Verb Movement in the Moldavian Chronicles: A Criterial analysis

1. Introduction

This paper aims to identify the level of verb movement in Early

Modern Romanian (EMR) declarative and interrogative clauses.

The data indicate two positions for such movement – one

associated with the IP/TP domain, and one situated at a higher

level, in the CP field. We identify the latter as Focus, and confirm

that the former corresponds to T, as has already been argued in

current studies for Modern Romanian (MR). We argue that

movement of V-to-Foc(us) is discourse driven, being obligatory in

the presence of a base-generated operator in Spec,FocP in order to

satisfy a Spec-Head configuration (i.e. the Criterial requirement).

The diachronic change is attributed to the deficient evidence the

learners had for retrieving this Criterial condition since V-to-Foc

was restricted to null (versus overt) operators.

1.1 Data

Romanian chronicles written between 1642-1750 attest to a

flexible word order in indicative clauses, where both finite and

non-finite verb stems can occur lower or higher at the left

periphery of the clause. The reference point for assessing the level of verb movement is the position of clitic clusters (pronouns and auxiliaries). Considering that such clitics are in T (e.g. Kayne 1991), this shows V(erb) movement above T when the verb displays enclitics, as in (1) and (2), and the verb in T or lower when it display proclitics, as in (3).[1] In MR, the order in (3) is productive, the order in (1) is outdated and/or restricted to sub-standard expressions, and the order in (2) has completely disappeared.

(1)    EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 153)

făcutu-le-s-au         oboroace      tuturor de la domnie

made-them-REFL-has  benefits      all.DAT of from throne

'Benefits have been granted to all from the Throne.'

(2)    EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 120)

Cunoşti-mă    pre mine,     au ba?

know.2SG-me  DOM me      or not

'Do you recognize me or not?'

(3)    EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 115)

S-au          tîmplat      de     au murit     ficiorul

REFL-has     happened   that   has died   son.the

Radului-vodă

Radu.GEN-king

'It happened that king Radu's son died.'

On the basis of data as in (1) to (3), we aim to identify the level

and the trigger of verb movement in EMR declaratives and

interrogatives, as well as the parametric change towards MR.

1.2 Corpus

The corpus we use for this paper consists of the three Moldavian

chronicles (*letopiseţe moldoveneşti*) whose texts have been

integrally preserved: (i) Grigore Ureche's chronicle written

between 1642-1647 (we use the Panaitescu 1958 edition); (ii)

Miron Costin's chronicle published in 1675 (we use the Panaitescu

1979 edition); and (iii) Ion Neculce's chronicle begun after 1732

(we use the Iordan 1955 edition). These texts provide narratives

written directly in Romanian and all display the variation

illustrated in (1) to (3).[2]

The combined texts of the three chroniclers amount to a

corpus of 259,536 words, generating 9,497 sentences. The

exploitation of this corpus for the purpose of generative diachronic

syntax is facilitated by the existence of detailed studies in

Romanian historical linguistics that guide us in weighing the

relevance of our data (e.g. Chivu and Gheţie 1997, Frâncu 2009,

Todi 2001). In particular, these studies determine scholastic influences and point out syntactic patterns that a chronicler may have transferred from Slavonic or Latin, and are, thus, not relevant to EMR syntax.

2. Theoretical Background: Romance diachrony and cartography

There are three major theoretical approaches to V-movement to the left periphery in Romance diachrony (Old to Early Modern Romance) discussed below: (i) Verb second (V2), (ii) L(ong) H(ead) M(ovement), and (iii) Criterial V-movement.

V2 is a main clause phenomenon where C has a property that obligatorily triggers I-to-C movement (finite V or auxiliary), as well as the presence of a constituent in Spec,CP. This property of C has been identified as a [+finite] feature (Rivero 1993), since non-finite verbs are ruled out, or as an Infl-feature (Platzack 1987; Holmberg and Platzack 1995, a.o.). Benincà (1983/84, 1989) extends the V2 analysis to all the languages of Old Romance. Several studies have implemented this proposal on individual languages (e.g., Fontana 1993 for Old Spanish; Ribeiro 1995 for Old Portuguese) and further developed the understanding of the triggers and the parametric changes involved in the loss of V2 (Roberts 1993).

In LHM, it is the non-finite verb stem (infinitive or past participle) that moves across a finite auxiliary to the CP domain. Since this movement occurs exclusively in root clauses in the presence of clitics and absence of an XP (constituent) in CP, its trigger is the requirement that clitic pronouns have a lexical host. This is an implementation of the second position clitics phenomenon known as Wackernagel's (1892) law. Rivero (1993 and previous work) argues that Old Romance languages with non-restricted null subjects display LHM, while V2 applies in languages with restricted or absent null subjects (e.g., Old French). LHM as a reflection of second position clitics has been discussed for Romance languages in Roberts (1994) and has been implemented mainly for South and West Slavic, where LHM is still operative (but see Embick and Izvorski 1995 for a different justification).

A Criterial requirement is a structural constraint on Specifier-Head relations, where Spec has an operator feature it shares with its head in a bi-unique feature checking relation (Brody 1990, 1995, Horvath 1995, and Rizzi 1997, 2006). The operator features are [wh], [neg] or [focus]. Cruschina and Sitaridou (2010) resort to this approach to explain the peculiarity of Old Romance languages in encoding the information structure at the clausal left periphery. They argue that [focus] is a feature of V, so feature

checking within FocusP triggers V-to-Focus.  This movement mimics V2, but may also result in V1 or V3, and does not respond to the same triggers. This analysis echoes the findings on Old Catalan in Fischer (2003), who identifies a ΣP with Criterial requirements (where Σ has an emphatic affirmation), so that V movement targets Σ, a head within C. This new approach explicitly contests the V2 foundation of verb movement as well as the second position clitic requirement in Old Romance.

Crucially, in the Criterial approach, V-to-C movement is triggered by a syntactically encoded discourse feature present in the derivation. Conversely, in V2 and LHM, the trigger for V-to-C movement is not primarily a discourse feature but some other requirement (an Infl/[+finite] specification for C, as in V2, or the presence of clitics, as in LHM), despite potential XP discourse movement (as with V2).

