

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And I looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that, the passing there
Had worn them really about the same.

Robert Frost, *The Road Not Taken*

Chapter 4: WH-Movement

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses wh-movement in Romanian in view of the theoretical assumptions introduced in chapter 2. We argue that the [+wh] feature is a property of I° in Romanian, and that Spec,IP is the scopal position for Romanian wh-phrases. We first introduce the issue and offer a brief account of previous analyses for Romanian (sections 4.1 - 4.2). Next, we review some of the theoretical assumptions of chapter 2 and discuss their implications for wh-raising. In section 4.3 we discuss some defining properties of Romanian wh-phrases and in section 4.4, we provide a comparison between Romanian and languages in which the [+wh] feature is uncontroversially associated with C°. In sections 4.5 – 4.6, we focus on language particular wh-movement idiosyncrasies and conclude that Romanian wh-phrases are hosted by the IP. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of the IP/CP dichotomy (as defined in section 4.7). Several wh-structures and their properties are discussed, all of which further support our analysis. Section 4.8 debates the locus of the interrogative feature in the Romanian I°, and section 4.9 is a conclusion.

4.1 The Issue

Several languages, primarily Slavic languages, have the property of requiring all of their wh-phrases to raise overtly to a clause-initial position. Romanian, albeit a Romance language, is also multiple [+wh]-checking, presumably as a result of the geographical relationship it holds with the Slavic languages. Specifically, in order to check their [+wh] feature, Romanian wh-phrases have to raise from their base-generated position, wh-in-situ being unavailable. This is illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. **Cine_i cui_j ce_k** a dat t_i t_j t_k ? ¹
 who whom what AUX.3SG given t_i t_j t_k
- b. ***Cine_i cui_j** a dat t_i t_j **ce?** (unless an echo-question)
 who whom AUX.3SG given t_i t_j what
 ‘Who has given what to whom?’

Languages in which multiple wh-questions involve movement of all wh-phrases to their scopal position have been divided (by Rudin 1988, and later Richards 1997) into two classes. The first class includes languages in which only one wh-phrase targets Spec,CP, the rest being absorbed by Spec,IP (such as, for example, Serbo-Croatian, Czech, and Polish). These languages, together with all other languages in which wh-phrases are hosted by IP at Spell-Out or at LF, have been labelled ‘IP-absorption languages’ (Richards 1997). This class of languages is illustrated with the Serbo-Croatian examples in (2), taken from Rudin (1988:462) .

- (2) a. **Ko** mu je **šta** dao? (Serbo-Croatian, Rudin 1988:462)
 who him has what given
- b. ***Ko** **šta** mu je dao?
 who what him has given
 ‘Who gave him what?’

- c. **Ko** je **što** **kome** dao?
 who has what to whom given
 ‘Who gave what to whom?’

The Serbo-Croatian examples in (2) show that only one wh-phrase can raise above the clitic cluster, the remaining wh-phrase(s) targeting a position below that of the clitics. The fact that the higher wh-phrase targets Spec,CP, while the lower wh-phrases are absorbed by Spec,IP is independently supported by evidence that in these languages the clitic cluster is formed in CP (Tomic 1996).

The second class of multiple [+wh]-checking languages include languages such as Bulgarian and Romanian, in which all wh-phrases target the same scopal position. This is assumed to be Spec,CP, in accordance with Chomsky’s long-standing assumption, that all questions are CPs. Consequently, these languages have been labelled ‘CP-absorption languages’ (Richards 1997). In (3) and (4) we provide examples from Bulgarian (taken from Rudin 1988:461) and Romanian.

- (3) a. **Koj** **kakvo** ti e kazal? (Bulgarian, Rudin 1988:461)
 who what you has told

- b. ***Koj** ti e **kakvo** kazal?
 who you has what told
 ‘Who told you what?’

- (4) a. **Cine** **ce** **ți-a** spus?
 who what CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said

- b. ***Cine** **ți-a** **ce** spus?
 who CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG what said
 ‘Who told you what?’

¹ Raised wh-phrases are bolded throughout this chapter for ease of exposition.

Notice that in Bulgarian and Romanian, the clitic cluster cannot intervene among the raised wh-phrases, but always appears to the right of the moved interrogative elements. This indicates that the wh-phrases have moved to a single scopal position (i.e., check their feature against a single functional head). In these languages, however, the clitic cluster is formed in IP (as is argued in Tomic (1996), for Bulgarian, and Dobrovie-Sorin (1994a), for Romanian, among others ²), and cannot be taken to indicate the landing site of wh-movement. Romanian wh-phrases raise to a clitic-left position which can equally be CP-related or IP-related.

The problem we are faced with is that a unique host for wh-phrases does not a priori exclude IP as the wh-target in a language such as Romanian. For example, Hungarian also has multiple wh-movement to a unique host, as can be seen in (5), but the wh-target in this language is always assumed to be Spec,IP (cf. Brody 1995, Kiss 1994, Richards 1997).

- (5) a. Nem tudtuk hogy Mari **mit** tett az asztalra.
 not knew-1PL that Mary what-ACC put the table-onto
 ‘We didn’t know what Mary had put on the table.’
 (Hungarian, Richards 1997:50)
- b. Mari **kinek mit** adott el?
 Mary who-DAT what-ACC sold PREVERB
 ‘What did Mary sell to whom?’
 (Hungarian, Kiss 1994:38)

In Hungarian, wh-phrases raise to a position which is to the right of topicalized material (in our examples, the subject *Mari*) and of the complementizer *hogy* ‘that’ (see 5a). In multiple interrogation, all wh-phrases move to this IP-related position (see 5b).

² See also discussion on Romanian clitics in chapter 2.

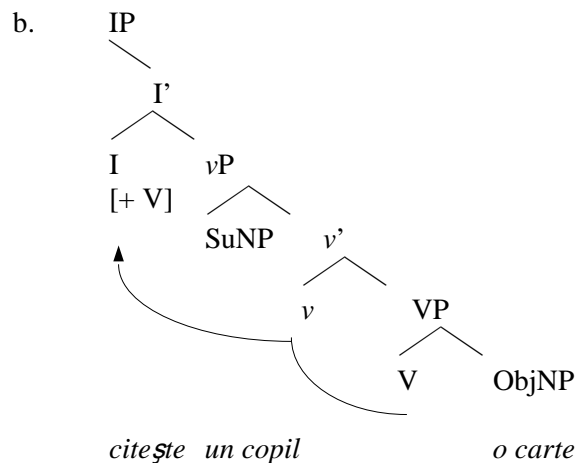
4.2 Former accounts and a new proposal

There have been several accounts of wh-raising in Romanian, among which we mention Comorovski (1996), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990b, 1994a), and Motapanyane (1995, 1998a, in press), all of which assume a [+wh] feature in C°, but differ in terms of how they account for the licensing of this feature, as well as for verb movement strategies.³ Some of these authors adopt a more traditional view, and argue that the verb raises to I° and further to C° to license the [+wh] feature (for example, Comorovski, Motapanyane), others argue against verb raising to C° in Romanian, maintaining V° to I° (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Ștefănescu 1997). In terms of wh-raising, most authors assume movement directly to Spec,CP. Motapanyane (1998a, in press), however, argues that the wh-phrase first raises to Spec,IP to check its focus feature, then moves to Spec,CP to check its [+wh] feature. Nevertheless, a [+wh] feature in C° in Romanian seems difficult to maintain (without further stipulations) on the grounds of wh-phrase interaction with topics, focus and other language idiosyncrasies (to be discussed below).

Let us recall some of the theoretical assumptions introduced in chapter 2. We assumed that Romanian is a V-type EPP language, with a strong [V] feature on I° (in effect, the selectional EPP feature) which attracts [V° + v°] in all types of structures. Therefore, the lexical verb always raises to the Inflectional domain, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. Citește un copil o carte.
 read.3SG.PR a child a book
 ‘A child is reading a book.’

³ See, however, Cornilescu (2000) who proposes that the [+wh] feature in Romanian is checked in the highest inflectional projection, which in her analysis is Spec,M(ood)P.



We further argued that Romanian NPs check Case in Merge positions, where they are fully licensed (presumably under an Agree mechanism, as in Chomsky 1998). Case-checking in Merge is a direct consequence of lexical verb raising to v° and I° in Romanian. Verb movement triggers the overt presence of phi-features in I° and case-features in v° , which agree with the Nominative Case-feature of the subject and the Accusative Case-feature of the object, respectively. Case checking is always a pre-Spell-Out mechanism and it never triggers dislocation of the noun phrase. This approach excludes a Case-related EPP feature (i.e., a ‘surface subject’) within the Romanian Inflectional domain, making Spec,IP in principle available to discourse-related material (see also discussion in Alboiu 2000).

We suggest that postulating a [+wh] feature in C° in Romanian is a stipulative and unnecessary theoretical assumption for a language in which Spec,IP is not merged as an EPP/Case-related position. Throughout this chapter, we argue that Romanian wh-phrases are hosted by IP, which we show to be a discourse-related projection in this language.⁴ We propose

⁴ This idea is expanded in chapter 5, where we argue that IP in Romanian is a general polarity oriented category, which hosts a variety of operator/quantificational elements. Similar proposals have been made for various sentence-initial projections (for example, FP in Uriagereka 1995a).

that I° in Romanian is a syncretic head capable of hosting the syntactic [+wh] feature.⁵ Moreover, whenever the [+wh] feature is present in the derivation, it will attract raising and merging of wh-phrases into the specifier of IP.

The specifier-head agreement relationship required in interrogatives can be theoretically implemented in several ways. Prior to the Minimalist Program, Rizzi's (1991) WH-Criterion in (7) was one of the best known:

(7) WH-CRITERION (Rizzi 1991)

A. A WH Operator must be in a Spec-Head configuration with X° [+ WH] ;

B. An X° [+ WH] must be in a Spec-Head configuration with a WH Operator.

Rizzi's WH-Criterion in (7) does not essentially differ from later Minimalist assumptions. Chomsky (1995) suggests that movement/dislocation in language is a direct result of strict locality conditions imposed on feature-checking relations, responsible for licensing dependencies in language. In other words, feature checking can only occur locally in Spec-Head or head-adjoined configurations. When overt movement is not attested, covert movement will apply. Chomsky (1998) relaxes the above assumption, suggesting that some uninterpretable features (i.e., structural Case and agreement features) do not require a Spec-Head or head-adjunction relationship for checking to occur (see also our discussion in chapter 2). Uninterpretable features can erase via Agree, an operation which requires feature matching and a redefined notion of locality as 'closest c-command'. MP98 does, however, retain the strict Spec-Head locality requirement for feature checking whenever features are of a 'selectional' nature (see also Kayne 1998). For example, a feature such as the EPP is defined as a selectional feature which cannot

⁵ A syncretic Inflectional head which hosts the syntactic [+wh] feature has also been proposed for Spanish (Fontana 1993, Goodall 1991, Zubizarreta 1998, among others), and is somewhat implicitly assumed in Richards (1997) for IP-absorption wh-languages, such as Hungarian. More recently, Boeckx and Stjepanovic (1999) argue for a discourse-related IP in Bulgarian which also hosts wh-phrases.

erase solely as a result of Agree, but in addition requires ‘second Merge’. We assume this is realized as NP-movement into the specifier of Spec,IP, in D-type EPP languages (e.g., English), and as V^o-to-I^o, in V-type EPP languages (e.g., Romanian).

Recall that we assume that uninterpretable formal features (FFs) are essentially of two kinds: (i) selectional (or strong) and (ii) non-selectional (or weak), an option parametrized across languages and FF type. Following Chomsky (1998), non-selectional features will be defined as features which check/erase in-situ, without dislocation, as a result of the operation Agree, which only requires feature matching (i.e., identity) and closest c-command. Selectional features will then be defined as features which can only be checked in a strict locality relationship, such as Spec-Head or head-adjunction. By definition, selectional features require Agreement (i.e., feature matching) and movement (i.e., ‘second Merge’). Note that the operation Agree is required in all instances of feature-checking, irrespective of whether features are selectional or non-selectional.

Let us inspect the nature of the [+wh] feature in Romanian under the disjunctive analysis of uninterpretable features adopted in this dissertation. As with questions cross-linguistically, we assume Romanian interrogatives to contain an uninterpretable [+wh] feature on a functional head X^o which needs to be deleted (via checking) for the derivation to converge.⁶ Since wh-in-situ is unavailable in Romanian, it follows that the [+wh] feature on both X^o and the wh-phrases present in the derivation is ‘selectional’. Therefore, the [+wh] feature on X^o will require ‘second Merge’ as Spec,XP, and the [+wh] feature on Romanian wh-phrases will require multiple feature-checking against X^o with the outcome of a multiple specifier structure.⁷ Let us first review some relevant properties of Romanian questions before we proceed with our analysis and detail its implementation.

⁶ We refrain, for the time being, from commenting on the nature of X^o (i.e., whether it is C^o or I^o).

⁷ We depart from MP98 in assuming selectional/strong features to require checking in a strict local relationship (i.e., Spec-Head or head-adjunction), irrespective of whether the features are a property of lexical items (LIs) or of functional heads (see also chapter 1, section 1.2).

4.3 Wh-phrases in Romanian: summary of properties

In this section we discuss several salient properties of Romanian interrogatives. In section 4.3.1 we look at the verb-adjacency requirement and some obviations. In section 4.3.2 we reintroduce multiple [+wh]-checking and provide an account for lack of wh-in-situ and ordering constraints on wh-phrases in this language. In section 4.3.3 we discuss wh-phrase interaction with topicalized elements and in section 4.3.4 we offer some brief conclusions.

4.3.1 The Verb-adjacency requirement

Both adjunct and argument wh-phrases in Romanian show obligatory adjacency with the verbal complex (i.e., verbal head and clitic cluster). Consider the examples in (8);

- (8) a. **Pe cine** (*la tine) ai chemat (la tine)?
PE who (at you) AUX.2SG called (at you)
'Whom did you invite to your place?'
- b. (Mîine) **Cine** (*mîine) nu mai pleacă
(tomorrow) who (*tomorrow) not more leave.3SG.PR
(mîine)?
(tomorrow)
'Who isn't leaving tomorrow anymore?'
- c. **Cui** (*deja) ai telefonat (deja)?
whom.DAT. (*already) AUX.2SG phoned (already)?
'Whom did you already call?'
- d. (La Toronto) **Cînd** (*la Toronto) plecăm (la Toronto)?
(at Toronto) when (*at Toronto) leave.1PL.PR (at Toronto)
'When do we leave for Toronto?'
- e. (Ion) **Cu ce** (* Ion) te-a supărat (Ion)?
(Ion) with what (* Ion)CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.3SG upset (Ion)
'What did Ion upset you with?'

- f. (Pe Mihai) **Cum** (* pe Mihai) I-ai
 (PE Mihai) how (*PE Mihai) CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.2SG
 hotărât (pe Mihai) să vină?
 convinced (PE Mihai) SUBJ. come
 ‘How did you convince Mihai to come?’

The examples in (8) show that wh-movement proceeds to a position that is adjacent to the verbal complex, with no constituent allowed to intervene between the wh-phrase and the verbal complex.

4.3.1.1 Two notes on the adjacency requirement

There are at least two problems with the verb-adjacency requirement between wh-phrases and the verbal complex in Romanian. However, neither of them are a major concern to our present analysis. The first issue has to do with a subset of adverbials that are required to intervene between the raised wh-phrase and the verb.⁸ While adverbs cannot generally intervene between the raised wh-phrase and the verbal complex (see examples in (8) and (14)), there are some exceptions. Consider the examples in (9) – (10).

- (9) a. (De)-Abia-l aşteaptă bunicii pe Victor.
 hardly-CL.3SG.ACC.M wait.3PL.PR grandparents-the PE Victor
 ‘His grandparents can hardly wait for Victor.’
- b. **Pe cine** (de)-abia aşteaptă bunicii?
 PE whom hardly wait.3PL.PR grandparents-the
 ‘Whom can the grandparents hardly wait for?’
- (10) a. Tocmai a venit Victor.
 just AUX.CL.3SG come Victor
 ‘Victor just arrived.’

⁸ Some of these instances are also discussed in Cornilescu (1997), where they are taken as arguments against V^o to C^o in Romanian.

- b. **Cine** tocmai a venit?
 who just AUX.CL.3SG come
 ‘Who just arrived?’

In (9) and (10), *(de)-abia* ‘hardly’ and *tocmai* ‘just’, respectively, appear between the raised wh-phrase and the verbal complex in a manner that, at least apparently, poses problems for the verb-adjacency rule. A similar situation is encountered in Spanish, in which the otherwise obligatory wh-phrase verb-adjacency rule is violated by some adverbs. Consider the examples in (11), taken from Zubizarreta (1998).

- (11) [_{TP} **A** **quién** [_{TP} jamás [_{T°} ofenderias tú con tus acciones]]]?
 whom never would-offend you with your actions
 ‘Whom would you never offend with your actions?’
 (Spanish, Zubizarreta 1998:185)

In order to account for the Spanish example in (11), in which the wh-phrase in Spec,IP (Spec,TP in her analysis) needs to be adjacent to the verb for licensing conditions, Zubizarreta (1998) proposes a structure in which more than one specifier of I° is allowed, but at most one of them may enter into a feature-checking relation with I°. More specifically, the author argues that some temporal adverbs are IP modifiers which appear in Spec,IP for reasons that are independent of feature checking.⁹

Recall from our discussion in chapter 2 that Romanian has a number of adverbial clitics that can only appear adjacent to the verb. These are the adverbial intensifiers (or combinations thereof), such as *mai* ‘more’, *prea* ‘too’, ‘very’, *tot* ‘still’, *cam* ‘little’, ‘a bit’, *și* ‘also’; an example with *mai* ‘more’ is given in (12).

