

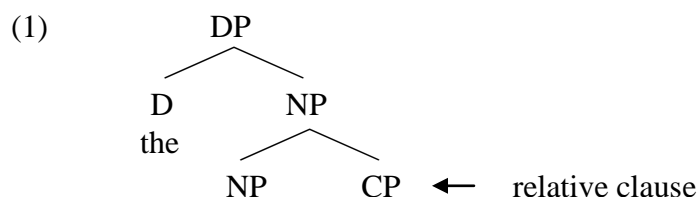
ON RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES IN ROMANIAN: TOWARDS A HEAD-RAISING ANALYSIS

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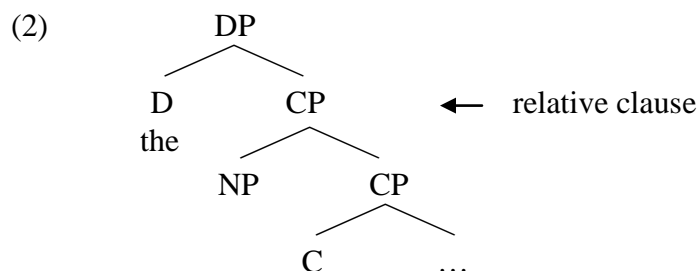
1. INTRODUCTION

The two basic issues related to the syntax of relative clauses (RCs) are the relation between the relative clause and the element it modifies (the relative “head”), as well as the relation of the relative “head” to the relativization site, taking into consideration the double role that the head of the relative clause seems to play (i.e. it is part of the matrix clause, but it also seems to serve certain syntactic and semantic purposes in a position internal to the relative clause). In other words, one should determine whether the relative clause is a complement or an adjunct of the DP that contains it and whether the relativized element originates inside the clause or is base-generated in a position external to the clause.

The standard analysis of relative clauses is the adjunct analysis (1), whereby relative clauses are considered to be CPs right-adjoined to the nominal constituent (NP) which is base-generated outside the relative clause.



An alternative analysis has been proposed, among others, by Kayne (1994). Kayne’s proposal, couched in his Antisymmetry hypothesis, represents a revised version of the raising analysis to relative clauses and assumes that the relative clause is a complement of the determiner (2), while the surface order is derived by movement of the head noun into the Specifier position of the relative CP.



The goal of this article is two-fold. On the one hand, I will describe the basic properties of restrictive relative clauses¹ in Romanian. On the other hand, I will try to account for the

¹ Semantically, relative clauses can be grouped into restrictive relatives, appositive relatives, and maximalizing relatives. Without going into more details regarding this classification, which falls outside the scope of this article, I would like to point out that the term restrictive refers to the fact that such relative clauses restrict the meaning of the relativized head, by opposition to non-restrictive (appositive) relative clauses, which specify it.

phenomena in Romanian in the light of the head raising analysis, building on work by Kayne (1994), Bianchi (1999) and de Vries (2002). After an outline of Kayne's (1994) analysis and of Bianchi's (1999, 2000) and de Vries' (2002) revision of his proposal in Section 2, Section 3 will present the basic morphological and syntactic properties of restrictive headed relative clauses in Romanian, by focusing on subject and (direct and indirect) object relatives. Section 4 will show how the Romanian data can be accommodated within the raising analysis for relative clauses and what the consequences of such an analysis are for the structure of the left-periphery of Romanian RCs. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES AND THE RAISING HYPOTHESIS

Drawing on previous analyses proposed by Smith (1964) and Vergnaud (1974), Kayne (1994) argues that the raising/promotion analysis² of RCs is the only structural analysis that conforms to the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA)³. The consequences of LCA are that right-adjunction is banned and strict binary branching is postulated. Thus, each maximal projection is restricted to only one adjunct and specifier position⁴, and to one complement. Moreover, asymmetric c-command between the non-terminal nodes of the tree determines linear precedence yielding the universal order specifier-head-complement.

The implication of LCA for relative clauses is that a relative clause is a CP that follows the rest of the DP it is supposed to be adjoined to. The relative CP cannot, in fact, right-adjoin to the antecedent NP. Given that an XP must adjoin to a maximal projection (assumed to be NP), the only possibility of maintaining an adjunct derivation in an Antisymmetric perspective is for the relative CP to precede the NP and to further move the segment N to the left of the relative CP. This, however, is not an available operation within the Antisymmetric framework since segments are unable to c-command their trace⁵. Since postnominal headed relative clauses cannot be adjoined to a maximal projection, according to the LCA, they must occupy a complement position. It remains to determine what kind of maximal projection selects the relative CP as its complement. Kayne assumes that RCs must be the complement of a functional head, since relative CPs are not theta-marked. This functional head is the determiner head.⁶ Therefore, the D-CP complementation analysis is consistent with the LCA.

² De Vries (2002) refers to Vergnaud's (1974/ 1985) proposal as the raising analysis and to Kayne's (1994) analysis as the promotion analysis, to indicate that the latter involves both the determiner complement hypothesis (initially argued for by Smith (1964)) and raising of the NP from a position internal to the relative clause.

³This proposal is developed in the context of his Antisymmetry hypothesis, which claims that hierarchical structure fully determines linear order, known as The Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA):

- (i) For any two non-terminals X, Y, if X asymmetrically c-commands Y, then all terminals x dominated by X precede all terminals y dominated by Y.

⁴ Kayne's X-bar system assimilates specifiers to adjunct positions as opposed to Chomsky's (1986) Barriers where specifiers are dominated by the whole category XP, while adjuncts are dominated only by a segment of it.

⁵ The impossibility for a segment to c-command its trace follows from the new definition of c-command adopted by Kayne (1994) stating that:

- (i) X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y.

The distinction between segments and categories, first proposed by May (1985), allows Kayne to restrict the X-bar structure to only one specifier position. (See Kayne 1994; Bianchi 1999 for further details and for discussion).

⁶ Further support for the D selecting the relative CP comes from the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987) in which the determiner is a functional head displaying a specifier and a complement position.

This section provides an overview of Kayne's proposal and of further developments to his theory made by Bianchi (1999/2000) and de Vries (2002), establishing thus the theoretical framework for the following discussion.

2.1. The Kaynean perspective

In Kayne's system, relative clauses are CPs selected by an external DP and the relativized element ("the head") raises from inside the relative clause to the Specifier position of CP. Thus, the representation of a relative construction like *the article (that) John wrote* starts off with the structure given in (3a), where the NP *article* originates as the complement of the verb *wrote* and the "external determiner" (Bianchi, 1999: 39) selects the relative CP. The final word order is obtained by movement of the NP *article* to SpecCP, as exemplified in (3b):

- (3) a. [DP [D° the [CP [C° (that) IP John wrote article]]]]
 b. [DP [D° the [CP [NP article]_i [C° (that) John wrote t_i]]]]

One question that arises is what happens in restrictive relative clauses introduced by an overt relative pronoun, of the type *the news which they heard yesterday*. Kayne proposes that the moved constituent is generated in the complement position of the embedded verb and takes the form of a DP headed by a relative pronoun. The whole DP [*which news*] moves to SpecCP and the final word order is obtained by raising the NP from the complement position to the specifier position of the relative DP:

- (4) a. [DP [D° the [CP [C° they heard [DP which [NP news]]]]]]
 b. [DP [D° the [CP [DP which [NP news]]_i [C° they heard t_i]]]]
 c. [DP [D° the [CP [DP [NP news]_j [D° which t_j]]_i [C° they heard t_i]]]]

The same analysis is extended to *wh*-RCs in which the raised constituent is a PP embedding the relative DP.

- (5) the [pencil *with which* I write]

In this case, the preposition is said to be pied-piped by the *wh*-relative determiner at the left of the RC. The phenomenon of pied-piping takes place with *wh*-movement. In this case, the *wh*-element, moving from its base position, drags along the larger PP or NP in which it is contained. The surface order, in which the relative head precedes the preposition, is obtained through movement of the lexical NP to SpecPP. The derivational steps for (5) are given in (6) below:

- (6) a. [DP [D° the [CP [C° I write [PP with [DP which [NP pencil]]]]]]]]
 b. [DP [D° the [CP [PP with [DP which [NP pencil]]]_i [C° I write t_i]]]]
 c. [DP [D° the [CP [PP [NP pencil]_j [P° with which t_j]]]_i [C° I write t_i]]]]

Therefore, in Kayne's framework, the difference between *that* relatives and relative clauses with an overt relative pronoun⁷ lies in the nature of the raised nominal constituent: an NP in the first case, a DP or a PP in the latter.

⁷ In English, *wh*-relatives cannot appear with the overt complementizer *that*.

(i) * The boy *who that* you saw is Peter.