EMR is not present in these discussions or is marginally mentioned. Benincà (1989) considers the first written Romanian texts too late to attest to V2, compared to the timing of this change in Italian dialects and French. However, Rivero (1993) includes Romanian in her typology, the argument being that LHM (or V2 for Benincà) is healthy in 16th and 17th century Portuguese. Since our EMR texts date from roughly the same time and, crucially, since the contrast between the level of V-movement in EMR

versus MR is visible and well documented, a discussion of EMR facts is both long due and necessary for a better understanding of both Romance typology and Romanian diachrony.

In light of this theoretical background, our analysis must verify if EMR verb movement shows a V2, a LHM, or a Criterial pattern. In sum, for V2, the word order is XP (constituent) > V, except in *yes-no* questions, where Spec,CP is filled by a null operator. For LHM, the word order is V > (clitics)-Aux > XP. LHM is in complementary distribution with any other constituent that could provide support to second position clitics. In particular, LHM does not co-occur with fronting to Topic. For the Criterial configuration, the order may be V1, V2, V3, depending on how many constituents with topic or focus reading are fronted, if any. The high location of the verb is expected to be in complementary distribution with negation, either because V moves to the "affirmation" head as in Fischer (2003), or because negation is a head that blocks V-to-C. These typological patterns will serve as assessment criteria for the analysis of verb movement in EMR. Furthermore, in order to accommodate varied material in the left periphery, we assume the cartographic framework (Belletti 2008, Rizzi 1997 and further work), with the hierarchy in (4). [3]

(4)      ForceP > TopP > FocusP$_{contrast}$ > (ModP) > FinP > TP >

FocusP$_{info}$ > vP

EMR matrix clauses project to the level of ForceP. An indication in this respect comes from the location of the relative *care* 'which' used for making transitions in the narrative (Frâncu 2009: 236), as in (5a). This element precedes both topic and contrastive focus (5b), and is, therefore, in Force, on a par with its regular use in subordinate contexts (5c).

(5) a EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 113)

| **Care acest dar** | | n-au | fost | nici | de un |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| which this gift | | not-has | been | none | of a |
| folos | ţărîi | | | | |
| use | country.DAT | | | | |

'Which gift was of no use for the country.'

b EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 118)

| **Careli** | [$_{TopP}$ după acèe] | [$_{FocP}$ multă milă] |
|---|---|---|
| which.the | after that | much pity |
| au | avut | de la | Cantacozineşti. |
| has | had | of from | Cantacuzins |

'Who, after that, had a lot of protection from the Cantacuzins.'

c EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 163)

| Aşè | au | început | a | o | apuca |
|------|------|---------|------|------|-------|
| so | have | started | to | her | grab |

| datornicii, […] | ş-a | o | jăcui, | **care** | [FocP cum] |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| lenders.the | and-to | her | pilfer | which | how |

putè

could

'So the lenders started to harass her […] and pilfer her,

each in every way they could.'

Therefore, the word order allows us to establish that,

hypothetically, if V2 applied to EMR, V-to-C would be translated

as V-to-Force (versus V-to Fin). In the same vein, since V2

competes with LHM, V-to-C in LHM must also target Force

versus Fin. This is the only way to unify the hierarchy in (4) with

the V-to-C hypothesis, where there is one pre-verbal XP in V2

constructions (i.e, Spec, ForceP) and in LHM − the latter also

banning any pre-verbal topic or focus constituents when V is in C

(i.e., higher than TopP/FocusP).

3. Modern Romanian

EMR and MR contrast in the level of verb movement for

constructions like (1) and (2), but not (3). Other aspects of word

order are not significantly different. Both grammars are pro-drop

and have flexible word order, mostly VSO/SVO. The various word orders are the result of XP movement for discourse related purposes (Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000, Motapanyane 2000). This allows the modern speaker to have reliable grammatical judgments when it comes to the interpretation of clauses with constituent fronting, irrespective of verb placement.

The standard analysis for MR is that, in both declarative and interrogative clauses, V-movement targets the highest head in the TP/IP (Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000, Hill 1995 a.o.). Accordingly, in declaratives, dislocated constituents precede the finite verb and subjects may either precede or follow, as in (6).

(6)　　La mare,　　　(Mioara/cineva)　　l-a

　　　at sea　　　　Mioara/someone　　him-has

　　　cazat　　　　　　(Mioara/cineva)

　　　accommodated　　　Mioara/someone

　　　la hotel.

　　　in hotel

　　　'At the sea resort, Mioara/someone put him up in a hotel.'

In root interrogatives, (7a), and constructions with overt movement to contrastive focus, (7b), topics are possible but pre-verbal subjects are not.

(7) a  La mare,        unde  (*Mioara)      l-a

at sea              where  Mioara          him-has

cazat    (Mioara)?

put.up   Mioara

'At the sea resort, where did Mioara put him up?'

b  La mare         pe Ion        (*Mioara)       l-a

at  sea           DOM Ion         Mioara            him-has

cazat   (Mioara),        nu      pe Nicu.

put.up  Mioara           not     DOM Nicu

'At the sea resort, it is Ion Mioara put up, not Nicu.'


The subjects in (7) are arguably in-situ, in Spec,VP/vP

(Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Motapanayne 1989). From a minimalist

perspective, Alboiu (2002) and Hill (2002) derive the restriction on

pre-verbal subjects in (7) by associating the [focus] feature with T.

Hence, subjects are precluded because Spec,TP is now the scope

position for the needed operator, instead of being argumental.[4]

An important observation regarding the word order in (6)

and (7) is that the weak pronouns are proclitic on the verb, in

declarative and interrogative clauses alike. Considering that clitics

are located in T (Kayne 1991, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, for MR) or, as

Clitic Phrases, high in the TP field (Sportiche 1995), the location

of V is stable in T, so lower than the information structure field in CP. In the cartographic framework, focused operators would further move from Spec,TP to Spec,FocusP, but the verb in T would only enter an 'Agree' relationship (Chomsky 1998 et seq) with the Focus head.

Beside weak pronouns, auxiliaries also qualify as clitics taking the verb as their lexical host. Thus, the verb and the auxiliary cannot be separated by XP constituents, see (8a), and clitic pronouns procliticize on the auxiliary, (8b).

(8) a   (Mioara)     a     (*Mioara)     venit.

     Mioara     has    Mioara     come

     'Mioara has come.'

   b   Mioara i         le-a       dat.

     Mioara    to.him/her    them-has     given

     'Mioara has given them to him/her.'

