DEF   is   disgusting. / hyena.DEF is   dead.
    'The worm is disgusting.' /   'The hyena is dead'

b. *Vierme s-a supărat pe   mine / Hienă   a plecat în turneu.*
    Worm   is   upset   with me /   hyena   left   in tour.
    'Worm is upset with me'/   'Hyena went on tour.'   Tănase-Dogaru (2009: 139)

It is a familiar observation that, in Romanian, Differential Object Marking by means of *pe* selects type <e> entities, a reading which is reinforced by clitic-doubling. The contrasts in (21) clearly show that common nouns are licensed as proper nouns in the appropriate syntactic configurations:

(21)

a. *L-am   văzut pe   Vierme*
    CL.ACC.MASC.SG-have.PRES.1SG seen   DOM   Worm
    'I saw Worm.'

b. *Am   văzut viermele.*
    have.PRES.1SG seen   worm.DEF
    'I saw the worm.'

Having shown that proper nouns have a complex structure, and going back to the proper temporal names or adverbs in (7)-(8), repeated here for convenience as (22)-(23), I claim that this subset of proper nouns also has a complex syntactic structure.

(22) *Merg   la magazine lunea.*
      go.PRES.1SG at shop   Monday.DEF
      'I go shopping on Mondays.'

(23) *Merg   la magazine luni.*
      go.PRES.1SG at shop   Monday
      'I'm going shopping on Monday.'

As stated before, when the proper temporal name is accompanied by the definite determiner, the interpretation is necessarily habitual (22); when the proper temporal name is bare, the interpretation is necessarily punctual (23). It is the raising of the proper temporal name to D that gives rise to the punctual interpretation. The proper time adverb can move to the D position and it is spelt out in D, as illustrated in (24) (following Franco and Lorusso 2022). N-to-D movement triggers an individual-like reference, in a manner identical to the proper name movement to D in Longobardi (2005, 2008), the result of which is the interpretation of the event as punctual.

(24) [IP [VP merg   [1SG [PP la magazin]   [SpecDP luni … [NP luni]]]]]
      go.PRES.1SG   at shop   Monday   (see Franco and Lorusso 2020: 5)

This type of analysis is in line with other observations in the literature on proper temporal names (see, for instance Anderson 2003, 2004, 2007 and Langendonck (2007). Anderson (2003: 367) claims that proper temporal names, or *calendrical* names are hybrid, in the sense that they

are deictically restricted names that can also be used as count nouns (see Anderson 2003: 367). Langendonck (2007: 223) notices the same ambiguity in English examples such as (25a,b):

(25)
a.   *June is (usually) a hot month.*
b.   *June was hot.*

(25a) shows a 'recursive (cyclic, generic, habitual)' interpretation of the month name *June*, which indicates the spelling out of *June* in N. (25b) exemplifies a non-recursive, more 'prototypical' deictic reading of the proper name, which shows that the proper name has moved and is spelled out in D (as in (24)). Since English has bare proper names, the punctual vs. habitual distinction can only be encoded by means different aspectual make-ups, i.e. the present in (25a) vs. the past in (25b), unlike languages like Italian or Romanian, which have proper names surfacing in the company of definite articles, proper temporal names included. As originally observed by Franco and Lorusso (2022: 7), the situation in (25a,b) is related to the punctual vs. habitual (or bounded vs. unbounded) value of Italian proper temporal names. As argued throughout in this paper, the same punctual vs. habitual value can be ascribed to Romanian proper temporal names. As Franco and Lorusso put it, "there must be a way to turn a proper name into a countable entity in order to obtain a habitual/iterative value for the event described by means of proper temporal adverbials" (Franco and Lorusso 2022: 7).

This section has shown that proper temporal names can move to D, in a manner similar to the way proper names undergo N-to-D movement. The reflex of this syntactic movement is the punctual interpretation. The next section shows that the syntactic structure of (temporal) proper names contains a classifier; this classifier is overt in the adjective – proper name order, i.e., in the absence of N-to-D movement.

3.2. *On classifiers and proper (temporal) names*

The main focus of this section is to discuss the complex syntactic structure of proper (temporal) names, illustrated in (26)-(29). (26) illustrates the punctual reading of the proper temporal name *marți* 'Tuesday', while (27) illustrates N-to-D movement across the adjective *viitoarea* 'next' resulting in the punctual interpretation, mainly because of the meaning of the adjective 'next'. (28) illustrates an interesting property of the proper temporal name accompanied by an adjective like *viitoare* 'next', which triggers the punctual reading, namely the presence of the adjective triggers the overt realization of a classifier *zi* 'day', which would otherwise remain silent. (29) shows that the presence of an evaluative adjective like *minunata* 'wonderful' also mandatorily triggers the overt realization of the classifier.