While the adjunct analysis postulated a relation of predication between the external antecedent and the gap inside the relative IP, the raising analysis argues for syntactic binding between the gap and the antecedent. In the raising analysis, the gap is the lowest link of an A'-movement chain containing a phonologically deleted copy of the moved antecedent.

The raising analysis proposed by Kayne has been criticized by Borsley (1997), who brings several objections to the theory and argues that "it needs numerous additional mechanisms to achieve observational adequacy" (1997: 630). Borsley's critique touches on the nature of the raised nominal constituent (he argues that this must be a DP and that it cannot simply be an NP), on nonrestrictive relatives and extraposition. His critique has been countered by Bianchi (2000) and De Vries (2002), who show that a "revised" version of the raising analysis can account for the syntax of relativization.

2.2. Kayne (1994) revisited

Let us now consider Bianchi's (1999/ 2000) refinement of Kayne's raising analysis for restrictive relative clauses. She examines *wh*, *that*, *zero*⁸ relatives, as well as other types of relative constructions, and deals with questions that bear on the constituent structure of the raised element, on the motivation for raising of the relative "head", and on the Case patterns that appear in relative constructions, among others.

Bianchi argues that the relativized phrase is generated as a DP in both *wh*- and non-*wh*-relatives. She adopts Longobardi's (1994) principle which states that arguments are always introduced by a D° and postulates that the relativized "head" in *that*- and *zero* RCs is a DP introduced by an empty relative D (D_{REL})⁹. A licensing relation holds between the external determiner and D_{REL}, the empty D_{REL} being licensed by incorporation into the external D (I will call it D_{EXT}). Bianchi proposes a mechanism of "deletion by incorporation", whereby once D_{REL} gets incorporated to the external determiner, the resulting head is spelled out as one determiner in the external position:

- (7) [DP D_{REL}+ the [CP [DP t_{DREL} [NP painting]]]_i [C° (that) Mary admired t_i]]

The abstract incorporation of D_{REL} to the external DP results in its omission in *that*- and *zero* relatives. The incorporation of the *wh* determiner, and thus its deletion, does not take place when a preposition is pied-piped. This is due to, at least, two reasons: a) the P head between D_{EXT} and D_{REL} blocks the incorporation; b) the preposition is not semantically vacuous, in absence of the *wh*-determiner it cannot be reconstructed.

This would violate the Doubly Filled Comp Filter which accounts for the distribution of relative determiners and complementizers in English and which stipulates that SpecCP and C° cannot both contain lexically overt material. This can raise a problem for Kayne's analysis of *that*-RCs where the relativized NP occupies the specifier position of a lexically filled complementizer. Kayne bypasses this constraint by postulating that only [+wh] specified phrases are visible to the Doubly Filled Comp Filter, thus accounting for the grammaticality of examples like (ii) below:

- (ii) The boy *that* you saw is Peter.

⁸ I follow Bianchi (1999) in calling *zero*-relative a relative clause not introduced by either a *wh*-relative pronoun nor a complementizer, as in (i).

- (i) The woman John likes.

Not all languages allow the deletion of both the complementizer and the *wh*-determiner. English does.

⁹ Bianchi uses the term *relative determiner* to refer to a relative pronoun.

- (10) [DP the [_{ForceP} [DP painting]_i [_{Force°} that Mary admired t_i]]]
- (11) [DP the [_{TopicP} [DP painting]_i [_{Topic°} Mary admired t_i]]]
- (12) [DP the [_{ForceP} [NP painting]_j [_{Force°} [_{TopicP} [DP which t_j]_i [_{Topic°} she admired t_i]]]]]

De Vries (2002) proposes an account in terms of features and argues that the same derivational mechanism should apply to both *that*-relatives and *wh*-relatives.

- (13) a. [DP the [_{CP} [_{C°} she admired [DP [newspaper]_j [_{D°} which t_j]]]_i]]
 b. [DP the [_{CP} [DP [newspaper]_j [_{D°} which t_j]]]_i [_{C°} she admired t_i]]]
 c. [DP FF_j + the [_{CP} [DP [newspaper]_j [_{D°} which t_j]]]_i [_{C°} she admired t_i]]]

The head noun is generated inside the relative CP as the complement of D_{REL}. ϕ -feature agreement between N and D_{REL} licenses movement of NP to SpecDP_{REL} (13a), thus creating the required configuration for feature checking. N-to-D incorporation is ruled out in de Vries' system by the fact that D_{REL} and NP can have contradictory case features¹³. The Case feature associated with the N head cannot be checked at this point.

When the CP is merged into the structure, the *wh*-feature on DP_{REL} triggers movement to SpecCP (13b). The *wh*-features on DP_{REL} and C are checked in a spec-head configuration. Like in Kayne's proposal, it is the whole DP_{REL} that moves to Spec,CP. De Vries adopts the same analysis for *that*-relatives, but posits a phonetically empty relative pronoun (whereas *wh*-relatives have a phonetically null C). The whole CP is then merged with the external determiner. The ϕ -features on D_{EXT} attract N¹⁴, which incorporates into D_{EXT}. N and D_{EXT} agree in Case and ϕ -features. Since these features are weak in English, the head noun undergoes covered feature movement to D_{EXT} to license Case and ϕ -feature agreement. De Vries manages thus to account for variation in word order found in relatives clauses in various languages (2002: 127).

Drawing on Bianchi (1999/ 2000) and de Vries (2002), the analysis I would like to put forth for Romanian involves base-generation of the head noun as complement of D_{REL}. The entire DP_{REL} is then raised to the specifier position of a functional head in the Comp area, ForceC°. The head noun ultimately moves overtly out of the CP_{REL} in order to incorporate to the external D when D_{EXT} is a definite article cliticized to the noun. When the external determiner is an indefinite article, only the formal features of N move to D_{EXT} and there is covert incorporation of N-to-D.

The discussion that follows is exploratory and does not intend to present an exhaustive analysis of relative clauses in Romanian. Its objective is to show how Romanian relative clauses can fit into a head-raising analysis.

¹³ De Vries argues that N-to-D incorporation is excluded even in cases where D_{REL} and N have the same Case feature, by showing that the N head would have to undergo excorporation before being able to incorporate again into D_{EXT}.

¹⁴ The idea that N moves out of CP was also suggested by Kayne (1994: 88, 154 (fn 8, 12)) to account for word order in Romanian relatives, where, as it will be shown in the following sections, the N head precedes the external determiner when the latter is a definite article. Bianchi (2000: 129) also briefly mentions that N-to-D_{EXT} or A-to-D_{EXT} incorporation (cf. Giusti 1994) from SpecCP explains the enclitic position of the external definite determiner in Romanian on a noun or an adjective in RCs.

3. THE BASIC PROPERTIES OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ROMANIAN

The restrictive relative structures we have seen so far made use of both null and overt operators. The first pattern is represented by English *that*- and *zero* relatives, whereas the second pattern appears in *wh*-relatives. Let us now turn to Romanian and focus on finite restrictive relative clauses.

3.1. General facts

Romanian expresses relativization in headed relative clauses through the use of the relative pronoun *care*¹⁵. In (14), the relativized element is the local subject. In (15), the head of the relative is the local object. Indirect object, locative and genitive relatives are exemplified in (16) to (18) below:

- (14) Copilul *care* plânge e nepotul meu.
child-the who cries is nephew mine
'The child who is crying is my nephew.'
- (15) Fata *pe care* am întâlnit -o e o fostă studentă.
girl-the *pe* who have.1.SG met CL.F.SG is a former.F.SG studentF.SG.
'The girl who(m) we have met is a former student.'
- (16) Femeia *căreia* i-am vorbit ieri e actriță.
woman-the who.DAT.F.SG CL.SG have.1.SG talked yesterday is actress.
'The woman to whom I talked yesterday is an actress.'
- (17) Îmi amintesc perfect casa *în care*¹⁶ am copilărit.
me remember perfectly house-the in which have.1.SG grown up.
'I perfectly remember the house in which I grew up.'

¹⁵Appositive and free relatives also require the use of overt operators, as illustrated in (i):

- (i) a. Paul, *care* studiaza dreptul, e prietenul din copilărie al Mariei.
Paul, who studies law, is friend-the from childhood a-L Mary
'Paul, who studies law, is Mary's childhood friend.'
- b. *Cine* nu a venit până acum, nu va vedea filmul.
who not has.3.SG come until now, not will.3.SG see movie-the
'Who hasn't come until now, will not see the movie.'

The example in (ib) shows that free relatives can be introduced by *cine* 'who', whereas only the relative pronoun *care* can be used in headed relatives, as shown by the ungrammaticality of example (ii) below when *cine* appears in the structure:

- (ii) Ion apreciază persoanele *care/ *cine* sunt sincere.
Ion appreciate.3.SG person-the.PL which/ *who are honest.
'Ion appreciates people who are honest.'