⁹ Zubizarreta’s (1998) account is somewhat reminiscent of Chomsky’s (1995) analysis of adverbs as elements that induce XP-recursion.

- (12) a. (Mai) vine (* mai) și Mihai (* mai).
 more comes more and Mihai more
 ‘Mihai is also coming.’
- b. Cine (mai) vine (* mai)?
 who more comes more
 ‘Who is also coming?’

Syntactically speaking *(de)-abia* ‘hardly’ and *tocmai* ‘just’ behave in the same clitic-like manner as the adverbial intensifiers discussed in chapter 2. Both *(de)-abia* ‘hardly’ and *tocmai* ‘just’ are constrained to occur in the preverbal clitic field, being unable to occupy any other position in the clause when modifying the predicate. Consider (13).

- (13) a. (*Abia) Pe Mihai (abia) îl așteaptă (* abia)
 hardly PE Mihai hardly CL.3SG.ACC.M wait hardly
 bunicii (*de-abia).
 grandparents-the hardly
 ‘His grandparents can hardly wait for Mihai.’
- b. (*Abia) **Pe cine** (abia) îl așteaptă (*abia)
 hardly PE whom hardly CL.3SG.ACC.M wait hardly
 bunicii (* de-abia)?
 grandparents-the hardly
 ‘Who can his grandparents hardly wait for?’
- c. Tocmai a venit (*tocmai) Victor (*tocmai).
 just AUX.CL.3SG come just Victor just
 ‘Victor just arrived.’
- d. (*Tocmai) **Cine** tocmai a venit (*tocmai)?
 just who just AUX.CL.3SG come just
 ‘Who just arrived?’

In contrast to *(de)-abia* ‘hardly’ and *tocmai* ‘just’, as well as all the other adverbial intensifiers, manner and temporal adverbials cannot intervene between the wh-phrase and the verb (see 14). These adverbials are nevertheless licit in a number of slots within the Romanian clause.

- (14) a. Pe Mihai (cu nerăbdare) îl aşteaptă
 PE Mihai with impatience CL.3SG.ACC.M wait
 (cu nerăbdare) bunicii (cu nerăbdare).
 with impatience grandparents-the with impatience
 ‘His grandparents can hardly wait for Mihai / are impatient for Mihai’s arrival.’
- b. **Pe cine** (*cu nerăbdare) aşteaptă bunicii (cu nerăbdare)?
 PE whom with impatience wait grandparents-the with impatience
 ‘Who are the grandparents impatiently waiting for?’
- c. Pe Victor (mîine) îl aşteaptă (mîine)
 PE Victor tomorrow CL.3SG.ACC.M wait tomorrow
 bunicii (mîine).
 grandparents-the tomorrow
 ‘His grandparents are waiting for Mihai tomorrow.’
- d. **Pe cine** (*mîine) aşteaptă (mîine) bunicii?
 PE whom tomorrow wait tomorrow grandparents-the
 ‘Who are his grandparents waiting for tomorrow?’

However, there are even some counter-examples from adverbs that cannot be argued to be in any way clitic-like, which suggests we are faced with a more general question relating to the nature of adverbs, rather than a genuine verb-adjacency violation. Adverbs such as *probabil* ‘probably’ and interrogative adverb *oare* can occupy several slots in the Romanian clause. Consider the word order possibilities in a wh-environment illustrated in (15).¹⁰

¹⁰ For a more exhaustive analysis of interrogative *oare*, see Motapanyane (in press).

- (15) a. **Cine** (probabil) va pleca (probabil)?
 who probably AUX.FUT.3SG leave probably
 ‘Who will probably leave?’
- b. (oare) **cine** (oare) va pleca (oare)?
 indeed who indeed AUX.FUT.3SG leave indeed
 ‘Who will leave?’

Probabil ‘probably’ and interrogative *oare* are devoid of any clitic flavour, yet they can precede the verbal cluster in interrogative contexts. We assume this property can only be explained under an analysis that maintains certain adverbs are transparent; specifically, they can modify verbal heads without interfering with the head’s checking requirements (cf. Zubizarreta 1998). The alternative account, in which adverb-like elements are assumed to introduce new projections in the derivation (cf. Cinque 1997), cannot be maintained for these adverbs without further stipulations.¹¹

Zubizarreta’s (1998) account felicitously captures the Romanian data and we adopt it for Romanian (*de)-abia* ‘hardly’ and *tocmai* ‘just’, as well as all other adverbials that can interfere with [+wh]-checking in the manner outlined above. We leave open the question as to why some adverbs are transparent, and thus do not interfere with feature-checking, while others are not.

¹¹ In English, for example, ‘probably’ can interfere between the subject noun phrase and the auxiliary (see (i)).

- (i) a. Victor probably has already read this book.
 b. Victor has probably already read this book.

The fact that all uninterpretable features have to be checked before the creation of a higher category is permitted, together with the assumption that subjects in this language occupy Spec,IP and the auxiliary is in I° in (i), somewhat forces us to discard Cinque’s analysis in these contexts. This does not necessarily exclude an analysis along the lines of Cinque for other types of adverbials.

4.3.1.2 *De ce* ‘why’: a cross-linguistic headache

A second problem for the verb-adjacency rule is the quirky behaviour of *de ce* ‘why’ and its semantically related wh-phrases. Consider the examples in (16).

- (16) a. **De ce** pe Ina n-o place nimeni?
of what PE Ina not-CL.3SG.ACC.F likes noone
‘Why does no one like Ina?’
- b. **Ca ce chestie** Ina își permite să vina în vizită?
as what thing Ina REFL allows SUBJ come in visit
‘How is it that Ina can visit us?’
- c. **Cum de** Ina își permite asta?
how of Ina REFL allows this
‘How is it that Ina can do this?’

De ce ‘why’ and some semantically related wh-phrases illustrated in (16), allow for an intervening topic NP between the moved wh-element and the verbal complex. We do not claim to resolve this issue now but limit ourselves to an observation. ‘Why’ seems to be unreliable as a diagnostic for the landing site of general wh-movement cross-linguistically. Kiss (1998) argues that *miert* ‘why’ in Hungarian does not occupy the canonical position of raised wh-phrases. The same seems to be true of Spanish (cf. Suñer 1994, Zubizarreta 1998), a language which generally observes the verb-adjacency requirement with wh-phrases. This is illustrated in (17).

- (17) Me pregunto **porqué a María** le regalaron eso.
(I) wonder why to Maria DAT.CL(they) gave that
‘I wonder why they gave that to Maria?’
(Spanish, Zubizarreta 1998: 105)

The example in (17) shows that ‘why’ allows for material to disrupt the usual verb-adjacency requirement.

Since there are other wh-adjuncts which may violate the verb-adjunction requirement in Spanish, Zubizarreta (1998) proposes that adjuncts do not check features, behaving differently from their L-related counterparts. One solution would be to argue that, in view of its decreased non-L-relatedness, ‘why’ does not leave behind a trace, possibly being base-generated in a position adjoined to CP. In fact, Rizzi (1990) suggests that ‘why’ is a clausal adjunct. Notice, however, that in Romanian, other wh-adjuncts must appear in a verb-adjacent position and cannot tolerate the presence of intervening topicalized material. Recall the examples in (8) and consider further examples in (18) which make the preceding argument difficult to maintain.

- (18) a. **De câte ori** (*pe Mioara) ai rugat-o
 of how many times PE Mioara AUX.2SG. asked-CL.3SG.ACC.F
 (pe Mioara) să sune?
 PE Mioara SUBJ call
 ‘How many times did you ask Mioara to call?’
- b. **Cînd** (*la Copenhaga) te-ai intîlnit
 when at Copenhagen CL.2SG-AUX.2SG met
 cu Anghel (la Copenhaga)?
 with Anghel at Copenhagen
 ‘When did you meet Anghel in Copenhagen?’

We do not attempt to resolve what seems to be a more general idiosyncrasy of ‘why’ and conclude that the quirky behaviour of *de ce* ‘why’ (and related wh-phrases) in Romanian, alongside the seemingly transparency of certain adverbs, do not pose major problems to the general wh-phrase verb-adjacency requirement in this language.

4.3.2 Multiple checking and (Anti)-Superiority

In section 4.1 we showed that Romanian is a multiple [+wh]-checking language, in which wh-phrases cluster together. Moreover, raised wh-phrases in multiple questions all target the same XP (since there is no clitic intervention), irrespective of where they are base-generated. Consider the examples in (1), repeated here as (19).

- (19) a. **Cine_i cui_j ce_k** a dat t_i t_j t_k ?
 who whom what AUX.3SG given t_i t_j t_k
- b. ***Cine_i cui_j** a dat t_i t_j **ce?** (unless an echo question)
 who whom AUX.3SG given t_i t_j what
- ‘Who has given what to whom?’

The fact that wh-phrases cluster together, points to a unique host and to feature-checking against a single head.

Since in Romanian wh-phrases are required to check their [+wh] feature in a strict locality relationship, all of the wh-phrases in a multiple question must move up to the closest interrogative host, whether they are base-generated in the matrix or in the embedded clauses. This can mean extracting more than one wh-phrase out of an embedded clause, as in (20a), or extracting wh-phrases from different clauses, as in (20b).

- (20) a. **Cine_i** ce_j ziceai [CP cã își închipuie t_i t_j]?¹²
 who what say.2SG.PAST [CP that REFL imagines.3SG.PR t_i t_j?
 ‘Who did you say imagines what?’
- b. **Cine_i** ce_j ziceai [CP cã își închipuie
 who what say.2SG.PAST [CP that REFL imagines.3SG.PR
 t_i [CP cã ai spus t_j]]?
 t_i [CP that AUX.2SG said t_j]
 ‘Who did you say imagines that you’ve said what?’

Moreover, multiple fronted wh-phrases cannot raise randomly in Romanian. They must obey a rigid Subject – Object word order. Consider the examples in (21);

¹² Romanian lacks ‘that’-trace effects (see also Cornilescu 1995, Motapanyane 1995). In English, a well-known subject/object asymmetry is the fact that objects can, but subjects cannot extract out of embedded clauses in the presence of an overt complementizer (see ia-b). In Romanian, on the other hand, there is no such subject/object asymmetry, both subjects and objects being equally extractable (see 1c-d).

- (1) a. [CP **What_i** do you think [CP t_i’ that [IP John said t_i at the press conference]]]?
 b. * [CP **Who_i** do you think [CP t_i’ that [IP t_i said this at the press conference]]]?
 c. [CP **Ce_i** crezi [CP t_i’ cã [IP a spus [v_P Ion
 [CP what think.2SG [CP t_i’ that [IP AUX.3SG said [v_P John
 t_i la conferinta de presã]]]]]?
 t_i at conference-the of press
 ‘What do you think that John said at the press conference?’
 d. [CP **Cine_i** crezi [CP t_i’ cã [IP a spus
 [CP who think.2SG [CP t_i’ that [IP AUX.3SG said
 [v_P t_i asta la conferinta de presã]]]]]?
 [v_P t_i this at conference-the of press
 ‘Who do you think said this at the press conference?’

The ban against the sequence complementizer – trace in English follows under Rizzi’s (1990) stipulation that traces need to be head-governed, as well as antecedent-governed. While, the object trace will always be head-governed by the lexical verb, the trace in subject position in English (i.e., Spec,IP) is not properly head-governed by the complementizer ‘that’. Rizzi (1990) notices that null subject languages allow subject extraction across a complementizer equivalent to ‘that’. According to Rizzi (1990), this follows since in these languages the subject trace is in Spec,VP and is properly head-governed by Inflection.

- (21) a. **Cine_i** **ce_k** a dat t_i lui Mihai t_k ?
 who what AUX.3SG given t_i to Mihai t_k
- b. ***Ce_k** **cine_i** a dat t_i lui Mihai t_k?
 what who AUX.3SG given t_i to Mihai t_k
 ‘Who has given what to Mihai?’

The object wh-phrase in (21) cannot precede the subject wh-phrase. This word order constraint can be accounted via Superiority (see also Comorovski 1996, Motapanyane 1998a, in press). ‘Superiority’ is a concept originally introduced to account for the sequencing of moved elements. Pesetsky (1987:104), following earlier work by Chomsky, defines the following Superiority Condition, ‘In a multiple interrogative, where a wh-phrase is in Comp and another is in situ, the S-structure trace of the phrase in Comp must c-command the S-structure position of the wh in situ.’¹³ Informally then, Superiority will be defined as a constraint that forbids movement of a phrase over another phrase that is superior to it (where X is superior to Y if every maximal projection dominating X dominates Y but not conversely). According to Superiority then, the subject wh-phrase in (21) should raise before the object wh-phrase. Under the assumption that the order at the landing-site reflects the order of movement, we would expect to see the object precede the subject. What we observe is a Superiority effect that apparently affects the landing site, since this is where the wh-subject must precede any other wh-constituent.¹⁴ This can be formalized as the (Anti)-Superiority effect in (22).

(22) (Anti)-Superiority:

Overt movement into multiple specifiers is well-formed only if the c-command sequence of the moved wh-operators parallels the c-command sequence of their traces.

¹³ Watanabe (1996) rephrases this as follows, ‘a multiple question is well-formed in English only if at S-structure there is a wh-phrase that does not c-command the variable of the wh-phrase moved into the target Spec of CP.’

¹⁴ Boškovic (1998) argues that, in the Balkan languages, multiple-fronted wh-phrases must conform to an order that is the opposite to that predicted by Superiority.

Nevertheless, we suggest Superiority is still observed in Romanian. Specifically, we do not take linear order to reflect order of movement. Movement of the *wh*-object before the *wh*-subject would also violate economy conditions, formalized as the Minimal Link Condition of Chomsky (1995) (see chapter 1, section 1.2). Given that the subject is the closest candidate (Goal) of the Probe (i.e., the functional head X° endowed with the [+wh] feature which needs to delete), it should move first.¹⁵

Notice, however, that in ditransitive clauses, the (Anti)-Superiority effect is somewhat relaxed insofar as the ordering of objects with respect to each other is concerned. Compare for example, (23) and (24) with (25) and (26), respectively.¹⁶

¹⁵ Recall that in multiple questions, there are several potential Goals, since all *wh*-phrases are lexical items with uninterpretable [+wh] features which require checking in a strict local relationship. The Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995) requires the highest Goal to move first; see (i).

- (i) *The Minimal Link Condition* (Chomsky 1995)
 α can raise to target K only if there is no legitimate operation Move- β targeting K, where β is closer to K;
 (where ‘closer’ is defined in terms of c-command and equidistance).

¹⁶ We are assuming *pe cine* ‘PE who’ is structurally higher than *ce* ‘what’. Notice that Romanian has certain verbs which subcategorize for two Accusative objects. However, only one of the Accusative objects is passivizable (in the sense that it can become Nominative); consider (i).

- (i) a. L-a întrebă Mihai pe Victor
 CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.3SG asked Mihai.NOM PE Victor.ACC
 asta.
 this.ACC
 ‘Mihai asked Victor this.’
- b. A fost întrebă Victor asta.
 AUX.3SG been asked Victor.NOM this.ACC
 ‘Victor was asked this.’
- c. *A fost întrebă pe Victor asta.
 AUX.3SG been asked PE Victor.ACC this.NOM
 ‘This was asked of Victor.’

- (23) a. **Pe cine ce** a întrebă Victor?
PE who what AUX.3SG asked Victor
- b. * **Ce pe cine** a întrebă Victor?
what PE who AUX.3SG asked Victor
'Whom did Victor ask what?'
- (24) a. **Cui ce** a dat Mihai?
wh-DAT. what AUX.3SG given Mihai
- b. * **Ce cui** a dat Mihai?
what wh-DAT. AUX.3SG given Mihai
'Whom did Mihai give what to?'
- (25) a. **Cine pe cine ce** a întrebă?
who PE who what AUX.3SG asked
- b. **Cine ce pe cine** a întrebă?
who what PE who AUX.3SG asked
- c. * **Ce cine pe cine** a întrebă?
what who PE who AUX.3SG asked
'Who asked whom what?'
- (26) a. **Cine cui ce** a dat?
who wh-DAT. what AUX.3SG given
- b. **Cine ce cui** a dat?
who what wh-DAT. AUX.3SG given

The dichotomy in (i) follows if we consider *pe Victor* to be structurally marked for Accusative, and *asta* 'this' to have inherent/lexical Accusative, therefore non-passivizable. We assume that the object inherently marked for Accusative case is closer to the verb than the object which is structurally marked; it then follows that 'PE who' objects are higher in the syntactic tree than 'what' objects.

- c. * **Ce cine cui** a dat?
 what who wh-DAT. AUX.3SG given
 ‘Who has given what to whom?’