(26)   *Merg   la film   marți.*
        go.PRES.1SG to movie   Tuesday
        'I'm going to the movies on Tuesday.'

(27)   *Merg   la film   marțea   viitoare.*
        go.PRES.1SG to movie   Tuesday.DEF   next
        'I'm going to the movies next Tuesday.'

(28) *Merg   la film   viitoarea   *(**zi** de)   marți.*
      go.PRES.1SG to movie   next.DEF   (day of)   Tuesday
      'I'm going to the movies next Tuesday.'

(29) *minunata   *(**zi** de) marți*
      wonderful.DEF (day of) Tuesday
      'the wonderful Tuesday'

The main claim of the section is that this syntactic structure of proper (temporal) names contains a classifier *zi* 'day', which is silent whenever there is N-to-D movement, as shown by (26) and (27); the classifier is, however, obligatorily overt when the proper temporal name stays in N, as illustrated by (28) and (29).

3.2.1. What's in a name? A classifier

Starting from an investigation of nominal constructions of the type in (30)[4], which go by many names in the literature, such as restrictive appositives, qualificational nouns, descriptive proper names, complex proper names, qualitative classifiers (van Riemsdijk 1998, Löbel 2001, Cornilescu 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2011, 2013), this section shows that this type of nominal constructions contains an overt qualitative classifier in the syntactic make-up (Cornilescu 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2013).

(30)
a.   *Profesorul   Ionescu*
      professor.DEF Ionescu
      'Professor Ionescu'
b.   *Regina   Elizabeta*
      queen.DEF   Elisabeth
      'Queen Elizabeth'
c.   *Mătușa   Tamara*
      aunt.DEF   Tamara
      'aunt Tamara'
d.   *Prințul   Carol*
      prince.DEF   Charles
      'Prince Charles'
e.   *Orașul   Iași*
      city.DEF   Iasi
      'the city of Iași'
f.   *Strada   Paris*
      street.DEF Paris
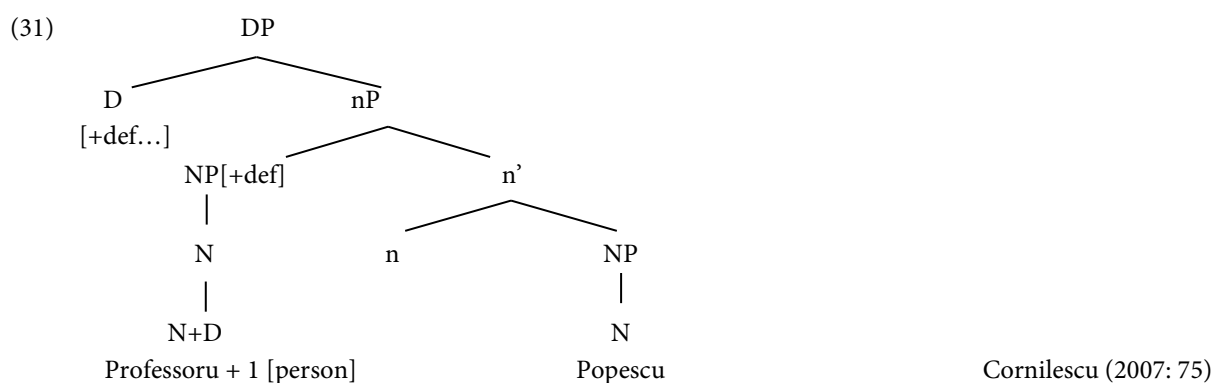   'Paris street'   Cornilescu (2007: 63)

Complex or descriptive proper nouns are proper nouns formed of a common noun + proper noun. The complex or descriptive noun designates a social role (kinship, profession, institutional role), or a sort of place (city, street, river, village, etc.), some other entity (a theatre, a planet, etc.) (see Cornilescu 2007).

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[4] I will refer to this type of construction with the term 'complex proper noun' or 'descriptive proper noun'.

Therefore, in (30), the functional structure of the proper nouns includes not only a D [+def, +phi, + Person] but also a noun designating a social role, a profession, a name of place, etc., which functions as a (qualitative) classifier. This conception reflects the intuition that a complete understanding of a proper noun requires identifying the kind of entity that it names (Cornilescu 2007: 61).

The role of the common noun is that of classifying entities, indicating the kind of entity the proper name denotes, as in *Professor Smith*. While for simple proper nouns, the proper noun itself checks the classifier feature, by Move or Agree, for complex or descriptive proper nouns, the descriptive common noun merges as the specifier of the nominal-class head, since the feature of this n-head is one of the features of the common noun. With complex or descriptive proper nouns, the classifier head is overt (Cornilescu 2007: 63).

