

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	9
CHAPTER 1	
INTRODUCTION.....	11
CHAPTER 2	
THE SYNTAX OF RELATIVE CLAUSES.....	20
2.1 Introduction.....	20
2.2. The Competing Proposals.....	21
2.2.1 The Complementation/Head Raising Analysis (HRA)	21
2.2.1.1 Antisymmetry and its consequences on the analysis of headed relative clauses (Kayne 1994, Borsley 1997)	23
2.2.1.2. Head-raising revised	28
2.2.1.3. Promotion and feature movement	30
2.2.2 The Adjunction/Matching Analysis (MA).....	32
2.3 Advantages and disadvantages of the two approaches.....	36
2.3.1 Arguments in favour of the HRA	37
2.3.1.1 Head-internal relatives	37
2.3.1.2 The pivot function	38
2.3.1.3 Indefiniteness of the trace	38
2.3.2 Problems for the HRA.....	40
2.3.2.1 Relative pronouns cannot take an NP complement.....	40
2.3.2.2 Trigger for the movement of the NP	41
2.3.2.3 Case	43
2.3.2.4 Pied-piping.....	44
2.4 Reconstruction effects in English and Romanian restrictive relative clauses.....	46
2.4.1 Introduction.....	46

2.4.2 Idiom interpretation	46
2.4.3 Variable binding.....	53
2.4.4 Scope	54
2.4.5 The interpretation of superlative adjectives	55
2.4.6 Reconstruction for binding	58
2.4.7 Principle C.....	62
2.4.7.1 Asymmetry between relative clauses and wh-interrogatives	62
2.4.7.2 Asymmetry between complements and adjuncts.....	66
2.4.7.3 Asymmetry between the external head and the operator phrase	68
2.4.7.4 Principle C and idioms/variable binding/scope reconstruction	70
2.4.8 Conclusions.....	71
2.5 Non-reconstruction of the external head.....	71
2.5.1 Idioms and anaphors	71
2.5.2 Extraposition.....	73
2.6 Conclusions.....	74

CHAPTER 3

AMOUNT RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH.....76

3.1 Introduction.....	76
3.2 What is an amount relative clause? Defining “amount” as a relative of the third kind	78
3.2.1. Typology of relative clauses	79
3.2.2. Descriptive characteristics of amount relatives	85
3.2.2.1 There insertion contexts.....	85
3.2.2.2 Antecedent-contained deletion	90
3.2.2.3 Contexts of cardinality.....	92
3.3.3 Ambiguous contexts	94
(Identity of substance vs. identity of quantity)	94
3.3 Degrees and maximality	95

3.4 Properties of English amount relatives	98
3.4.1 Restriction on determiners.....	99
3.4.1.1 There-insertion contexts	99
3.4.1.2 Carlson's range of determiners in contexts of cardinality.....	102
3.4.1.3 Determiner selection and reconstruction	104
3.4.2 Complementizer selection.....	104
3.4.3 Stacking.....	107
3.5 Syntactic analyses of ARs.....	109
3.5.1 Carlson's (1977) and Grosu&Landman's (1998) approach to raising..	109
3.5.2 von Stechow's (1999) meaning of chains.....	111
3.5.3 Herdan's (2008) superlative theory of amount relatives	111
3.6 Conclusions.....	113

CHAPTER 4

AMOUNT RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ROMANIAN.....115

4.1 Introduction.....	115
4.2. Properties of amount relative clauses (AR) in Romanian.....	119
4.2.1 Restriction on relativizers (internal determiners)	120
4.2.2 Selection of the external determiner	125
4.2.3 Stacking.....	129
4.3 Types of amount relative clauses in Romanian.....	130
4.3.1 Indefinite ARs	131
4.3.1.1 Atât...cât ARs	132
4.3.1.2 ARs with indefinite quantifiers	136
4.3.1.3 ARs with cardinals.....	137
4.3.2 Definite ARs	142
4.3.3 ARs with (overt or covert) gradable NP heads	145
4.4 Syntax of degree phrases in Romanian	147
4.4.1 A brief overview of the theoretical approaches to degrees.....	148

4.4.2 Monotonicity and the structure of gradable predicates.....	158
4.4.3 DegP <i>cât</i> in degree constructions.....	163
4.5. The Syntactic analysis of ARs in Romanian.....	176
4.5.1 Head internal and head external analyses	177
4.5.2 Deriving ARs.....	179
4.6 Conclusions.....	189
CHAPTER 5	
CONCLUSIONS.....	193
SUMMARY IN ROMANIAN/ REZUMAT.....	196
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	211