Negation, on the other hand, is a free morpheme, that can stand by itself as an answer to a question, see (9a). Hierarchically, sentential Neg(ation) selects TP in Romance (Zanuttini 1997): Neg > T. Thus, negation in MR precedes the entire [clitics > Aux > V] string, as seen in (9).

(9) a  Q:  N-a              plecat?

           not-has          left

           'Hasn't he left?'

    A:     Nu.

           'No.'

   b  nu   [i           le-a          dat].

      not  to.him/her   them-has      given

      'She/he did not give them to him/her.'

Isac and Jakab (2004) detail the syntactic head behavior of negation in MR imperative clauses. In (10a), linearization points to finite V-movement from T to Fin/Mood, but this movement is blocked in (10b), where Neg moves to Fin instead.

(10) a  Du-te!

     Go.IMP-2SG

     Go!

   b  Nu    te     du(*-te)!

      not   2SG    go.IMP-2SG

      'Don't go!'

Importantly, the presence of negation blocks V-movement to C in MR and we show that the same holds of EMR.

This brief overview of MR shows consistent proclisis in declarative and interrogative clauses, so V-movement is always low (i.e., V-to-T), whereas, in the same environments, EMR displays two concurrent patterns: one as in MR seen in (3) with proclitics, the other as in (1)-(2) with enclitics, hence V-movement to C. The next two sections discuss EMR V-movement in declarative and in interrogative clauses, respectively.

4. EMR Declarative Clauses

Crucially, V-raising in EMR declaratives is that it occurs either to T or to C, and that V-movement to C is orthogonal to Wackernagel's law or equivalent constraints on clitics.

Recall that the Moldavian chronicles display two patterns for verb placement in matrix declarative clauses: one higher than in MR, as seen in (1), where the verb precedes the clitics; the other as in MR, with clitics before the verb, (3). For clarification, we show more examples in (11)-(12).

(11) a   EMR (Neculce *apud* Iord1955: 174)

| **Ieşitu-le-au** | Suleman-paşe | sarascherul |
|---|---|---|
| go.PTCP-them-has | Suleman-pasha | governor.the |
| înainte | | |
| in.front | | |

'Governor Suleiman Pasha came in front of them'

b EMR (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 67)

| **Află-să** | această ţară | să | fie | fostu | lăcuit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| happens-REFL | this country | SBJV | have | been | lived |

| şi | alţii | într-însa… |
|---|---|---|
| and | other | in-it |

'It happens that others have also lived in this country.'

(12) a EMR (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 99)

| **Au luat** | Stefan vodă | cetatea | Teleajanului… |
|---|---|---|---|
| has take.PTCP | Stefan king | fort.the | Teleajan.GEN |

'King Stefan took the Teleajan fort…'

b EMR (Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 9)

| **Îi** | **trimisăsă** | împărăţiia | şi |
|---|---|---|---|
| to.him/her | sent | empire.the | and |

| steagul | cu tuiuri | de Muldova… |
|---|---|---|
| flag.the | with symbols | of Moldova |

'The Empire also sent him the flag with symbols (horse tails) for Moldova'

In (11a), the verb stem is non-finite, as with LHM, and clitics are post-verbal, so the verb fronts to C. In (11b), clitics are equally post-verbal, the verb form is finite, as for V2, but there is no overt constituent preceding the verb. In (12), the clitics are pre-verbal,

signaling that the verb stays in T. The EMR auxiliary has clitic status and belongs to the clitic cluster on V, being enclitic or proclitic.[5] Finite V-to-C movement in declaratives is rare in the Moldavian chronicles, but quite frequent in contemporary chronicles from the South (Todi 2001: 123). It is unclear whether this reflects a dialectal difference or whether the general narrative tense (past) offers less opportunity for using present, non-complex, forms in the Moldavian chronicles.

The major justification for LHM is assumed to be the second position requirement on clitics (Rivero 1993 and previous work). Accordingly, examples as in (11a) would indicate that this requirement applied to EMR and has been lost in MR. This is indeed the official line adopted in historical studies on Romanian (e.g., Frâncu 2009: 228). In this light, the Moldavian chronicles would attest to a transitional period, where both LHM and non-LHM contexts occur with clitics. However, while in (11a) there is movement of a non-finite verb stem to C (i.e. LHM), the justification for this movement cannot be clitic related since both pronominal and auxiliary clitics can appear sentence initial, see (12). Further support for this claim follows below.

Clitic related LHM should be in complementary distribution with topicalization, as either operation could satisfy

Wackernagel's law. However, (13) shows that non-finite V-to-C

and topicalization co-occur in the chronicles.


(13)     EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 170)

[TopP Aşijdere] [TopP  la acè gilceavă]  **prins-au**

also               in that quarrel       caught-has

Fliondor        armaşul            la gazdă

Fliondor        prison.guard.the       at host

pre un grec,…

DOM a Greek

'Also, during that quarrel, Fliondor, the prison guard,

caught a Greek at the hostel,…'


   Furthermore, clitic related LHM is strictly a main clause

phenomenon. However, in EMR, LHM occurs in embedded

clauses, where it is preceded by complementizer and topic

constituents, as in (14).


(14)  EMR (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 83)

Scrie     letopiseţul     nostrum        [că      în anii  6947

writes    chronicle.the   ours           [that     in years 6947

… **intrat-au**     în ţară          oaste tătărască

… gotten-has    in country      army Tartar

'Our chronicle states that Tartar army invaded the country

in 6947.'


Lastly, (11) shows that LHM in EMR is not divorced from finite V-fronting to C. In sum, the trigger for LHM in EMR declaratives cannot be Wackernagel's law: clitics can be clause initial, both finite and non-finite V stems move to C, the phenomenon is not constrained to matrix clauses, and, even though the clauses under consideration project to the ForceP level, LHM does not target Force, since topics precede the fronted verb. Consequently, the level of V movement involves a functional C head below Force and Topic.


5. EMR Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative clauses attest to the same contrast discussed for declaratives: verb movement may target a lower, T position, as in MR, or a higher position. The distribution of the two possibilities is more systematic, and helps us to identify the triggers for higher verb movement. Wackernagel's law turns out to be as irrelevant in interrogatives as in declaratives.


5.1 *Wh*-interrogatives

*Wh*-interrogatives in EMR display the same V-movement pattern as in MR, with low, V-to-T raising; (15) shows the participle exclusively after the clitics.

