ROMANIAN RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES: A HEAD RAISING ANALYSIS?*

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Abstract: The paper investigates the syntax of restrictive relative clauses from a mainly descriptive viewpoint. It offers a critical view of the head raising analysis (Kayne 1994) and shows that no conclusive evidence supports the application of this analysis to Romanian. I suggest that a different theoretical approach, provided by the Matching Analysis (Chomsky 1965, Sauerland 1998), might instead account for the empirical facts I will bring to attention. However, I leave for future research the details concerning its implementation.

Keywords: Romanian restrictive relative clauses, raising, matching

1. Introduction

Romanian restrictive relative clauses have been the topic of various fine-grained semantic analyses (Grosu 1994, Grosu and Landman 1998, Grosu 2000). Nevertheless, to date, they have not enjoyed as much attention from the syntactic viewpoint.

The paper makes a preliminary attempt to fill in this gap by filtering out a proposal that does not seem to capture the Romanian data, the Head Raising Analysis (Kayne 1994), and indicating a possible alternative to it, the Matching Analysis[1] (Chomsky 1965, Sauerland 1998), with the reservation that further research is needed in order to implement this analysis.

The paper is structured in three main sections: (i) the first introduces the theoretical mechanism of the HRA and the MA; (ii) the second briefly presents the relativization strategies Romanian resorts to; (iii) the third reviews the tests that have been used in order to substantiate the HRA and investigates whether they hold out for our empirical data. The last section includes a few conclusions.

2. The theoretical background

In this section, I will briefly expose the gist of the Head Raising Analysis (HRA) and its alternative, the Matching Analysis (MA).

2.1 The Head Raising Analysis

The HRA was first put forth in (Brame 1968), taken up by (Verngnaud 1974) and subsequently revised and updated in (Kayne 1994) and (Bianchi 1999, 2000). It accounts for both relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns (*wh*-relatives) and those introduced by complementizers (*that*-relatives). It relies on the assumption that an external D takes the relative clause as its complement. The derivation of the relative slightly differs depending on the type under consideration, i.e. *wh* or *that*, as I will show in the next two subsections.

2.1.1 *Wh*-relatives

The relative pronoun, a determiner, takes as complement the nominal that heads the relative, e.g. $[_{DP}$ which book$_j]_i$ in (1). This relative DP is merged in the relative clause to

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[1] There is also the Head External Analysis (Chomsky 1977). Its discussion is not within the scope of the paper.

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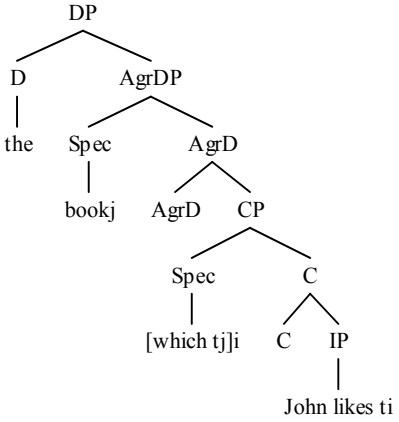
whose Spec/C it subsequently moves. Afterward, the NP raises from the relative DP to the specifier of an Agr_D projection. The head of Agr_D is assumed to encode the overt agreement morphology of the nominal determiner. This derivation is represented below (as in Bianchi 1999: 79):

(1) The book which John likes



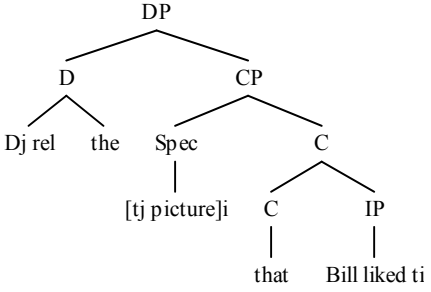
Bianchi (1999: 81) analyses relative pronouns as non-definite determiners, (determiners that are underspecified for the feature [+ definiteness] as Bianchi (2000) further fleshes out this proposal). She proposes that English *who* and *which* represent "an expression of cardinality predicated of the set denoted by the NP head. The whole indefinite DP is thus a predicative category to be bound by an external operator".

As noted by Borsley (1997) a.o., the raising analysis predicts that the external D and the relative head do not form a constituent at the beginning of the derivation.

