

The Romanian Left Periphery

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The Romanian Left Periphery exhibits (at least) the following remarkable characteristics : (a) quasi-obligatory multiple wh-movement : all wh-elements are moved to the left periphery (Rudin, Boskovic) ; (b) null operator configurations are absent : no that-type relatives, no clefts (only pseudo-clefts) ; (c) wh-elements must or cannot be clitic-doubled, depending on their D-linking features (which-type elements must be clitic-doubled, whereas what/who type elements cannot be clitic-doubled) ; nevertheless, both types of wh-elements are island-sensitive, and therefore are arguably subject to movement; (d) left dislocated referential DPs (definites or proper names) must be clitic-doubled, even if they are contrastively focused. Some of these properties are peculiar to Romanian, others can be found elsewhere. I will attempt to provide minimalist implementations of each of these phenomena, to establish implicational relations between them and to propose parameters that can capture crosslinguistic variation. The empirical investigation will aim at answering general theoretical questions such as : (i) is the relation between a wh-element and its base position a movement or rather an AGREE relation (Adger & Ramchand); (ii) what is the structure of the left periphery : dedicated structural positions such as TopP, FocP, FinP, etc. (Rizzi) or rather underspecified positions (Adger) ?; (iii) the division of labor between the computational system and the PF and LF interfaces.