(15) a   MR

Unde   l-ai                  trimis?

where   him-have.2SG send.PTCP

'Where have you sent him?''

b   *Unde trimisu-l-ai?

where   sent. PTCP -him-have.2SG

The chronicles show no exceptions to proclisis and low verb movement, with both non-finite and finite stems. (16a) shows the past participle following the auxiliary, (16b) shows an infinitive stem with a hypothetical auxiliary, and (16c) illustrates a a simple indicative present form:

(16) a   EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 201)

Şi       *pentru ce*-**i**            **triimis**       pe Moisăiu

and      for       what-have.2SG send.PTCP       DOM Moisai

cu joimiri […], şi       *pentru*            *ce*-**i**

with soldiers   and       for                   what-have.2SG

**despecetluit**   cărţile            lui Tucul-grof şi

unseal.PTCP    letters.the    to Tucul-lord  and

**i-ei**                 **omorît**        omul ?

to.him-have.2SG        kill.PTCP       man.the

'And why have you sent Moisai with his soldiers, and why

have you unsealed the letters to lord Tucul and killed his

man?

b  EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 119)

*ce*    **mi-i**                  **face**        pre mine

what    me.DAT-would        make.INF     DOM me

atunce?

then

'What would you make me then?'

c  EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 117)

*Ce*    **ţi-i**          voia,  mǎi?

what    you.DAT-is      wish   INTJ

'What is your wish, man?'


Furthermore, as in MR, topic constituents precede the

verb-clitic cluster and *wh*-phrase, see (17a). In addition, (17b)

shows that *wh*-interrogatives can be embedded under *cǎ* 'that' in

Force, as in MR free indirect speech.


(17) a  EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 261)

| De vreme | că | cei mare | nu-ş | ţinu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| of time | that | those great | not-REFL | keep |

giurămîntul, [...],     dar     [Top cei proşti] ***cum***

oath                              but     those stupid    how

**l-or          ţinè**?

it-would     keep.INF

'Since the great lords did not keep their oath, how could the

lower ranks keep it?'

b EMR (Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 132)

| Că | ***cine*** | **ari** | **putea** | să | creadză |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | who | would | could | SBJV | believe |

| în socoteală, | să | să | înfrîngă | oastea |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| in mind | SBJV | REFL | defeat | army.the |

| căzăcească | cu tabără, | de oaste | cum | ieste |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Khazack | with camp | by army | how | is |

| oastea | muntenească? |
|---|---|
| army.the | Vallachian |

'For, who would guess in their minds that an army with

camp, like the Khazacks, could be defeated by an army like

the Vallachian army?'

Assuming the mapping in (4), our data indicate the

following properties for EMR *wh*-interrogatives: (i) *wh*-movement

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targets a position that is lower than TopP and ForceP; (ii) the verb moves to T but not higher, since it only supports proclitics; and (iii) licensing of *wh*-features must take place the same way it does in MR.

5.2 *Yes-no* Interrogatives

Unlike MR, *yes-no* interrogatives in EMR require V-movement to a high, C position. Specifically, while MR displays proclitics, so the verb in T, EMR exclusively displays enclitics, so V-movement above TP. This applies uniformly to both finite and non-finite verb forms and involves every type of construction: (18a) shows the infinitive stem moving past the hypothetical auxiliary and pronoun clitic, (18b) shows fronting of a copula in the indicative present, and (18c) shows the participle stem moving across the present perfect auxiliary.

(18) a  EMR (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 182)

| **scoate-va** | | pre Dispot | din domnie, |
|---|---|---|---|
| chase.INF-FUT.3 | | DOM Despot | from throne |
| au | **sprijini-l-va** | | dispre vrăjmaşii săi? |
| or | support.INF-him- FUT.3 | | from enemies.the his |

'Should he chase Despot from the throne, or should he support him against his enemies?'

b  EMR (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 91)

| **ieste-le** | cu voie | | tuturor | să |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| is-them.DAT | with agreement | | all.DAT | SBJV |

| le | fie | domnŭ? |
|---|---|---|
| them.DAT | be | king |

'Does everybody want him to be their king?'

c  EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 293)

| **Perit-au**, | au | **fugit-au**? |
|---|---|---|
| die.PTCP-have | or | run.PTCP-have |

'Have they died or have they run away?'


Topicalized constituents may precede the fronted verbs in these contexts, see (19a). The Moldavian chronicles have no data with both clitics and topicalization in *yes-no* interrogatives, but examples exist in other texts of the same period, see (19b).


(19) a  EMR (Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 165)

| Au aşea | de neputernici ţii | | tu | pre |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| thus so | of non.strong keep.2SG | | you | DOM |

| hanii | de Crîm, …? |
|---|---|
| lords.the | of Crim |

'Is this how you keep the lords of Crimeea, so weakened…?'

b EMR (*Neagoe Basarab*-Anonymous 17th c.

*apud* Moisil and Zamfirescu 1970:134)

| Dar acuma | **ajunge-va** | credinţa | şi |
|---|---|---|---|
| but now | suffice.INF- FUT.3 | belief | and |
| judecata | cea dreapta, | au | mai |
| judgment | DEM right | or | more |
| **lungi-vom** | şi cu | alte | bunătăţi? |
| lengthen.INF- FUT.1 | and | with | other goodies |

'But now, will our faith and right judgment suffice or is there need for better proof?'

Lastly, as in MR, negation blocks high movement of the verb, yielding proclitic order, (20).

(20)    EMR (Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 65)

| Nu | **v-am** | **spus** | că | acesta |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| not | you.DAT-AUX.1SG | tell.PTCP | that | this |
| om | de boierie | nu este? | | |
| man | of lordship | not is | | |

'Haven't I told you that this man is unworthy of lordship?'

Briefly, verb fronting of both finite and non-finite stems to the CP field is obligatory in *yes-no* EMR interrogatives, while MR

disallows it. The position targeted is below TopP and occurs in complementary distribution with negation.

Summing up our observations, EMR V-movement shows the following pattern in declaratives and interrogatives: (i) it applies to both finite and non-finite verb forms; (ii) it seems to optionally target the CP field in declaratives, while it obligatorily targets the CP in *yes-no* interrogatives, and exclusively targets T in *wh*-interrogatives; (iii) when targeting C, it is to a position lower than Top; (iv) fronting to the CP field, though mainly a root phenomenon, is not incompatible with embedded clauses; and (v) fronting to the CP field is independent of requirements on clitics. The next section offers an analysis compatible with all these facts.