The structure of a Romanian complex or descriptive proper noun is given in (31) (from Cornilescu 2007: 75), where the proper noun is too low to check [+def, +phi + person], so the descriptive NP must be definite, and checks the D[+def] feature.

(31)

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                        DP
                  ┌──────┴──────┐
            D                     nP
         [+def…]             ┌─────┴─────┐
           NP[+def]                       n'
             │                      ┌──────┴──────┐
             N                      n              NP
             │                                      │
           N+D                                      N
      Professoru + 1 [person]                    Popescu
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                                                                    Cornilescu (2007: 75)

3.2.2. Classifiers and names of months and years

This section shows that 'names' of years, months and hours also behave like complex/ descriptive proper nouns containing (silent or overt) classifiers (see also Tănase-Dogaru 2009, 2013). In Romanian, there is an interesting variation between constructions like (32a) and (32b):

(32)

a. *Benedict   s-a   născut în anul   480.*
    Benedict   REFL-has   born   in year.DEF 480
    'Benedict was born in the year 480.' (CoRoLa[5])

b. *O a doua   invazie   a   urmat   în 480.*
    a second   invasion   has   followed in 480.
    'A second invasion followed in 480.' (CoRoLa[6])

Although years prior to 1000 are better with the overt classifier 'anul' / 'year.DEF', the same variation can be seen with constructions involving more recent years (33a-b):

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[5]   https://korap.racai.ro/?q=%C3%AEn+anul+480&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

[6]   https://korap.racai.ro/?q=%C3%AEn+480&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

(33)
a. *Slavici   îl   urmează în anul   1880.*
    Slavici   CL.ACC.MASC.SG follows   in year.DEF 1880.
    'Slavici follows him in the year 1880.'
b. *Oficial,   în 1880, în regiune trăiau   241 de persoane.* (CoRoLa[7])
    officially, in 1880, in region   live.IMPERF.3.PL 241 of persons
    'Officially, in 1880, 241 persons inhabited the region.' (CoRoLa[8])

The examples clearly show that, when referring to years, there is variation between the silent and the overt classifier 'anul' / 'year.DEF', which makes years very similar to descriptive proper names.

However, when there is an adjective involved in the syntactic structure of complex proper names of years, the classifier is overt (34). The same phenomenon was illustrated for proper temporal names of days, in the sense that the adjective forces the spelling out of the classifier (see (27) and (28) above):

(34)   *groaznicul   an   1946*[9]
       horrible.DEF year 1946
       'the horrible year of 1946'

The same variation can be noticed with names of months. The examples in (34a) and (34b) show that, in the case of names of months, the classifier 'luna' / 'month.DEF' is either silent (34a) or overt (34b).

(34)
a. *în aprilie devine   din nou un om liber.*
    in April   become.3.SG   again   a man free
    'in April he becomes again a free man' (CoRoLa[10])
b. *în luna   aprilie au   loc expoziții   și   festivaluri*
    in month.DEF April   have.3.PL place exhibitions and festivals
    'In the month of April exhibitions and festivals take place.' (CoRoLa[11])

The presence of an adjective which agrees in feminine gender with the overt classifier *luna* 'month', which has feminine gender features, triggers the spelling out of the classifier (35a). In contrast, (35b) and (35c) show that, when the classifier is silent, it has (default) masculine gender, so that the adjective agrees in masculine gender with the silent classifier.

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[7]   https://korap.racai.ro/?q=%C3%AEn+anul+1880&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

[8]   https://korap.racai.ro/?q=%C3%AEn+anul+1880&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

[9]   An anonymous reviewer points out that the structure *groaznicul 1946* 'horrible.DEF 1946' is also possible in Romanian, which I definitely agree with. However, my (naïve) informants prefer the variant with the overt classifier *anul* 'year.DEF'.
          In close connection with this matter, the same preference is observed in *groaznicii ani '80* 'terrible.PL.DEF years '80' over *??groaznicii '80* 'terrible.PL.DEF '80s'. This reflects the intuition in Cornilescu (2007: 61) that a "complete understanding of a proper name requires identifying the kind of entity that it names".

[10] https://korap.racai.ro/?q=%C3%AEn+aprilie&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

[11] https://korap.racai.ro/?q=%C3%AEn+luna+aprilie&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

(35)
a.　　*minunata*　　　　　*lună*　　　　*aprilie*
　　　wonderful.FEM.DEF　month.FEM　April
　　　'the wonderful month of April'
b.　　*minunatul*　　　　　*aprilie* = *minunatul*　　　*MONTH*　　　　*aprilie*
　　　wonderful.MASC.DEF　April = wonderful. MASC.DEF　MONTH.MASC.DEF　April
　　　'the wonderful April'
c.　　**minunata*　　　　　*aprilie*
　　　wonderful.FEM.DEF　April
　　　'the wonderful April'

This section has argued that 'names' of years and months behave syntactically in a fashion parallel to descriptive proper names of the type *the planet Venus* (van Riemsdijk 1998). These constructions possess a classifier in their make-up, a classifier that is either silent or overt. The spelling out of the classifier is related to the presence of an adjective in the structure. The next section takes a look at expressions involving the classifier *hour*, which in turn, is argued to be part of the syntactic make-up of expressions telling the time.