2.1.2 *That*-relatives

In *that*-relatives, the relative head is the complement of an empty D, e.g. [$_{DP}$ D picture] in (2). After the relative DP moves to Spec/C, the empty D moves further to incorporate into the external D (Bianchi 2000).

(2) The picture that Bill liked



We see from (1) and (2) that both *wh*-relatives and *that*-relatives involve movement of the relative head to the Spec/C and then raising to the external D projection. As far as interpretive properties are concerned, the constituent that moves will be an indefinite, either because it is headed by an empty D (*that*-relatives) or because the determiner that subcategorizes for it is non-definite itself (*wh*-relatives). Hence, definiteness is encoded in a

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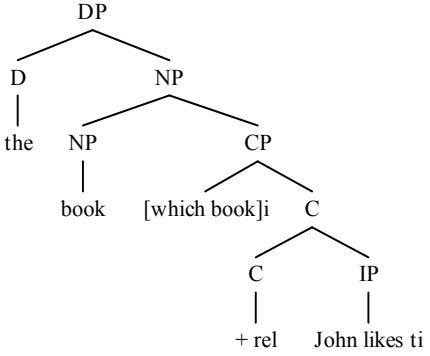
projection outside the relative clause. This fact ties in with the fact that the external D and the head of the relative do not form a constituent from the very beginning.

To sum up the discussion so far, the HRA relies on three crucial facts (i) the relative head raises to an external D; (ii) the relative head is indefinite and so must be its trace; (iii) since we are dealing with an A-bar movement derivation, the relative head reconstructs at its initial merge position. Reconstruction effects for scope and binding (variable binding, principle A and C) must follow.

2.2 The Matching Analysis

The MA proposes that relative clauses are right-adjoined to the head NP. The relative head may be lexically realized and in that case it starts out as the complement of the relative pronoun ([$_{DP}$ which book]) in (3) or it may simply be a null operator (this different realization of head depends on the type of the relative, *wh* or *that*-relative). Either way the relative head occurs in a DP projection that moves to the Spec/C of the relative clause. In addition to this internal head, there is also an external head. The internal head in Spec/C deletes under identity with the external head. Hence, the two heads are related by ellipsis, they are not part of a movement chain. Consequently, both heads have to be interpreted. The complete derivation can be read off the diagram below:

(3) The book which John likes.



To sum up again, the MA is based on three important factors (i) the external head of the relative has a corresponding internal head with the latter being deleted under identity; (ii) there is A-bar movement within the relative clause of the relative head or, alternatively, of a null operator; (iii) the relative head reconstructs at its initial merge position. Reconstruction effects are thus also present.

3. Romanian relativization strategies: the data

Subject relatives (SR) are introduced by the relative pronoun *care*[2] (who/which):

(4) Băiatul care cunoaşte amănuntele.
boy-the who knows details-the
'The boy who knows the details.'

[2] I will not look into relatives introduced by *ce* in this paper.

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Direct object relatives (DOR) are also introduced by *care*. DORs bear special marking that distinguishes them from SRs. *Care* must be preceded by the preposition *pe*, which is standardly assumed to check accusative case. Inside the DOR there is an accusative direct object clitic that gets co-indexed both with the relative connector and the antecedent of the relative:

(5) Băiatul pe care îl vezi.
boy-the PE who CL3rd SG M ACC see
'The boy whom you see.'

In non-standard language *care* occurs extensively without the accusative preposition. The clitic, however, is not subject to optionality.

(6) Băiatul care *(îl) vezi.
boy-the who CL3rd SG M ACC see
'The boy who you see.'

In fact, the difference between (5) and (6), *care* with and without *pe*, runs deeper than being a simple matter of stylistic variation within language. Grosu (1994) offers tests to flesh out a syntactic difference between these two instances of *care. Care* preceded by the accusative preposition is a relative pronoun, i.e. D(eterminer)-*care* while its counterpart without the preposition is a complementizer, i.e. C(omplementizer)-*care*. The presence/ absence of the preposition is not the only factor that tells apart the two instances of *care*. C-*care* shows up in case the antecedent of the relative associates with a (potential) extraction site embedded in an island, as in (7) in which *băiatul* 'the boy' relates to the object clitic contained in a complex DP island:

(7) Băiatul care ți- am arătat o fată care îl place e.
boy-the who CL2nd SG DAT have show-PERF a girl who CL3rd SG M ACC likes
'The boy whom I have shown you a girl that likes him.'