The word order sequencing in the double object constructions in (23) and (24) is expected according to the (Anti)-Superiority effect outlined in (22). However, in (25) and (26), in which the subjects are also questioned, we notice that the two object wh-phrases can appear in any order, as long as they follow the subject wh-phrase.¹⁷ In the next two sub-sections we first offer an account for the lack of ordering restrictions in (25) and (26) and then discuss the manner of movement.

4.3.2.1 ‘Attract’ versus ‘Move’

Chomsky (1995) proposes an asymmetric theory of feature checking. Formal features (FFs) are present on both functional heads and lexical items, but only FFs on functional heads can be strong. Moreover, FFs of lexical items are not required to be checked, so feature checking takes place only when FFs of lexical items (i.e., the candidate/Goal) are attracted into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head (i.e., the target/Probe). This is the operation ‘Attract’ (redefined as ‘Agree’ in Chomsky 1998). A number of authors, however, have argued against this asymmetry and have proposed that feature-checking movement can also be triggered by the requirements of the lexical item bearing uninterpretable FFs (e.g. Boškovic 1998, Lasnik 1995, 1999, Ochi 1998). Specifically, FFs of the lexical item can themselves require checking and implicitly trigger movement into the checking domain of an agreeing functional head. This is the operation ‘Move’. In fact, Chomsky (1998) acknowledges the potential need for ‘Move’. We assume feature-driven movement is an instance of both ‘Attract’ and ‘Move’, being operative until all selectional/strong FFs have been checked, irrespective of whether the selectional FF belongs to the functional head (i.e., the Probe/target) or to the lexical item (i.e., the

Goal/candidate). We discuss below Boškovic's (1998) proposal and adapt it for Romanian multiple wh-movement.

In the previous section (examples (25)-(26)), we saw that ordering is loosened once the subject wh-phrase has raised (more specifically, once the highest wh-phrase has raised). Boškovic (1998) argues that, cross-linguistically, lack of ordering restrictions is due to the location of the strong formal feature. This author suggests that movement can be driven either by a strong feature of the target, or by a strong feature of the moved lexical item. Boškovic further shows that ordering restrictions of the moved elements (his 'Superiority effects') arise in constructions when the strong feature driving the movement belong to the *target*, but not when they belong to the elements undergoing movement.

The essence of Boškovic's proposal is that when the Probe has a strong feature to check, it will enter into a matching relationship with the closest Goal with which it can establish Agreement. Adapting Boškovic's proposal to Romanian, the analysis for examples such as (25) and (26) will be as follows. The closest Goal is the subject wh-phrase, which moves to satisfy the requirements of the functional head X° hosting the selectional [+wh] feature in Romanian. Once the uninterpretable feature of the target has been checked, movement required by other items with strong/selectional formal features also has to proceed. Let us suppose that the difference between wh-movement in multiple checking languages, such as Romanian, and languages such as English is parametrized depending on feature type. In English, the uninterpretable [+wh] feature of each wh-phrase can be checked in-situ, via Agree, with no dislocation to Spec,CP. This implies that the universally uninterpretable [+wh] feature on English wh-phrases (cf. MP98) is, according to our analysis, non-selectional (or weak). In Romanian both the [+wh] feature on the functional head X° , and the uninterpretable feature on the wh-phrases present in the derivation is of a

¹⁷ A similar remark has been made for Bulgarian in Boškovic (1998).

selectional (or strong) nature.¹⁸ It follows that feature checking/deletion can only occur in a strict local, specifier-head, relationship.¹⁹ The operation Agree establishes a matching relation between the [+wh] feature on X° and a lexical item with a matching feature which it c-commands. The Minimal Link Condition will identify the closest wh-phrase as the candidate for dislocation into Spec,XP. A checking relation is now established between the wh-phrase, in specifier position, and the head of the functional projection which contains the uninterpretable [+wh] feature. As a result, both the uninterpretable [+wh] features of the wh-phrase and of X° are checked. The remaining wh-phrases must also have access to the functional head with [+wh] features. Multiple-wh-raising will then automatically occur in Romanian, but since this type of movement lacks a selector (once the first wh-phrase has raised and the uninterpretable features on X° have been deleted), shortest move will only affect the first raising wh-phrase.²⁰ Ordering becomes irrelevant, since the Minimal Link Condition is defined for an asymmetric theory of feature checking. Therefore, it is equally economical to move the direct object or the indirect object first.

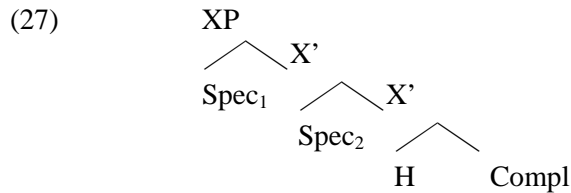
There is need for one clarification. In MP98, it is argued that the wh-phrase is active until its [+wh] feature is checked and deleted (Chomsky 1998:45). This should be understood solely in terms of the respective wh-phrase's ability to further undergo movement (i.e., be Attracted by a higher target). However, the [+wh] feature of the functional head will not automatically delete following checking and Merge of Spec,XP. This is a necessary assumption in view of the fact that the head remains active for feature-checking of any remaining wh-phrases. Chomsky (1995) suggests this is possible as a parametrized property. The author discusses multiple Case checking

¹⁸ This is not a mere stipulation but a formalizing of the empirical facts of multiple interrogative constructions.

¹⁹ The fact that English always requires overt movement of one wh-phrase can be assumed to follow from the fact that the uninterpretable [+wh] feature on C° is a selectional feature in this language (on a par with the EPP). This is somewhat implicitly assumed in MP98.

²⁰ For example, by constraining these wh-phrases to move to the closest available host. Shortest move is then in part responsible for wh-island effects (see also section 4.8).

in Japanese for which he proposes (following a number of other authors) a structure as in (27), in which the feature F of a head H is not automatically deleted when checked until all its specifiers have been checked (at which point F has to delete to ensure convergence).



Furthermore, in MP98, Chomsky argues that deleted features are erased, but only after they are sent to the phonological component. Specifically, they remain active prior to PF, for potentially necessary checking requirements.

English and Romanian, however, represent only two of the four logical possibilities which could occur in multiple *wh*-constructions. In English, the [+*wh*] formal feature on the functional head is selectional, while the [+*wh*] formal feature on the lexical items (LIs) is non-selectional, and in Romanian, the [+*wh*] formal feature on both the functional head and the LIs are selectional. There could, in principle, be languages in which the [+*wh*] formal feature on the functional head is non-selectional, and the [+*wh*] formal feature on the LIs is selectional. In this case, we would expect to see multiple *wh*-raising (since the selectional feature on the LIs would require checking in a relevant specifier-head configuration), but no ordering constraint (the feature on the functional head being non-selectional, will be satisfied by Agree, will not itself Attract and, therefore, economy will not be involved). In fact, this theoretical possibility is manifested in Serbo-Croatian. In (28a), for example the *wh*-subject precedes the *wh*-object, while in (28b), the word order between the fronted *wh*-elements is reversed.

- (28) a. **Ko** je **koga** vidjeo?
 who AUX whom seen
- b. **Koga** je **ko** vidjeo?
 whom AUX who seen
 ‘Who saw whom?’
 Serbo-Croatian (Boškovic 1995:5-6)

The last theoretical possibility involves the situation where the [+wh] formal feature is non-selectional on both the functional head and the LIs. In this case, checking of formal features is accomplished solely via Agree, with no movement involved. Chinese is presumably one such language, since it lacks visible movement in wh-constructions. Interestingly, all four logical possibilities (represented in the table in 29) are found in human languages.

(29) Cross-linguistic properties of the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature:

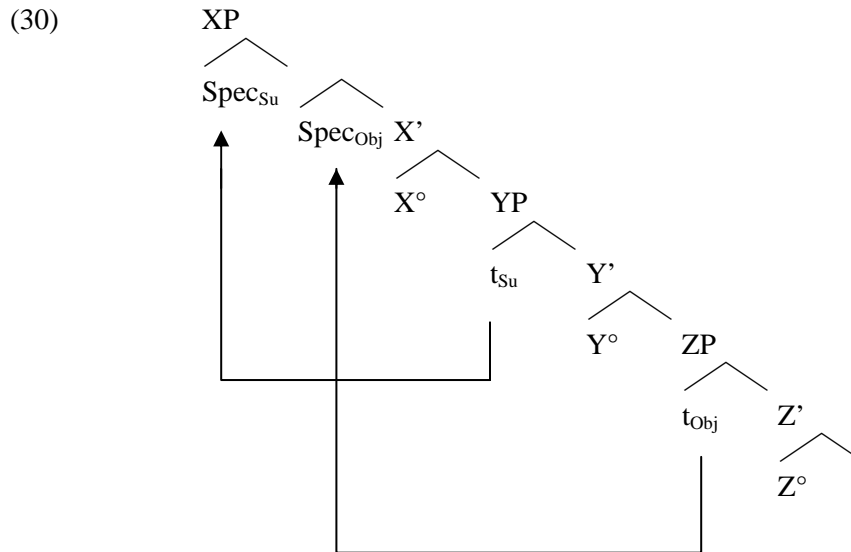
Empirical properties	Functional head FF type	Lexical item FF type
movement of a single wh-phrase (e.g., English)	selectional	non-selectional
ordered movement of all wh-phrase (e.g., Romanian)	selectional	selectional
unordered movement of all wh-phrases (e.g., Serbo-Croatian)	non-selectional	selectional
no movement (e.g., Chinese)	non-selectional	non-selectional

4.3.2.2 Formalizing multiple wh-movement

In this section we show that a subject-first approach in multiple wh-constructions is the only one tenable for Romanian (and, presumably, all languages with selectional/strong [+wh] FF on LIs), from both an empirical as well as a theoretical perspective.

In view of the empirical constraint previously illustrated, namely that wh-subjects precede wh-objects in Romanian multiple interrogatives, the syntactic tree can only be

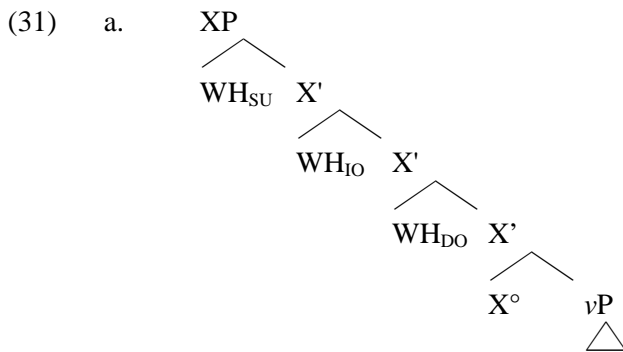
represented as in (30), in which the basic c-command relations between subject and object are preserved.



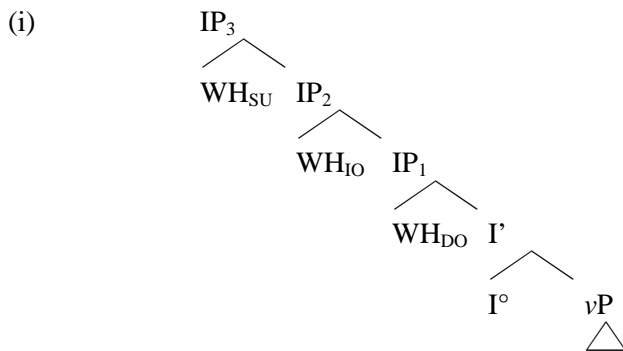
There are two logical possibilities of deriving the syntactic tree in (30). The first possibility is to assume that wh-object movement precedes wh-subject movement. This possibility raises several theoretical problems. The Minimal Link Condition (which is, in effect, an economy requirement) is violated, since the wh-object is Attracted when the subject wh-phrase is a closer candidate to check the [+wh] FF of the functional head X°. Moreover, under the assumption that [+wh] FF on the lexical items is of a selectional nature (otherwise there would not be multiple movement), wh-phrase licensing is also violated since the required strictly local specifier-head relationship is inaccessible to all but the wh-phrase that moves first. The second possibility is to assume that wh-subject movement precedes wh-object movement. In this case, both the empirical and the theoretical facts are observed. The Minimal Link Condition is respected since the closer candidate (i.e., the subject wh-phrase) is the one Attracted. Feature-checking in a strict locality relation is realized for all wh-phrases since the desired specifier-head relationship, with the felicitous

outcome of proper wh-phrasal licensing, is available to all wh-phrases. We therefore conclude that the subject-first approach is the correct alternative.²¹

In constructions such as (25)-(26), once the subject wh-phrase has moved in Romanian, the remaining wh-phrases ‘tuck in’ below the specifier created by the moved subject in any order, as illustrated in (31). Given the selectional nature of the [+wh] FF on Romanian wh-phrases, each wh-phrase has to have direct access to the [+wh] FF on X° in order for feature-checking to apply. Such access is only provided by a tucking-in mechanism which ensures the strictly local specifier-head relationship required for checking of selectional features.²²

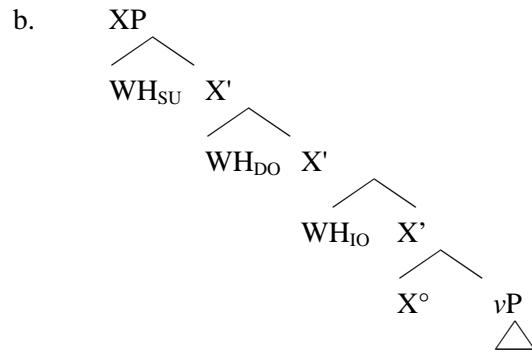


²¹ Observe that under the proposal we are pushing for, namely that wh-movement in Romanian targets the IP rather than the CP, an object-first analysis would engender undesired Subjacency violations. Subjacency conditions require that movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP (cf. Chomsky 1986). In (i), the subject wh-phrase would illicitly raise across two such bounding nodes.



A subject-first analysis poses no such problems since no IPs are crossed.

²² Notice that a crossing paths analysis with ‘tucking in’ (to borrow a term from Richards 1997) is the one adopted by other authors for diverse languages with multiple wh-movement (e.g., Boškovic 1998, Nichols 1999, Richards 1997).



Let us sum up. We have argued that wh-movement in Romanian is the result of both Attract and Move, operations due to the nature of the [+wh] formal feature present in the derivation. More specifically, in Romanian the [+wh] FF appears as:

(i) an uninterpretable [+wh] FF on X[◦] (the functional head hosting the interrogative formal feature). This formal feature is selectional in nature and, as such, requires checking in a strictly local (i.e., specifier-head) relationship. The [+wh] FF on X[◦] will Attract the closest candidate, thereby creating Spec,XP (by second Merge).

(ii) a selectional [+wh] FF on each wh-phrase present in the derivation. The selectional [+wh] FF on the LIs will also require checking in a specifier-head relationship, against the Agreeing X[◦] functional head. The specific nature of the [+wh] FF on Romanian LIs will induce Move, which is an unordered operation. Wh-phrases are licensed in Romanian only as a result of second Merge into the domain hosting the interrogative formal feature (namely, once movement into Spec,XP has been observed).

The operation Attract observes the Minimal Link Condition, but Move applies in an unordered fashion. In multiple wh-constructions in Romanian, once the closest candidate (defined in terms of c-command) has merged as Spec,XP, the remaining wh-phrases may move in any order, provided a ‘tucking in’ mechanism is observed until checking is complete.

4.3.3 Interaction with Topics

The last property to be discussed in this section is the interaction between wh-phrases and topics in Romanian. This is an important issue since it will shed light on the position targeted by wh-raising. Insofar as topicalization is concerned, there is no asymmetry between main and embedded clauses. Consider (32), in which the topicalized phrases are underlined.

- (32) a. Victor mîine are un recital de trombon.
 Victor tomorrow has.3SG.PR a recital of trombone
 ‘Victor has a trombone recital tomorrow.’
- b. Știu că Victor mîine are
 know.1SG.PR that Victor tomorrow has.3SG.PR
 un recital de trombon.
 a recital of trombone
 ‘I know that Victor has a trombone recital tomorrow.’

In (32), *Victor* and *mîine* ‘tomorrow’ are topicalized in both (a) and (b).²³ In the embedded clause (32b), the topicalized elements follow the complementizer *că* ‘that’ in C° . It follows that topicalized elements occupy a position below C° , which we assume for our present discussion to be a position adjoined to IP (but above any specifiers of IP).²⁴

Let us consider next topics in relation to wh-phrases. The sentences in (33) clearly indicate that in Romanian wh-phrases can be preceded by one or more topics.

- (33) a. **Pe cine_j** a văzut Mihai $t_v t_j$ la film?
 PE who AUX3SG seen Mihai $t_v t_j$ at movie

²³ Recall that the default word order for Romanian is VSO and that material in the preverbal field is more restricted (see chapters 2, 3, and 5).

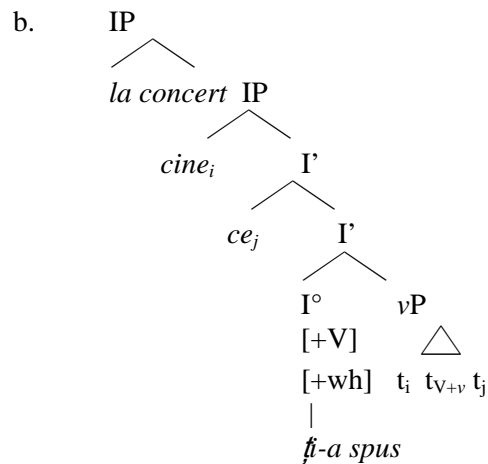
²⁴ For the purposes of this chapter it is irrelevant whether topics are analysed as adjoined to IP, or whether we assume they project a Topic Phrase in the Romanian preverbal field. For more on Romanian topics, see chapter 5.