6. Analysis

In this section, we use the cartography in (4) to identify the level of V-movement in the CP field. We argue that V-to-C movement targets the Focus head and that the trigger for this movement is an operator that entails compliance with the Criterial requirement.

Given the V2 and LHM analyses of Old/EM Romance proposed in the literature, one would expect high V-movement in EMR to target either Force or Fin. Our data, however, invalidate this prediction. In particular, Force is excluded because V-to-C

freely co-occurs with topicalized constituents and is available with [$_{Force}$ *că*] 'that'. Fin is also excluded, as argued in the next sub-section, since high V-movement applies irrespective of grammatical mood/tense or finiteness, which indicates that the values of Fin are not involved in triggering this operation.

On the other hand, high V-movement in EMR seems to be sensitive to the type of interrogative and presence or absence of *wh*-movement and related operators. Since licensing of interrogatives involves checking of features in FocusP (Rizzi 1997), we argue for a direct relation between V-movement and features in the Focus head. This analysis adheres to the Criterial approach to V-movement proposed in Cruschina and Sitaridou (2010), where FocusP is the target for the movement. However, unlike the findings in Cruschina and Sitaridou, we show that in Romanian this Criterial (Spec-Head) requirement may be satisfied in domains other than FocusP.

6.1 Fin is Orthogonal to V-movement

Despite the fact that Romanian often shows overt marking for grammatical [mood] in Fin or V-to-Fin in the absence of specialized mood markers, we present arguments against an analysis of V-to-Fin in EMR declaratives and interrogatives.

In Romanian the [mood] feature associated with Fin is morphologically realized as a pre-verbal morpheme (i.e., *să* for subjunctive; *a* for infinitive). When present, the mood marker precedes negation and the clitic-verb string, see (21).

(21)    EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 294)

Mai    dzis-au        şi      pentru Ucraina, [...]   [Fin **să** ]

more    said-have      and     for Ukraine                   SBJV

[T **o**    **dè** ]       [Fin **să** ]       [T **o**    **ţie** ]

it      give.SBJV       SBJV            it      hold.SBJV

iar    leşii

again   Poles.the

'They also said that the Poles should rule Ukraine again.'

In the absence of the subjunctive or infinitive mood marker, V-to-Fin applies, as in (22b), unless blocked by negation, as in (22a), in which case Neg-to-Fin applies to lexicalize the subjunctive [mood] feature (Isac and Jakab 2004).

(22) a  Romanian (Mihai Eminescu, 19th century poet)

Şi     [Foc nime]      [Mod -n        urma   mea]

and    nobody          -in            behind me.GEN

[Fin **nu**] [T **-mi**        **plângă** ]        la creştet

|  | not | -me.DAT | mourn.SBJV | at head |

'And nobody mourn at my head, after I'm dead'

b  [Fin **Plângă**]    [T-**l** ]        cât    o      vrea.

mourn.SBJV    -him            how    FUT.3    want

'Let her mourn him as much as she wants.'


The above discussion is relevant to our analysis insofar as it points to the existence of a strong [mood] feature in Fin with Romanian subjunctives, infinitives, and imperatives (recall, (10)). However, this does not entail a strong [mood] feature across the board and there are several counterarguments to assuming Fin as the target for high V-movement in EMR declaratives and interrogatives.[6] The main counter-argument is that we have seen high V-movement to be constrained by clause typing. That is, this movement applies optionally in declarative clauses but obligatorily in *yes-no* interrogatives, and never with *wh*-movement. There is no principled way to relate clause-typing constraints to the requirements on [mood] checking. Second, the optionality of high V-fronting in declaratives would be difficult to account for if the [mood] feature were strong in these contexts, since a strong feature would systematically trigger movement. Lastly, the relevance of *wh*-movement on V-to-C clearly points to a conditioning by [focus] rather than [mood] features.

6.2 V-movement and the [focus] Feature

A more fruitful direction for our analysis is to capitalize on the observed relationship between Focus and high V-movement in EMR. Returning to declaratives, a careful investigation of 'optionality' reveals V-to-C to be constrained by discourse factors. Specifically, high V-fronting turns out to be in complementary distribution with contrastive Focus in Spec,FocusP, see (23).

(23) a EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 306)

Iară      Lupul vornicul      mergînd      la veziriul,

but      Lupul judge.the      going      to vizir.the

[FocP ***mult***]      **l-au**      **mustrat**

much            him-has      scold.PTCP

'When judge Lupul went to the vizir, he *really* scolded him.'

b  EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 342)

Atunce mazilind      pre veziriul,  **găsit-au**

then    exiling      DOM vizir.the  find.PTCP-have

multă avere    la dînsu

much wealth    at him

'After exiling the vizir, they found a lot of wealth at his place.'

In (23a), the contrastively focused direct object is in Spec,FocusP

and V-to-C does not apply; in this case, the verb stays in T.

However, in (23b), with no operator in Spec,FocusP, V-to-C does

apply. This word order is identical to what we have seen

throughout for *wh*-interrogatives, where V-to-C never applies in

the presence of *wh*-movement. Since both contrastive focus

fronting and *wh*-movement target the same position (i.e.,

Spec,FocusP), a systematic pattern emerges where XP movement

to Spec,FocusP prevents V-to-C.

In semantics, two major classes of focus are distinguished:

operator-based focus (e.g., contrastive focus) and non-operator

based focus (e.g., information focus). The class that is relevant to

our study concerns the operator-based focus, also involved in the

derivation of interrogatives. This class covers several types of

focus. Following Richter and Mehlhorn (2006), henceforth R&M

(2006), among others, we distinguish 'contrastive focus', which

corrects a presupposition, from 'emphatic focus', which denotes a,

"non-neutral, non-normal, non-standard, or non-factual" sequence.

In addition, contrastive focus subsumes 'verum focus' (Höhle

1992), while emphatic focus subsumes exclamatives (cf. Richter

and Melhorn 2006). *Yes-no* questions are instances of verum focus,

while *wh*-interrogatives instantiate a broader notion of Focus by

introducing alternatives (Krifka 2007).

