

9.2 Relative clauses

9.2.1 Preliminary remarks

- (17') a. • fu scos postelnicul de la
 be.PASS.PS.3SG push.out.PPLE chamberlain.DEF.NOM from
 masă cu rușine și-l duse
 meal.ACC with shame.ACC and=CL.ACC.M.3SG take.PS.3SG
 de-l judecă cu muiarea
 to=CL.ACC.M.3SG judge.PS.3SG with woman.DEF.ACC
 ce-l pâraia de avuție ce
 who=CL.ACC.M.3SG denounce.IMPERF.3SG of wealth.ACC that
 i-au luat (MC.1620: 72^f)
 CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG steal.PPLE
 'The chamberlain was shamefully pushed out from the meal, and taken to be
 judged with the woman who denounced him for stealing her wealth'
 • și troparele ce vor fi (DDL.1679: 45)
 and hymns.DEF that AUX.FUT.3PL be.INF
 'and whatever the hymns are'
- b. • frații către frați și feciorii acestora,
 brothers.DEF towards brothers and sons.DEF these.GEN
 ce se cheamă veri premari (Prav.1581: 218^v)
 who CL.REFL.PASS call cousins first.M.PL
 'brothers towards brothers, and their sons, who are called first cousins'
 • au tăiat smochinul acela,
 AUX.PERF.3PL cut.PPLE figtree.DEF.ACC that
 carele nu făcea nici o
 which.M.DEF.NOM not make.IMPERF.3SG not one
 roadă (CÎ.1678: 107^v)
 fruit.ACC
 'They cut the fig tree that bore no fruit'
 • au făcut și alte lucruri mari,
 AUX.PERF.3PL do.PPLE also other.N.PL things.ACC big
 carei la rândul lor
 which.M.PL.DEF.NOM to turn.DEF their.GEN
 s-or pomeni (NL.~1750–66: 117)
 CL.REFL.PASS=AUX.FUT.3PL mention.INF
 'They also did some other things, which, in turn, shall be mentioned'
- c. • Cine afla muierea ceaea buna
 who.NOM find.IMPERF.3SG woman.DEF.ACC that good.F.SG
 bucurie afla (FD.1592–604: 471^f)
 joy.ACC find.IMPERF.3SG
 'Whoever found a good woman, he found happiness'

• **cine** va merge să vază, să
 who.NOM AUX.FUT.3SG go.INF SĂ_{SUBJ} see.SUBJ.3SG CL.REFL.3SG
 va mira (PIst.~1780: 266)
 AUX.FUT.3SG amaze.INF

‘Whoever goes to see will be amazed’

d. • **Când** acela va veni,
 when that.M.SG.NOM AUX.FUT.3SG come.INF
 spune-va noao toate (CT.1560–1: 22^r)
 say.INF=AUX.FUT.3SG us.DAT all.F.PL.ACC

‘When that one comes, He will tell us all’

• **Și** de atuncea m-am rătăcit
 and since then CL.REFL.1SG=AUX.PERF.1SG lose.way.PPLE
 și nu știu **unde** mergu (Sind.1703: 88^v)
 and not know.PRES.1SG where go.PRES.1SG

‘And I have lost my way ever since, and I do not know where I am going’

• Deci **cându** au fostu în mijlocul
 so when AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE in middle.DEF.ACC
 pădurii, făcut-au năvală
 wood.DEF.GEN make.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3SG invasion.ACC
 oastea lui Bogdan vodă (ULM.~1725: 17)
 army.DEF.NOM LUI.GEN Bogdan voivode

‘So, when they were in the middle of the wood, the army of the voivode Bogdan attacked them’

(18’) a. • Fiiul Omenesc nu are **unde**-ș
 son.DEF.NOM human not has where=CL.REFL.DAT.POSS.3SG
 pleca capul său! (Ev.1642: 119)
 put.INF head.DEF.ACC his

‘The Son of Man has no place to lay his head’

• n-au **unde** ascunde bogăția sa (CÎ.1678: 32^v)
 not=has where hide.INF wealth.DEF.ACC his

‘He has nowhere to hide his wealth’

• n-avea **cui** dzice (CLM.1700–50: 161)
 not=had who.DAT say.INF

‘He had no one to tell’

b. • scoasesă și târgulu tot Ștefan vodă,
 call.PLUPERF.3SG also town.DEF.ACC all Ștefan voivode
 cu arme, **cine** cu **ce** ave (CLM.1700–50: 176^v)
 with guns.ACC who with what have.IMPERF.3SG

‘Ștefan voivode had also roused the town to arms, whomever with whatever he had’

• măcar de ar zice **cine** **ce**
 even if AUX.COND.3SG say.INF who.NOM what.ACC

va vrea (AD.1722–5: 23)
 AUX.FUT.3SG want.INF
 ‘even if whoever said what he wanted’

9.2.2 The wh-words

9.2.2.1 Wh-pronouns (and adjectives)

- (19’) a. ● casa mea **care**-m easte
 home.DEF my which.F.SG.DEF=CL.DAT.1SG is
 gătită (VN.1630–50: 157)
 decorate.PPLE.F.SG
 ‘my home which is decorated’
 ● la Varna, **care** iaste lângă
 to Varna which.F.SG.DEF is near
 Marea Neagră (PIst.~1780: 319)
 Sea Black.ACC
 ‘to Varna, which is near the Black Sea’
- b. ● cu **carele** va vrea, să
 with who.M.SG.DEF.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG want.INF SĂ_{SUBJ}
 se mărite (CPr.1566: 306)
 CL.REFL.3SG marry.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘Let her marry whomever she wants’
 ● Du-te și adu din cel foc
 go.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG and bring.IMP.2SG from that fire.ACC
carele easte lângă apa Eloisului! (LC.~1650: 194)
 which.M.SG.DEF.NOM is near water.DEF.ACC Elois.GEN
 ‘Go and bring me a part of that fire which is near the sea of Elois’
 ● au văzut în ceriu pre un înger
 AUX.PERF.3PL see.PPLE in sky.ACC DOM an angel.ACC
carele veni și stătu înaintea
 which.M.SG.DEF.NOM come.PS.3SG and sit.PS.3SG before
 oltariului (CÎ.1678: 3^r)
 altar.GEN
 ‘They saw an angel in the sky, who came, and sat before the altar’
- c. ● să înțeleg învățătorii besoarecei
 SĂ_{SUBJ} understand.SUBJ.1SG teachers.DEF.ACC church.GEN
carii propoveduiesc cuvântul
 which.M.PL.DEF.NOM preach.PRES.3PL word.DEF.ACC
 lui Dumnezeu oamenilor (CÎ.1678: 29^r)
 LUI.GEN God.GEN people.DAT
 ‘Let me understand the church’s teachers, who preach to the people the word of God’