Note that the relative pronoun *care* is ungrammatical in the same context (8):

(8) *Băiatul pe care ți- am arătat o fată care îl place e.
boy-the PE who CL2nd SG DAT have show-PERF a girl who CL3rd SG M ACC like
'The boy whom I have shown you a girl that likes him.'

The difference between relatives with D-*care* and C-*care* associates with a difference in the status of the object clitic. (Grosu 1994: 234) proposes that the clitic in (7) is a resumptive pronoun whereas in (8) it is, I conjecture, an A' bound clitic (in the sense of Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2000).

For now, I remain agnostic about the nature of the clitic and defer it to further research. Yet, I will assume henceforth that the two relativization strategies that English has, relativization by means of relative pronoun and of a complementizer, are also available in Romanian. This pattern is not at all singular within the Romance languages group. Suñer (1998) shows that Spanish also makes use of both these strategies (relatives with complementizer and resumptive pronoun and relatives with relative pronoun and a gap, more precisely) and that the complementizer option belongs to non-standard language.

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4. The HRA applied to Romanian

The HRA makes a set of predictions that can be tested in order to see whether they hold out to scrutiny from the viewpoint of Romanian. If these predictions hold up, we should be able to see that: (i) there is raising to the external D; (ii) the relative DP headed by *care* has an indefinite interpretation. I will not be concerned with reconstruction effects because they follow from both the raising and the matching analysis.

4.1 Raising to the external D

4.1.1 Proper names in root clauses and proper names as relative heads

In English, direct object proper names in root clauses are not preceded by the definite article (9a). However, if a proper name heads a relative clause, matters change and a preceding definite article becomes obligatory.

(9) a. I love (*the) Paris.
b. This is *(the) Paris I love.

The proponents of the HRA take the behavior of proper names in relatives as evidence that definiteness must be encoded on the external D, not on the head that raises from the relative. Romanian does not offer conclusive evidence on this particular account because, in a context similar to that in (9) and involving a complementizer relative, the proper name is preceded by the article both in the root and relative clause.

(10) a. Iubesc Parisul.
love Paris-the
'I love Paris.'
b. Parisul pe care îl iubesc.
Paris-the PE which CL3rd SG M ACC love

4.1.2 Floating quantifiers (FQs)

Italian FQs select a definite DP as their complement. An FQ can precede the head of a relative clause (11a, 12a), but it cannot float inside the relative clause itself (11b, 12b), from Bianchi (1999: 47) (glosses and translations provided by the author):

(11) a. Elencami tutti i libri che devi leggere per l'esame.
tell me all the books that must read for the exam
'Tell me all the books that you must read for the exam.'
b. *Elencami i libri che devi leggere tutti per l'esame.
'Tell me the books that must read all for the exam.'
(12) a. Entrambe le persone che ammiravo mi hanno deluso.
both the people that admired me have disappointed
'Both the people that I admired disappointed me'.
b. *Le persone che ammiravo entrambe mi hanno deluso.
the people that admired both me have disappointed

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The explanation for this behavior of FQs has to do with the presence of an external D. The impossibility of floating a quantifier inside the relative clause ties in with the categorial status of the nominal constituent that associates with the FQ, i.e. the relative head is a non-definite DP inside the relative, and a definite DP after raising has taken place.

Romanian FQs show the same selectional restriction as Italian ones, i.e. they combine with definite DPs.

(13) a. Toți studenții
all students-the
'All the students'
b. *Toți student
all student

However, the pattern that we have observed in the Italian examples (11)-(12) does not show in Romanian. Consider (14)-(15) with FQs floated from subject position and also (16) with C-*care* and FQs floated from direct object position (I have used C-*care* in (14)-(16) so that the Romanian examples may be on a par with the Italian ones, which feature a Comp relative).

(14) a. Toți oamenii care îl susțin sînt corupți.
all people-the who CL3rd SG M ACC support are corrupt
'All the people who support him are corrupt.'
b. Oamenii care (toți) îl susțin (toți) sînt corupți (toți).
all people-the who (all) CL3rd SG M ACC support (all) are corrupt (all)

(15) a. Amîndoi oamenii care au venit sînt necunoscuți.
both people-the who have come-PERF are strangers
'Both people who came are strangers.'
b. Oamenii care (amîndoi) au venit (amîndoi) sînt necunoscuți.
people-the who (both) have come-PERF (both) are strangers
'The people who both came are strangers.'