- b. Mihai_i **pe** **cine**_j a văzut t_i t_v t_j la film?
 Mihai PE who AUX3SG seen t_i t_v t_j at movie
- c. Mihai_i la film_k **pe** **cine**_j a văzut t_i t_v t_j t_k?
 Mihai at movie PE who AUX3SG seen t_i t_v t_j t_k
 ‘Whom did Mihai see at the movies?’

Romanian topics precede wh-phrases even in multiple wh-contexts (see 34 and 35a). Since topics are situated in a position below C°, we conclude that wh-phrases cannot target the CP domain. In the remainder of this chapter, we will argue that wh-phrases are hosted by the Romanian IP, as illustrated in the syntactic representation in (35b).

- (34) Ieri la film **cine** **pe cine** a văzut?
 Yesterday at movie who PE who AUX3SG seen
 ‘Who saw whom yesterday at the movies?’

- (35) a. La concert **cine** **ce** **ți-a** spus?
 at concert who what CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said
 ‘Who told you what at the concert?’



4.4 Romanian and CV2 languages: a comparison

The position of the finite verb in a given language varies along several dimensions that concern: the morphological marking of the verb, the type of clause containing the verb, and the properties of the functional heads in the respective language. One of the most striking examples of the sensitivity of verb placement to these distinctions is the verb-second constraint (V2), particular to Germanic languages. This is a main clause constraint which requires that the inflected verb or auxiliary move to a position immediately following exactly one phrasal constituent, with no requirement on the nature of the first constituent.²⁵ All Germanic languages, with the exception of modern English, show this verb-second constraint. Some illustrations follow in (36)-(38).

- (36) a. Diesen Roman las ich schon letztes Jahr. (German)
this novel read I already last year
- b. Ich las schon letztes Jahr diesen Roman.
I read already last year this novel
- c. *Diesen Roman ich las schon letztes Jahr.
this novel I read already last year
'I already read this novel last year.'

- (37) a. I går hade Johan sett Eva. (Swedish)
yesterday had John seen Eva
- b. Johan hade sett Eva i går.
Johan had seen Eva yesterday
- c. *I går Johan hade sett Eva.
yesterday John had seen Eva
'John had seen Eva yesterday.'

²⁵ Reinholtz (p.c.) notes that matrix polar questions and other apparently verb-initial constructions contain a phonologically null operator in Spec,CP.

- (38) a. Þessum hring haft Olafur lofað Maríu. (Icelandic;
 this ring had Olaf promised Mary Thráinsson 1986)
- b. * Þessum hring Olafur haft lofað Maríu.
 this ring Olaf had promised Mary
 ‘Olaf had promised Mary this ring.’

It is generally assumed that the verb-second constraint represents finite verb movement to C° (cf. den Besten 1977, Holmberg and Platzack 1991, van Kemenade 1987, Koster 1975, Rizzi 1990b, Roberts 1992, Vikner 1992, among others). Consequently, we use CV2 as a label for these languages.

Modern English has been claimed to have ‘residual-verb-second’ (Rizzi 1990b), since auxiliaries and modals move from I° to C° only in specific contexts, namely, in root interrogatives, and other operator environments (i.e., topicalized negative elements and ‘only’ phrases). In these contexts (see 39), English undergoes subject-auxiliary-inversion (SAI), since in this language the subject is always in Spec,IP.

- (39) a. What (*Mary) has Mary read?
 b. Never (*Mary) has Mary seen such a horrible accident.
 c. Only once in a lifetime (*such a thing) could such a thing happen.

In this section then, we offer a comparison of root and embedded interrogatives between ‘wh-CV2’ languages (i.e., all of Germanic) and Romanian, with the purpose of highlighting major differences which further point to the impossibility of analysing CP as the host for wh-movement in Romanian.

4.4.1 Main clause interrogatives

In wh-CV2 languages (i.e., Germanic), the [+wh] feature is assumed to be a property of the C° head (cf. Chomskyan tradition). In main clause interrogatives, finite verb raising to C° (V° > C°), resulting in SAI, along with wh-movement into the specifier of CP, are both present. Consider below relevant illustrations from Icelandic and English.

- (40) a. [CP **Hvern** hefur [IP Maria t_v [vP ... kysst....]]]? (Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)²⁶
 b. [CP **Whom** has [IP Mary t_v [vP ...kissed ...]]]?
 c. *[CP **Hvern** [IP Maria hefur [vP ... kysst ...]]]?
 d. *[CP **Whom** [IP Mary has [vP ...kissed ...]]]?
 e. *[CP Maria_i **hvern** hefur [IP t_i t_v [vP ... kysst....]]]?
 f. *[CP Mary_i **whom** has [IP t_i t_v [vP ...kissed ...]]]?

The examples in (40a,b) show wh-movement into the specifier of CP, alongside verb movement into C°. The ungrammatical (40c,d) point to obligatory V° > C° movement, which results in a SAI structure. The verb-second constraint, operative in Germanic root interrogative contexts, prohibits any topicalized material from preceding the wh-phrase in Spec,CP. Therefore, (40f,e), in which the subject NP has undergone topicalization to the left of the wh-phrase, are ill-formed.

In Romanian, there are no SAI effects present in main clause questions, which suggests that the verb has not undergone movement from I° to C° (cf. also Cornilescu 1997, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Isac p.c., Ștefănescu 1997). Compare the examples in (41a) and (41b).

- (41) a. (Victor) cîntă (Victor) la trombon. [- wh]
 (Victor) sing.3SG.PR (Victor) at trombone
 ‘Victor plays the trombone.’
 b. (Victor) cîntă (Victor) la trombon? [+ wh]
 (Victor) sing.3SG.PR (Victor) at trombone
 ‘Does Victor play the trombone?’

²⁶ Note that no gloss is provided for the Icelandic examples in Thráinsson (1986), but the English examples represent true equivalents.

The interrogative clause in (41b) maintains the same word order flexibility as its non-interrogative counterpart in (41a). Furthermore, there is no additional movement, the only difference being one of intonation. Recall that, insofar as Romanian is concerned, subject NPs (or any other material) are freely topicalizable to the left of the moved wh-phrase(s) in root interrogatives, as in (42).

- (42) Mihai_i la film **pe** **cine**_j a v̄zut t_i t_v t_j ?
Mihai at movie PE who AUX3SG seen t_i t_v t_j
‘Whom did Mihai see at the movies?’

In the previous section we showed that topicalized material is situated below C°, presumably being IP-adjoined in Romanian. Consequently, the examples in (41)-(42) clearly indicate lack of V° > C°. Moreover, the incapacity of verb-raising above the clitic cluster, as in (43b) below, represent further evidence against V° > C°.

- (43) a. L-ai v̄zut pe Ion?
 CL.3SG.ACC-AUX2SG seen PE Ion
 b. *V̄zutu-l-ai t_v pe Ion?
 seen-CL.3SG.ACC-AUX2SG t_v PE Ion
 ‘Have you seen Ion?’

To conclude, there is no V° > C° and no verb-second effect in Romanian main clause questions.

4.4.2 Embedded interrogatives

In wh-CV2 languages, embedded interrogatives differ slightly from their main clause counterparts. Although the wh-phrase continues to target the specifier of CP, the finite verb no

longer raises to C° (i.e., there is no V2 effect in embedded clauses).²⁷ We borrow Thráinsson's (1986) examples to illustrate lack of V° > C° for Icelandic and English.

(44) a. Ég veit ekki [CP **hvern** [IP Maria hefur [vP ...kysst..]].
 I know not [CP whom [IP Mary has [vP kissed]]
 'I don't know whom Mary kissed.'
 (Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)

b. I don't know [CP **whom** [IP Mary [vP kissed]]].

The examples in (44) show wh-movement into Spec,CP, but lack of V° > C° movement in embedded interrogatives. In addition, the Icelandic example in (45) shows that the wh-phrase cannot be preceded by a topicalized subject.²⁸

(45) *Ég veit ekki [Maria [**hvern** hefur [vP ...kysst..]].
 I know not [Mary [whom has [vP ...kissed..]]
 'I don't know whom Mary kissed.'
 (Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)

In Romanian embedded interrogatives, the word order facts are almost at a counterpoint to those of wh-CV2 languages. Consider the examples in (46).

(46) a. Nu ştiu [pe cine a sărutat Mihai].
 not know.1SG.PR. [PE who AUX.3SG kissed Mihai]

²⁷ Exceptions due to 'bridge verb' effects are of no consequence here (for further discussion see Alboiu 1994, Platzack 1986, Reinholtz 1989, Taraldsen 1985, Thráinsson 1986, among others).

²⁸ Note that Icelandic is a language which normally allows for topicalized elements in its embedded clauses (see i).

(i) Jón segir að Maríu hefur Helgi aldri kysst.
 John says that Mary has Helgi never kissed
 'John says that Helgi has never kissed Mary'
 (Icelandic, Thráinsson 1986)

- b. Nu știu [Mihai **pe cine** a sărutat].
 not know.1SG.PR. [Mihai PE who AUX.3SG kissed]
- c. *Nu știu [**pe cine** Mihai a sărutat].
 not know.1SG.PR. [PE who Mihai AUX.3SG kissed]
 ‘I don’t know whom Mihai kissed.’

(46a) tells us little with respect to either the landing site of the moved wh-phrase or the positioning of the verb. (46b), on the other hand, indicates IP as the target for wh-movement, in view of the fact that it is grammatical to topicalize the subject noun phrase (a structure impossible to obtain in embedded interrogatives in wh-CV2 languages). Last but not least, (46c) shows that the structure typical of the interrogatives illustrated in (44), is illicit in Romanian. In (46c), the verb-adjacency requirement, which holds between fronted wh-phrases and the verbal complex in Romanian, has been violated. Moreover, the examples in (46) point to the fact that there is no asymmetry between root and embedded interrogatives in Romanian (see preceding section). Under the analysis we are currently assuming, namely that wh-phrases are hosted by the IP in Romanian, it should come as no surprise that some contexts allow topicalization in embedded interrogatives. In (47), we offer some more illustrations of embedded interrogatives with various other topics.

- (47) a. Mă-ntreb [pe Petre **cine-l** mai
 REFL-ask.1SG.PR [PE Peter who-CL.3SG.ACC more
 crede].
 believes]
 ‘I wonder who believes Peter any more.’
- b. Nu știu [la Londra **cum** o fi vremea].
 not know.1SG.PR [at London how AUX.FUT be weather-the]
 ‘I don’t know what the weather is like in London.’

In (46) and (47), we assume that the main clause verb, *ştiu* ‘know’, selects a [+wh] IP.²⁹

To conclude this section then, a comparison between root and embedded interrogatives in CV2 languages and Romanian, points to the following facts with regard to Romanian:

- (i) there is no SAI effect in either root or selected interrogatives;
- (ii) there is no $V^\circ > C^\circ$ in either root or selected interrogatives; consequently, we assume the verb continues to reside in I° , to which it moves for independent reasons (see discussion in chapter 2);
- (iii) word order and interaction with topics point toward a [+wh] feature in I° , rather than in C° , for Romanian.

We conclude that Romanian wh-phrases are hosted by the IP domain.

4.5 Two apparent problems

In the following two sections, we address two structures which might, at first sight, be taken as counter-arguments to our present analysis. We will show that they represent apparent problems having to do either with the irrelevancy of the test (in the case of sluicing discussed in section 4.5.1), or the misinterpretation of the data (in the case of successive-cyclic movement discussed in section 4.5.2).

²⁹ This verb can also select embedded CPs, as illustrated in (i).

- (i)

Nu ştiam	[_{CP} că	[_{IP} ieri	Mihai	a
not know.1SG.PST.	that	yesterday	Mihai	AUX.3SG
sărutat-o	pe	Mioara].		
kissed- CL.3SG.ACC.F.	PE	Mioara]		

‘I didn’t know that Mihai had kissed Mioara yesterday.’

This should not be seen as a problem, since verbs have been assumed to be capable of selecting various types of clause structure by a number of authors (more recently, Wurmbrand 1998 and references therein).

4.5.1 The (ir)relevancy of sluicing

In her analysis on Spanish wh-movement, Suñer (1994) proposes that, while Spanish does not show evidence for $V > C^\circ$, wh-phrases are nevertheless hosted by CP in this language. In order to argue for wh-movement to Spec,CP in Spanish, the author discusses IP ellipsis (sluicing), first examined by Ross (1967). We illustrate with Suñer's examples in (48).

- (48) a. Este verano leí varias novelas, pero no recuerdo cuántas.
 'This summer I read several novels, but I do not remember how many'
- b. Se fue de vacaciones, pero no dijo adónde.
 'S/he left on vacation, but s/he didn't say where.'
 (Spanish, Suñer 1994:349)

Under the assumption that the verb remains in I° , the author proposes that the interpretation of the phrases *cuántas* 'how many' (48a) and *adónde* 'where' (48b) is licensed by the [+WH] feature in C° (which is provided by the selecting higher predicate). Ellipsis of the IP constituent can proceed unhindered, leaving only the wh-phrase as the remnant of the embedded clause.

Let us consider the Romanian data. Once we translate Suñer's Spanish examples, we observe in (49) that sluicing is equally grammatical in Romanian.

- (49) a. În vara asta am citit mai multe romane,
 in summer-the this AUX.1SG. read more many novels,
 dar nu-mi amintesc **câte** [-].
 but not-REFL. remember how many [-]
 'This summer I read several novels, but I do not remember how many'
- b. A plecat în vacanță,
 AUX.3SG. left in holiday'
 dar n-a spus **unde** [-].
 but not- AUX.3SG. said where [-]
 'S/he left on vacation, but s/he didn't say where.'

Under the assumption that sluicing/ellipsis affects constituents, the examples in (49) appear to create problems for our analysis. Once we assume *wh*-phrases to be hosted by IP in Romanian, it follows that sluicing affects the level I' in examples like the ones in (49). Needless to say, this is an undesirable result. However, sluicing of the type in (49) is also available in CV2 languages, in which the verb cannot be argued to reside in I° (as Suñer does for Spanish), but occupies C°. Consider the English examples in (50), in which ellipsis can only be assumed to affect the C' level, because the verb in C° has also disappeared.

- (50) a. [CP **Who** is coming] and [CP **why** [C' -]]?
 b. [CP **What** would you like to eat] and [CP **how many helpings** [C' -]]?
 c. [CP **What** book did you buy] and [CP **wherefrom** [C' -]]?

If sluicing of the type in (50) is allowed, sluicing in Romanian of the type in (49), for which we assume a structure as in (51), should be equally acceptable.

- (51) [IP **Wh-phrase** ...] and [IP **wh-phrase** [I' -]]?

In other words, if sluicing can apply to C' (as in (50)), there is no reason to assume it cannot apply to I' (as in (51)). The point we are trying to make here is that this type of test cannot be taken as a counter-argument to our analysis, since it has little to say about the type of constituent targeted. As for the question referring to why and how sluicing applies to X' constituents, this is beyond the scope of our present discussion.

4.5.2 Successive-cyclic movement and apparent SAI

In this section we discuss instances of apparent subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) that arise in Romanian long-distance *wh*-movement contexts. We will show that the empirical facts

point toward lack of topicalization in these contexts, rather than to the presence of $V^\circ > C^\circ$, with resulting SAI effects.

In Romanian, indicative and conditional embedded clauses are introduced by the finite-clause complementizer *că* ‘that’, situated in C° . *Că* ‘that’ is non-deletable (see 52a) and non-interrogative (i.e., it cannot select a [+wh] IP, see 52b).

- (52) a. Știu [_{CP} *(că) de lingvistică se ocupă puțini].
 know.1SG.PR [*(that) of linguistics REFL. occupy.3PL few]
 ‘I know that few people do linguistics.’
- b. Nu știu [(* că) **pe cine** a sărutat Mihai].
 not know.1SG.PR [(*that) PE who AUX.3SG kissed Mihai]
 ‘I don’t know whom Mihai kissed.’

Recall that in our discussion on the nature of the [+wh] FF in Romanian, we concluded that it is present as a selectional feature on both the LI and the functional head (see sections 4.3.2.1, 4.3.2.2). Consequently, all [+wh] feature checking requires a strict locality relationship in Romanian. Whenever a lexical item with the [+wh] formal feature is present in a selected *că* ‘that’ clause, the respective LI will have to raise out of the embedded clause and merge into a higher position, against a compatible functional head (i.e., an X° with [+wh] FF). This follows, since the embedded I° , being selected by a non-interrogative C° , cannot be marked for the [+wh] FF. As such, it cannot Attract (or accommodate Move) of the wh-phrase. This is illustrated in (53) and (54), where the wh-phrase raises out of two embedded clauses.

- (53) [_{IP} **Cine**_i crezi [_{CP} că [_{IP} nu va veni [_{VP} t_i la
 [_{IP} who_i think.2SG.PR. [that [not AUX.FUT.3SG come [_{VP} t_i at
 spectacol]]]]?
 show]]]
 ‘Who do you believe will not come to the show?’