● Pomenește, Doamne, cetatea aceasta în
 mention.IMP.2SG God.VOC fortress.DEF.ACC this in
carea găzduim, și toată cetatea și orașul,
 which live.PRES.1PL and all town.DEF.ACC and city.DEF.ACC
 și **pre carii** cu credință lăcuiesc
 and DOM which.M.PL.DEF with faith.ACC live.PRES.3PL
 într-însa (DDL.1679: 86)
 in-it

‘Please mention God this fortress in which we live, and the whole town, and those who faithfully live in it’

● i-au aședzat în Bugeac,
 CL.ACC.3PL=AUX.PERF.3PL settle.PPLE in Bugeac
carii stau și până astăzi (NL.~1750–66: 7)
 which.M.PL.DEF stay.PRES.3PL even until today
 ‘in Bugeac they settled those who remained there until today’

(20’) a.

● ținea întru mâinele sale
 hold.IMPERF.3SG in hands.DEF.ACC his
 cății de aur pline de **tămie**,
 incense.burners.ACC of gold full.F.PL of incense
care **tămie** să înțeleage
 which.NOM incense.NOM CL.REFL.PASS.3SG understand.PRES.3SG
 rugăciunile svinților (CÎ.1678: 3^r)
 prayers.DEF saints.DEF.GEN
 ‘He was holding in his hands the gold incense burners full of incense, which was in fact the prayers of the saints’

● au aședzat Moldova **suptu birul**
 AUX.PERF.3PL put.PPLE Moldavia.ACC under impost.DEF.ACC
 turcilor, **de** **suptu care** **bir** amu
 Turks.GEN from under which.ACC impost.ACC now
 era ieșită țara, cu
 be.IMPERF.3SG set.free.F.SG.PPLE country.DEF.NOM with
 nevoința lui (CLM.1700–50: 162^v)
 effort.DEF.ACC his

‘They placed Moldova under the tax duty to the Turks, from which the country had now escaped by his efforts’

● Și era **noaptea**, **carea** **noapte**
 and be.IMPERF.IMPERS night which.NOM night.NOM
 era mai luminată decât soarele (AD.1722–5: 196)
 be.IMPERF.3SG more bright.F.SG than sun.DEF.ACC
 ‘And it was night, a night brighter than the sun’

b.

● făcut-au mare nuntă în curțile
 make.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3PL big wedding.ACC in courts.DEF.ACC
 domnești (...) cu **Lupașco**, **care** acel **Lupașco**
 royal.F.PL with Lupașco, which.NOM that Lupașco.NOM

au agiunsu mai pe urmă și spătar
 AUX.PERF.3SG become.PPLE more afterwards also leader.NOM
 mare în Țara Muntenească (NL.~1750–66: 32)
 big.M.PL in Wallachia.ACC

‘And there was a great wedding at the royal courts, when she married Lupașco, who later became a great commander of the army of Wallachia’

● Ș-au luat și moaștele lui
 and=AUX.PERF.3PL take.PPLE even relics.DEF.ACC LUI.GEN
 Sfetei Ion Novei de la Suceavă, **care**
 Saint.GEN John New from Suceava which.ACC
 le-u fostu adus aceste
 CL.ACC.3PL=AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE bring.PPLE these.F
moaște din Țara Turcească Alecsandru-vodă
 relics.NOM from Turkey Alexander.NOM-voivode
 cel Bun (NL.~1750–66: 98)
 CEL.M.SG Good

‘And they took even the relics of Saint John the New from Suceava, which have been brought from Turkey by Alexander the Good’

- c. ● și nici firea dumnezeirii să se
 and neither nature.DEF.NOM God.DEF.GEN SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.3SG
 prefacă în firea dumnezeirii,
 become.SUBJ.3SG in nature.DEF.NOM God.DEF.GEN
care **lucru** iaste mai puternic și
 which.NOM fact.NOM is more strong.M.SG and
 mai minunat (AD.1722–5: 130)
 more great.M.SG

‘And let not the nature of God become the nature of God, which is a very powerful and wondrous thing’

● Și mărgându la adunare, au
 and go.GER to gathering.ACC AUX.PERF.3SG/PL
 închinat la pașe, **pentru care** **slujbă**
 worship.PPLE to pasha.DAT for which.ACC job.ACC
 au dobândit cinste și nume bun
 AUX.PERF.3SG/PL receive.PPLE respect.ACC and name.ACC good
 de la pașe. (NL.~1750–66: 61)
 from pasha.ACC

‘And when they went to the gathering, they bowed down to the pasha, for which gesture, the pasha rewarded them with respect and admiration’

- (21’) a. ● sfinții **care-i** sânt în
 saints.DEF which.M.PL.DEF.ACC=CL.ACC.3PL be.PRES.3PL in
 toată Ahaiia (CPr.1566: 344)
 all.F.SG Ahaiia.ACC
 ‘the saints of the whole of Ahaiia’

● Derepte aceea meargeți la ieșirile căilor
for that go.IMP.2PL to exits.DEF.ACC roads.DEF.GEN
și oare **cari**_{i-i} veți afla
and ever- which.M.PL.DEF.ACC=CL.ACC.3PL AUX.FUT.3PL find.INF
chemați-i la nuntă (NT.1648: 28^r)
invite.IMP.2PL=CL.ACC.M.3PL to wedding.ACC
'That is why you should go to the exits of the roads and whomever you find
invite him to the wedding'