¹⁶ The *wh*-element *unde* can also be used in this type of relatives instead of the preposition and the relative determiner.

- (18) Studentul *a căru* lucrare o corectez
 student.the *a* who.GEN.M.SG paper CL.F.SG grade.1st.sg
 este inteligent.
 is intelligent.M.SG.
 ‘The student whose paper I am grading is intelligent.’

In contrast with English, preposition stranding is not an option in Romanian, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (19b):

- (19) a. I cannot find the pen *which* I was writing *with* ieri.
 b. * Nu găsesc stiloul *care* am scris *cu* ieri.
 not find.1.SG pen-the which have.1.SG written with yesterday.

Another characteristic of the relative determiner *care* is that it inflects for gender and number, but is not distinguished by the value of the feature [±] Human, like the English relative determiners *who/ which*. Examples (16) and (18) illustrate that the relative pronoun in Romanian displays agreement with the head of the relative clause in respect to gender and number features. Lack of agreement would give rise to ungrammaticality effects, illustrated in (20):

- (20) a. * Femeia *căruia / cărora* i- am vorbit ieri ...
 woman-the who.DAT.M.SG who.DAT.PL CL.SG have.1.SG talked yesterday ...
 ‘The woman to whom I talked yesterday ...’
 b. * Studentul *a cărei / cărora* lucrare o corectez
 student.the *a* who.GEN.F.SG who.DAT.PL paper CL.F.SG grade.1st.sg
 este inteligent¹⁷.
 is intelligent.M.SG.
 ‘The student whose paper I am grading is intelligent.’

As far as Case marking is concerned, the preposition *pe* in (20) indicates that the relative determiner bears the mark of the Accusative case, although it appears in an A'-position, whereas the form of the relative pronoun in (16) and (18) above shows that it is marked for Dative and Genitive case, respectively. Note, however, that the relative head and the relative determiner are differently marked for Case: the first is assigned Case in the matrix clause, while the latter bears the Case assigned to it within the relative clause. Example (21) is an illustration of the Case asymmetry between the NP “head”, which bears Accusative Case, and the relative D, which is marked for Dative:

¹⁷ It should be noted that example (20b) above also becomes ungrammatical if the relative determiner agrees in gender and number with the relative head, but the complex preposition *a+L* does not agree with the nominal phrase designating the “possessed” element:

- (i) * Studentul *al / ai / ale căru* lucrare o corectez este inteligent.
 student.the a.M.SG/ a.M.PL/ a.F.PL who.GEN.M.SG paper CL.F.SG grade.1st.sg is intelligent.
 ‘The student whose paper I am grading is intelligent.’

- (21) Am revăzut -o pe fata *căreia* i- am
 have.1.SG seen CL.F.SG *pe* girl who.DAT.F.SG CL.F.SG have.1.SG
 vândut bicicleta.
 sold bicycle-the
 'I have seen again the girl to whom I sold the bicycle.'

A further characteristic of Romanian object relatives is the obligatory presence of object clitics:

- (22) a. Cartea *pe care* mi-ai recomandat-*o*¹⁸.
 book-the *pe* which me have.2.SG recommend CL.F.SG
 'The book which you have recommended to me.'
 b. * Cartea *pe care* mi-ai recomandat.
 book-the *pe* which me have.2.SG recommend it
 'The book which you have recommended to me'
- (23) a. Fata *căreia* i- am împrumutat mașina.
 girl.the who.DAT.F.SG CL.SG have.1.SG lent car-the
 'The girl to whom I lent the car.'
 b. * Fata *căreia* am împrumutat mașina.
 girl.the who.DAT.F.SG have.1.SG lent car-the
 'The girl to whom I lent the car.'

This can be contrasted with the obligatory absence of clitics in *wh*-dependencies containing *cine/ce*:

- (24) a. *Pe cine* ai auzit cântând ?
pe who have.2.SG heard singing
 'Whom did you hear singing?'
 b. * *Pe cine* l- ai auzit cântând ?
pe who CL.M.SG have.2.SG heard singing
 'Whom did you hear singing?'
- (25) a. *Ce* ai auzit?
 what have.2.SG heard
 'What did you hear?'
 b. * *Ce* l- ai auzit?
 what CL.M.SG have.2.SG heard
 'What did you hear?'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994) proposes that the difference between the two types of *wh*-structures is determined by whether or not *wh*-phrases display quantification features. *Cine/ce* function as syntactic quantifiers, binding a syntactic variable¹⁹ in an A-position. The use of clitics is illicit in this case, as shown above in (24b) and (25b), since the variable needs to be bound by the *wh*-quantifier and be marked for Case. Assuming the clitic absorbs the (Accusative) Case which would normally be assigned to the position of the gap, this gap

¹⁸ Contrary to the masculine clitic, the feminine clitic follows the verb in compound tenses.

¹⁹ Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:201) uses the following definition of a variable: "α is a variable if and only if α is an empty category that (a) occupies an A-position, (b) is bound by a quantifier, and (c) is Case-marked."

cannot be identified as a variable. As a result, the sentence is unacceptable due to a violation of the ban on vacuous quantification. *Cine/ce* are quantifiers that bind no variable. *Care* configurations, on the other hand, require the obligatory use of clitics because *care* does not bear quantification features and, therefore, cannot bind a syntactic variable. *Care* seems to be immune to the ban on vacuous quantification. We have already seen in examples (22b) and (23b) that the absence of the clitic from the relative clause results in an ungrammatical sentence. The same holds for *care* interrogative structures:

- (26) a. Pe care (băiat) *I* ai intâlnit?
 pe which (boy) CL.M.SG have.2.SG met
 b. * Pe care (băiat) ai intâlnit?
 pe which (boy) have.2.SG met
 ‘Which boy have you met?’

This contrast with respect to the use of clitics in *wh*-structures is not found in English, as illustrated here by the English translations for the examples (23) to (26), or in other Romance languages such as French and Spanish. Therefore, Dobrovie-Sorin proposes a parametric account for the cross-linguistic difference, in terms of a Structural Quantifier Parameter. A positive setting of the structural quantifier parameter will allow for the presence of null operator structures, such as *that*- and *zero*-relatives in English. Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994) maintains that Romanian is negatively specified for this parameter and thus lacks null-operator configurations, namely relatives introduced by a complementizer, clefts, topicalization, infinitival relatives, and tough-movement.

Grosu (1994), on the other hand, refutes Dobrovie-Sorin’s claim that Romanian does not use null-operators and brings evidence to show that null operators can appear²⁰ in some comparative and relative clauses, in *too/enough* constructions (in the marked case) and, in supine clauses with an object ‘gap’. Let us now revise some of his arguments in favour of the existence of relative clauses of the English *that*- type in Romanian.

3.2. Overt complementizers in relative clauses in Romanian

So far we have seen that Romanian forms restrictive relative clauses by using overt relative determiners. The question that arises is whether *zero*-relatives or relatives introduced by complementizers also appear in Romanian (the equivalent of *that*-relatives in English or *que/qui* relatives in French). If the first type is not an option in Romanian, the use of the latter type is possible, but is restricted to specific language registers, as Grosu (1994) shows in his study.

The *C* head in Romanian can be lexicalized as *că*, *ca*, *de*, *dacă* and *oare*. The distribution of these complementizers depends on the type of clause they introduce, but also on the Mood of the verb²¹. Although *că* and *ca* are the equivalent of *that* in English, neither of these complementizers can be used in relative clauses, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the examples below:

²⁰ Contrary to Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994), he proposes that movement of null operators to a Spec, C’ position is driven by the need to check their specific features, in a Spec-Head configuration, which, according to his analysis, “renders the Syntactic Quantifier Parameter superfluous” (1994: 225) for null operators.

²¹ An analysis of the complementizer system of Romanian goes beyond the purpose of this paper. See Hill (2002, 2007) for a detailed analysis.

- (27) a. * Avocatul *că* te- a sunat e amicul Mariei.
lawyer-the that you has called is friend-the Mary.GEN.
'The lawyer that called you is Mary's friend.'
- b. * Cina *că* ai gătit -o ieri a fost delicioasă.
dinner-the that have.2.SG cooked CL.F.SG yesterday has been delicious.F.SG.
'The dinner that you cooked yesterday was delicious.'
- c. * Nu gădesc o carte *ca* Maria să poată să (o) cumpere.
not find.1.SG a book that Mary SUBJ can.3.SG SUBJ (CL) buy.
'I cannot find a book that Mary can buy.'

A more archaic use of the language allows for restrictive relative clauses to be introduced by the complementizer *de*. Examples are provided in (28):

- (28) a. Cina *de* ai gătit -o ieri a fost delicioasă.
dinner-the that have.2.SG cooked CL.F.SG yesterday has been delicious.F.SG
'The dinner you cooked yesterday was delicious.'
- b. Fata *de* te- a căutat e o fostă studentă.
girl-the that you has looked for is a former.F.SG student.
'The girl that looked for you is a former student.'