3.2.3. Classifiers and names of hours

Kayne (2005: 258) notes that in the English example (35), HOUR acts as a silent classifier:

(35)　*It's six.*
　　　It's six HOUR.

As for Romance languages, Kayne (2005) notes that French (36) differs from Italian (37) with respect to time, in that the classifier *heures* / 'hours' must be overt in French:

(36)　*Il est six heures.*
　　　It is   six hours
　　　'It's six o'clock.'

(37)　*Sono le   sei.*
　　　are   the six
　　　'It's six o'clock.'

In Italian, the corresponding noun can be present, although that is less usual:

(38)　*Sono le ore   sei.*
　　　are   the hours six
　　　'It's six o'clock.'

Kayne (2005: 259) argues that the obligatory presence of the classifier in French is related to the presence of the definite article *le* in Italian (38) versus its absence in French (36). I take this to mean that the presence of overt lexical material in the D layer is able to license silent classifiers, i.e. the case of Italian, while the absence of the D layer correlates with the overt classifiers, i.e. the case of French.

Romanian exhibits the contrast in (39a,b), which shows that the classifier may be either silent or overt. However, the most common way of telling the time is (39a), where the classifier is silent.[12]

(39)
a. *E   șase.*
    is   six
    'It's six o'clock.'
b. *E   ora   șase.*
    is   hour   six
    'It's six o'clock.'

The classifier HOUR is overt in examples such as (40):

(40)
a. *De   la ora   6 dimineața   am   plecat.*
    of   at hour.DEF   6 morning.DEF   have.1.SG   left.
    'I left at 6 o'clock in the morning.' (CoRoLa[13])
b. *Era   dimineața   la ora   6.*
    Was   morning.DEF   at hour.DEF   6
    'It was six o'clock in the morning.' (CoRoLa[14])

Like Italian, Romanian also has the variant in (41), which is, however, perceived as bookish and obsolete. In this case, the overt classifier surfaces in the plural.

(41) *pe   la orele   6   am   făcut   un mic popas*
      on   at hours.DEF   6   have.1.SG   made   a small stop
      'at about 6 o'clock we had a short break' (CoRoLa[15])

Therefore, it seems safe to assume that, in telling the time, classifiers are also present, whether silent or overt.

The presence of an adjective in the complex structure of these proper names triggers the overt realization of the classifier (42):

(42)
a. *groaznica   oră   6*
    horrible.FEM.DEF   hour   6
    'the horrible 6'
b. **groaznica /   groaznicul   6*
    horrible.FEM.DEF / horrible.MASC.DEF 6
    'the horrible 6'

Section 3.2 has shown that the structure of complex proper names, including names of social roles, names of places, and names of years, months and hours, contains a classifier. In the case

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[12] The preference of (39a) over (39b) may be related to the clash between a plural feature of the cardinal for 6 and the singular feature of the classifier *ora* 'hour'. I leave this matter to further research.

[13] https://korap.racai.ro/?q=ora+6&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

[14] https://korap.racai.ro/?q=ora+6&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

[15] https://korap.racai.ro/?q=orele+6&ql=cosmas2&cutoff=1, accessed September 27, 2021

of proper names of years, months, and hours, the classifier may be silent or overt. The classifier, however, is (necessarily) overt when the noun is accompanied by an adjective.

4. The syntactic structure and the role of *de/di* 'of'

This section capitalizes on what has been said so far with respect to the syntactic structure of complex proper names, including proper temporal names, and proposes a syntactic structure of the type classifier-noun for proper temporal adverbs. It was shown that the structure of proper (temporal) names contains a classifier that can be silent or overt. It seems natural to assume that the underlying representation of (43a) should be (43b):

(43)
a. *marți*
    Tuesday
b. *ZIUA DE marți*
    DAY   of Tuesday

The same can be assumed about Italian, as shown by the contrast between (44a) and (44b), the difference being that *di* 'of' is overt:

(44)
a. *martedì*
    Tuesday
b. *GIORNO DI martedì*
    DAY   OF Tuesday

Since one of the pre-conditions for the postulation of silent elements is their attestation in the overt form, (45a,b) show that the classifier DAY can also be overt:

(45)
a. *De ce   este ziua de marți   atât de încărcată de superstiții*[16]   (Romanian)
    of what is   day of Tuesday so   loaded   of superstitions
    'why is the day of Tuesday so loaded with superstitions'
b. *Ma un giorno di lunédi   capirai* […][17]   (Italian)
    but a   day   of Monday understand.FUT.2SG
    'One Monday you will understand'

In order to articulate a syntactic structure for proper temporal names, the role of *de/di* 'of' needs to be determined. In Italian (see Franco and Lorusso 2022), the prepositional element *di* 'of' appears with proper temporal names of days and lends the example a habitual reading (46), a reading also available with the definite article (47):

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[16] https://www.libertateapentrufemei.ro/superstitii/de-ce-este-ziua-de-marti-atat-de-incarcata-de-superstitii-212297

[17] https://www.spreaker.com/user/webradio11-11/il-ritorno-di-adriano-celentano-ma-un-gi
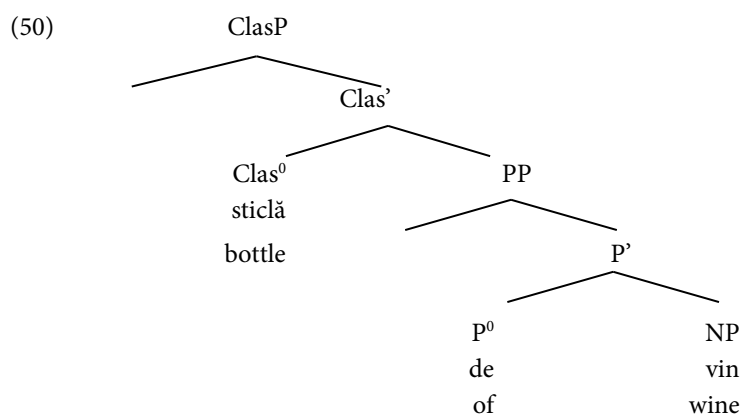
(46)   *vado   al   cinema di lunedì*   = habitual reading
       go.pres.1SG to.the cinema of Monday
       'I (usually) go to the cinema on Mondays.'

(47)   *vado   al   cinema il lunedì*   = habitual reading
       go.pres.1SG to.the cinema the Monday
       'I (usually) go to the cinema on Mondays.'

Manzini and Savoia (2011) and Franco and Lorusso (2020) analyze the *di* element as a genitive-assigning preposition, different from the partitive marker *dei,* but still involving an 'inclusion/sub-set' relation.

I claim that the same happens in Romanian. Whenever the classifier is overt, as in (48), the *de* element is a partitive-genitive preposition. Moreover, the syntactic structure of such constructions parallels the one present with pseudo-partitive constructions generally (49) (Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2009, 2017).

(48)   *ziua de marți*
       day of Tuesday

(49)   *sticlă de vin*
       bottle of wine

Pseudo-partitive constructions are seen as single multi-headed extended projections, as shown in (50). N_1 in pseudo-partitives is a semi-lexical or functional element which behaves as a classifier, turning pseudo-partitives into Classifier Phrases (Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2009). (50) gives the syntactic representation of pseudo-partitives, where *de* 'of' is a partitive marker, assigning N_2, i.e., the lexical head, abstract genitive case (Tănase-Dogaru 2008, following van Riemsdijk 1998, Vos 1999).

(50)   ClasP
                 /   \
                    Clas'
                   /   \
            Clas⁰   PP
            sticlă   / \
            bottle   P'
                           / \
                       P⁰   NP
                       de   vin
                       of   wine   Tănase-Dogaru (2008: 315)

Classifiers project universally in the functional architecture of nominal phrases. The head of the ClasP may be filled with lexical material – as in the case of pseudo-partitive constructions – or with silent material (see Kayne 2005, van Riemsdijk 2005, Tănase-Dogaru 2008, 2009). For instance, in the pair (51a,b), (51b) contains the silent noun NUMBER acting as a classifier:

(51)

a.   *Ce   case   au   unii!*
     what houses have   some (people)
     'some have such big/beautiful houses!'

b.   *Ce   de   case   au   unii!*
     what of   houses have some (people)
     'some have so many houses!'   Tănase-Dogaru (2008: 317)