- (23') a. • Marcul vodă, căruia numele nu să
 Marcu voivode who.GEN name.NOM not CL.REFL.PASS
 nice povestește (CLM.1700–50: 51)
 even tell.PRES.3SG
 'Marcu, the voivode, whose name is not spoken'
 • era ginere hatmanului
 be.IMPERF.3SG son.in.law.NOM minister.of.war.DEF.GEN
 Iablanovschii, a căruie un fiior,
 Jabłonowski AL.F.SG which.M.SG.GEN a son
 pre anume Stanislav Lișcinschii (NL.~1750–66: 147)
 namely Stanislav Liszczinsky
 'He was the son-in-law of the minister-of-war Jabłonowski, whose son, a
 certain Stanislav Lișcinschii...'
 c. • iară omul au greșit dentru
 and man.DEF.NOM AUX.PERF.3SG mistake.PPLE from
 înșălătură, a căruia păcat
 cozenage.ACC AL.F.SG which.M.SG.GEN sin
 iaste părtaș și îngerul cel
 be.PRES.3SG witness.NOM also angel.DEF.NOM CEL.M.SG
 rău (CÎ.1678: 68^r)
 bad
 'And the man was led astray by error, and the bad angel was party to his sin'
 • pre acest prunc (...) a căruia bogăție
 DOM this baby.ACC AL.F.SG which.M.SG.GEN wealthy.NOM
 nu să poate spune (AD.1722–5: 32)
 not CL.REFL.PASS can.PRES.2SG say.INF
 'this baby, whose wealth cannot be told'
 e. • cei optsprăzece asupra căroră căzu
 those eighteen over which.M.PL.GEN fall.PS.3SG
 turnul Silomului (CÎ.1678: 82^r)
 tower.DEF.NOM Silom.DEF.GEN
 'the eighteen, on whom Silom's tower fell'
 • Dar eu taina stăpânului, căruia
 but I secret.DEF.NOM master.DEF.GEN who.M.SG.DAT

i-am mâncat pita,
 CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG eat.PPLE bread.DEF.ACC
 n-am putut-o
 not=AUX.PERF.1SG can.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG
 descoperi (NL.~1750–66: 218)
 find.INF
 ‘But I could not reveal the secret of the master whose bread I ate’

- (24’) ● dreapta credință **carea** o
 correct.F.PL faith which.F.SG.ACC CL.ACC.F.3SG
 păziș curată și nespurcată (AD.1722–5: 5^r)
 guard.PS.2SG clean.F.SG and NEG-soiled.F.SG
 ‘the right faith, which you have kept clean and unsoiled’
 ● să mă lupt cu altă zidire,
 SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.1SG fight.SUBJ.1SG with other.F.SG creation.ACC
carele iaste omul (AD.1722–5: 131)
 which.M.SG.DEF.NOM is man.DEF.NOM
 ‘Let me fight another creation of God, that is man’

9.2.2.1.2 Ce (‘what’)

- (25’) a. ● Troianii eșiră și văzură pristaniștea
 Trojans.DEF.NOM go.out.PS.3PL and see.PS.3PL harbor.DEF.ACC
 pustie, numai calul **ce** aflară (MC.1620: 26^f)
 deserted.F.SG only horse.DEF.ACC that find.PS.3PL
 ‘When the Trojans emerged, and saw the harbour deserted, only the horse did they find’
 ● să-l umpli cu acea umplutură
 SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.M.3SG fill.SUBJ.2SG with that attachment.ACC
ce s-au scris (CBuc.1749: 7^v)
 that CL.REFL.PASS=AUX.PERF.3SG write.PPLE
 ‘fill it with that attachment which has been written.’
 ● nește izvoade **ce** au aflat la unii
 some documents that AUX.PERF.3SG find.PPLE to some.M.PL
 și la alții (NL.~1750–66: 4)
 and to other.M.PL
 ‘some documents which they found with some people or and with others’
 b. Și întrăbă pre filosofi **ce** țară
 and ask.PS.3SG DOM philosophers.ACC what country.NOM
 este acolo (A.1620: 10^f)
 is there
 ‘And he asked the philosophers what country was there’
 ● ce rău îi va veni, să
 what evil.NOM CL.DAT.3SG AUX.FUT.3PL come.INF SĂ_{SUBJ}

fie în sufletul lui (Plst.~1780: 397)
 be.SUBJ.3SG in soul.DEF.ACC his.GEN
 ‘such evil as will befall him, let in be in his own soul’

- (26’) a. • Acestea sânt porâncita **ce**
 this.F.PL.NOM be.PRES.3PL command.DEF.NOM that
 c-ați auzit dentâiu (CPr.1566: 206)
 that=AUX.PERF.3PL hear.PPLE first
 ‘These are the command that you heard first’
 • să asculte toată lumea **de**
 SĂ_{SUBJ} listen.SUBJ.3SG all.F.SG world.DEF.NOM of
 cetatea **ce** i se puse
 fortress.DEF.ACC that CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL.PASS put.PS.3SG
 numele Rim (MC.1620: 30^v)
 name.DEF.NOM Rome
 ‘Let entire world hear of the fortress which was called Rome’
 • Și-l aruncară într-o limpezie **ce**
 and=CL.ACC.3SG throw.PS.3PL in=a water.ACC that
 să chema Varnava (VN.1630–50: 151)
 CL.REFL.PASS called Varnava
 ‘And they threw him in a water which was called Varnava’
 b. • ca un om **ce-ș** aștaptă
 like a man.ACC that=CL.REFL.3SG wait.PRES.3SG
 zioa de moarte (A.1620: 68^t)
 day.DEF.ACC of death.ACC
 ‘like a man who waits for the day of his death’
 • răpăosați părinți și frați **ce-s**
 dead.M.PL parents and brothers that=be.PRES.3PL
 aicea culcați (DDL.1679: 53)
 here bury.PPLE.M.PL
 ‘deceased parents and brothers that lie here’
 • ca un părinte sufletesc și păstoriu
 like a father.ACC spiritual.M.SG and sheperd.ACC
ce vă sânt (AD.1722–5: 27)
 that CL.DAT.2PL be.PRES.1SG
 ‘like a spiritual father and shepherd that I am to you’
 (27’) a. • păgânii, **ce** ei se închină
 pagans.DEF that they CL.REFL.3PL worship.PRES.3PL
 dracilor (CPr.1566: 314)
 devils.DEF.DAT
 ‘the pagans that worship the devils’
 • De alt lemn **ce** pre dâns
 of other wood.ACC that on it