(16) a. Enumeră- mi cărțile pe care (pe toate) trebuie (pe toate) să
enumerate CL1st SG DAT books-the PE which (PE all) must PE all SĂ
le citeşti (pe toate).
CL3rd F PL read (PE all)
'Enumerate all the books that you must read.'
b. Oamenii pe care (pe amîndoi) îi admir (pe amîndoi).
people-the PE who (PE both) CL3rd PL M admire (PE both)
'The people whom I both admire.'

4.2 Idioms

Evidence for the presence of an external D also comes from those cases in which it is possible to relativize an idiom chunk (Vergnaud 1974). There are idioms whose verbs take an indefinite object. If that object becomes the head of a relative, it will be preceded by a definite article.

(17) a. They made fun of me.
b. the fun they made of me
c. *They made the fun of me.

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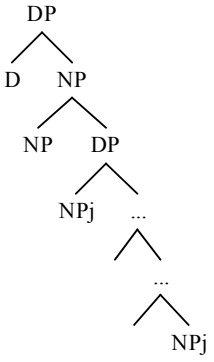
The argument about relativization of argument chunks carries over to Romanian. Idioms such as *a încasa bătaie* 'to get a good beating' have bare NP objects that can be relativized (18a), in which case the object has to be preceded by a definite article (18b). Similar examples can be given with other idioms such as *a vinde gogoşi* 'to lie', *a-şi croi drum* 'to forge a path'.

(18) a. Alex a încasat bătaie ieri seară.
Alex has cash-PERF beating yesterday evening
'Alex got a good beating yesterday night.'

b. Bătaia (pe) care a încasat- o l- a
beating-the PE which has cash-PERF CL3rd SG F ACC CL3rd SG M ACC has
băgat în spital.
put-PERF in hospital
'The beating he got put him in hospital.'

At first sight, the idiom test seems to take us on a different path and prove that relatives associate with an external D. Actually, the test does show that definiteness is encoded outside the relative clause. Yet, appearances might be deceiving. Kotzoglou and Varlokosta (2005) discuss Greek object relatives with complementizers and show that HRA runs into problems when applied to the Greek data. They also note that relativization of bare idiomatic objects shows the same quirk that we have noticed for English (17) and Romanian (18). However, they dismiss this as an irrelevant issue because they observe that nothing prevents the bare object in the Spec/C of the relative to match only the external NP selected by the external D, without going all the way to D, as in (19):

(19)



Romanian brings additional evidence to corroborate the conclusion that matching of NPs of the type proposed in (19) is also an option. The evidence comes from relative clauses headed by bare singular nouns, as shown in (20):

(20) Nu e om care nu greşeşte cîteodată.
not is man who not err sometimes
'There is no man who does not make mistakes sometimes.'

HRA predicts (21) as the representation for (20):

(21) [$_{Spec,C}$ care om] [$_{IP}$ t_i nu greşeşte cîteodată]

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The complement of *care*, i.e. *om* 'man', should raise to the external D. However, the main clause predicate, existential *a fi* 'to be' cannot take a DP complement, only a bare NP one (singular or plural). Bare singulars do not occur in nominal projections topped off by a D (see Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2006). If we simply match the bare NP complement of *care* to the external NP, the problem gets solved as it does in Greek.

I have shown in this section that raising to the external D in relatives that are introduced by C-*care* is called into question. First, the behavior of relativized proper names does not offer conclusive evidence for raising of a bare NP. Second, the availability of quantifier float inside the relative clause, with the FQ modifying the relative DP, does not indicate either that the relative DP is realized as an indefinite, given the definiteness restriction FQs impose on the phrases they modify. If we adopt the MA account, on the other hand, matching between the internal head DP and the external head DP is not a necessity. In some cases, matching between the NP sub-constituents in the internal and external head is enough.

4.3 Predicate nominals

The behavior of relativized predicate nominals in languages that have agreement between the subject and the predicative has also constituted a supportive argument for the HRA. It was Vergnaud (1974: 65) that brought it first to attention. The ungrammaticality of (22) comes from an agreement clash: the predicative has to agree in φ features with the subject in the relative and also with the matrix subject (glosses provided by the author, no translations):

(22) a. *Marie n' est pas la comédienne que son père était t.
Marie not is not the comedian F SG that her father was
b. *Marie n' est pas le comédien que son père était t.
Marie not is not the comedian F SG that her father was

Romanian falls in the group of languages that require φ feature agreement between a predicative and the subject.