It is important to note that the contemporary non-literary language makes use of *ce* instead of *de*, *ce* being homophonous with the *wh*-element *what*, as exemplified in (25a) above, but its usage is limited to subject and direct object relatives. Apart from the complementary distribution of *de* and *ce*, which can be seen as two alternative realizations of the same functional head, other empirical data show that *ce* in restrictive relative clauses should be analysed as a complementizer and not as a *wh*-pronoun.

Grosu (1994) brings several arguments in favour of the complementizer status of *ce*²². One of his arguments has to do with the [\pm Human] specification. Whereas the *wh*-element *ce* can only be used with a non-human referent (its [+ Human] counterpart being *cine/who*), the use of *ce* in restrictive relative clauses is independent of the [\pm Human] feature on the head.

- (29) a. * *Ce* a venit?
what came
b. *Ce* a cumpărat Maria?
what has bought Mary?
'What did Mary buy?'
- (30) a. Fata *ce* a venit ...
girl-the *ce* has come ...
'The girl that came ...'
b. Am citit cartea *ce* a publicat -o Paul anul trecut.
have.1.SG. read book-the *ce* has published CL.F.SG Paul last year.
'I read the book that Paul published last year.'

²² Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) also mentions the possibility of treating *ce* either as a *wh*-quantifier or as a *that*-type of complementizer, as suggested by Horvath and Grosu (1987), but does not take a stand as to the status of *ce* in restrictive relatives.

The impossibility of using relative *ce* in pied-piped restrictive relative clauses²³ represents for Grosu (1994) further evidence for the analysis of *ce* as a complementizer:

- (31) a. Pe *ce* ai pus cheile?
 on what have.2.SG put keys-the
 ‘What did you put the keys on?’
 b. * Masa pe²⁴*ce* ai pus cheile am cumpărat -o
 table-the on *ce* have.2.SG put keys-the have.1.SG bought CL.F.SG
 în Franța.
 in France.
 ‘I bought the table on which you put the keys in France.’

In section 3 we have seen that the use of clitics in interrogative structures introduced by or containing the *wh*-element *ce* gives rise to agrammaticality effects. Contrary to interrogative structures, clitics can optionally appear in restrictive relatives introduced by *ce* in short-distance movement configurations and are obligatory in long-distance movement contexts. Both Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) and Grosu (1994) converge on the idea that the accusative clitics which appear in *ce*-relatives should be analysed as resumptive pronouns and not as object clitics.

- (32) a. Casa *ce* ai admirat (-o) ...
 house-the *ce* have.2.SG admired (CL.F.SG) ...
 ‘The house that you have admired ...’
 b. Casa *ce* am auzit de la Maria că
 house-the *ce* have.1.SG heard from Mary that
 ai cumpărat *(-o) în Franța.
 have.2SG bought *(CL.F.SG) in France.
 ‘The house that I heard from Mary that you bought in France.’

A further argument, not mentioned by Grosu (1994), but which endorses the view that *ce* is a complementizer in restrictive relatives is the fact that it cannot occur together with a relative pronoun. In this respect, it patterns with the impossibility of having both *that* and a relative pronoun in English:

(33) * The girl who that I saw is pretty. (English)

(34) * Fata care *ce* am văzut-o e drăguță. (Romanian)

But in cases where *ce* is undoubtedly a *wh*-pronoun, for example in interrogative constructions, it can be used in multiple *wh*-contexts, Romanian, like Bulgarian and other Slavic languages, being a multiple *wh*-fronting language:

²³ As shown by Grosu (1994: 214), *ce* can occur in pied-piped structures in non-matching free relatives and in head-external amount relatives. In all these contexts, *ce* has a *wh*-pronoun status.

²⁴ In this context, *pe* is the preposition indicating location and is not used to mark the Accusative Case on the *wh*-element.

- (35) a. Care ce a mâncat?
 who what has eaten
 ‘Who ate what?’
 b. Paul a realizat care ce a meritat.
 Paul has realized who what has deserved
 ‘Paul realized who deserved what.’

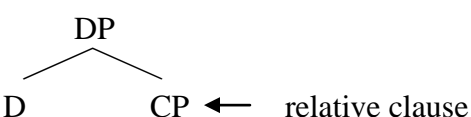
In view of the empirical arguments presented above, *ce* in restrictive relative clauses can be analysed as a complementizer. To summarize, it can be argued that Romanian does exhibit complementizer-introduced restrictive relatives, but these are restricted to specific registers of the language.

4. RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES IN ROMANIAN – A HEAD-RAISING ACCOUNT

In the following section I would like to focus on the syntactic analysis of restrictive relative structures in Romanian, from a head-raising perspective. The data presented in section 3 have shown that restrictive relative structures in Romanian can be introduced either by a *wh*-relative or by the complementizers *de* and *ce*, in certain varieties of the language. This section will present in more detail the structure of Romanian RRCs, with particular emphasis on their left periphery and the raising of the NP antecedent, as well as the problem of case-marking on the relative head.

4.1. First steps into raising

One of the basic assumptions of the raising analysis is that the external determiner takes the relative CP as its complement. Evidence for the head-complement relation between \bar{D} and the relative CP and for the \bar{D} head being generated in a CP -external position is provided by Bianchi (1999, ch.II). The relevant structure is shown below:

- (36) 

The relative head originates in a position internal to the relative CP, which illustrates that the head noun plays a semantic role inside the relative clause, and subsequently raises to the left periphery of the relative CP. Various types of evidence argue in favour of raising of the relative NP, like the reconstruction effects between the head noun and the relative gap. In example (37), the anaphor *himself* is bound by the subject *Tom*, internal to the relative clause:

- (37) The [pictures of himself_i]_j that Tom_i showed t_j to his friends were very nice.

The same holds for the Romanian example in (38) in which the anaphor *sine* (*himself*) is bound by the subject of the relative clause:

- (38) Îmi amintesc [poveștile despre sine_i]_j pe care bunicul_i ni le spunea t_j în fiecare seară.
 ‘I remember the stories about himself that grandfather would tell us every evening.’

Such reconstruction effects receive a straightforward explanation in the raising account which takes the NP head to be generated in a position internal to the relative head. Idiomatic

expressions, scope assignment, quantifier binding, and adjectival modification provide further evidence for a raising analysis of relative clauses. For a more detailed discussion, see Bianchi (1999) and Bhatt (2002) among others.

Given the two basic assumptions outlined above, that the relative clause is generated as the CP complement of the external determiner and that the NP head raises from inside the relative CP, let us consider the derivation of restrictive subject (39) and direct object *wh*-relatives (40) in Romanian.

(39) Poliția a prins hoțul care a furat mașina.
 police-the has caught thief-the who has stolen car-the
 ‘The police caught the man who stole the car.’

(40) Băiatul pe care îl văd studiază dreptul.
 boy-the pe who CL.M.SG see.1.SG studies law-the.
 ‘The boy whom I see studies law.’

In both cases, the head noun is generated as the sister of the relative determiner D_{REL} *care*, yielding [DP_{REL} *care* [NP *hoț*]] and [DP_{REL} *care* [NP *băiat*]]. The whole DP_{REL} is then selected as the subject of *furat mașina* in (39) (when the I is merged with VP it will attract the subject DP_{REL} to its specifier position) and the [PP/KP *pe* [DP_{REL} *care* [NP *băiat*]]] as the complement of the dummy preposition *pe* (in 40), the PP/KP ²⁵ being then selected as the complement of the predicate *văd*. A further clarification is needed at this point with respect to the position of the obligatory clitic in object relatives. Following Laenzlinger (in press), I assume that the clitic is the head of the DP selected by the “dummy” preposition *pe* and that the [DP_{REL} *care* [NP *băiat*]] appears in the specifier position of the clitic head. This D head will cliticize to an inflectional head, stranding the rest of the PP/KP .

The moment the C head enters the structure, it acts as a probe searching its c-domain for a goal endowed with the same feature, that I will call [+R, +WH]. Since movement is triggered by a matching featural configuration, as it has been shown in current work in syntax, it follows that the DP_{REL} and the PP/KP , endowed with the same featural configuration, are attracted to the specifier position of the C head, thus forming an A'-chain.

In the spirit of Rizzi's (2006) approach, I assume that the relative A'-chain involves an s-selectional position (i.e. the position where an element is first merged in the structure, the relativization site) and a criterial position (i.e. a scope/ discourse position) determined by a specific criterion, the Relative Criterion²⁶. Bianchi (1999) also takes the Relative Criterion to be the trigger of movement in relative clauses.