- s-au răstignit tâlhariul (LC.~1650: 193)
 CL.REFL.PASS=AUX.PERF.3SG crucified thief.DEF.NOM
 ‘the other cross on which they crucified the thief’
- b. ● steale înșelătoare ce lor întunearec
 stars deceiving.F.PL which them.DAT darkness.NOM
 untunecat în veaci veaghe-se (CPr.1566: 213)
 dark.M.S in centuries watch.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL.3SG
 ‘deceiving stars which for ever watch over them in eternal darkness’
 ● pre la toate țările ce-i luat (A.1620: 25^v)
 on all.F countries.ACC that=AUX.PS.2SG take.PPLE
 ‘throughout the countries that you took from them’
 ● acel domnu ce-l rădicasă
 that king.ACC which=CL.ACC.M.3SG support.PLUPERF.3PL
 ei (NL.~1750–66: 35)
 them.NOM
 ‘that king whom they raised up’
- (28’) a. ● văd toate ce să lucrează în
 see.PRES.1SG all that CL.REFL.3SG work.PRES.3SG in
 ceriu și pre pământ și peste toată
 heaven.ACC and on earth.ACC and on all.F
 lumea (CÎ.1678: 4^v)
 world.ACC
 ‘I can see all the works done in heaven and on earth and in the whole world’
 ● Și le-au luat tot ce-au
 and CL.ACC.3PL=AUX.PERF.3PL take.PPLE all what=AUX.PERF.3PL
 avut (NL.~1750–66: 22)
 have.PPLE
 ‘and they took from them everything they had’
 ● Socotea că toate ce zic sânt
 think.IMPERF.3SG that all.F what say.PRES.3SG be.PRES.3PL
 adevărate (PIst.~1780: 503)
 true.F.PL
 ‘he thought that all they said was true’
- b. în ce da cu segeata tot
 in what shoot.IMPERF.3SG with arrow.DEF.ACC everything
 lovie (A.1620: 21^v)
 struck.imperf.3sg
 ‘he could always struck whatever he shot at with his arrow’

- (29') a. • Și să căie **cela ce** scoase
 and cl.refl.3sg repent.imperf.3sg that.m that get.PLUPERF.3SG
 mult (A.1620: 20^v)
 much
 'and he who obtained much repented'
 • **cela ce** va creade într-însul nu va
 that who AUX.FUT.3SG believes in=him not AUX.FUT.3SG
 peri (CÎ.1678: 105^r)
 die.INF
 'the one who believes in him will not die'
 • Cel ce ascultă pre voi, pre mine
 that who obeys DOM you.PL.ACC DOM me.ACC
 ascultă (AD.1722–5: 22)
 obeys
 'he who obeys you obeys me'
- b. • și dragostea Mea, **ceaea ce**
 and love.def my.F.SG that which
 nu era a Mea (CPr.1566: 252)
 not be.IMPERF.3SG AL.F.SG my.F.SG
 'and My love, which was not Mine'
 • sora noastră, Fiviia, **ceaea ce** iaste slujitoare
 sister.DEF our Fiviia that who is servant.NOM
 beseareciei (CPr.1566: 276)
 church.DEF.GEN
 'our sister, Fivia, who is a servant of the church'
 • De tine să bucură, **ceea ce** ești
 of you CL.REFL.3SG rejoices that.F who be.PRES.2SG
 plină de bunătaț (DDL.1679: 134)
 full.F.SG OF GOOD
 'he rejoices over you, who are full of glory'
- (30') • ales întru dulce-vestirea Domnului **celui ce**
 chosen.m.sg for sweet=announcement.DEF Lord.GEN the.one.GEN who
 mainte se făgădui prorocilor săi (CPr.1566: 219)
 before CL.REFL.PASS.3SG promise.PS.3SG prophets.DAT his.M.PL
 'chosen for the announcement of the Lord, the one who had earlier offered himself to his prophets'
 • amar **celuia ce** nu te
 bitterness.NOM the.one.DAT who not CL.ACC.2SG
 iubi (VN.1630–50: 231)
 love.PS.3SG
 'wretched is he who did not love you'

- (31') a. • Și întrebaiu **pre** **cela** **ci** mă
 and ask.PS.1SG to that who CL.ACC.1SG
 purta (VN.1630–50: 184)
 cary.IMPERF.3SG
 'and I asked the one who was bore me'
 • ordzul **cela** **ce** strângea el de pen
 barley.DEF that which pick.IMPERF.3SG he from
 traiște (NL.~1750–66: 57)
 bags.ACC
 'that barley that he used to pick from the bags'
 • Adus-au pehlivani de **cei** **ce**
 bring.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3PL acrobats.ACC of those.M which
 joacă pă funii (PIst.~1780: 400)
 dance.PRES.3SG on ropes.ACC
 'they brought acrobats, those who dance on ropes'
- b. • **Cela** **ce** mănâncă **pre** **cela** **ce** nu
 the.one.M who eats on the.one.M who not
 mănâncă să nu-l ocărăscă (CPr.1566: 268)
 eats S_{SUBJ} not=CL.ACC.M.3SG revile.SUBJ.3SG
 'Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not'
 • **Cela** **ce** va veni cătră mine nu
 the.one.M who AUX.FUT.3SG come.INF to me.ACC not
 va avea a flămânzi (CÎ.1678: 47^v)
 AUX.FUT.3SG have.INF A_{INF} starve.INF
 'He who comes to me will not be hungry'
- (32') a. • carea nu se mărită, ea grijască
 which not CL.REFL.3SG marries she take.care.SUBJ.3SG
ceaea **ce** se dostoaște Domnului (CPr.1566: 305)
 that.F which CL.REFL.3SG please.PRES.3SG God.DAT
 'she who does not marry, let her take care of that which pleases God'
 • pacea lui **cea** **ce** covârșește toată
 serenity.DEF his that.F which surpass.PRES.3SG all.F
 mintea (AD.1722–5: 8)
 mind.ACC
 'his serenity that surpasses all understanding'
 • la **cee** **ce** era lesne să
 at that.F which be.IMPERF.3SG easy CL.REFL.3SG
 îndârja (PIst.~1780: 270)
 be.eager.IMPERF.3SG
 'he was eager to do that which was easy'
- (33') a. într-acel loc **ce** să afla
 in=that.M place.ACC what CL.REFL.3SG be.IMPERF.3SG

ei cu oaste (Bert.1774: 203)
 they.M with troop.ACC
 ‘in that place in which they were with their troops’