(51a) is an exclamation about some salient property of houses, for example their being large or beautiful; on the other hand, (51b) can only be an exclamation about the relatively large number of the houses in question.
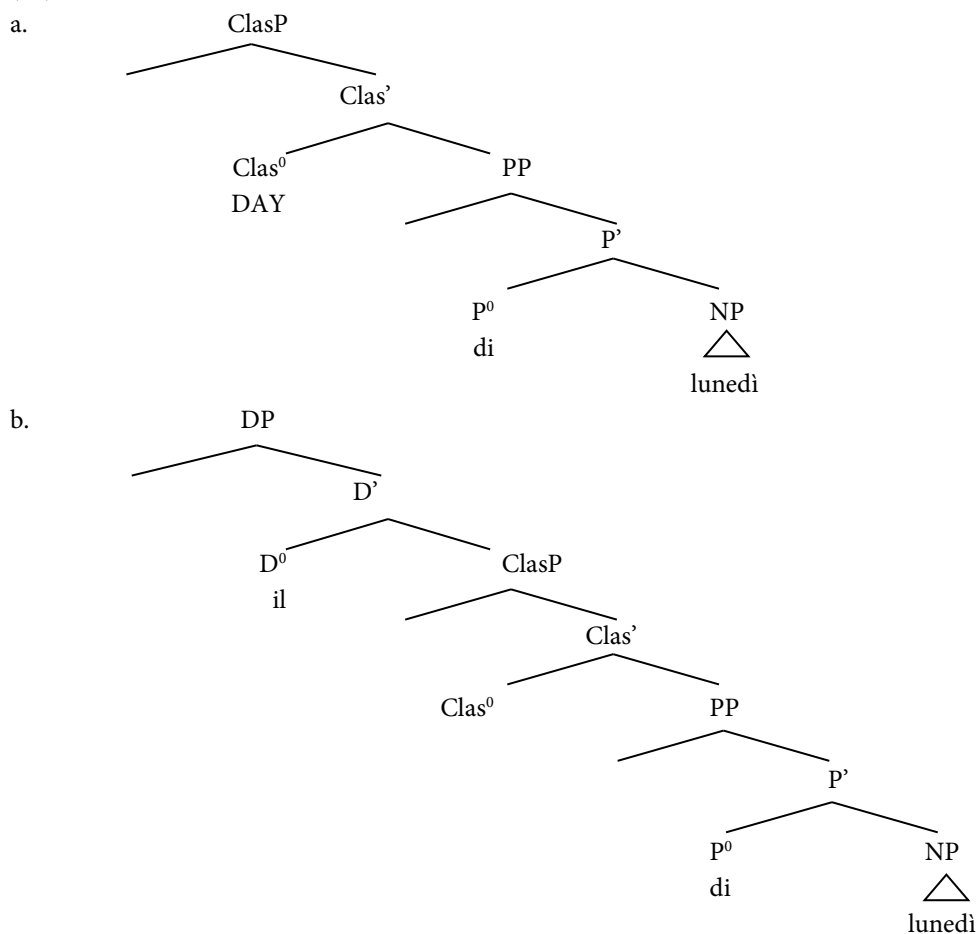
     The syntactic structure of proper temporal names also contains a classifier, which may be silent, i.e., DAY or overt, i.e., *zi* in Romanian, *giorno* in Italian. In what follows, I will exemplify the syntactic structures of the Italian and Romanian proper temporal name constructions. I will start with the Italian data, simplified for the current purposes as (52a-c).
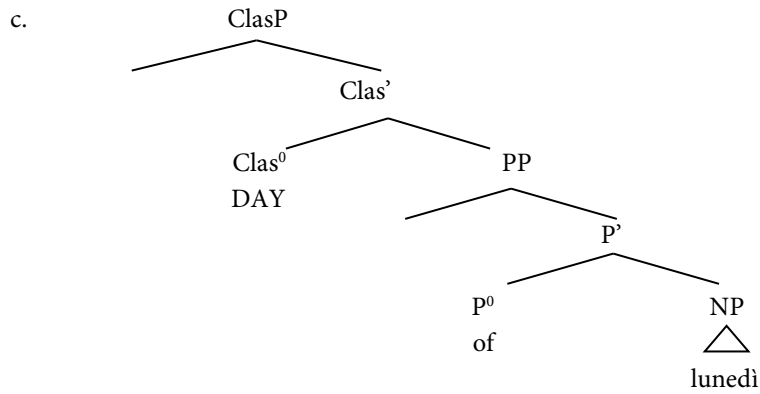
(52)

a.   *di lunedì* (habitual reading) = DAY di lunedì
b.   *il lunedì* (habitual reading) = il DAY OF lunedì
c.   *lunedì* (punctual interpretation) = DAY OF lunedì

The corresponding syntactic structures are given in (53a-c).