Accordingly, we can expect the following operators to vie for Spec,FocusP in EMR: (i) OP$_{CF}$ (with contrastive focus), (ii) OP$_{EF}$ (with emphatic focus), (iii) OP$_{VF}$ (with *yes-no* questions), and (iv) OP$_{QU}$ (with *wh*-questions).

So far, we have explicitly discussed contrastive focus, *yes-no* questions and *wh*-questions, all of which showed complementary distribution between XP movement to Spec,FocusP and V-movement to Focus. We next identify emphatic focus, present only when highlighting is required (i.e. to introduce the unexpected). Examples of this type of focus are found in declarative clauses introducing events new to the narrative. Consider (24).

(24)　　EMR (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 83)

| Scrie | letopiseţul | nostru | | că | în anii | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| says | chronicle.the | ours | | that | in years | |
| 6947 | noembrie 28, | **intrat-au** | | în ţară | | oaste |
| 6947 | November 28, | enter.PTCP-has | | in country | | army |
| tătărască, | | de | **au** | **prădatu** | *şi* | |
| Tatar | | such.that | has | pillaged | and | |
| **au** | **arsu** | | până | la Botaşani | *şi* | **au** |
| has | burn.PTCP | | up.to | at Botasani | and | has |
| **arsu** | | şi | tîrgul | | Botaşanii. | |

burn.PTCP      and      market.the      Botasani.GEN

'It is written in our chronicle that, on November 28 of the
year 6947, Tatar army entered our country and they pillaged
and burned their way to Botosani and also burned the
market in Botosani.'

In (24) we see LHM (i.e. non-finite V-to-C/Focus ) in the first
embedded clause, but not in the following coordinated sentential
complements. The effect of LHM on interpretation is to highlight a
novel event, introducing it as the story to serve as the focus of that
paragraph. In other words, V-to-Focus delivers narrative emphatic
focus. Events only further elaborating on the already introduced
event display the clitic > V order. The use of high V-movement for
narrative emphatic focus applies in all Moldavian chronicles (e.g.,
it occurs systematically to verbs that open new paragraphs in
Neculce).

Consequently, the EMR texts attest to the existence of all
types of operator-focus, showing a systematic pattern for their
licensing, as follows: either (i) high V-to-Focus movement
(LHM/V-fronting), seen with $OP_{EF}$ and $OP_{VF}$, or (ii) low V-to-T
movement, seen with $OP_{CF}$ & $OP_{QU}$. This entails that only some
focus operators trigger V-to-Focus. Further examination of the data
points out that the level of V-movement is a direct result of the

initial Merge location of the operator rather than semantic type of focus; more specifically, the determining factor is whether the operator is base-generated in Spec,FocP or moves there from within the IP. This mechanism is revealed in paradigms as in (25).

(25) a  EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 401)

    **Fost-au**        hain?

    been-has       mean

    'Has he been mean?'

    b  EMR (Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 118)

    în dooă-trei rînduri    au      trimis  să

    in two-three times    has     send.PTCP    SBJV

    vadză,         [FocP adeverat] **au**    **sosit**?

    see.SBJV        truly         have  arrive.PTCP

    'He sent someone two-three times to see, had they TRULY arrived?'

The two sentences in (25) contain *yes-no* interrogatives. Therefore, they both have OP$_{VF}$ and, so, provide a minimal pair for the analysis. The interrogative displays V-to-Foc in (25a) but not in (25b), the latter showing the clitic > V order. Crucially, in (25b), the verum focus operator *adeverat* 'truly' is initially merged as a manner adverb within IP and undergoes movement from within the

clause to Spec,FocP, where it receives a contrastive focus interpretation. Unlike the null operator in (25a) which is externally merged (i.e. base-generated) in Spec,FocP, *adeverat* 'truly' is internally merged there.[7]

In the next sub-section, we argue that the Criterial approach offers a straightforward explanation to these facts.

6.3 The Criterial Analysis

Following Brody (1990), Horvath (1995) and Rizzi (1997), Cruschina and Sitaridou (2010) argue that a discourse features such as [focus] is licensed in a Spec-Head configuration in FocusP. Furthermore, in Old Romance, lexical V bears [focus], so the Criterial requirement triggers V-to-Focus.

Note, however, that in EMR the trigger for movement is exclusively operator-type focus, as discussed in the previous section, and never the non-operator new information focus discussed in Cruschina and Sitaridou (2010). Furthermore, given complexity of the data, an analysis where the [focus] feature is associated with V cannot be adequate for EMR. In particular, functional verbal heads can also undergo head movement to Focus. EMR has an analytic past perfect (only the synthetic form exists in MR) formed with the clitic auxiliary 'have' plus the aspectual auxiliary *fostu* 'be' followed by the past participle V stem, as in

(26a). Crucially, in these contexts, it is [<sub>Asp</sub> *fostu*] in T, and not the

V stem, which undergoes LHM; this is seen in (26b):


(26) a   EMR (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 106)

      **I-au**              **fostu**             **ajutat**   şi

      them-has        be.PTCP         help.PTCP  also

      braşovenii

      Brasoveans.the

      'The people of Brasov had also helped them.'

   b   EMR (Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 381)

      ***Fostu*-s-au**          **cersut**       cazacii să-i

      be.PTCP-REFL-has     beg.PRTC      Kazakhs SBJV-them

      lase     călări …

      leave   riding

      'The Kazakhs had begged them to let them ride their

      horses.'


The word order in (26b) indicates that the morpho-syntactic feature

[focus] is realized on T (and not on V) in EMR, on a par with the

situation in MR (Alboiu 2002, Hill 2002). In other words, the Foc

Head probes T [focus], not V, and the movement applies to the

highest lexical item that can fulfill this operation (i.e. a non-clitic

auxiliary/verbal stem in T). The fact that copula *fi* 'be', seen in

(18b) undergo V-to-Foc, also behaves in this fashion provides further support for an analysis divorcing the [focus] feature from the lexical verb and positioning it in T.