- (34') • credințele lu Avram, ce iaste părinte
 beliefs.DEF.NOM LUI.GEN Abraham.GEN what is father.NOM
 tuturor noao (CPr.1566: 232)
 all.GEN us.GEN
 ‘the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all’
 • s-au bătut cu Preda, ce
 CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG fight.PPLE with Preda.ACC what
 era cu ceialaltă ceată
 be.IMPERF.3SG with other.F band.ACC
 de boiari (PIst.~1780: 271)
 of boyars
 ‘they fought with Preda, who was with the other band of boyars’

- (35') b. • ca niște oameni proști ce era (AD.1722–5: 76)
 like some people.PL.ACC dumb.M.PL what be.IMPERF.3PL
 ‘like stupid people, as they were’
 • ca un nemernic ce era (Bert.1774: 203)
 like a villain what be.IMPERF.3SG
 ‘like a villain as he was’
 • ca un lup turbat ce era (PIst.~1780: 451)
 like a wolf rabid.M what be.IMPERF.3SG
 ‘like a rabid wolf as he was’

- (37') a. • cine iaste credincios și drept, să alarge ca
 who.NOM is believer.M and right.M SĂ_{SUBJ} run.SUBJ.3SG for
 să auză ce zice David (AD.1722–5: 65)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} hear.SUBJ.3SG what says David.NOM
 ‘let him who is a true believer run to hear what David says’
 • Cine va vrea să le creadă,
 who AUX.FUT.3SG want.INF SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.ACC.F.3PL believe.SUBJ.3SG
 bine va fi, iar cine nu le va
 good AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF and who not CL.ACC.F.3PL AUX.FUT.3SG
 crede, iarăși bine va fi (NL.~1750–66: 5)
 believe.INF again good AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF
 ‘if anyone shall want to believe them, it shall be well, but if anyone shall not believe them, it will still be well’

- b. ● De sânt această lucruri creștinești, zică
whether be.PRES.3PL these.F.NOM things Christian.F.PL tell.SUBJ.3SG
cine are Dumnezeu (AD.1722–5: 26)
who has God.ACC
‘let him who believes in God tell whether these are Christian things’
● Vă știți noi **cine** sânteți (NL.~1750–66: 79)
CL.ACC.2PL know.PRES.1PL we who be.PRES.2PL
‘we know who you are’
- (38’) ● Ferecat **cui** nu va socoti Dumnezeu
blessed.m.nom who.DAT not AUX.FUT.3SG count.INF Lord.NOM
păcatele (CPr.1566: 231)
sins.DEF.ACC
‘Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin’
● tropariul svântului **a** **cui** este
troparion.DEF saint.GEN AL.F.SG who.GEN is
Liturgia (DDL.1679: 46)
liturgy.NOM
‘the troparion of the saint to whom the liturgy is dedicated’
- (39’) a. ● arătați-mi tabla **al** **cui**
show.IMPER.2PL=CL.DAT.1SG tablet.DEF AL.M.SG who.GEN
chip are și scriptură (CT.1560–1: 167^r)
face.GEN has also scripture.ACC
‘show me the tablet of a saint who has also a scripture’
● doao țăr supt **a** **cui** ascultare
two.F countries under AL.F.SG who.GEN obedience.ACC
să va da omul (VRC.1645: 9^r)
CL.REFL.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG give.INF man.NOM
‘two countries to which the man will give obedience’
b. **ai** **cui** era banii, el
AL.M.PL who.GEN be.PS.3PL money.NOM he.NOM
vânduse tot ce avuse (FD.1592–604: 539^r)
sell.PLUPERF.3SG all what have.PLUPERF.3SG
‘he who had the money had sold everything he owned’
- (41’) a. ● Cumu-i de rândul acestui om **de**
how=is of turn this.DAT.M man who
au venit la casa noastră? (Sind.1703: 88^r)
AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE at house.ACC our.F.SG
‘what is it with this man who came to our house?’
● preot iaste acela **de** te
priest.NOM is that.M who CL.ACC.2SG

ispoveduiaste (AD.1722–5: 55)

shrives

‘priest is that one who shrives you’

• ei au fost pricina **de**
 they.NOM AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE reason.DEF that
 s-au rădicat ienicerii (PIst.~1780: 269)
 CL.REFL.ACC.3PL=AUX.PERF.3PL raise.PPLE janissaries.DEF.NOM
 ‘they were the reason that the janissaries revolted’

- b. numele ei cel preacinstit ce
 name.DEF her.GEN CEL.M.SG worshipped.M.SG which
 i s-au dăruit,
 CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL.PASS.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG give.PPLE
 de să numeaște Mariam (AD.1722–5: 18)
 that CL.REFL.ACC.3SG call.PRES.3SG Mariam
 ‘her most worshipful name that was bestowed on her, which is Mariam’
 • s-au arătat o stea
 CL.REFL.PASS.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG show.PPLE a star.NOM
 pe cer cu coadă, **de**
 on sky.acc with tail.acc which
 s-au vădzut multe
 CL.REFL.PASS.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG see.PPLE many.F
 dzile (NL.~1750–66: 81)
 days
 ‘a star with a tail appeared in the sky, which was seen for many days’