(53)

a.

```
        ClasP
       /    \
           Clas'
          /    \
      Clas⁰     PP
      DAY      /  \
               P'
              / \
            P⁰   NP
            di   △
               lunedì
```

b.

```
        DP
       /  \
          D'
         /  \
       D⁰    ClasP
       il    /   \
           Clas'
           /   \
       Clas⁰    PP
               /  \
               P'
              / \
            P⁰   NP
            di   △
               lunedì
```

c.

```
        ClasP
          |
         Clas'
        /     \
    Clas⁰      PP
    DAY       /  \
             P'
            /  \
          P⁰    NP
          of    △
              lunedì
```
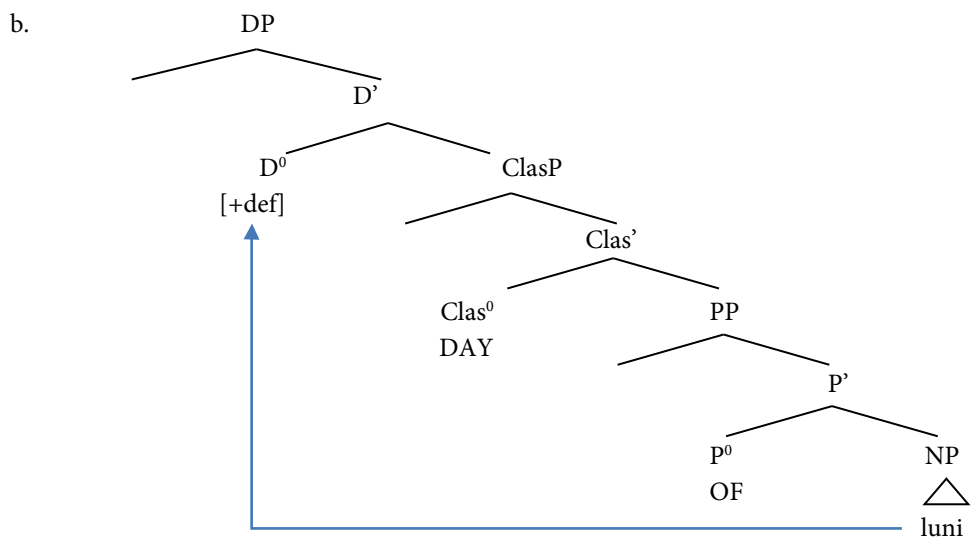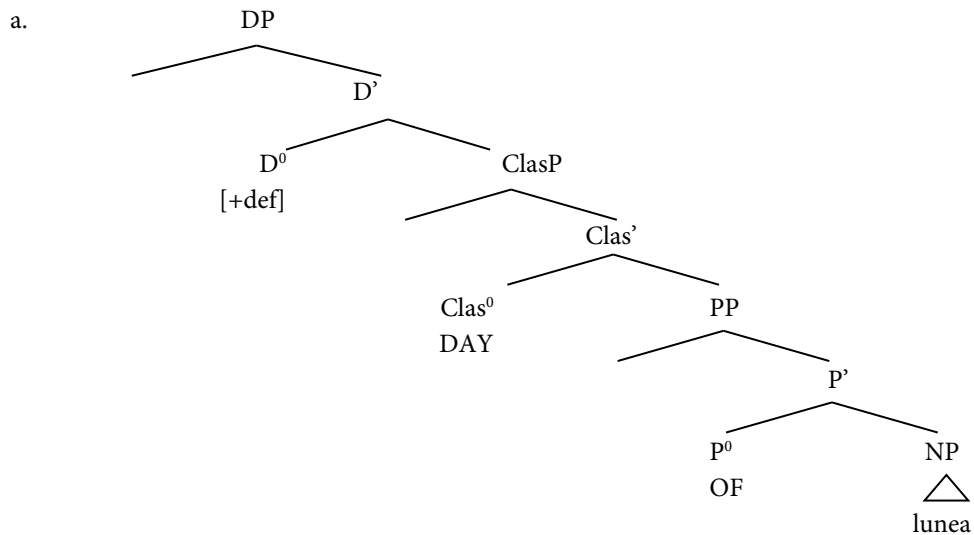
The Romanian data are shown again in (54a,b), with their corresponding syntactic structures in (55a,b):

(54)

a.   *lunea* (habitual reading) = DAY OF lunea
b.   *luni* (punctual reading) = DAY OF luni

(55)

a.

```
              DP
               |
              D'
            /    \
         D⁰       ClasP
        [+def]      |
                   Clas'
                  /     \
              Clas⁰      PP
              DAY       /  \
                       P'
                      /  \
                    P⁰    NP
                    OF    △
                         lunea
```

b.

```
              DP
               |
              D'
            /    \
         D⁰       ClasP
        [+def]      |
                   Clas'
                  /     \
              Clas⁰      PP
              DAY       /  \
                       P'
                      /  \
                    P⁰    NP
                    OF    △
                         luni
```

In (55a), lunea 'Monday.DEF[18]' is generated in N, a position it does not leave, it is the lack of movement which accounts for the habitual reading. (55b) illustrates N-raising of the proper temporal name to D.

This type of movement is visible in examples (56a,b), with the corresponding syntactic structures in (57a,b). In (56a), the emergence of the adjective triggers the overt realization of the classifier DAY, while in (56b), there is N-movement to D, and the classifier remains silent. The adjective in (56a) modifies the classifier, a relation which triggers the overt realization of the classifier.