In sum, the [focus] feature in EMR is in T, on a par with MR, and V-to-Foc is an instance of T [focus]-to-Foc. As in MR, the association of [focus] with T does not presu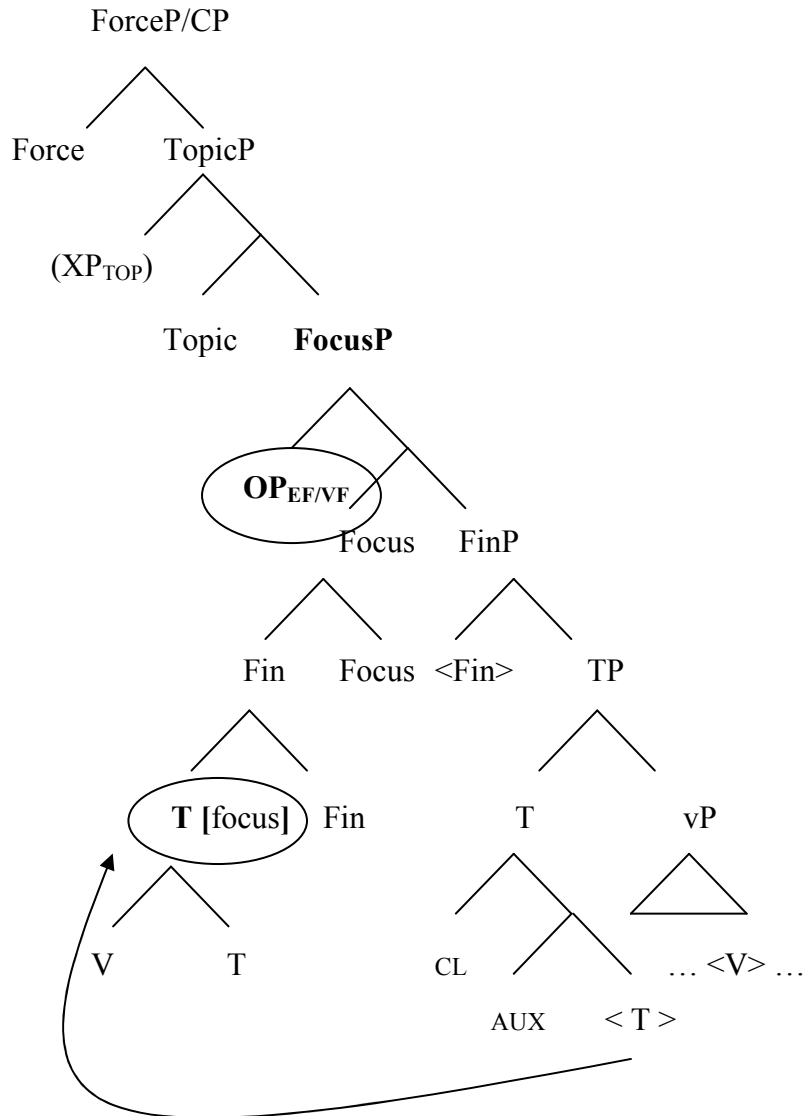ppose focusing on the V-elements in T, but it does entail that Spec,TP is an A-bar position and, as such, it is blocked for non-contrastive DP subjects. With T [focus], the TP domain itself yields a structural Spec-Head configuration, with relevant constituents circled in (27a), capable of satisfying the Criterial requirement assumed necessary for licensing this feature. However, since all $OP_{FOC}$ must ultimately reside in Spec,FocusP for semantic considerations (i.e. to scope over the entire proposition), only operators moving to Spec,FocusP (i.e. internal to IP), can transition through Spec,TP, as in (27a).[8] Operators directly merged in Spec,FocusP, specifically discourse operators such as $OP_{EF}$ and $OP_{VF,}$ cannot lower to Spec,TP to satisfy the Criterial requirement. Rather, these operators ensure a Spec-Head configuration in the FocusP domain, by triggering T[focus]-to-Foc movement, as in (27b). Crucially, the Spec-Head Criterial requirement involves T [focus] with all types of focus operators.

(27) a   with OP$_{CF}$, OP$_{QU}$: V-to-T

ForceP/CP

Force     TopP

(XP$_{TOP}$)

Top          FocusP

OP$_{CF/QU}$

Focus        FinP

Fin      **TP**

< **OP$_{CF/QU}$** >

T                    vP

CL          <V>…<OP$_{CF/QU}$ >

AUX      **T [focus]**

V       T
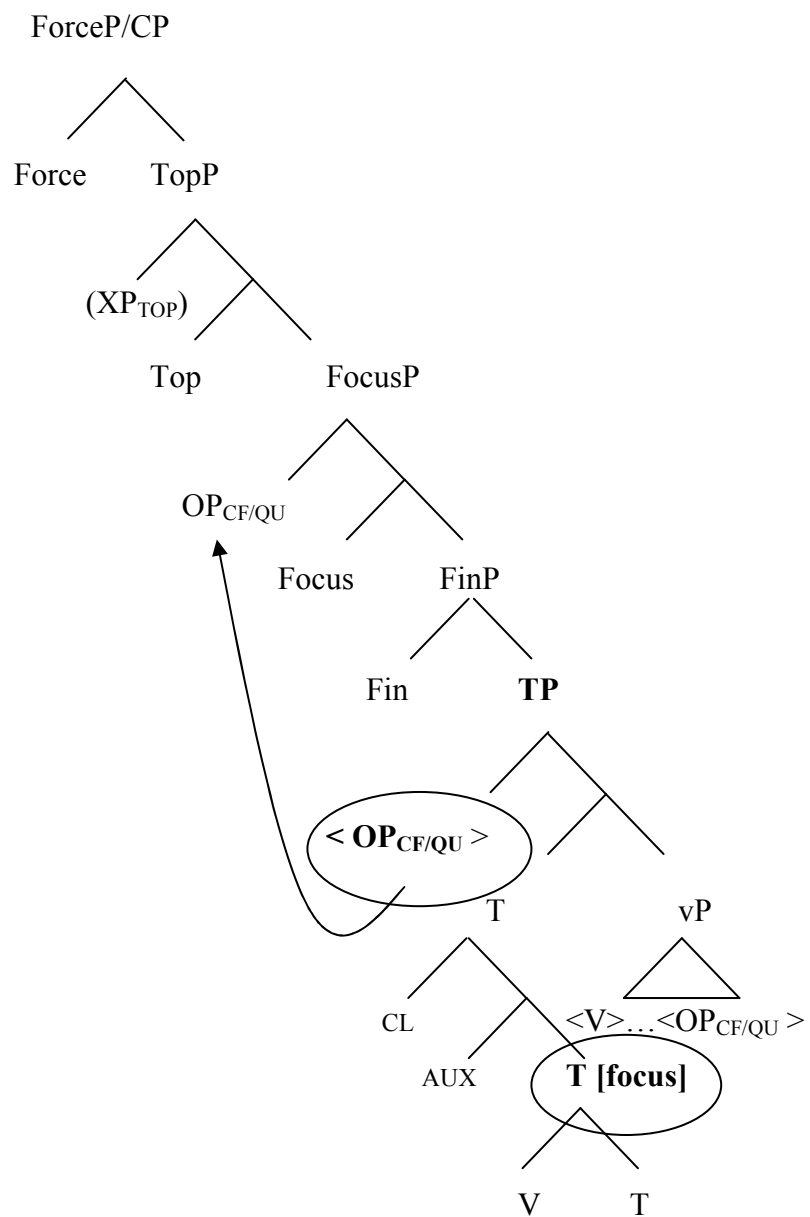
b     with OP$_{EF}$, OP$_{VF}$:  T [focus]-to-Foc (i.e. LHM/V-fronting)