- (43’) că numai singură dreptatea iaste ✓
 that only alone justice.DEF.NOM is
 de-i face cinstiț la norod (AD.1722–5: 86)
 that=CL.ACC.M.3PL makes praised.M.PL to people.ACC
 ‘it is only justice that makes them praised by the people’

- (45’) a. • Cain și toți **câți** vor naște din
 Cain and all.M how.many.M AUX.FUT.3PL be.born.INF of
 voi (A.1620: 13^v)
 you.PL.ACC
 ‘Cain and all those who will be born from you’
 • au spus toate **câte** i
 AUX.PERF.3SG tell.PPLE all which CL.DAT.3SG
 s-au întâmplat (Bert.1774: 204)
 CL.REFL.IMPERS=AUX.PERF.3PL happen.PPLE
 ‘he told everything that happened to him’
 b. • Muiarea legată a legiei în **câtă**
 woman.DEF.NOM bound A_{DAT} law.DAT in how.much

vreamea va trăi bărbatul
 time.DEF.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG live.INF husband.DEF.NOM
 ei (CPr.1566: 305)
 her.GEN

‘the woman bound by law to her husband for as long as he will live’

• Deci, câte poame face, toate pre apă
 so how.many.F fruits.ACC yields all.F on water
 să duce (AA.1708: 69^r)
 CL.REFL.3SG go.PRES.3PL
 ‘so, however much fruit it yields, it will all be waste’

- (47’) a. • Și toate rabdă, oarece-i fac (FD.1592–604: 598^v)
 and all.F endures whatever=CL.3SG do
 ‘and he endures whatever they do to him’

• Oaricarele va chema numele Domnului,
 whichever.DEF AUX.FUT.3SG call.INF name.DEF.ACC God.GEN
 să va mântui (AD.1722–5: 178)
 CL.REFL.ACC.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG save.INF
 ‘Whosoever calls God’s name will be saved’

- b. • Blăstemat e tot omul vare cine nu ține toate
 cursed.M is all man.DEF.NOM whoever not keeps all.F
 porâncile sale (CM.1567: 264^r)
 commands.DEF His.F.PL

‘Cursed is any man who does not obey all His commands’

• Vare cine va creade, ispăsit va
 whoever AUX.FUT.3SG believe.INF saved.M.PPLE AUX.FUT.3SG
 fi (CC¹.1567: 101^r)
 be.INF

‘whosoever has faith will be saved’

• Varece veți lega pre pământ fi-vor
 whatever AUX.FUT.2PL bind.INF on Earth be.INF=AUX.FUT.3PL
 legate în ceriu (NT.1648: 22^v)
 bind.PPLE.F.PL in heaven.ACC

‘whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven’

- c. • vare în ce chip amu greșit, (...)
 ever in what way AUX.PERF.1SG sin.PPLE
 lasu-mă vinovatu dumnedzăiiei
 leave.PRES.1SG=CL.REFL.ACC.1SG guilty.M.SG godness.POL.DAT
 tale (CM.1567: 231^v)
 your.SG

‘However I have sinned, I leave myself to be judged by You’

• Vare în ce oraș au sat veți
 ever in what city.ACC or village.ACC AUX.FUT.2PL

întra, întrebați cine iaste într-însa
 enter.INF inquire.IMP.2PL who is in=it.F.ACC
 harnic (NT.1648: 13^v)
 hard.working.M.SG.NOM

‘whatever city or village you enter, enquire who is worthy in it’
 • Că oare prin ce țară vor călca
 that ever through what country.ACC AUX.FUT.3PL step.INF
 urmele picioarelor voastre, voao
 footprints.DEF.NOM legs.GEN your.PL.GEN you.PL.DAT
 o voi da (PI.~1650: 240^r)
 CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.FUT.1SG give.INF
 ‘that through whichever land the sole of your foot treads I shall give to you’

- (48’) a. • Și acolo este multă vindecare betegilor de toate
 and there is much cure ill.people.DEF.GEN of every
 bolile, cine ar merge acolo (CZB.1675–76: 65)
 illness.PL.DEF who AUX.COND.3SG go.INF there
 ‘And any ill people who will go there will find great healing of all their ills’
 • ce veri vrea aceea-ț voi
 what AUX.FUT.2SG want.INF that=CL.DAT.2SG AUX.FUT.1SG
 face (AA.1708: 69^r)
 do.INF

‘I will do to you what(ever) you want me to’

- b. • Adevăr, adevăr grăiesc voao,
 truth.ACC truth.ACC speak.PRES.1SG you.DAT.PL
 cât să ați ceare de la Părintele
 how.much SĂ_{SUBJ} AUX.COND.2PL ask.INF from Father.DEF.ACC
 în numele mieu, da-va
 in name.DEF.ACC my give.INF=AUX.FUT.3SG
 voao (CT.1560–1: 43^v)
 you.PL

‘Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give you’

- Și i-au și făcut ajutor
 and CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3PL at.once do.PPLE help.ACC
 cât au putut (PIst.~1780: 332)
 how.much AUX.PERF.3PL can.PPLE
 ‘and at once they gave him as much help as they could’

9.2.2.2 Adverbial wh-words

- (49’) a. • mă pusără acolo unde-m arătară
 CL.ACC.1SG put.PS.3PL there where=CL.DAT.1SG show.PS.3PL

locul acei luminați (DVS.1682–6: 47^f)

place.DEF.ACC those.M saints.NOM

‘they put me where those saints showed me’

• căci **unde** iaste muncă, nu iaste viață, ce
for where is torment.NOM not is life.NOM but

moarte (CD.1698: 185)

death.NOM

‘for where there is torment, there is no life but but death’

• au venit bărbatul muierii **de**
AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE man.NOM woman.DEF.GEN from

unde au fost dus (Sind.1703: 84^v)

where AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE gone.M.SG

‘the woman’s husband came from where he had gone’

b. la locul **unde** sta înaintea
at place.DEF.ACC where stay.IMPERF.3SG before

Domnului (BB.1688: 13)

God.DEF.GEN

‘to the place where he stood before God’