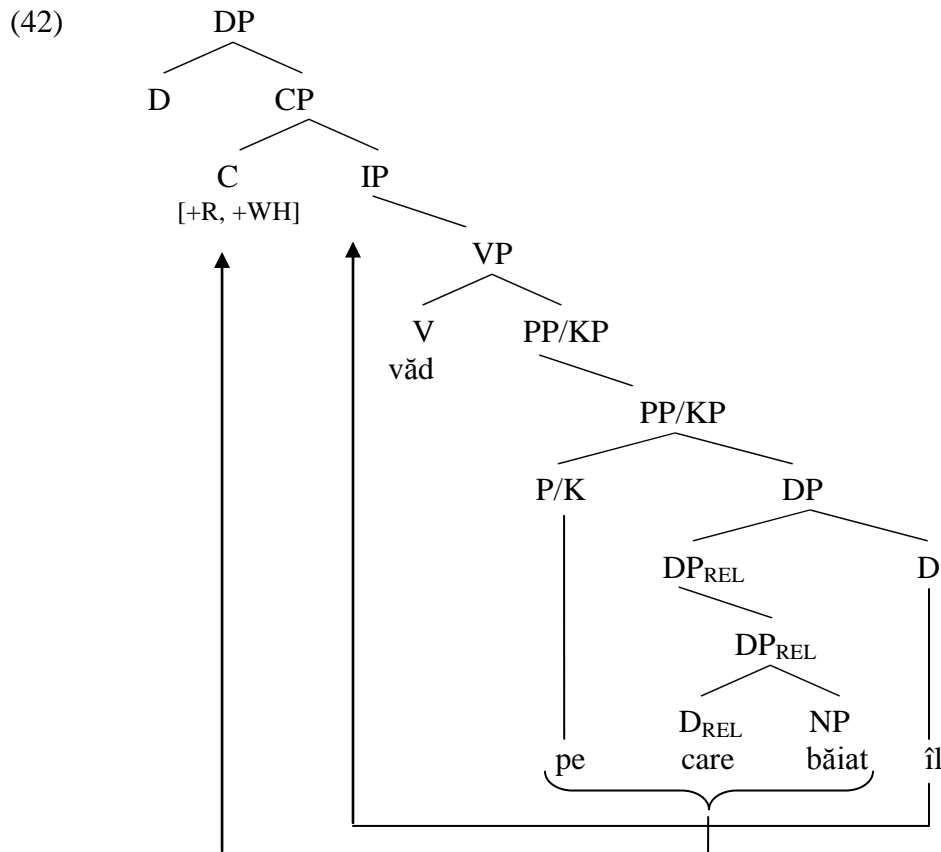
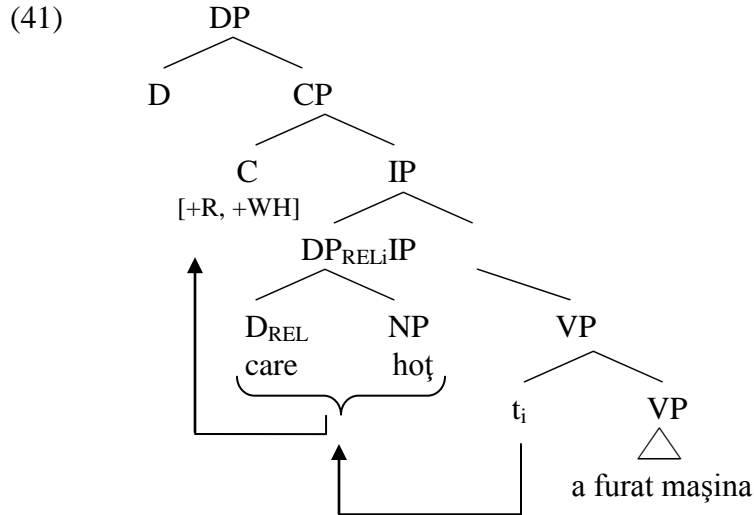
The structures we have at this point for (39) and (40) are represented in (41) and (42) below:

²⁵ In order to differentiate the dummy preposition *pe* that marks the accusative case on the DP, from the true preposition *pe* (translated as “on”), I will adopt Laenzlinger's (in press) proposal to represent dummy *pe* as a K (case) projection.

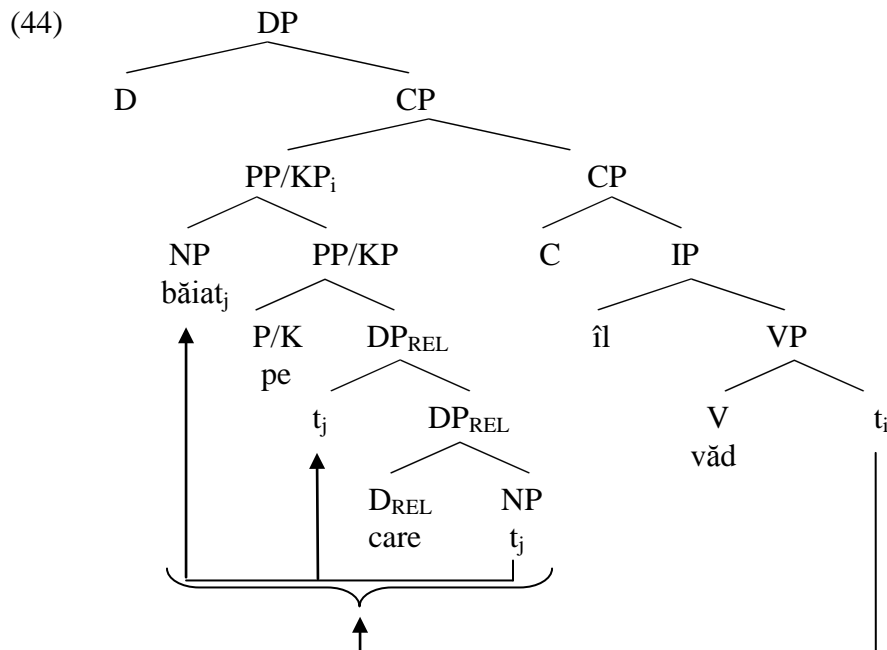
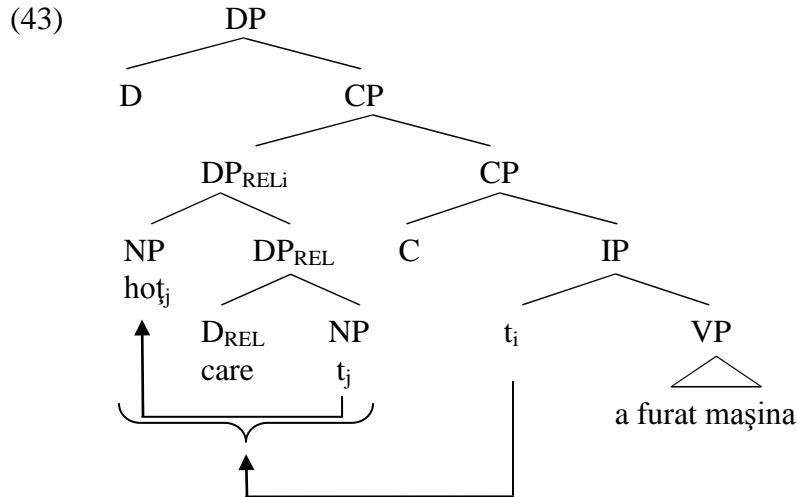
²⁶ Criteria are principles that require specifier-head agreement with a functional head carrying the same features: Q, Top, Foc, R for questions, topic, focus, relatives, etc.

(i) XP_F and X_F must be in a Spec-head configuration, for $F = Q, Top, Foc, R, \dots$ (Rizzi 2006)

Wh-movement, for instance, is driven by the Wh-Criterion (Rizzi 1996), which requires that a wh-phrase (carrying the feature [wh]) must end up in a Spec-head relation with C (also carrying the feature [wh] in questions).



The correct order of the elements in the relative clause is obtained by movement of the head noun to the specifier position of the DP_{REL} (43) or of the PP/ KP (44) for direct object relatives (in the latter case, the head noun first passes through $SpecDP_{REL}$ before reaching the specifier position of the PP/ KP).



Bianchi suggested that the movement of the head noun is triggered by merging the external determiner in the structure. This external D has a selectional N-feature that needs to be checked by a [+N] category. The CP complement of D does not have such a feature, thus the NP must move to a position within the minimal domain of the external determiner where it can check its N-feature. Given Manzini's definition of the *minimal domain* (see footnote 11), the relation of domination applies to whole categories and not to segments. The NPs in both (43) and (44) are covered by one segment of DP or PP/KP, respectively, and one segment of CP, therefore they do not fall in the minimal domains of the corresponding heads (D_{REL} , P/K, or C), but in the minimal domain of the external D. Movement of the head noun to Spec,DP/Spec,PP/KP allows the NP [_{NP} *hoț*] in (43) and the NP [_{NP} *băiat*] in (44) to be included in the minimal domain of the external D in order to establish the required checking relation whereby the external determiner can satisfy its selectional N-feature.