- (54) [IP **Ce_i** crede Ion [CP *că* spusese Victor
 [IP what think.3SG.PR Ion [CP that said.PAST.3SG Victor
 [CP *că* publicase ziarul t_i]]?
 [CP that published.PAST.3SG newspaper.the t_i]]
 ‘What does Ion think Victor said the journal had published?’

In (53) and (54) wh-movement proceeds from embedded clauses into the matrix clause. Since locality conditions are not violated, such instances of apparently long movement are standardly assumed to represent a succession of short movements from clause to clause (e.g., Ross 1967, et seq.). This is referred to as successive cyclic movement.

Examples of the type in (54) have been analysed as instances of SAI in Romanian, in view of the fact that the subject cannot precede the verb in the embedded clauses involved in successive-cyclic movement (Comorovski 1996, Motapanyane 1995). In (55), the direct object wh-phrase *ce* ‘what’ raises out of the embedded *că* ‘that’ clause. The subject NPs of the embedded CPs cannot raise into the preverbal field (i.e., to the left of the verb).

- (55) [IP **Ce_i** crede Ion [CP *că* (*Victor) spusese (Victor)
 [IP what think.3SG.PR Ion [CP that (*Victor) said.PAST.3SG (Victor)
 [CP *că* (*revista) publicase (revista) t_i]]?
 [CP that (*journal.the) published.PAST.3SG (journal.the) t_i]]
 ‘What does Ion think Victor said the journal had published?’

We suggest this is an incorrect approach, due mainly to the misleading emphasis on subjects. It should be noted that in successive-cyclic movement contexts, no XP can front in embedded clauses (not just subject NPs). In effect, nothing can topicalize or inhabit the preverbal field in these contexts. Consider the examples in (56) and (57), which illustrate this ban.

(56) [IP **Ce**_i crede (Ion) [CP *că* (*Victor) spusese (Victor)
 [IP what think.3SG.PR (Ion) [CP that (*Victor) said.PAST.3SG (Victor)
 [CP *că* (*săptămîna trecută) publicase revista t_i (săptămîna
 [CP that (*week-the last) published.PAST.3SG journal.the t_i (week-the
 trecută)]]?
 last)]]

‘What does Ion think Victor said the journal had published last week?’

(57) [IP **Pe cine**_i crezi [CP *că* (*la film) l-a văzut
 [IP PE who think.2SG.PR [CP that (*at movie) CL.3SG.ACC-AUX.3SG seen
 Mihai t_i (la film)]?
 Mihai t_i (at movie)]

‘Whom do you think Mihai saw at the movies?’

We propose that fronting to the preverbal field in the embedded clauses of successive-cyclic movement contexts is ruled out due to Subjacency effects.³⁰

Let us consider how checking of the [+wh] formal features occurs in examples such as (53)-(57). In each case, the root clause contains a functional head (X°) with a selectional [+wh] FF which requires checking in a specifier-head relationship for the derivation to converge. We proposed this feature is a property of I° in Romanian. Furthermore, one of the embedded *că* ‘that’ clauses contains a lexical item with a selectional [+wh] FF which it cannot check in the embedded clause (since there is no matching functional head). The [+wh] I° of the main clause (i.e., the Probe) looks for a matching Goal to Attract. The only matching Goal present in the derivation is situated in the selected embedded clause. However, whatever is within the CP is opaque to syntactic processes outside of its immediate domain. This constraint has been formalized in a number of ways along the years, and more recently (Chomsky 1998), it is

³⁰ Recall that Subjacency conditions require that movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP (Chomsky 1977).

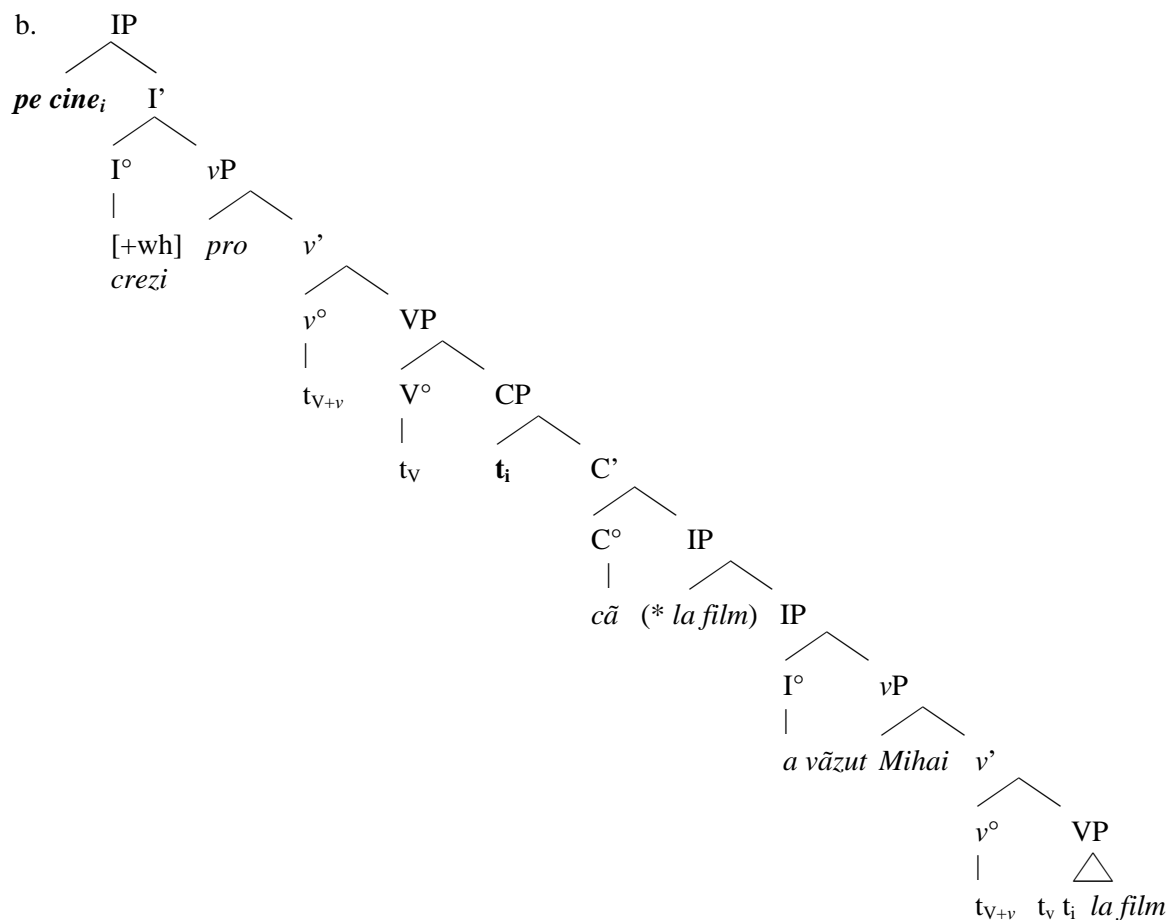
formulated as ‘the phase-impenetrability condition’ (essentially a new version of cyclicity); this is outlined in (58).

- (58) In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α , but only H and its edge (Chomsky 1998:22)

In other words, in order for the wh-phrase of the embedded clause to be accessible to operations outside of CP (i.e., within the higher clause), it first has to move to the edge of the highest phase (i.e., the CP), using the specifier of CP as an escape hatch. Consequently, the wh-phrase has to raise through all intermediary Spec,CP positions before it is merged as the specifier of the main clause I° , where the uninterpretable [+wh] features are checked and deleted against the compatible Probe [+wh] I° .

The fact that topics intervene with wh-raising in embedded *că* ‘that’ clauses with successive-cyclic movement is the result of a Subjacency effect, having nothing to do with SAI (which we argued in section 4.4 to be absent in Romanian). Fronting to topic creates an additional IP with the effect of requiring the wh-phrase to cross two bounding nodes (i.e., two IPs). This would create a Subjacency violation and would yield an ungrammatical output. For illustration, consider (59a) and its representation in (59b).

- (59) a. **Pe cine_i crezi** [CP t_i *că* (* [IP la film) [IP a
 PE who think.2SG.PR [CP t_i that (* [IP at movie) [IP AUX.3SG
văzut Mihai t_i (la film)?
 seen Mihai t_i (at movie)
 ‘Whom do you think Mihai saw at the movies?’



Notice that, for the purposes of our present analysis (centred around the IP versus CP debate), it is irrelevant whether we assume successive cyclicity. In a context with embedded topicalization, we would still expect Subjacency effects, irrespective of whether the *wh*-phrase undergoes long movement or step by step movement. However, we retain cyclic movement (formalized as in (58)) in view of its general acceptance and relevance elsewhere (see section 4.7.3). The *wh*-phrase does not undergo any feature checking in (any of) the embedded Spec,CP(s), which it uses as an escape hatch on its way to the main clause (more specifically, to the functional head hosting the [+wh] FF). We conclude that there are no SAI effects in Romanian successive-cyclic movement contexts, and consequently, no V[°] > C[°] to support a [+wh] feature in C[°].

4.6 Romanian wh-phrases move to IP

Let us summarize our findings so far. In Romanian interrogatives, the wh-phrases are adjacent to the verbal complex (i.e., IP). A comparison with CV2 languages suggested lack of evidence for $V^\circ > C^\circ$ in Romanian wh-contexts. Furthermore, Romanian does not show instances of subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) in wh-contexts, nor is there any requirement for constituent movement (other than the wh-phrases) in interrogatives. Lack of verb movement into C° and compulsory verb-adjacency point to the presence of the [+wh] feature on the Romanian I° head. Topicalized constituents, which for our present purpose we assumed to be IP-adjoined, precede the fronted wh-phrases. This suggests that wh-phrases are not hosted by the CP domain in Romanian.

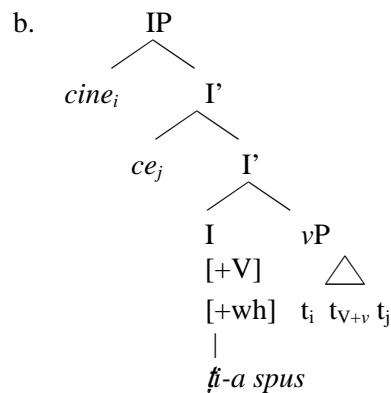
We also showed that wh-in-situ is unavailable in Romanian. Given these empirical facts, we concluded that: (i) the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature present on the functional head is a selectional feature. By definition, it triggers wh-movement, acting as a Probe/target for the raised wh-phrases. Wh-movement will create a specifier of XP, where X° is the head which hosts the [+wh] feature. (ii) the [+wh] feature present on each wh-phrase is equally selectional in nature, thereby requiring checking in a strict locality (i.e., specifier-head) relationship. The result is a ‘multiple-specifier’ structure. Furthermore, economy conditions (formalized as the MLC) together with specific licensing conditions suggest wh-movement involves crossing paths with tucking in. This analysis captures the empirical word ordering facts of the newly merged multiple specifiers.

We conclude that there is sufficient evidence to maintain an analysis in which interrogative structures in Romanian involve I° as the functional head hosting the uninterpretable formal feature [+wh].³¹ I° then is a *syncretic* category in Romanian, capable of hosting at least

³¹ For the time being, we refrain from expanding the IP domain, since this does not serve our immediate purpose. We return to this issue in section 4.8 of this chapter.

the selectional feature [+wh] , alongside with its intrinsic verbal features.³² It follows that, in Romanian wh-phrases are all hosted by IP, the closest being attracted and merged as Spec,IP, the rest being ‘tucked in’ below. We propose that the presence of the selectional [+wh] FF on the Romanian Inflectional system is a direct consequence of the fact that this language lacks a D-type EPP feature (which would otherwise require overt raising of the subject NP into Spec,IP; see discussion in chapter 2). Given that Spec,IP in Romanian is not a Case related specifier, it is in principle available to operator material. We suggest this is a property Romanian has fully exploited. To illustrate, we offer the Romanian example in (60a), for which we propose the structural representation in (60b).

- (60) a. **Cine ce** *ți-a spus?*
 who what CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said
 ‘Who told you what?’



In the following sections, we return to the issue introduced at the commencement of this chapter, namely the dichotomy between IP-absorption versus CP-absorption languages. The

³² For a similar proposal on Spanish, see Zubizarreta (1998).

purpose of our discussion is to show that Romanian interrogatives share important properties with IP-absorption languages, which is expected under our present analysis.

4.7 The IP/CP dichotomy and multiple wh-movement

In section 4.1, we introduced the issue of landing-sites for multiple [+wh] -checking languages. We cited Rudin (1988) and Richards's (1997) bipartite division of 'IP-absorption' and 'CP-absorption' languages. In Rudin's analysis, which Richards fully adopts and expands, IP-absorption languages include Polish, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, and Hungarian, in which wh-movement is to a specifier of IP, with one wh-phrase possibly in Spec,CP (depending on the language type). CP-absorption languages, such as Romanian, and Bulgarian, always involve wh-movement to a specifier of CP.

A cluster of properties are considered to be distinguishing diagnostics for the two groups. These properties are included in the table in (61).

(61)

<i>properties</i>	CP-ABSORPTION Ls	IP-ABSORPTION Ls
wh-islands	-	+
local scrambling = A-mvt	-	+
weak crossover	+	-
wh-movement = QR	-	+
superiority	+	-

Unfortunately, neither Rudin, nor Richards apply these tests in any consistent manner to Romanian. Both limit themselves to a minor discussion on wh-islands, itself based on Comorovski (1986), which leaves out important empirical facts. With the exception of

Superiority, we test all of the properties included in (61) on Romanian data.³³ It will be shown that Romanian shares important properties with IP-absorption languages, a desirable result under the present analysis.

4.7.1 Wh-islands and interacting wh-dependencies

Recall that wh-phrases cannot remain in-situ in Romanian. In this language, all of the wh-phrases in a multiple question must move up to the closest interrogative host, even if this means extracting more than one wh-phrase out of an embedded clause, or extracting wh-phrases from different clauses, as in (20), repeated as (62).

- (62) **Cine_i ce_j ziceai** [CP *că* *își* *închipuie* *t_i*
 who what say.2SG.PAST [CP that REFL imagines.3SG.PR *t_i*
 [CP *că* *ai spus t_j]]?*
 [CP that AUX.2SG said *t_j]]*
 ‘Who did you say imagines that you’ve said what?’

In view of the fact that examples such as (62) are well-formed in a language that otherwise obeys Subjacency, Rudin (1988) concludes that in Romanian more than one wh-phrase is able to pass through the embedded clause Spec,CP position. For this author then, it follows that Romanian is a language with the [+wh] feature in C°. The author further predicts that languages that allow multiple wh-elements in Comp, “will not obey any form of wh-island constraint” (Rudin 1988:456).³⁴

³³ We leave out Superiority since it is irrelevant as a diagnostic. Given that Superiority is a condition on wh-phrase movement order, it is a constraint that forbids movement of a phrase over another phrase that is superior to it, it tells us little (if anything) about the nature of the targeted head.

³⁴ Where ‘wh-island constraints’ refer to the impossibility of extracting wh-phrases from an embedded wh-question. In English, for example, embedded wh-questions generally block extraction of most wh-phrases. See examples in (i) from Culicover 1997:196.

We agree with Rudin that Romanian allows multiple Spec,CPs which serve as intermediary landing-sites in wh-movement. As argued in section 4.5.2, embedded wh-phrases use the specifier of CP as an escape hatch in their movement to the matrix IP. However, we do not agree with the fact that ‘silent’ multiple specifiers constitute evidence for the [+wh] feature in C° in this language (i.e., Romanian as a CP-absorption language). Romanian wh-phrases do not target the CP domain for feature-checking, but do so for the purposes of occupying the leftmost edge of the clause (‘phase’ in MP98 terminology), in order to become accessible to operations in the matrix clause (where they ultimately move to check their [+wh] feature). Support for our assumption comes from the fact that multiple Spec,CPs are licensed even in the ‘acknowledged’ IP-absorption languages, as long as they are used as intermediary landing-sites. Consider the Serbo-Croatian example (63), in which both wh-phrases have moved from within the embedded clauses to check their uninterpretable features in the main clause.

- (63) **Ko** si **koga** tvrdio [CP da t je istukao t]
 who AUX whom claimed [CP that AUX beaten]
 ‘Who did you claim beat whom?’
 (Serbo-Croatian, Richards 1997:41)

In view of Chomsky’s (1998) ‘phase-impenetrability condition’ defined in (58) and repeated here as (64), movement of the wh-phrases from the embedded clause in (63) must have proceeded via specifiers of CP.

- (64) In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α , but only H and its edge (Chomsky 1998:22)

-
- (i) a. *what_i did [IP you wonder [CP to whom_j [IP John gave t_i t_j]]
 b. *to whom_j did [IP you wonder [CP what_i [IP John gave t_i t_j]]]

Let us next consider wh-island constraints with respect to the IP/CP dichotomy. Recall that under Rudin's (1988) prediction, whether a language obeys wh-islands or not is crucial in determining the locus of the [+wh] feature.

It has been claimed that Bulgarian (a CP-absorption language) does not obey wh-island constraints (Rudin 1988), its wh-phrases being able to target specifiers of distinct CPs. Consider some examples in (65).

- (65) a. **koj_i** se opitvat da razberat **kogo_j** t_i e ubil t_j?
 who SELF try to find-out whom AUX killed

(translation not provided by author)

(Bulgarian, Richards 1997:43)

- b. ?? **koj** se cudis dali e dosul?