(23) a. El/ea e actor /actriță bun /bună.
he/she is actor SG M/actor.SG F good SG M/good-SG F
'He is a good actor/She is a good actress.'
b. Ei /ele sînt actori /actrițe buni /bune.
they PL M/they PL F are actor-PL M/actor.PL F good-PL M/good-PL F
'They are good actors.'

Yet, it cannot tip the balance in favor of the HRA because it is possible for a subject in the feminine to have default gender agreement with a predicative in the masculine. This default agreement pattern also extends to nouns that denote a profession and are interpreted as a predicate like *actor*, *profesor*, etc.

(24) a. *Ea nu este actrița care a fost tatăl ei.
she not is actor-the SG F who has be-PERF father-the her
'*She is not the actress that her father was.'
b. She nu este actorul care a fost tatăl ei.
she not is actor-the SG M who has be-PERF father-the her

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4.4 The indefiniteness of the relative DP

4.4.1 A typology of relative determiners

Bianchi (1999:103) proposes that relative determiners in modern Indo-European languages fall in three classes that represent three main types. The first type includes indefinite/interrogative relative determiners such as Middle and New English *who* and *which*, Latin *qui-quae-quod*, Romanian *care*, French *qui, quoi,* Italian *cui*. The second type brings together determiners whose definiteness is independent from that of the external D of the HRA such as German *der*, *die*, *das*. The third type is a composite between the first two because its members feature an interrogative determiner preceded by a definite article such as Italian *il quale*, French *lequel,* Spanish *el cual*, Middle English *the which,* Bulgarian *kojto*.

Let us concentrate on Type 1 determiners because Romanian exemplifies this class. Bianchi treats *who* and *which* as indefinite determiners that do not inflect for number. The DPs headed by these pronouns constitute a predicate that will be ultimately bound by the external D.

Does Romanian fit the pattern set by English? It is true that *care* is uninflected for number and gender whenever it occurs in the nominative and accusative case[3]. However, *care*, as an interrogative and relative pronoun, is d-linked (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). It has non d-linked counterparts, *cine* 'who' and *ce* 'what'. Let us look at a DOR introduced by *ce* (example from Grosu 1994: 232):

(25) Tot ce te supără pe tine mă supără şi pe mine.
all what CL2nd SG ACC bothers PE you SG CL1st SG bothers and PE me
'All that bothers you bothers me as well.'

Grosu takes example (25) as an instantiation of a headed quantifying relative. As seen in (25), relative pronoun *ce* 'what' prefers indefinite antecedents in stark contrast with *care* that will not be grammatical in this context.

I do not believe that *care* should go into Type 1 simply because its d-linked status does not involve in any way an indefinite interpretation. On the other hand, it is quite likely that non d-linked *ce* (see 25) meets the requirements that characterize Type 1 relative determiners, this being a matter of further research.

4.4.2 D-linked relative *care*

Dobrovie-Sorin analyses interrogative and relative *care* as a "restricted quantifier"[4] whose lexical restriction is provided by the denotation of the noun complement it selects. She shows that d-linked *care* introduces a presuppositional reading. Consider (26) and its rough semantic representation (27).

(26) Studentul pe care l- am văzut.
student-the PE who CL3rd SG M ACC have see-PERF
'The student whom I have seen.'

[3] Genitive/dative *care* inflects for number and gender.
[4] Dobrovie-Sorin contrasts quantifiers that bind variables, such as non d-linked *cine* 'who', with quantifiers that cannot bind variables within a sentence, but quantify instead over a limited domain, such as d-linked *care*.

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(27) Pe care x such that x is a student and I saw x

Example (26) is a statement about a previously introduced set of students that represents shared knowledge between speaker and hearer, of whom I saw one certain student. As already hinted, the d-linked interpretation of the DP headed by *care* does not square with the putative indefiniteness suggested for Type 1 relative determiners. I will assume instead that the relative DP behaves as a definite description because it gives rise to a presuppositional reading.