An important thing to bear in mind at this stage is that the analysis put forth for English, French, Italian relative clauses assumes that the head of the relative surfaces in a Spec, CP

position and that it remains inside the CP boundaries. We will see later on how Romanian relative constructions behave with respect to this.

As argued by Bianchi, the left periphery of the relative clause has a more fine grained articulation (cf. Rizzi, 1997). However, in her analysis, the DP_{REL} is only raised to SpecXP (XP being a low functional projection of the split-CP), and the NP head moves out of the DP_{REL} and targets the specifier position of a higher functional head of the CP layer, thus “stranding” the DP_{REL} into a lower position inside the CP domain.

In the following section we will consider the structure of the CP domain in Romanian restrictive relative clauses and bring arguments in favour of raising the whole relative DP to the specifier of ForceP, without passing through a lower intermediate position inside the CP, as argued by Bianchi (1999, 2000) for the derivation of English wh-relatives.

4.1.1. A characterization of the left periphery of relative clauses in Romanian

The cartographic approach to the architecture of the clause put forth by Belletti (2004), Cinque (2006) and Rizzi (1997, 2004) shows that the CP and IP areas are much more complex structures than it was traditionally assumed. Just as there is evidence to split IP up into several projections (TP, AspP, ModeP, etc.), there is evidence that the complementizer system also needs to be split into distinct functional heads with their corresponding projections.

The analysis in Rizzi (1997) postulates a CP layer divided into several other projections that together form the left periphery of the clause. Rizzi suggests a basic configurational structure of the left periphery (left of IP) which includes interrogative and relative pronouns, topic and focalised elements. The complementizer system is delimited by the projections of Force and Fin, while Focus and Topic projections are “sandwiched” between ForceP and FinP²⁷. The proposed structure of CP is as follows²⁸:

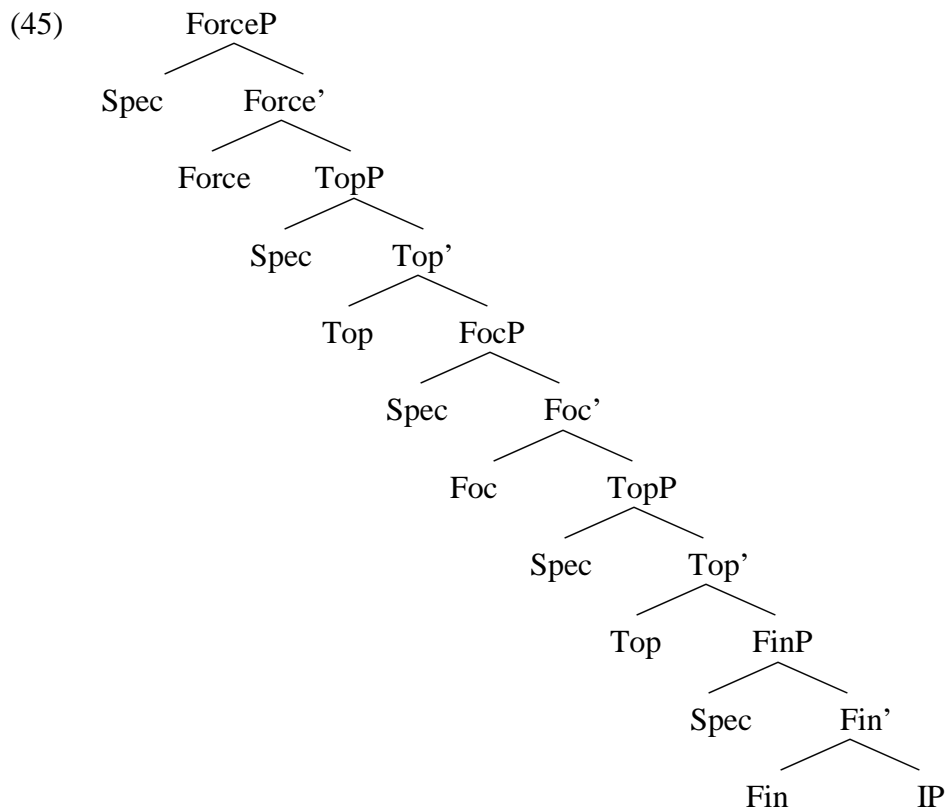
²⁷Rizzi shows that the C area can contain two or several topic constituents (see (i)), while only one focus can be present in the C system (see (ii)).

- (i) Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glielo darò senz'altro.
the book, to John, tomorrow, it to him will give for sure
'The book, to John, tomorrow, I'll give it to him for sure.'
- (ii) * A GIANNI IL LIBRO darò (non a Piero, l'articolo).
TO JOHN THE BOOK give-future-1st sg (not to Peter, the article).
'TO JOHN THE BOOK I'll give (not to Peter, the article).'

If a focus constituent combines with two topics, one of the topics can precede and the other follow the focused element.

²⁸ Rizzi (1999) suggests that there is another projection in the CP area which hosts *se*, the complementizer that introduces yes/no questions in Italian, as well as the wh word *perché* (“why”). The position occupied by these elements is INT(errogative). INT is lower than, Force and higher than Foc, the resulting structure is as follows (in this case, * shows that the structure is recursive):

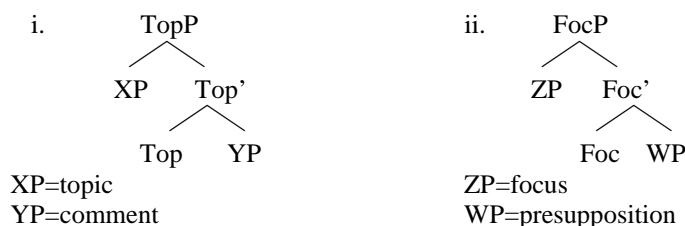
- (i) [ForceP [TopP* [IntP [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [FinP [IP ...]]]]]]].



The complementizer serves as the interface between a higher structural system (be it a clause or “the articulation of discourse”) and the IP below. A look from above at the complementizer indicates what kind of clause it is (declarative, interrogative, comparative, adverbial, relative, exclamative, etc.). If we look at the C system from below, we notice that the complementizer is sensitive to the finiteness of the lower IP (according to various selectional properties, certain complementizers select for finite clauses, others select for nonfinite clauses). Topic²⁹ represents what the sentence is “about”, while Focus introduces “new” information in the sentence³⁰.

Rizzi (1997) also observes that relative pronouns occupy a higher position than interrogative elements within the CP structure outlined above. He identifies this position as being the Spec of Force, the highest position available in the complementizer system, by showing that relative pronouns in Italian can precede topics and foci, whereas interrogative

²⁹ The structural representation of TopP and FocP is as follows (Rizzi, 1997: 286,287):



³⁰ Focus can also be used contrastively, as in:

- (i) Well [F I] passed the test.

where I contrasts with others, who did not pass the test.

phrases follow topics and are incompatible with a focalized constituent (in Rizzi's analysis, interrogative elements occupy the specifier position of FocusP and, therefore, cannot co-occur with a focalized constituent that would target the same specifier position). The examples below show the asymmetry between relative pronouns and interrogative phrases, with respect to topics (46) and focus movement (47):

- (46) a. Un uomo a cui, il premio Nobel, lo daranno senz'altro
 'A man to whom, the Nobel Prize, they will give it undoubtedly'
 b. * Un uomo, il premio Nobel, a cui lo daranno senz'altro
 'A man, the Nobel Prize, to whom they will give it undoubtedly'
 c. * A chi, il premio Nobel, lo daranno?
 'To whom, the Nobel Prize, will they give it?'
 d. Il premio Nobel, a chi lo daranno?
 'The Nobel Prize, to whom will they give it?'
- (47) a. Ecco un uomo a cui IL PREMIO NOBEL dovrebbero dare (non il premio X)
 'Here is a man to whom THE NOBEL PRIZE they should give (not prize X)'
 b. * Ecco un uomo IL PREMIO NOBEL a cui dovrebbero dare (non il premio X)
 'Here is a man THE NOBEL PRIZE to whom they should give (not prize X)'
 c. * A chi IL PREMIO NOBEL dovrebbero dare?
 'To whom THE NOBEL PRIZE should they give?'
 d. * IL PREMIO NOBEL a chi dovrebbero dare?
 'THE NOBEL PRIZE to whom should they give?'