‘Who do you wonder whether came?’

(gloss not provided by author)

(Bulgarian, Rudin 1988:458)³⁵

IP-absorption languages, on the other hand, are assumed to obey wh-islands (cf. Rudin 1988, Richards 1997). It follows that in these languages wh-phrases from a single clause cannot front to specifiers of distinct CPs. This is illustrated with a Serbo-Croatian example in (66).

- (66) * **Sta** si me pitao **ko** moze da uradi?
 what AUX. 2SG asked who can to do

‘What have you asked me who can do?’

(Serbo-Croatian, Richards 1997:40)

³⁵ Note that we are uncertain as to the relevance of the examples in (65) for the following reasons. It not clear to us why in (65a) the subject trace is not in the main clause, in which case this example would not be an instance of a wh-island violation. Lack of the translation does not help much either. As for (65b), in the first place, it seems to be highly marked (or so we interpret the double question mark) and secondly, the status of the complementizer ‘dali’ is unclear. Since we have not been able to find other relevant examples, we have included the seemingly less than perfect ones in (65).

Following work done by Rizzi (1982) on Italian, Comorovski (1986, 1996) argues that D(iscourse)-linked wh-phrases can escape out of embedded interrogatives in Romanian. Consider the examples in (67), taken from Comorovski (1986:172-3).³⁶

- (67) a. **Pentru care clauză_i** vrei [*să* afli [**cine_j** t_j nu
 for which paragraph want.2SG [SUBJ find out [who_j t_j not
 a decis încă [**ce_k** va vota *pro_j* t_k t_i]]]?
 AUX.3SG decided yet [what will vote *pro* t_k t_i]]
 'For which paragraph do you want to learn who has not decided yet what he will
 vote?'
- b. Maria, **cu care_i** știu [**ce_j** crezi [*că*
 Mary with whom_i know.1SG [what_j think.2SG [that
 am discutat t_j t_i]
 AUX.2SG discussed t_j t_i]
 'Mary, with whom I know what you think that I discussed....'

We assume that (67b) is grammatical, in view of the fact that the relative *cu care* 'with whom' cannot co-occur in the same clause as the interrogative wh-word *ce* 'what'. A sentence cannot simultaneously be an embedded interrogative, which is a non-predicative utterance, and a restrictive relative clause, which is a predicative utterance. In Romanian, relative operators behave differently from interrogative operators and should be kept apart (see also chapter 5, section 5.4.1).³⁷

³⁶ Where 'D(iscourse)-linked' wh-phrases refer to wh-phrases for which the range of felicitous answers is limited by a set that both speaker and hearer have in mind (cf. Pesetsky 1987). D-linked phrases are contrasted to 'non-D-linked' phrases, for which the speaker and hearer do not have any particular set in mind.

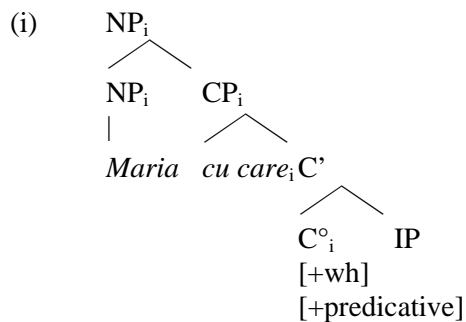
³⁷ Moreover, for the required feature-sharing to apply, the relative wh-phrase *cu care* 'with whom' in (68b) has to be in the immediate vicinity of the NP *Maria* 'Mary' it modifies; this is represented in (i).

(67a), on the other hand, involves a genuine interrogative operator. Notice, however, that in Romanian, the D-linked wh-phrase in (67a) *pentru care clauză* ‘for which paragraph’ can also be interpreted as an argument of the verb within the embedded affirmative subjunctive clause (i.e., parsed with *a afla* ‘to find out’); consider (68).

- (68) **[Pentru care clauză din contract]_i** vrei *pro* [sã afli
 for which paragraph within contract want.2SG *pro* [SUBJ find out
pro acest amănunt t_i]?
pro this detail t_i]
 ‘?? For which paragraph of the contract do you want to find out this detail?’

It is then unclear whether an example such as (67a) is indeed an obviation of the wh-island effect, but the case remains that D-linked wh-phrases may raise out of embedded interrogatives in Romanian. Consider some more illustrations in (69).

- (69) a. **Pe care copii_i** nu știi [**cine_j**
 PE which children_i not know.2SG [who_j
 i_i-a invitat t_j t_i]?
 CL.3PL.ACC.M-AUX.3SG invited t_j t_i]
 * Which children don't you know who invited?’



- b. **Cu care candidat_i** nu ştii [**cine_j** a
 with which candidate_i not know.2SG [who_j AUX.3SG
 votat t_j t_i]?
 voted t_j t_i]
 '* For which candidate don't you know who voted?'

Citing examples with D-linked wh-phrases borrowed from Comorovski (1986), Rudin (1988) concludes that Romanian is a language free of wh-islands. Richards (1997) assumes Rudin (1988) to be correct and makes the same predictions for Romanian. Recall, however, that Comorovski (1986, 1996) refers to wh-island violations in Romanian *only in relationship to D-linked wh-phrases*. Non-D-linked wh-phrases, however, observe wh-islands, on a par with their counterparts in IP-absorption languages. Consider the illustrations in (70a-e), which show wh-island effects to be operative in Romanian, too.

- (70) a. ?? **Cine_i** m-ai întrebă [**ce_j** poate face t_i t_j]?
 who_i CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked [what_j can do t_i t_j]
 ' * Who did you ask what can do?'
- b. * **Cine_i** m-ai întrebă [**cui_j** i-a
 who_i CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked [to whom CL.3SG.DAT-AUX.3SG
 dat t_i t_j cartea]?
 given t_i t_j book-the]
 '* Who did you ask gave the book to whom?'
- c. * **Cine_i** încercă Ion_s [să afle *pro_s*
 who try.3SG.PR Ion_s [SUBJ find out *pro_s*
 [**pe cine_j** a ucis t_i t_j]] ?
 [PE whom AUX.3SG killed t_i t_j]]
 '* Who is Ion trying to find out killed whom ?'

- d. * **Pe cine_j** m-ai întrebat
 PE whom CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
 [**cine_i** iubește t_i t_j]?
 [who loves.3SG.PR t_i t_j]
 ‘* Whom did you ask me who loves?’
- e. * **Ce_j** m-ai întrebat
 what CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
 [**cine_i** să mănânce t_i t_j]]?
 [who SUBJ eat t_i t_j]]
 ‘* What did you ask me who should eat?’

The examples in (70a-e), in which wh-phrases move across an embedded interrogative are all ruled out in Romanian. In all of these examples, the wh-phrases can felicitously check their [+wh] formal features in the embedded interrogative, thereby becoming inactive for further attraction (cf. MP98). Consequently, the matrix clause interrogative feature cannot attract further movement of these wh-phrases and the derivation crashes, yielding ungrammatical results. Chomsky (1998) argues that wh-islands act as a ‘defective intervention constraint’, since the effects of matching a higher probe should be blocked.³⁸ Specifically, feature-checking should proceed against the first Agreeing functional head (i.e., Probe), after which the wh-phrase should become inactive to further attraction for the purposes of checking a higher [+wh] FF. This effect is illustrated in the Romanian examples in (70), which can be rescued only if the the non-D-linked wh-phrases are checked against the first Agreeing functional head (i.e., the first X° marked [+wh]). Consider some illustrations in (71), in which both wh-phrases are base-generated within the embedded question and the matrix clause is a yes/no question, as well as further examples in (72), in which

³⁸ A ‘defective intervention constraint’ is defined (cf. Chomsky 1998) in the structure in (i), where > is c-command, β and τ match the probe α, but β is inactive so that the effects of matching are blocked.

(i) α > β > τ (Chomsky 1998:39)

See also economy considerations as formalized in Chomsky (1986), in which it is argued that wh-island effects are due to failure to observe the shorter movement.

the matrix clause wh-phrase is base-generated as an adjunct in that clause (72a), or an embedded non-interrogative clause (72b).

- (71) a. Încearcă Ion_s [să afle *pro*_s
 try.3SG.PR Ion_s [SUBJ find out *pro*_s
[cine_i pe cine_j a ucis t_i t_j]]?
 [who PE whom AUX.3SG killed t_i t_j].
 ‘Is Ion trying to find out who killed who?’
- b. M-ai întrebat
 CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
[cine_i pe cine_j iubește t_i t_j]]?
 [who PE whom loves.3SG.PR t_i t_j]
 ‘Did you ask me who loves who.’
- c. M-ai întrebat
 CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked
[cine_i ce_j să mănânce t_i t_j]]?
 [who what SUBJ eat t_i t_j]]
 ‘ Did you ask me who should eat what?’
- (72) a. **Despre cine_i** m-ai întrebat t_i [**ce_j poate face *pro*_i t_j]]?
 about who_i CL.1SG.ACC-AUX.2SG asked t_i [what_j can do *pro*_i t_j]
 ‘ About whom did you ask what he can do?’**
- b. **Despre cine_i** încercă Ion_s [să afle *pro*_s t_i
 about who try.3SG.PR Ion_s [SUBJ find out *pro*_s t_i
[pe cine_j a ucis *pro*_i t_j]] ?
 [PE whom_j AUX.3SG killed *pro*_i t_j]
 ‘About whom is Ion trying to find out whom he killed?’

In both (71) and (72) the wh-phrases check their [+ wh] FF against the first functional head bearing the [+ wh] FF.

An interesting example is provided by the Romanian sentence in (73) which is somewhat similar to the Bulgarian example in (65a).

- (73) **Cine_i** vrea t_i [_{IP} sã afle pro_i
 who want.3SG.PR t_i [_{IP} SUBJ find out pro_i
 [_{IP} **pe cine_j** a sãrutat pro_i t_j]] ?
 [_{IP} PE whom AUX.3SG kissed pro_i t_j]]
 ‘Who_i wants to find out whom s/he_j kissed?’³⁹

Given that, according to standard theta-theory (cf. Chomsky 1981), each theta-role must be assigned to an argument and, consequently, chains cannot have more than one argument, we cannot assume that *cine* ‘who’ in (73) is base-generated in the lowest embedded clause and subsequently raises to the matrix clause, but need to assume that it is base-generated as the subject of the matrix clause and coindexed with the embedded null-subjects. As such, the

³⁹ There is ongoing debate as to the status of the embedded subject in these subjunctive clauses in Romanian. Seemingly control structures, it is unclear whether the silent subject should be represented as a ‘pro’ or a ‘PRO’ (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994a, Farkas 1985, Kempchinski 1986, Motapanyane 1995, Terzi 1992, among others). We choose to represent subjects of subjunctives as ‘pro’ in view of the fact that the slots they occupy are compatible with overt NPs (see i). Either way, this is a technical detail with no import on our present discussion.

- (i) a. Mioara vrea [_{IP} sã afle Ion
 Mioara want.3SG.PR [_{IP} SUBJ find out Ion
 [_{IP} **pe cine_j** a sãrutat Mihai t_j]].
 [_{IP} PE whom AUX.3SG kissed Mihai t_j]]
 ‘Mioara wanted Ion to find out whom Mihai had kissed?’
- b. Mioara_i vrea [_{IP} sã afle pro_i
 Mioara_i want.3SG.PR [_{IP} SUBJ find out pro_i
 [_{IP} **pe cine_j** a sãrutat Mihai t_j]].
 [_{IP} PE whom AUX.3SG kissed Mihai t_j]]
 ‘Mioara wanted to find out whom Mihai had kissed.’
- c. Mioara_i vrea [_{IP} sã afle pro_i
 Mioara_i want.3SG.PR [_{IP} SUBJ find out pro_i
 [_{IP} **pe cine_j** a sãrutat pro_i t_j]].
 [_{IP} PE whom AUX.3SG kissed pro_i t_j]]
 ‘Mioara wanted to find out whom she had kissed.’

example in (73) does not represent an instance of a wh-island violation since neither of the two wh-phrases are extracted out of a wh-question. Let us next consider the example in (74), a construction similar to (73) with the significant difference that the wh-subject is base-generated in the embedded interrogative.

- (74) Vrea $pro_{s/*i}$ [IP să afle $pro_{s/*i}$
 want.3SG.PR $pro_{s/*i}$ [IP SUBJ find out $pro_{s/*i}$
 [IP **cine_i pe cine_j** a ucis t_i t_j]].
 [IP who PE whom AUX.3SG killed t_i t_j]]
 ‘S/he tried to find out who killed who.’

Notice that in (74), the wh-subject cannot be coindexed with the upper null subjects, since it cannot raise out of its embedded clause.

Insofar as non-D-linked wh-phrases are concerned, we conclude that the examples discussed in (70) - (74) constitute sufficient evidence that Romanian is a language in which the wh-island constraint is operative and in which disjoint checking of wh-phrases is disallowed (i.e., it is not the case that wh-phrases base-generated within the same clause may check their [+ wh] FF against distinct functional heads marked for the interrogative formal feature).

Let us now return to D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian. We suggest these raise out of a wh-island to a higher clause as an instance of topicalization scrambling and not to check [+ wh] features.⁴⁰ This proposal is supported by the interpretation of sentences such as (69) repeated here as (75), which contrast in interpretation with (76), in which both wh-phrases reside within the wh-island. Consider (75) and (76) below.

⁴⁰ Non-wh-topics are also felicitous in these contexts; see (i).
 (i) La Londra_j nu ştiu [cum_i o fi vremea t_i t_j].
 at London_j not know.1SG.PR [how_i AUX.FUT be weather-the t_i t_j]
 ‘I don’t know what the weather is like in London.’

- (75) a. **Pe care copii_i** nu ştii [**cine_j**
 PE which children_i not know.2SG [who_j
 i_i-a invitat t_j t_i]?
 CL.3PL.ACC.M-AUX.3SG invited t_j t_i]
 '* Which children don't you know who invited?'
 [- distributive]
- b. **Cu care candidat_i** nu ştii [**cine_j** a
 with which candidate_i not know.2SG [who_j AUX.3SG
 votat t_j t_i]?
 voted t_j t_i]
 '* For which candidate don't you know who voted?'
 [- distributive]
- (76) a. Nu ştii [**pe care copii_i** **cine_j**
 not know.2SG [PE which children_i who_j
 i_i-a invitat t_j t_i]?
 CL.3PL.ACC.M-AUX.3SG invited t_j t_i]
 'Don't you know who invited which children?'
 [+ distributive]
- b. Nu ştii [**cu care candidat_i** **cine_j** a
 not know.2SG [with which candidate_i who_j AUX.3SG
 votat t_j t_i]?
 voted t_j t_i]
 'Don't you know who voted for which candidate?'
 [+ distributive]

In (75), with raising of the D-linked wh-phrases out of the embedded interrogative, the only available reading is the one in which these wh-phrases are interpreted as the topics of the following discourse. In contrast, in (76), in which the wh-phrases reside within the embedded

question, the only available reading is a distributive, 'pair-list' one (in the sense of Beghelli 1997).

41

In view of the interpretational differences in (75) and (76), we claim that obviation of wh-island effects with D-linked wh-phrases in Romanian is independent of [+ wh] feature-checking and conclude that Romanian shows wh-island effects, at least with non-D-linked wh-phrases. Recall that this is a property associated with IP-absorption languages.

4.7.2 Local scrambling: A- or A-bar movement

Another characteristic of IP-absorption languages is that they exhibit local scrambling with properties of A-movement (Richards 1997). According to Richards, the Hungarian example in (77a) is ungrammatical due to a weak crossover violation. When object quantifier scrambling applies, as in (77b), the weak crossover violations in (77a) are fixed, indicating A-movement.⁴²

- (77) a. *Nem szeret az pro_i anyja mindenkit_i.
 not loves the mother-his everybody.ACC
- b. Nem szeret mindenkit_i az pro_i anyja t_i.
 Not loves everybody.ACC the mother-his
 ‘His mother does not love everybody’
 (Hungarian, Richards 1997:30; author does not provide traces)

⁴¹ Notice that in (76b) the (Anti)-Superiority effect is apparently not observed, since *cu care candidat* 'for which candidate', an object, appears to the left of the wh-subject. This is due to the fact that the two wh-phrases are of semantically distinct natures: the wh-object is D-linked, while the wh-subject is non-D-linked. Given that in the preverbal field, D-linked phrases always appear to the left of non-D-linked material (see chapter 5, section 5.3.3.2), we suggest that (Anti)-Superiority is masked in these cases by further raising of the D-linked wh-phrase to a scope position above the non-D-linked phrase, from where the former can be felicitously interpreted as distributive or topical.

⁴² Recall that weak crossover effects arise whenever a variable is the antecedent of a pronoun to its left, being characteristic of A-bar movement (see discussion in chapter 3, section 3.3.1). Since Richards (1997:235) provides a definition for weak crossover with specific reference to wh-phrases, we reproduce it in (i);

(i) Weak Crossover:
 All pronouns bound by a wh-word must also be bound by a trace of that wh-word in an

In (77a), the quantifier object undergoes A-bar movement at LF leaving behind a variable, which is illicitly coindexed with a pronoun to its left; hence, the ungrammaticality. In (77b), the object quantifier has scrambled locally. In this case, there is no weak crossover violation, which means that the trace left behind this local move is not a variable (since it allows coindexation by a pronominal on its left).