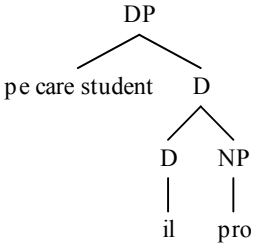
4.4.3 DORs and the clitic doubling input

For languages that have object clitic doubling (such as Romanian and Greek), the HRA predicts that a clitic doubling structure constitutes the input for the relativization of (direct/indirect) objects, i.e. (28b) starts out as (28a):

(28) a. Îl pic pe student.
CL3rd SG M ACC fail PE student
'I fail the student.'
b. Studentul (pe) care îl pic.
student-the PE who CL3rd SG M ACC fail
'The student whom I fail.'

Before movement applies in the DOR, the direct object in (28b) looks like (29), with the relative DP in the specifier position of a big DP that is headed by the direct object doubling clitic (Torrego 1986).

(29)



Romanian requires that clitic-doubled arguments be specific (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, von Heusinger and Gáspár Onea 2008). Note, however, that a specific argument/d-linked argument such as that headed by *care* cannot be compatible with the non-referential (indefinite) interpretation associated with the relative DP by the proponents of the HRA.

A comparison with Greek will help with understanding better what goes on in Romanian. Greek has clitic-doubling in DORs on restricted terms. More precisely DORs with indefinite heads have a doubling clitic while those with definite heads ban the clitic (Stavrou 1983, Alexiadou and Anagonstopoulou 2000). Kotzoglou and Varlokosta (2005) claim that a presuppositional reading of the relative head also triggers clitic doubling.

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2000) use the HRA to explain why DORs with definite heads disallow the doubling clitic. Consider (30), with original gloss, but no translation provided:

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(30) *diavasa to vivlio pu to pira apo ti vivliothiki.
read 1SG the book ACC that CL ACC got from the library

The ungrammaticality of (30) comes down to the fact that the input of such relative clauses includes a bare NP, i.e. *vivlio* 'book' doubled by a clitic, and bare NPs cannot be clitic-doubled in Greek. If we try to extend the same reasoning to Romanian, we expect to see a similar ungrammaticality and yet this prediction does not hold out as (31), with a C-*care* relative, demonstrates[5]:

(31) Cartea care am luat- o de la bibliotecă.
book-the which have take-PERF CL3rd SG F ACC from library
'The book that I took from the library.'

Let us sum up the findings in this section. The hypothesis about the indefiniteness of the relative DP runs counter to some empirical facts. D-linked *care* gives rise to a presuppositional reading. It entails that the head of the relative is one of the members of a set that is shared knowledge between speaker and hearer. This means that the relative DP should be interpreted as a definite description.

We have seen that in the case of DORs, the HRA proposes that the relative DP starts out as the direct object of the verb in the relative. This makes the relative DP a clitic doubled argument in those languages that have clitic doubling inside relative clauses. However, clitic doubled arguments must be specific and specificity cannot go together with the non-referential interpretation entailed by indefinite constituents.

5. Conclusions

The paper has attempted to demonstrate that there is no conclusive evidence to support a syntactic account for Romanian restrictive relatives in terms of the Head Raising Analysis. Raising to an external D and the indefiniteness of the relative DP are the keystones of the HRA.

Concerning the first tenet, I have argued that (i) it is not always the case that raising to the external D is obligatory (see relatives headed by bare singulars) and (ii) the proposal that definiteness in encoded only on the external D falls through when we consider the possibility of floating quantifiers inside the relative clause. Remember that FQs modify definite DPs. If the antecedent of the relative is definite while the relative DP is not, FQs should modify only the former. This is precisely what happens in Italian and fails to apply to Romanian.

As for the second theoretical claim, the indefiniteness/non-referentiality of the relative DP, that argument does not hold water either. It is quite difficult to make a strong case for this claim if the relative DP is a d-linked phrase, hence a specific one.

The Matching Analysis proposes that relatives have two heads, an external and an internal one, which are related by means of ellipsis. It does not rely on the assumption that only the antecedent of the relative is definite. Hence, it allows for both (i) matching between the internal DP head and the external one and (ii) matching between the NP sub-parts of the

[5] I have used a relative introduced by the complementizer *care* to make the comparison with Greek as faithful as possible, since (30) is also a relative introduced by the complementizer *pu* 'that'.

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internal and external DP heads (the latter being the case of relatives headed by bare singulars). Since it does not claim that definiteness is encoded only on the external head, it does not need to postulate that the relative DP has to be indefinite.

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