(Rizzi, 1997: 298)

Following Rizzi's proposal of a split-CP, Bianchi (1999/ 2000) postulates that two different positions for relativization can be activated inside the complementizer system of English, according to the type of relative clause: *that*-relatives involve a Force head, while zero-relatives display a phonetically null lower functional head, which Bianchi (1999) identifies as Topic. *Wh*-relatives, on the other hand, activate both the Force layer, and the Topic layer, by first moving the relative DP in the Spec of Topic, and then raising the relative NP to the spec of Force to enter the required checking configuration with the external determiner. This was exemplified in (10) - (12) repeated here:

- (48) [DP the [_{ForceP} [_{DP} painting]_i [_{Force°} that Mary admired t_i]]]
- (49) [DP the [_{TopicP} [_{DP} painting]_i [_{Topic°} Mary admired t_i]]]
- (50) [DP the [_{ForceP} [_{NP} painting]_j [_{Force°} [_{TopicP} [_{DP} which t_j]_i [_{Topic°} she admired t_i]]]]]

In order to capture the contrast with Italian which does not allow structures like (49) and (50), and, therefore, does not have a Topic layer available for relativization, Bianchi argues that the two languages have different settings for the same parameter, which I will call the "Relative Topic Parameter", and which is stated in (51):

- (51) ±(Topic° optionally supports the features [+declarative] and [+relative])
 Bianchi (1999: 186)

The availability of the Topic head for relativization in English follows from the positive setting of the "Relative Topic Parameter": Topic being specified for a [+relative] feature, it

can host a relativized phrase in its specifier. The [+declarative] feature on the Topic head accounts for the possibility of having zero-relatives, as well as optional-*that* deletion in declarative complement clauses in English. Thus, under Bianchi's analysis, the Force head in English relative clauses and declarative complement clauses can be substituted with the Topic head³¹.

Italian has a negative setting for the Relative Topic Parameter, i.e. Top is [-declarative] and [-relative]. Therefore, in order to check its [+relative] feature, the DP_{REL} has to move to Spec of Force in Italian, since the specifier of the lower structural Topic layer is not an available landing site for relativization. The negative setting of this parameter in Italian also accounts for the impossibility of deleting the complementizer in declarative complement clauses. The examples below, taken from Bianchi (1999: 155)³², illustrate the case for Italian:

- (52) a. il libro che ho letto
 'the book that I read'
 b. * il libro il quale ho letto
 'the book which I read'
 c. * il libro ho letto
 'the book I read'
 d. il modo in cui agiva
 'the way in which he acted'

The questions that arise now is what setting the Relative Topic Parameter has in Romanian and, in consequence, what functional heads are realised in restrictive relative clauses in Romanian. For this purpose, let us consider the examples below:

- (53) a. lingvistul pe care l-am văzut la conferință
 'the linguist whom I saw at the conference'
 b. lingvistul ce l-am văzut la conferință
 'the linguist that I saw at the conference'
 c. * lingvistul l-am văzut la conferință
 'the linguist I saw at the conference'
 d. * lingvistul pe care ce l-am văzut la conferință
 'the linguist whom that I saw at the conference'
 e. Maria mi-a spus că îl cunoaște pe Ion.
 'Mary told me that she knows John.'
 f. * Maria mi-a spus îl cunoaște pe Ion.
 'Mary told me she knows John.'

The relative structures in (53a) to (53b) show that *wh*-relatives and *that*-type relatives are possible in Romanian, whereas zero-relatives (53c) are ungrammatical. Moreover, the relative pronoun appears in complementary distribution with the two complementizers, *de* and *ce*, that can occur in relative clauses, as shown in section 3. The co-occurrence of the relative pronoun and of the "relative" complementizers is ruled out as ungrammatical (53d). Deletion of the complementizer in declarative complement clauses (53f) also gives rise to ungrammaticality effects and shows that, in order for the clause to be typed as declarative, the Force head must

³¹ See Bianchi (1999, ch. VI and VII) for a more detailed argumentation in favour of the structural licensing of a syntactically defective Top/Fin° head in zero and *wh*-relatives in English.

³² The English translation is mine.

be overtly realized in the structure. The data in (53) seem to indicate, on the one hand, that the Topic head in the Romanian complementizer system is underspecified for the [declarative] feature, on the other hand, that the Topic head does not bear the [+relative] feature, hence it cannot provide a landing site for movement of the relative DP. In this respect, Romanian patterns with Italian.

Various other aspects of the left periphery of relative clauses in Romanian bring evidence in favour of raising the DP_{REL} to Spec of Force, the highest functional position available in the CP. If we consider the position of the relative determiners with respect to other functional projections that can be licensed in the complementizer system, we notice that they precede Topics. This is shown in example (54), in which the relative pronoun precedes the topics:

- (54) a. Mihai va intâlni într-o zi fata care,
 Mihai FUT.3.SG meet in a day girl-the who
 un astfel de comportament, nu-l va tolera.
 a such of behavior not-CL.M.SG will tolerate
 ‘Mihai will one day meet the girl who, such kind of behavior, will not tolerate,’
- b. * Mihai va intâlni într-o zi fata, un astfel de comportament
 Mihai FUT.3.SG meet in a day girl-the a such of behavior
 care, nu-l va tolera.
 who not-CL.M.SG will tolerate
 ‘Mihai will one day meet the girl, such kind of behavior, who will not tolerate,’

Note also that, despite being specified for a [+wh] feature, the relative *care* ‘‘which’’, does not interfere with Focus movement in embedded clauses. The relative operator does not behave on a par with interrogative wh-phrases. Consequently, it targets a distinct position from that targeted by focus and wh-phrases.

- (55) a. Câștigătorul este persoana care O CARTE a cumpărat (nu un CD).
 winner-the is person-the who A BOOK has bought (not a CD).
 ‘The winner is the person who A BOOK bought (not a CD).’
- b. * Câștigătorul este persoana O CARTE care a cumpărat (nu un CD).
 winner-the is person-the A BOOK who has bought (not a CD).
 ‘The winner is the person A BOOK who bought (not a CD).’

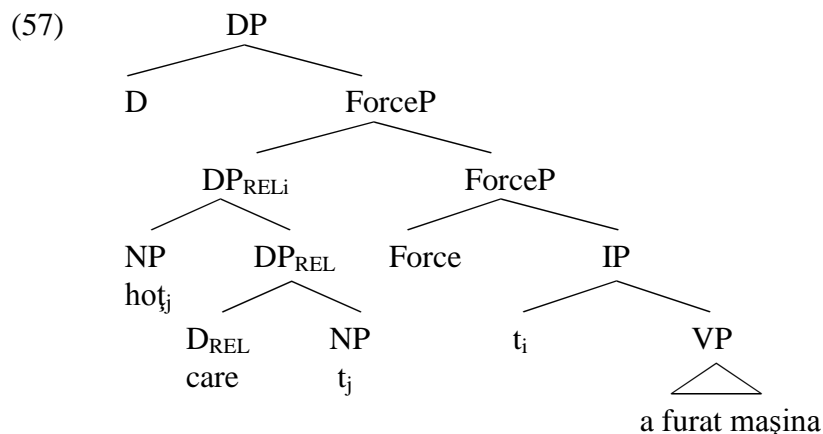
The ungrammaticality of examples (54b) and (55b) shows that no intervening element can occur between the head of the relative and the relative determiner in Romanian. This observation is also borne out by the fact that, contrary to English, extraposition is not an option in Romanian:

- (56) a. An article appeared which was written by Pinker. (English)
 b. * Un articol a aparut care a fost scris de Pinker. (Romanian)

So far, we have seen that relative operators may precede topics or focalized elements in the complementizer system. It follows that they must target a higher functional projection. We therefore conclude, along the lines of Rizzi (1997), that the relative DP in Romanian moves to the specifier position of the Force Phrase. This yields the order [[DP_{REL}] Force] > Topic > Focus, in which the relative determiner comes before both topicalized and focalized phrases. It also accounts for the impossibility of having additional material intervening between the relative head and the relative determiner, as well as for the fact the zero relatives are ruled out

as a possibility for relativization in Romanian. Thus, Topic is not specified for [+declarative] and [+relative] features, which implies that Romanian, like Italian, has a negative setting for the Relative Topic Parameter.

If we go back to the representations given in (43) and (44) above, we can now identify the CP projection as ForceP. (57) is the syntactic representation for the subject relative clause in (39) above, in which the DP_{REL} moves to Spec,ForceP, and the NP head subsequently raises to the specifier position of the relative DP.



Note that the derivation in (57) also holds for restrictive object relatives.

The question that arises is what happens in cases like (58a) in which the restrictive relative clause is introduced by a *that*-type complementizer (see section 3 for evidence that the complementizers *de* and *ce* can be used for relativization).

- (58) a. Am citit cartea ce a publicat-o Paul anul trecut.
 ‘I read the book that Paul published last year.’
 b. Am citit cartea pe care a publicat-o Paul anul trecut.
 ‘I read the book which Paul published last year.’