(56)
a.   *viitoarea   zi   de luni*
      next.DEF   day of Monday
b.   *lunea   viitoare*
      Monday.DEF   next
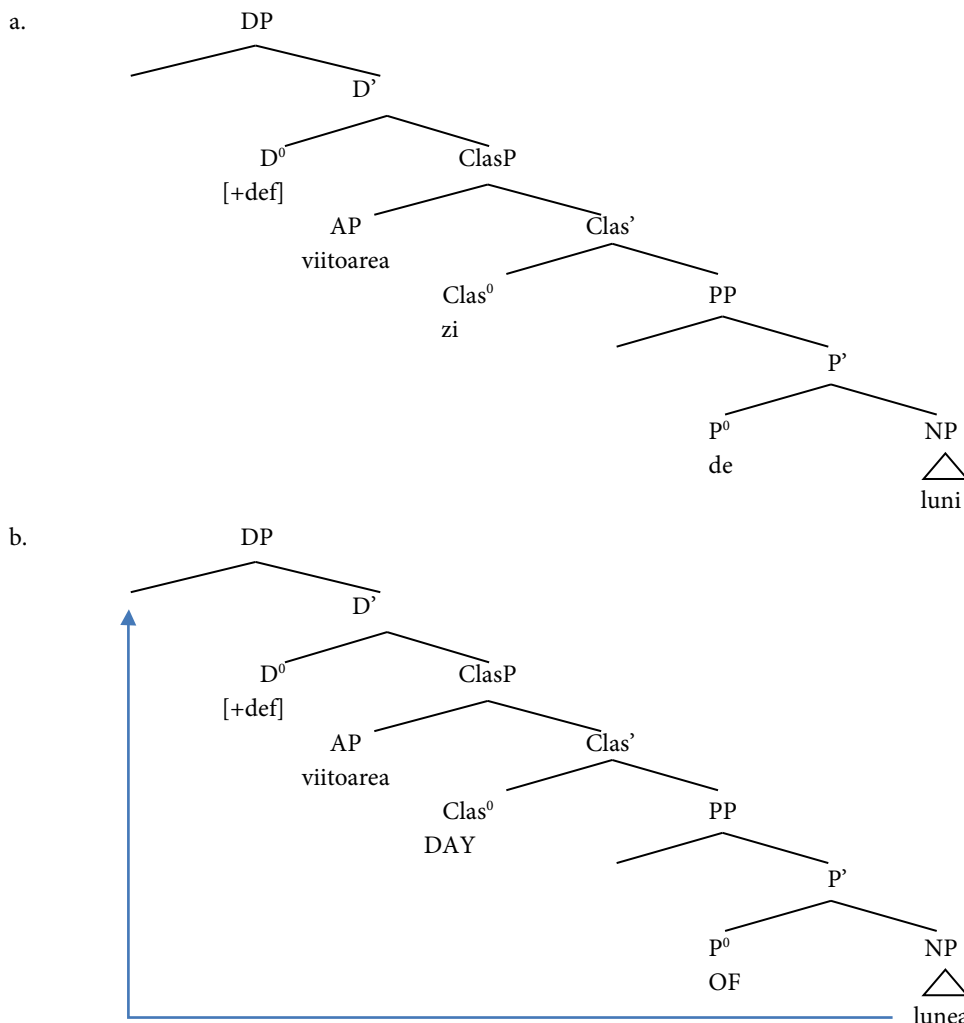
(57)
a.

b.

In (57a), *luni* 'Monday' is generated in the N layer, in a typical classifier-noun sequence of the type discussed in section 4. In (57b), *lunea* 'Monday.the' undergoes movement to SpecDP, crossing over the adjective *viitoare* 'next', in a manner similar to proper names in Italian (see section 3.1)

This section has shown that the syntactic structure of proper temporal names is complex, in the sense that it contains a classifier, which may be silent or overt. The overt realization of the classifier is triggered by the presence of adjectives, while the prepositional element *de/di* 'of' is a partitive-genitive marker.

5. Conclusions and further research

The paper has started from the empirical observation that proper temporal names in Romanian may have punctual or a habitual interpretation. These interpretations are associated with the absence or presence, respectively, of the definite article. With bare proper temporal names, N-to-D movement triggers individual-like reference, which, in turn, explains why the event is interpreted as punctual. An important finding of the paper is related to the complex syntactic structure of proper temporal names. This syntactic structure contains classifiers, which may be silent or overt. The silence of the classifiers is related to the phenomenon of N-raising. I leave for further research a finer-grained parameterization of Italian and Romanian with respect to the silence of the prepositional element *di/de* 'of'.

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