Richards further shows that Serbo-Croatian and Japanese (both IP-absorption languages) pattern identically. On the other hand, a CP-absorption language such as Bulgarian, lacks the above switch in grammaticality. Consider (78).

- (78) a. *Majka mu obica vseki covek.
 Mother his love every person
- b. *Vseki covek obica majka mu.
 Every person his mother love
 ‘His_i mother loves everyone_i.’
 (Bulgarian, Richards 1997:31)

Richards concludes that in these languages scrambling is either absent, or that it is A-bar movement.

In chapter 3, we discussed VOS constructions in Romanian, which we argued to involve local object A-scrambling. The Romanian data in (79) is similar to the Hungarian one in (78).

- (79) a. *Nu-l iubește mama [lui]_i [pe fiecare copil]_i.
 not-CL.3SG.ACC.M loves.3SG.PR mother-the [his]_i [PE each child]_i
- b. Nu-l iubește [pe fiecare copil]_i mama [lui]_i t_i.
 not-CL.3SG.ACC.M loves.3SG.PR [PE each child]_i mother-the [his]_i t_i
 ‘His mother does not love every child.’

A-position.

In (79b), weak crossover effects are absent, which indicates that the quantified object has undergone A-movement. If, following Richards (1997), we are to equate availability of local A-scrambling with the IP-absorption nature of the language, Romanian examples of the type in (79), further point to Romanian as an IP-absorption language.

4.7.3 Wh-movement and weak crossover

Another characteristic of IP-absorption languages, is that local wh-movement has certain properties of A-movement as opposed to A-bar movement (cf. Richards 1997). In Hungarian, for example, wh-movement fails to induce weak crossover effects; consider (80).

- (80) a. **Ki_i** szereti az anyját?
 who loves the mother-his.ACC
 ‘Who loves his mother?’
- b. **Kit_i** szeret az anyja?
 Who.ACC loves the mother-his
 ‘Who does his mother love?’
 (Hungarian, Richards 1997:35; author does not provide traces)

In example (80b), the moved wh-phrase can be interpreted as co-referential with the possessive. This means that the trace left behind after wh-movement is not a variable and wh-movement itself is reminiscent of A-movement.

In CP-absorption languages wh-movement is argued to always induce weak crossover. Namely, equivalents of (80b) are ungrammatical. Consider (81) from Bulgarian:

- (81) ***Kogo_i** obica majka su_i?
 who loves mother his
 ‘Whom does his mother love?’
 (Bulgarian, Richards 1997:34)

Using this test, in Romanian, wh-movement of non-D-linked wh-phrases is A-bar movement. The example in (82) shows that co-referentiality of the moved wh-phrase with the pronominal induces a weak crossover effect and triggers the same ungrammatical results as in Bulgarian and CP-absorption languages, more generally.

- (82) * **Pe cine_i** iubește mama lui_i t_i ?
 PE who_i loves.3SG.PR mother-the his_i t_i
 ‘Whom does his mother love?’

However, it has been recognized in the literature that, wh-movement of D-linked wh-phrases does not induce weak crossover effects in Romanian (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990b, 1994a, Motapanyane 1998a). It follows that, at least with D-linked wh-phrases, wh-movement in Romanian triggers similar results to those obtained in IP-absorption languages. See (83) for an illustration.⁴³

- (83) **Pe care băiat_i** nu-l_i iubește mama lui_i t_i ?
 PE which boy_i not-CL.3SG.ACC_i loves.3SG.PR mother-the his_i t_i
 ‘Which of the boys does his mother not love?’

When long-distance wh-movement is involved, weak crossover effects are also found in IP-absorption languages, which suggests that long distance wh-movement always involves A-bar scrambling. Consider the Hungarian example in (84).

⁴³ Notice, however, that with D-linked wh-phrases a coindexed clitic is necessarily present (see i).

- (i) **Pe care băiat_i** nu-*(l_i) iubește mama lui_i t_i ?
 PE which boy_i not-CL.3SG.ACC_i loves.3SG.PR mother-the his_i t_i
 ‘Which of the boys does his mother not love?’

We suggest that the clitic acts as a binder of the wh-trace and follow Safir (1999) who claims that when a copy is a copy of a pronoun, it should behave like a pronoun (see also chapter 5, section 5.3.3.1). Given that the wh-trace is bound by a pronoun, it will no longer be a variable and there will be no WCO effects. Lack of a weak crossover effect in examples such as (83) is due primarily to the fact that Romanian can resort to clitic insertion rather than to the type of movement undergone by the wh-phrase.

- (84) * **Kit**_i gondol az anyja_i hogy Mari szeret?
 Who.ACC thinks the mother-his that Mary loves
 ‘Who does his mother think that Mary loves?’
 (Hungarian, Richards 1997)

In Romanian, too, weak crossover effects arise in long-distance wh-movement contexts, irrespective of whether the wh-phrase is non-D-linked (see 85a) or D-linked (see 85b). This suggests two things: (i) that long-distance wh-movement involves A-bar movement, and (ii) that the presence of the clitic in the embedded clause in (85b) cannot save the derivation.

- (85) a. * [**Pe cine**]_i crede mama lui_i
 PE who_i thinks.3SG mother-the his_i
 [_{CP} cã iubește Ioana t_i]?
 [that loves.3SG Ioana t_i]
 ‘*Who_i does his_i mother think Ioana loves?’
- b. * [**Pe care baiat**]_i crede mama lui_i
 PE which boy_i thinks.3SG mother-the his_i
 [_{CP} cã-l_i iubește Ioana t_i]?
 [that-cl.3SG.ACC.M. loves.3SG Ioana t_i]
 ‘*Which of the boys_i does his_i mother think Ioana loves?’

The implications of (ii) are important since they constitute evidence for successive-cyclic movement in this language. If weak crossover effects are absent with D-linked wh-phrases in local wh-movement, in view of clitic insertion, but present in long-distance wh-movement contexts, it follows that in (85b) there is an additional variable illegitimately coindexed with a pronominal to its left (since the trace in (85b) is bound by the clitic). We assume this additional variable is the second trace (i.e., a silent copy of the moved wh-phrase) left behind in Spec,CP, as a result of cyclic movement. This is represented in (86).

- (86) **[Pe care baiat]_i** crede mama lui ^{*_i/_j}
 PE which boy_i thinks.3SG mother-the his ^{*_i/_j}
 [_{CP} **t_i** că-l_i iubește Ioana t_i]?
 [_{CP} **t_i** that-cl.3SG.ACC.M. loves.3SG Ioana t_i]
 ‘*Which of the boys_i does his_i mother think Ioana loves?’

The bolded trace in (86) is coindexed with a pronoun to its left, triggering an ungrammatical result.

We conclude that, in Romanian, wh-movement is always A-bar movement. In local wh-movement contexts, however, weak crossover effects are absent with D-linked wh-phrases, as a result of clitic insertion, but present with non-D-linked wh-phrases. In effect, local wh-movement in Romanian shares properties with both IP- and CP-absorption languages.

4.7.4 Wh-movement and quantifier raising

We discuss one further piece of data before summing-up this section. Richards (1997) argues that wh-movement in IP-absorption languages is syntactically reminiscent of Quantifier Raising (QR), in that it involves multiple adjunction in order to establish scope relations. The author also maintains, following Kiss (1987, 1994), that wh-words in Hungarian occupy the same position as certain quantificational elements (i.e., an IP-related position). This is different from a language such as English, for example, in which wh-phrases target Spec,CP and QR adjoins quantifiers to IP.

In Romanian, too, bare quantifiers share important properties with wh-phrases. Similar to wh-phrases, bare quantifiers can raise overtly triggering merge of multiple specifiers, as in (87), in which case they show identical properties to those discussed for multiple wh-movement structures (i.e., they are subject to a strict verb-adjacency requirement and observe the (Anti)-Superiority effect). Consider the contrast in grammaticality in (87a) and (87b), which shows that multiple quantifier-raising in Romanian observes the same economy conditions as multiple wh-

movement; specifically, the subject quantifier needs to precede the object quantifier in terms of word ordering in the preverbal field.

- (87) a. [IP **Nimeni_i** **cu nimic_j** nu te va
 [IP nobody_i with nothing_j not CL.2SG.ACC FUT.3SG
 deranja [_{vP} t_i t_v t_j]].
 bother [_{vP} t_i t_v t_j]].
- b. * [IP **Cu nimic_j** **nimeni_i** nu te va
 [IP with nothing_j nobody_i not CL.2SG.ACC FUT.3SG
 deranja [_{vP} t_i t_v t_j]].
 bother [_{vP} t_i t_v t_j]].
 ‘Nobody will be bothering you with anything.’

Furthermore, quantifier movement is in complementary distribution with wh-movement (see contrast in 88a - 88b), which suggests both types of movement involve operator raising, presumably targetting the same host, namely IP.⁴⁴

- (88) a. **Pe cine_i** nu cunoaște nimeni t_i t_v ?
 PE who_i not know.3SG.PR. nobody t_i t_v
- b. * **Pe cine_i** **nimeni_j** nu cunoaște t_j t_v t_i ?
 PE who_i nobody_j not know.3SG.PR. t_j t_v t_i
 ‘Whom does nobody know?’

⁴⁴ Note that, cross-linguistically, generic pro-forms cannot be topics, since they are ‘semantically weightless’ (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997:190). Consequently, they are ruled out in topic position (see (i)), and the position they target when raising to take scope has to be lower than the topic position.

- (i) a. *Cît despre cineva_i, el_i este băiat bun.
 as for someone_i, he_i is boy good
 ‘* As for someone, he is a good boy.’
- b. Cît despre [Victor și Mihai]_i, ei_i sunt copii excepționali.
 as for [Victor and Mihai]_i, they_i are children exceptional
 ‘As for Victor and Mihai, they are great kids.’

There is other evidence that preverbal quantifier raising is scope related in Romanian. Kiss (1998:252) argues that, in order for a universal quantifier to be licit in the preverbal scope position, it has to be interpreted as ‘identifying without exclusion’. This follows since only non-unique quantifiers (i.e., quantifiers that are non-exclusive) can bind a variable within IP. Observe that bare quantifiers can only front in Romanian when they can be interpreted as non-unique (similar to the Hungarian case). Consider, for example, the bare quantifiers in (89) – (90).

(89) non-unique reading:

- a. Să stea cineva la ușă.
 SUBJ stay.3SG someone at door
- b. **Cineva_i** să stea t_i la ușă.
 someone SUBJ stay.3SG t_i at door
 ‘Someone should stay at the door.’

(90) unique reading:

- a. Te-a căutat cineva la telefon.
 CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.3SG searched someone at phone
- b. ***Cineva_i** te-a căutat t_i la telefon.
 someone CL.2SG.ACC-AUX.3SG searched t_i at phone
 ‘Someone asked for you on the phone.’

In (89), the bare quantifier is licensed in preverbal position (i.e., Spec,IP) in view of the fact that it is interpreted as non-unique, namely as ‘identifying without exclusion’, and it can felicitously bind a variable within IP. It follows that movement for scope attainment is licit. In (90), the bare quantifier has a unique reading (acquired contextually) which precludes it from binding a variable

within the IP and consequently, it cannot raise (recall that these quantifiers cannot be topics). The dichotomy in (89) versus (90) shows that preverbal quantifier raising is clearly scope related.⁴⁵

We conclude that IP is a scope position in Romanian and that it serves as the landing-site for both wh-movement and bare quantifiers, which are in complementary distribution. The fact that, both QR and wh-movement target the same position points toward another property Romanian shares with IP-absorption languages.

4.7.5 Summing up

In this section, we have discussed a cluster of properties which either Rudin (1988) or Richards (1997) regard as diagnostics for distinguishing IP-absorption from CP-absorption languages. We summarize our findings in table (91).

(91)

<i>properties</i>	CP-ABSORPTION Ls	ROMANIAN	IP-ABSORPTION Ls
wh-islands	-	+	+
local scrambling = A-mvt	-	+	+
weak crossover	+	+/-	-
wh-movement = QR	-	+	+

⁴⁵ Consider in (i) an additional example with ‘something’. The same result obtains; specifically, only the quantifier identifying without exclusion can raise to the preverbal field.

- (i) 1. non-unique reading:
- a. Vei face ceva pînă la urmă.
 FUT.2SG do something to at end
- b. Ceva vei face pînă la urmă.
 something FUT.2SG do to at end
 ‘In the end you will find something to do.’
2. unique reading:
- a. Se scurge ceva din plasă.
 REFL. drip.3SG something from bag
- b. *Ceva se scurge din plasă.
 something REFL. drip.3SG from bag
 ‘There’s something dripping from your bag.’

The table in (91) places Romanian closer to the IP-absorption languages than to the CP-absorption languages. We therefore conclude there is also typological cross-linguistic evidence, aside from the language-internal evidence, to support the claim that IP serves as the host for wh-movement in Romanian. We claim that Spec,CP in this language is never a checking domain for Romanian interrogative constituents, and that it can only host traces/copies of wh-phrases in successive-cyclic movement contexts.

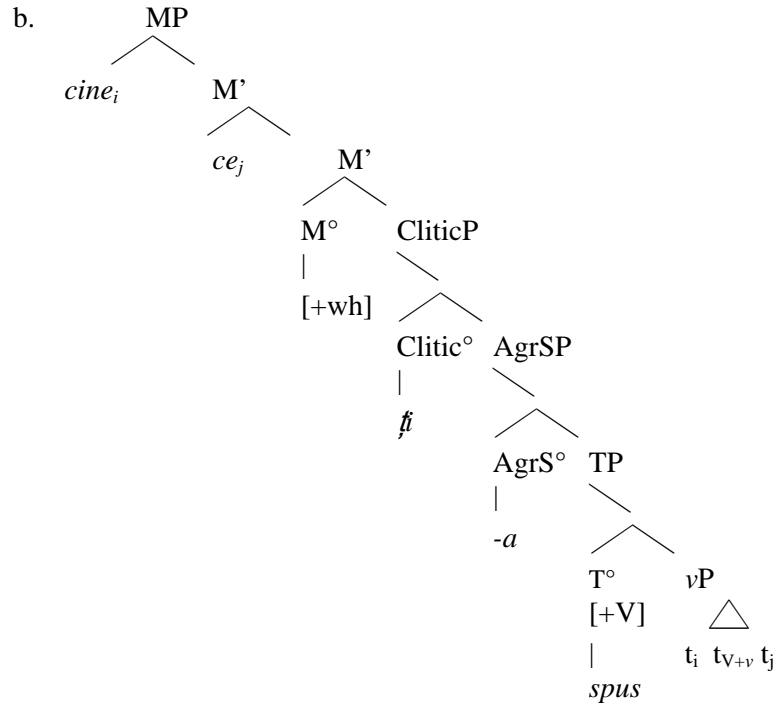
4.8 Colophon: Romanian interrogative X°

At this point, we need to detail our analysis. So far, we have used I° as an umbrella term, to refer to all of the functional verbal heads within the IP domain. Recall from our discussion in chapter 2 that, for Romanian, IP may include the following maximal phrases: MoodP > NegP > CliticP* > AgrSP > TP > AspectP. Thus we need to identify which of these projections hosts the uninterpretable [+wh] feature in Romanian interrogatives.

There are two ways of tackling this problem. One is to suggest that the uninterpretable [+wh] feature is always associated with the same head, namely M°, which is the highest possible functional verbal head. This entails that all interrogatives are MPs in Romanian. The other is to argue that the interrogative formal feature attaches to the highest functional verbal head already present in the derivation, whether M°, Neg°, Agr°, or T°. We suggest the latter approach is the correct one and argue that the syntactic [+wh] feature merges on the highest Infl (verbal) head present in the derivation.

For the sake of argument, let us assume that the formal feature [+wh] can only be associated with M° (Cornilescu 1997, Isac p.c.). It follows that all interrogative clauses are MPs, with both M° and Spec,MP* projected. (60a), repeated here as (92a), would then be represented as in (92b).

- (92) a. **Cine ce ți-a spus?**
 who what CL.2SG.DAT-AUX.3SG said
 ‘Who told you what?’