For these cases, I argue along the lines of Bianchi (1999) and de Vries (2002) that the NP head is selected by an empty relative D_{REL} that has all the formal features of a relative pronoun. This DP_{REL} [DP_{REL} ∅ [NP cartea]] undergoes all the movement steps postulated for *care*-relatives, targeting a position in the specifier of Force. The difference between *care*-relatives and relatives introduced by a complementizer is that the latter have an overt Force head and an empty D_{REL}, while the former have an overt D_{REL} and an empty Force head³³.

4.2. Raising the head-noun

In section 4.1 we have shown that the head of a restrictive relative in Romanian originates in a position internal to the subordinate clause as the complement of a relative determiner and then raises to the left periphery of the relative CP, to what has been identified as the specifier of Force. A further movement takes place, whereby the head NP moves to the left of the D_{REL}, in order to check the selectional N-feature of the external determiner.

³³ Pesetsky and Torrego (2006) adopt Bhatt’s (2002) analysis of relative clauses and suggest that what raises is only the N head. They argue that *who* and *which* are complementizers, tensed counterparts of the complementizer *that*, directly merged under C. Such an analysis would have to account, though, for the presence of wh-movement effects in relative structures, an indication that wh-movement is at play in RCs.

The derivation in (57) shows that the whole CP is selected by an external determiner. The order we have in (57), namely D-NP-RC (relative clause) is compatible with cases where the external determiner in Romanian is an indefinite article, which precedes the relative head (59a) and (59b)³⁴. The definite article, on the other hand, has the status of an affix which is enclitic to the noun, thus yielding the order NP-D-RC, as illustrated in (59c) and (59d) below.

- (59) a. Au tăiat un copac care era bolnav.
have.3.PL cut a.M.SG tree which was sick.
'They cut a tree that was sick.'
- b. Citesc o carte pe care am primit-o de la Maria.
read.1.SG a.F.SG book pe which have.1.SG received-CL.F.SG from Mary.
'I am reading a book which I received from Mary.'
- c. Copacul pe care l-au tăiat era bolnav.
tree-the.M.SG pe which CL.M.SG have.3.PL cut was sick
'The tree which they cut was sick.'
- d. Cartea pe care o citesc a apărut la MIT Press.
book-the.F.SG pe which CL.F.SG read.1.SG has.3.SG appeared at MIT Press
'The book I am reading was published by MIT Press.'

At this point, we need to account for the relation between the definite D_{EXT} and the head noun. For this purpose, let us first examine the structure of the Romanian DP.³⁵ Without going into the details of the analyses proposed for DP domain in Romanian (and other Romance languages), I will assume, following Giusti (1992a) that in the derivation of a simple DP like *copacul* 'the tree', the definite article is the D head selecting an NP complement. The enclitic position of the noun is obtained by incorporating N into D (N-to-D raising)³⁶, as in (60a) below. No such movement takes place with an indefinite article (60b).

- (60) a. [DP [D copac_i + ul] [NP t_i]]
b. [DP [D un] [NP copac]]

The strong interaction between D and N also holds for relative clauses. This relation is not limited to selectional properties (i.e. D_{EXT} selecting a complement endowed with a [+N] feature), but also involves similar Case and agreement features on the external determiner and the head noun.

Given the analysis put forth for the simple DP in Romanian (see 60 above), as well as de Vries' (2002) account for the syntax of postnominal relatives, I would like to suggest that N-to-D raising takes place in Romanian restrictive RCs selected by a definite external determiner. In such cases, D_{EXT} attracts a goal, the N head, that has the same featural specification. N incorporates into D. In the case of the indefinite article there is no overt raising of the head noun. As suggested by de Vries (2002) for English, we can postulate that

³⁴ The examples in (58) only illustrate the use of definite and indefinite articles in the singular. The plural forms are *niște* for the indefinite article (no distinction for gender) and *-i* (for masculine) and *-le* (for feminine) for the definite article:

- (i) *niște copaci/ fete*
(ii) *copaci* 'the trees'
(iii) *fetele* 'the girls'

³⁵ Cornilescu (1993) assumes, following work on the DP in Romance languages, that the domain of the Romanian DP contains an agreement area, a morpho-syntactic feature area, a determination area.

³⁶ Laenzlinger (2005) derives the structure in (60) by raising NP to the specifier position of DP.

it is only the formal features (FF) of N that are incorporated into D, thus stranding the phonological features (PF) of the head noun³⁷.

The determiner and the noun not only bear the same ϕ -features, i.e. number, gender, but also the same Case. Giusti (1992) argues that Case-marking is a property of the D head and that N morphologically agrees with D, which governs it. Example (61b) illustrates this for Romanian:

- (61) a. I-am dat [DP [D băiat_i + ului_{DAT}] [NP t_i]] o carte.
I have given boy+the.M.SG.DAT a.F.SG book.
'I gave a book to the boy.'
- b. I-am dat [DP [D unui_{DAT}] [NP băiat]] o carte
I have given a.M.SG.DAT boy a.F.SG book.
'I gave a book to a boy.'

This can be easily accommodated into an analysis which postulates that overt N-to-D raising takes place when the relative CP in Romanian is selected by a definite article, and that only formal featural N-to-D raising takes place when an indefinite article is merged in the structure. We now also have a straightforward account for the different case-marking on the relative head and on the relative pronoun. Example (21) is repeated here as (62) for the ease of reference:

- (62) Am revăzut-o pe fata *căreia* i-am
have.1.SG seen CL.F.SG *pe* girl who.DAT.F.SG CL.F.SG have.1.SG
vândut bicicleta.
sold bicycle-the
'I have seen again the girl to whom I sold the bicycle.'

The implication of such an analysis for restrictive RCs in Romanian is that the N head will have to move out of the relative CP and incorporate into the external determiner when D_{EXT} is a definite article (62a). No movement occurs with indefinite articles and the head noun stays within the boundaries of the relative CP (62b).

- (62) [CP Poliția a prins [DP hoț_i+ul [ForceP t_i care a furat mașina]]]
'The police caught the thief who stole the car.'
- (63) [CP Poliția a prins [DP FF_i+un [ForceP hoț_i care a furat o mașină]]]
'The police caught a thief who stole a car.'

The same analysis holds for object relatives, where the N head will raise to D from the specifier position of the PP/KP.

- (64) [CP Poliția a prins [DP hoț_i+ul [ForceP t_i pe care l-a denunțat Maria]]]
'The police caught the thief whom Marry turned in.'

³⁷ An alternative analysis, in the spirit of Chomsky (2001, 2008) would be assume that the definite external determiner is associated with an EPP feature and with ϕ -features, while no EPP feature is present on the indefinite external determiner. The presence of ϕ -features on D_{EXT} give rise to an AGREE relation with the N head which is in the minimal domain of the external determiner. MOVE follows AGREE to satisfy EPP, in the case of the definite article. The difference between the definite and the indefinite structure could thus be captured by an AGREE or AGREE+MOVE distinction. Note that such an analysis would be compatible to Laenzlinger's (2005) account of the simple DP in Romanian, in which the whole NP moves to SpecDP.

- (65) [CP Poliția a prins [DP FF_i+un [ForceP hoți pe care îl vânau demult.]]]
 ‘The police caught a thief whom they were chasing for a long time.’

We now have a straightforward account for the two possible word orders in restrictive relative clauses in Romanian: D-N-RC (the external determiner is an indefinite article) and N-D-RC (the external determiner is a definite article).

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of the paper was to answer two main questions. The first had to do with the main characteristics of restrictive relatives in Romanian. The second was concerned with showing whether a raising analysis along the lines of Kayne (1994), Bianchi (1999, 2000), de Vries (2002) is suitable for this type of structures in Romanian.

The answer to the first question was that (i) the relative head bears the same ϕ -features with the relative pronoun, but also with the external determiner, (ii) the relative pronoun bears the Case assigned to it in the relative CP, while the head noun is assigned Case in the matrix clause, (iii) relative pronouns cannot bind a syntactic variable because they do not bear quantification feature, which accounts for the obligatory presence of object clitics, but also that (iv) certain registers of the language allow for the use of *that*-type relatives, introduced by the complementizers *de* and *ce*.

The answer to the second question showed that a head-raising analysis holds for restrictive relative clauses in Romanian. A uniform analysis was proposed for *wh*-relatives and relatives introduced by a complementizer. In both cases, the head noun is raised to the specifier position of a functional head inside the relative CP, which I have identified as Force (cf. Rizzi 1997). In the final part I have addressed the question of Case marking on the head noun and I have considered a two-case scenario for the structure of restrictive relatives in Romanian, according to the nature of the external determiner that selects the relative CP. If the external determiner is a definite article, N overtly incorporates into D. If the external determiner is an indefinite article, only the formal features of N incorporate into D.

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