• din peștera muntelui **de unde** era
from cave.DEF.ACC mountain.DEF.GEN from where be.IMPERF.3PL

ascunși (DVS.1682–6: 16^f)

hide.PPLE.M.PL

‘from the cave where they had been hiding’

• au lovitu la cortu **unde**
aux.perf.3pl hit.PPLE at tent.DEF.ACC where

odihniia (CLM.1700–50: 171^v)

rest.IMPERF.3SG

‘they hit the tent where he was resting’

c. • te voiui feri **care încătruo** veri
CL.ACC.2SG AUX.FUT.1SG protect who where.to AUX.FUT.2SG

merge (PO.1582: 95)

go.INF

‘I will protect you wherever you go’

• pe supt munți, **încotro** să bejenise
on under mountains.ACC where.to CL.REFL.3SG flee.PLUPERF.3SG

toată Țara Muntenească (CLM.1700–50: 213^v)

all.F Wallachia

‘up to the mountains, where all Wallachia had fled’

• ș-au trecut muntele, **dincotro**
and=AUX.PERF.3SG cross.PPLE mountain.ACC where.from

vinisă, înapoi (NL.~1750–66: 355)

come.PLUPERF.3SG back

‘and they crossed the mountains, back to where they came from’

- d. la locul **iuo** au stătut picioarele
 at place.ACC where AUX.PERF.3PL stay.PPLE feet.DEF.NOM
 lui (PH.1500–10: 113^v)
 his
 ‘at the place where his feet stood’
 • stătu desupra **io** era coconul (CC¹.1567: 213^f)
 stay.PS.3SG above where be.PS.3SG child.DEF.NOM
 ‘and stood over where the young child was’
 • și întrebă de-nșii, **iuo** e Hristos
 and ask.PS.3SG of=them where is Christ.NOM
 să nască (CC².1581: 499)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} be.born.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘and he enquired of them where the Christ was to be born’
- (50’) a. • Și, **când** va vedea arme (...) atunci degrabă
 and when AUX.FUT.3SG see.INF weapons then quickly
 va fugi de la noi (Ev.1642: 15)
 AUX.FUT.3SG run.away.INF from us
 ‘and when he sees the weapons, then he will quickly flee from us’
 • aceasta o am zis **când**
 this.NOM CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.PERF.1SG say.PPLE when
 m-am făcut mitropolit (AD.1722–5: 3)
 CL.REFL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.1SG make.PPLE metropolitan.NOM
 ‘I said this when I became metropolitan’
- b. • și se spământă Zahariia
 and CL.REFL.3SG scare.PS.3SG Zaharia.NOM
unde-l văzu (CT.1560–1: 110^v)
 where=CL.ACC.M.3SG see.PS.3SG
 ‘and Zaharia took fright when he saw him’
 • Ce **unde** pipăi de poalele vășmântului lui,
 and where feel.PS.3SG of hems.ACC garment.GEN his
 în acela ceasu se vindecă (CC¹.1567: 19^v)
 in that hour CL.REFL.3SG heal.PS.3SG
 ‘and when he touched the hem of his garment, that moment he was healed’
- d. • **în ce zi** fu lovit, într-acea zi
 in what day be.PS.3SG hit.PPLE in=that.F day.ACC
 muri (MC.1620: 118^v)
 die.PS.3SG
 ‘on the day he was struck, on that day he died’
 • **în ce ceas** să botează omul,
 in what hour CL.REFL.ACC.3SG baptize.PRES.3SG man.NOM
 rămâne slobod de păcatul născutului celui
 stays free.M of sin.DEF.ACC born.DEF.GEN CEL.GEN
 dentâi (CÎ.1678: 79^v)

first.M

‘when a man is baptized, he is freed from the first man’s sin’

• **în ce zi** veți mânca dentr-însul,
 in what day AUX.FUT.2PL eat.INF from=him.ACC
 cu moarte veți muri (BB.1688: 2)
 with death.ACC AUX.FUT.2PL die.INF
 ‘on the day you will of his flesh you shall die’

(51’) a.

• voi să lăsaț să fie **cum**
 you.PL.NOM SA_{SUBJ} let.SUBJ.2PL SA_{SUBJ} be.SUBJ.3SG how
 ați tocmit (DÎ.1600: XXXI)
 AUX.PERF.2PL settle.PPLE
 ‘let it happen as you settled it’

• purta pre împăratul **cumu-i**
 fool.IMPERF.3SG DOM empererror.DEF.ACC how=CL.DAT.3SG
 era lui voia (MC.1620: 108^r)
 be.IMPERF.3SG him.DAT will.NOM
 ‘he used to fool the emperor as he wished’

b.

• **Încă precum** ispitescu argintul și
 moreover as.how harden.PRES.3PL silver.DEF.NOM and
 aurul în foc, **așa** să
 gold.DEF.NOM in fire.ACC so CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
 ispitescu și oamenii în
 harden.PRES.3PL also people.DEF.NOM in
 năpăști (FD.1592–604: 280)
 plague.ACC

‘as silver and gold harden in fire, the same with people, in hard times’

• **Iară precum** izbândeale dintâiu a mulți
 and as.how victories.DEF.NOM first A_{DAT} many.M.DAT
 au fostu mai pre urmă spre scădere,
 AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE more after to decrease.ACC
așea și acestui domnu, lui Mihai
 so also this.M.DAT ruler.DAT LUI.DAT Mihai
 vodă (CLM.1700–50: 48)
 voivode.DAT

‘and as happened to many of them, whose first victories have begun to fade, in the end, the same happened to Mihai-voivode’

e.