ForceP/CP
Force     TopicP
(XP$_{TOP}$)
Topic     **FocusP**
**OP$_{EF/VF}$**
Focus     FinP
Fin     Focus     <Fin>     TP
**T [focus]**     Fin     T     vP
V     T     CL     … <V> …
AUX     < T >

7. Diachronic Change

The configuration in (27b) has been lost in MR, whereas the

configuration in (27a) has been generalized to all declaratives and

interrogatives. We attribute this loss to the fact that EMR never

shows any overt, morphologically visible evidence for the Criterial

requirement. If the Spec-Head configuration is instantiated in

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FocusP, the operator is null; alternatively, when it is realized in TP, the operator, while overt, undergoes subsequent movement to Spec,FocP, leaving a behind an unpronounced trace. This impoverished evidence for a Spec-Head configuration, together with the eventual loss of the base-generated emphatic operator in Spec,FocP in Romanian, left the language learner with insufficient evidence to trigger LHM/V-fronting in MR.[9] Consequently, parameter resetting in MR is such that the checking relationship between T [focus]and $OP_{FOC}$ no longer requires a Spec-Head configuration but simply the operation Agree. This can be implemented by assuming that the [focus] feature has been reanalyzed from a strong/selectional feature (Chomsky 1998 et seq) to a weak/non-selectional feature.


8. Conclusions

The paper set to explain (non)-finite V-to-C movement in EMR declarative and interrogative clauses and its diachronic loss in MR. We argued that high V-movement in these EMR clauses was the systematic result of a particular instantiation of the Criterial requirement for [focus] feature licensing. Specifically, since the [focus] feature is morpho-syntactically realized in T in Romanian, EMR allows for two types of Criterial instantiation: either in FocusP (with base-generated null operators and T [focus]-to-Foc

movement), or in TP (with TP-internal contrastively focused operators and *wh*-phrases on their way to Spec,FocusP). Instantiation of the Criterial requirement in the TP domain bleeds V-movement to Focus and the V stems stays in T. Due to the null character of base-generated discourse operators in Spec,FocusP and loss of the emphatic operator in MR, the language learner lacks sufficient cues to retrieve the Criterial requirement for [focus] licensing and in MR this feature is constrained to an Agree relationship between $OP_{FOC}$ and T [focus]. Consequently, MR has lost (non)-finite V-movement to Focus.

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[1] We use the following abbreviations: 1: first person, 2: second person, AUX: auxiliary, DAT: dative, DEM: demonstrative, DOM: differential object marker (Hill 2012,

following Bossong 1985), COND: conditional, FOC: focus, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, IMP: imperative, INF: infinitive, INTJ: interjection, PTCP: particip1le, REFL: reflexive, SBJV: subjunctive, SG: singular, TOP: topic.

[2] While the first written documents in EMR date from the mid 1500, these are translations for religious and legalistic purposes, mainly from Slavonic. Note that, Romanian historical philology refers to the language of the 16th to 18th century as *Old Romanian*. Since our study involves comparative paradigms with other languages of the same period, and since, the qualification of 'Old' is confined cross-linguistically to pre-medieval texts, we use the labeling 'Early Modern' to match standard labeling and avoid confusions on the timeline.

[3] Rizzi (2006) proposes a re-iteration of TopP in the hierarchy of (4). We adopt only the highest TopP, which reflects the semantic intuition that FocusP is a "complement" of Topic (cf. Lambrecht 1994, Rizzi 1997). We consider that TopP stands for a Topic field, as in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), with further possible articulations over TopPs that each encode a different topic reading. However, this further articulation is not relevant to our analysis.

[4] For Spec,IP as A-bar, see also Kroch and Taylor (1997) for Old English, and Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish.

[5] Frâncu (2009: 229) contemplates the possibility that auxiliaries may have been free morphemes at some point in EMR, before the time of the written documents. However, auxiliary *avea* 'have' is a clitic since nothing can intervene between AUX-V, it cannot undergo LHM, cannot appear on its own, and does not invert with the subject. As in MR, morphologically, *avea* 'have' bears subject agreement, a property of T (or of AgrS), so it resides in T, where the verb stem also moves. The rare examples of AUX-V separation in the chronicles are attributed to syntactic calques from Greek via Slavonic. The future and conditional auxiliaries behave in a similar fashion. The only auxiliary with non-clitic status is aspectual *fi* 'be' used in the analytic imperfect and past perfect (lost in MR) and shown in Section 6.2 to undergo LHM.

[6] It is possible that indicative forms, which do not seem to require lexicalization in Fin, are interpreted as default, and can check Fin without movement (i.e. have a weak [mood] feature).

[7] In the hierarchy in (4), sentential adverbs reside in Spec,ModP and only move to Spec,FocusP under a contrastive reading.

[8] This is equivalent to a Minimalist analysis assuming that T [focus] establishes a Probe-Goal relationship with contrastively focused XPs and *wh*-phrases, attracting them to Spec,TP.

[9] In MR, traces of $OP_{EF}$ can only be found in some idiomatic exclamatives, as in (i).

(i)     Mînca-l-ar                            mama!

eat.INF- him.DAT-AUX.COND.3          mother

(affectionate idiom translatable as, "He's so cute, his mom

could almost eat him alive!")