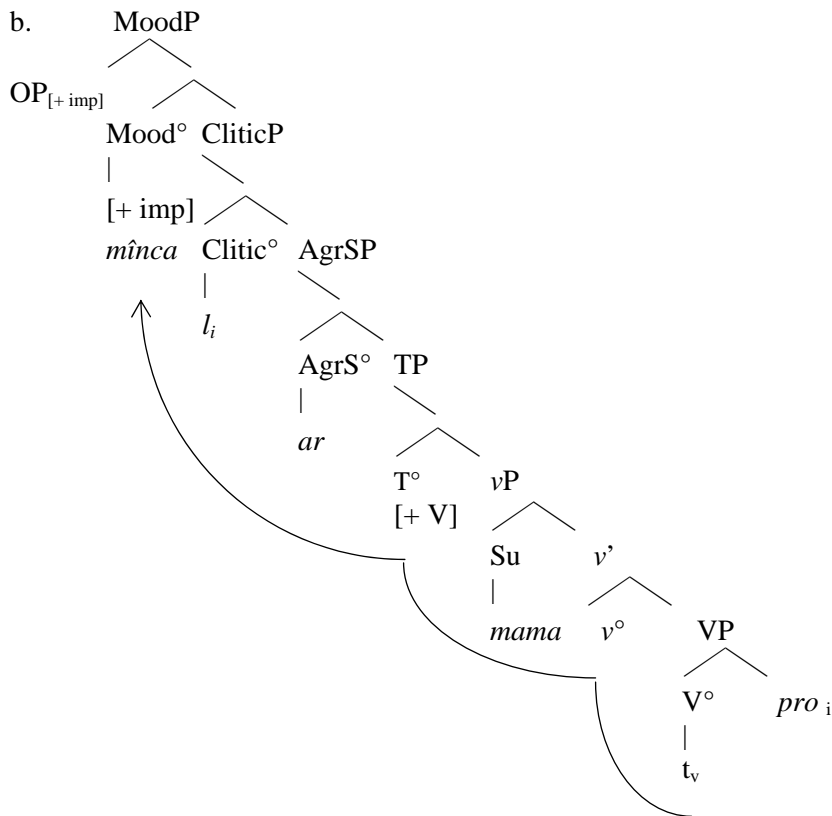
The first question that comes to mind is why is the M° head empty, namely why does it not trigger V° > M° movement, on a par with wh-CV2 languages. Suppose that for PF reasons, in Romanian, the formal feature [+wh] on X° is not affixal in nature and does not require an overt host, its only requirement being that wh-phrase(s) move and merge as Spec,MP. This is not implausible, since there are various language situations in which XP is licensed (i.e., retrievable at the interface levels, PF and LF) if either its specifier or its head is lexically filled.⁴⁶

However, if both the head and the specifier are phonetically null, we assume the respective XP is not retrievable, and the utterance cannot be well-formed. This follows since the respective XP will not contain the necessary phonetically interpretable features at PF, so the derivation will crash (since it does not converge at PF). That this is indeed the case can be

⁴⁶ In English, for example, there is no V° > I° (apart from contexts in which auxiliaries are present), yet IP is present since Spec,IP is always filled by the subject NP.

illustrated with Romanian imperatives. Romanian imperatives always involve Long Head Movement (unless the M° head is not already lexically filled; see discussion in chapter 2, section 2.2.2), as in (93b). The empty operator in Spec,MP needs to be licensed by an overt element (for retrieval at PF), so verb raising applies.

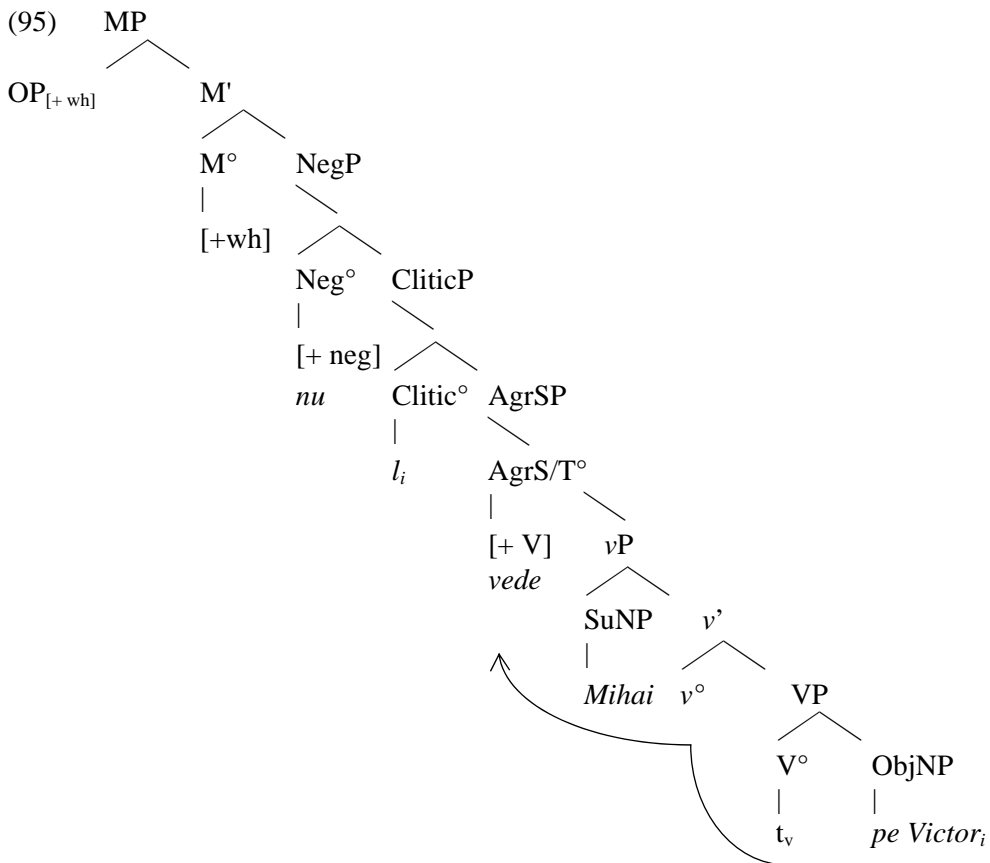
- (93) a. Mîncea-l-ar mama!
eat-CL.3SG.ACC.M-AUX.COND.3SG mother-the
‘(He's so sweet) his mum could eat him!’



Let us next consider Romanian yes/no interrogatives. Recall from our discussion in section 4.4.1 that interrogatives in Romanian do not trigger verb movement. We illustrate this here with a yes/no interrogative (see 94ab) and its non-interrogative counterpart (see 94b).

- (94) a. Nu- l_i vede Mihai pe Victor $_i$? [+ wh]
 not-CL.3SG.ACC.M see.3SG.PR Mihai PE Victor
 ‘Can't Mihai see Victor?’
- b. Nu- l_i vede Mihai pe Victor $_i$. [- wh]
 not-CL.3SG.ACC.M see.3SG.PR Mihai PE Victor
 ‘Mihai can't see Victor.’

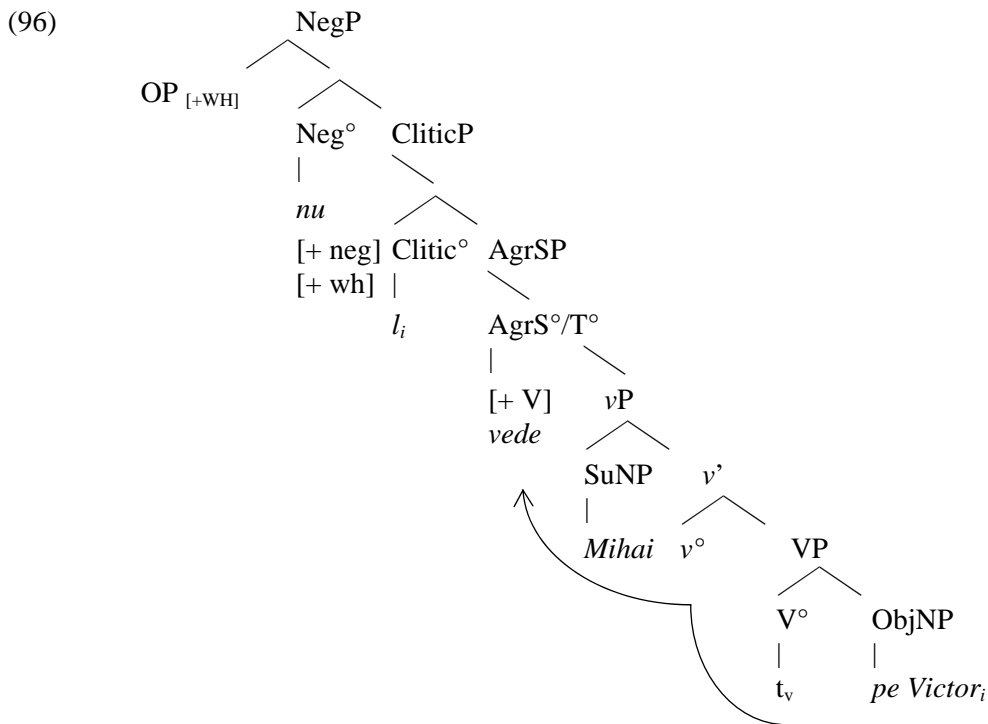
Under the assumption that all interrogatives are MPs (since the interrogative formal feature is exclusively a property of M°), the syntactic representation of (94a) is as in (95).



Notice however, that MP is not retrievable at PF, since it is not licensed by any overt elements. The empty operator in Spec,MP which checks the uninterpretable [+wh] feature in M° is only interpretable at LF, so the derivation should crash. Yet, it does not, since it is perfectly

grammatical. It follows that the syntactic representation in (95) cannot be correct. Therefore, we cannot maintain an analysis in which the interrogative feature is always a property of the M° head, and all interrogative clauses are MPs.

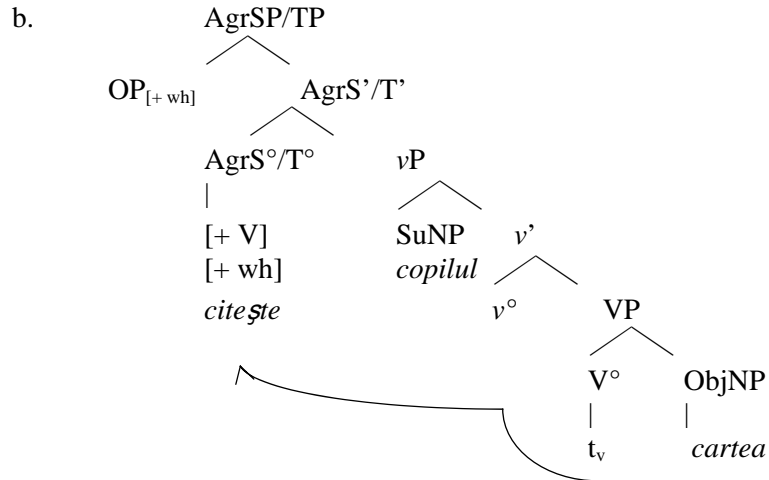
In order for (94a) to converge both at PF and LF, we need to assume that the uninterpretable formal feature [+wh] merges onto a phonetically present head. In view of the fact that [+wh] FF in Romanian is selectional in nature, thus requiring merge of a specifier for checking and deletion to apply, we assume it has to merge on the highest functional verbal head, which for (94a) is Neg°. ⁴⁷ The correct syntactic representation for (94a) is then as in (96).



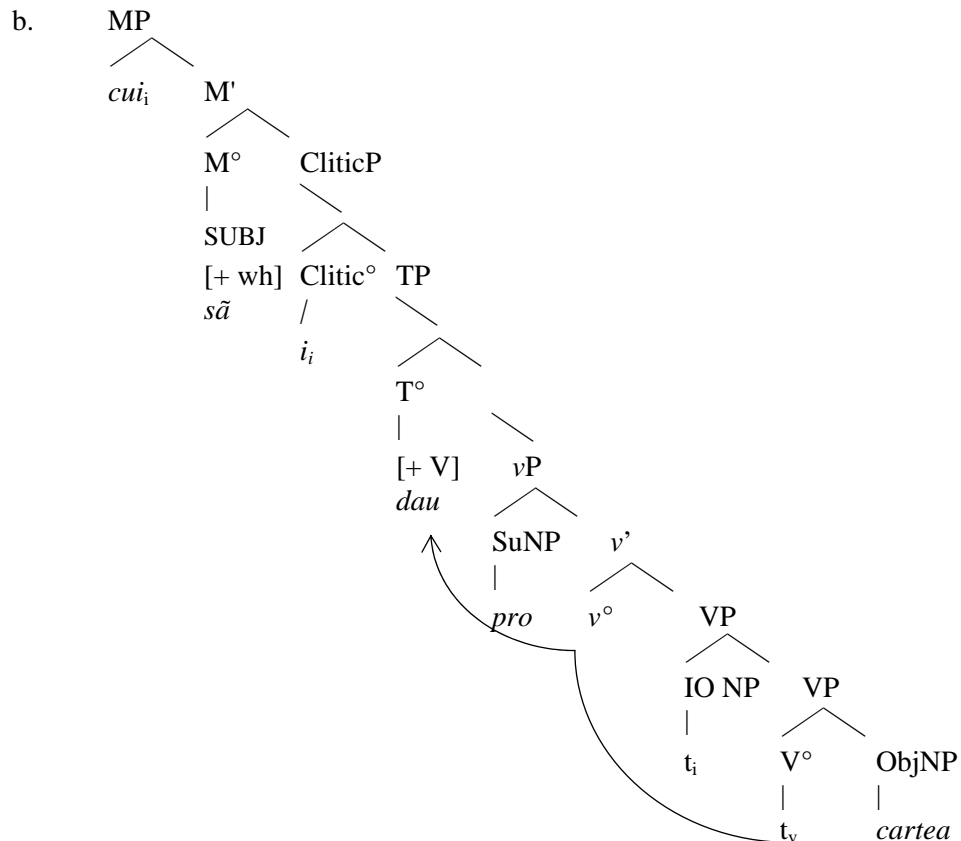
In (97) and (98) we offer illustrations in which the [+wh] FF merges onto the AgrS/T° head and the M° head, respectively.

⁴⁷ Notice that the [+wh] formal feature can only merge on the highest Infl head present in the derivation and never on lower/intermediary Infl heads. According to Chomsky (1995), strong uninterpretable formal features need to be deleted prior to the creation of a higher category. Given that [+wh] is selectional in nature, it will trigger insertion of a matching specifier prior to the creation of a higher category. Unless we assume [+wh] incorporates onto the highest Infl head, we should see wh-phrases allowed within the verbal complex in Romanian, contrary to fact.

- (97) a. Citește copilul cartea?
 read.3SG child-the book-the
 'Is the child reading the book?'



- (98) a. Cui_i să-i_i dau cartea?
 to whom SUBJ-CL.3SG.DAT give book-the
 'Whom should I give the book to?'

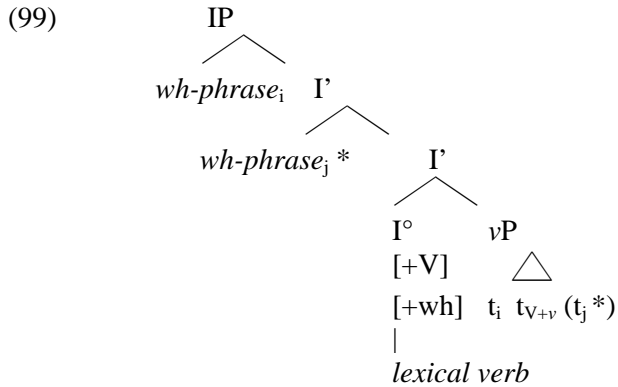


We conclude that, in Romanian, the [+wh] formal feature is merged on the highest functional verbal head. The result is a *syncretic* Inflection, capable of hosting various formal features; we return to this issue in chapter 5. This is possible in view of the fact that in Romanian there is no EPP or Case-related Spec,IP. Rather, Spec,IP is an operator/scope position.

4.9 Conclusions

In this chapter we have argued that the uninterpretable [+wh] formal feature is a property of I° in Romanian, rather than of C° . Language internal evidence, such as the interaction with topic, as well as the absence of a D-type EPP selectional formal feature on I° in Romanian (i.e., ‘surface subject’), suggests Spec,IP is a scopal position available to operators such as wh-phrases. A comparison with wh-CV2 languages further suggested lack of $V^\circ > C^\circ$ and the absence of subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) structures. We concluded that, in Romanian, wh-phrases are hosted by IP.

In order to account for multiple wh-constructions in Romanian, we adopted a ‘symmetric’ theory of checking which acknowledges the checking requirements of *both* FFs belonging to functional heads and FFs belonging to lexical items. We showed that the nature of the [+wh] FF is parametrized across languages and concluded that, in Romanian, the [+wh] FF is of a selectional nature on both the functional head and the wh-phrases. We further proposed that, from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective, a subject-first approach is the only viable one for Romanian multiple wh-constructions. Following economy conditions (formalized as the MLC), the wh-phrase closest to the Probe (i.e., the one highest in terms of c-command) merges as the Spec,IP. The remaining wh-phrases tuck in under the newly merged specifier, thereby satisfying the wh-phrase licensing conditions. The result is a multiple-specifier structure which engenders a single IP, as in (99).



We further discussed several diagnostics for distinguishing IP-absorption from CP-absorption languages. We argued that Romanian shows *wh*-island effects, allows for local A-movement scrambling, and hosts its *wh*-phrases in slots also targetted by fronted bare quantifiers. Moreover, local D-linked *wh*-movement was shown to escape weak crossover violations. We pointed out that Romanian does not share significant properties with CP-absorption languages since the above cluster of properties characterizes IP-absorption languages. Therefore, we concluded there was also cross-linguistic evidence to support the claim that IP serves as the host for *wh*-movement in Romanian. This implies that Spec,CP in this language is never a checking domain for Romanian interrogative constituents, and can only host traces/copies of *wh*-phrases in successive-cyclic movement contexts. We further proposed that, due to requirements of PF convergence, the uninterpretable interrogative formal feature merges onto the highest functional verbal (Infl) head present in the derivation, rather than being an exclusive property of M° . In effect, the presence of the [+wh] formal feature engenders a syncretic Inflection in Romanian, a property we will show in the next chapter to be shared with other selectional features in this language.