• acmu știu că **cât** să
 now know.PRES.1SG that how.much SA_{SUBJ}
 ai ceare de la Dumnezeu dă-ți
 AUX.COND.2SG ask.INF from God give.PRES.3SG=CL.DAT.2SG
 ție Dumnezeu (CT.1560–1: 210^v)
 you.DAT God.NOM

‘But I know, that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee’

• **Cât** domnul iubește pre robul
 however.much God.NOM loves DOM servant.DEF.ACC
 lui, atâta se cade
 his so.much CL.REFL.IMPERS.3SG ought.PRES.3SG
 să-l aibă de frică (FD.1592–604: 536^f)
 SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.M.3SG have.SUBJ.3SG of fear.ACC

‘however much a master may love his servant, he should still be feared by him’

- (52’) a. • și **oareunde-l** ajunge,
 and wherever=CL.ACC.M.3SG reaches
 trânteaște-l (CC².1581: 78)

knocks.down=CL.ACC.M.3SG

‘wherever he may find him, he will knock him down’

• **oriunde** merge Hristos, merg și ei
 wherever goes Christ.NOM go.PRES.3SG also they.M
 după dânsul (CÎ.1678: 90^r)
 after him.ACC

‘wherever Christ may go, they go as well’

- c. • să se milostivească pre noi și pre
 SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.3SG mercy.SUBJ.3SG on us.ACC and on
 ceastă săracă de țeară **oricum** va
 this.F poor.F.ACC of country however AUX.FUT.3SG
 putea domniului (DÎ.1599: XVIII)
 can.INF he.POL.NOM

‘let him be merciful to us and to this poor country, however much he would’

• să să desfăteze (...) **oricum** le
 SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.3SG rejoice.SUBJ.3PL however CL.DAT.3PL
 vor fi voia (Filerot.1837: 22)
 AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF will.NOM

‘may they rejoice, however they will want’

- d. **oricât** mi-au fost
 however CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE
 de rău (DPV.1673: 153^r)
 of bad

‘however bad it felt’

- e. • **de câte ori** păcătuesc, de atâtea ori
 of how.many times sin.PRES.3PL of many times
 să tipăreaște în sufletul lor
 CL.REFL.ACC.3PL print.PRES.3PL in soul.ACC their.GEN
 rane de moarte (AD.1722–5: 167)
 wounds.NOM of death.ACC

‘as often as they sin, so often deadly wounds are cut in their souls’

• **din câte** **ori** cere să să
 from how.many times asks SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
 învrednicească a lua (Bert.1774: 24^r)
 vouchsafe.SUBJ.3SG A_{INF} take.INF
 ‘whenever he asks, let him be worthy to take’

9.2.3 Special types of relative clauses

9.2.3.1 Infinitival relatives and modal existential constructions

- (53’) a. • **n-avea** **ei** **ce** mânca (CÎ.1678: 17^r)
 not=have.IMPERF.3PL they.NOM what eat.INF
 ‘they had nothing to eat’
- **ca** **să** **nu** **aibă** **cu** **ce** **să**
 for SĂ_{SUBJ} not have.SUBJ.3SG with what CL.REFL.3SG
 hrăni (AD.1722–5: 33)
 feed.INF
 ‘for them to have nothing to feed themselves’
- **n-au** **avut** **ce** **mai**
 not=AUX.PERF.3SG have.PPLE what more
 răspunde (NL.~1750–66: 35)
 answer.INF
 ‘he had no answer to give’
- **neavând** **ce** **face** **cu** **acei** **tâlhari** **nebuni**,
 not.have.GER what do.INF with those thieves mad.M.PL
 le-au făgăduit **să** **le**
 CL.DAT.3PL=AUX.PERF.3SG promise.PPLE SA_{SUBJ} CL.DAT.3PL
 dea bani (PIst.~1780: 366)
 give.SUBJ.3SG money.ACC
 ‘not having anything to do with those mad thieves, he promised them to give them money’
- b. • **să** **n-aibă** **unde** **veni**
 SĂ_{SUBJ} not=have.SUBJ.3SG where come.INF
 după mene (DÎ.1595–1625: XIV)
 after me
 ‘not having anywhere to come after me’
- a **scăpa** **n-au** **unde** (Ev.1642: 73)
 A_{INF} flee.INF not=have.PRES.3PL where
 ‘they have nowhere to flee’
- **neavându** **încătro** **lua** (CLM.1700–50: 292^v)
 not.have.GER where.to take.INF
 ‘not having anywhere to go’

- n-are **pre** **unde** merge (NL.~1750–66: 50)
 not=has on where go.INF
 ‘he has nowhere to go’
- c. • n-au avut **cu** **cine** merge (NL.~1750–66: 75)
 not=AUX.PERF.3SG have.PPLE with who go.INF
 ‘he had nobody to go with’
- n-avea **cine-i** goni (NL.~1750–66: 129)
 not=AUX.IMPERF.IMPERS.3SG who=CL.ACC.3PL send.away.INF
 ‘there was no one to send them away’
- (54’) a. • n-are **cum** **să** nu asculte
 not=have.IMPERS.3SG how SĂ_{SUBJ} not listen.SUBJ.3SG
 Dumnezeu (CC¹.1567: 65^r)
 God.NOM
 ‘God cannot possibly not listen’
- n-are **cum** aimintrea **să** facă (FD.1592–604: 565^r)
 not=have.3SG how otherwise SĂ_{SUBJ} do.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘he cannot do otherwise’
- doamna nu mai avea **ce** **să** mai
 lady.NOM not more have.IMPERF.3SG what SĂ_{SUBJ} more
 facă (PIst.~1780: 364)
 do.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘the lady had nothing further to do’

9.2.3.2 Multiple relatives

- (55’) a. • **de lacine** **ce** au luat cu nedreptul, cu
 from who what AUX.PREF.3SG take.PPLE with unjust.DEF.ACC with
 4 părți au plătit aceaea mai
 four parts.ACC AUX.PERF.3SG pay.PPLE that.ACC more
 mult (CÎ.1678: 82^v)
 much
 ‘he payed four times more for whatever he unlawfully took from the others’
- co-cei bani, au astupat gureli
 with=those money.ACC AUX.PERF.3SG fill.PPLE mouths.ACC
 tutoror, **cine** **ce** cerea (NL.~1750–66: 124)
 all.DAT who what ask.IMPERF.3SG
 ‘with those money he filled everybody’s mouth, by giving anyone whatever they asked for’
- b. • Așijderea mă rog și tuturor
 same CL.REFL.ACC.1SG prey.PRES.1SG also all.DAT
 creștinilor **cui** **ce** voiu fi
 Christians.DAT who.DAT what.ACC AUX.FUT.1SG be.INF

