Verb Movement and Clause Structure in Old Romanian

Virginia Hill and Gabriela Alboiu

To our parents (in memoriam)

and

To our children

Contents

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Needless to say, we assume responsibility for any errors in this book.

Previous publications

Some material presented in this book appears in various papers published by Alboiu and/or Hill. Below, we list the relevant papers and explain how each of them is different from what we present in this book.

Chapter 3:
Parts of this chapter are reproduced from Alboiu, Hill & Sitaridou. 2014. Discourse driven V-to-Focus in Early Modern Romanian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. DOI 10.1007/s11049-014-9270-8. That article focuses on the texts written directly in Romanian from mid 17th century to the end of the 18th century, whereas this chapter extends the analysis to the early texts (16th century) and covers the syntax of translations as well. The data are different. Also, in this chapter we compare our theoretical approach to other possible approaches, something not covered in the article.

Chapter 5
A very short version of this chapter will appear in Alboiu & Hill. 2015. Root gerunds in Old Romanian. In Cristina Tortora (ed.), *Romance linguistics* 43. Amsterdam: J Benjamins.
The chapter in this book goes well beyond the article in that it provides a philological overview, brings forth new data and extends the discussion of gerunds from root to subordinate clauses.

Chapter 7
Some of the cartographic tests presented in this chapter also appear in Hill. 2015. Early Modern Romanian infinitives. In Volker Gast (ed.), *Infinitives at the syntax-semantics interface. A diachronic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. The current chapter, however, provides new and more extensive data, and adopts a minimalist perspective to identify the theoretical implications of these structures in the wider context of changes in Romanian diachronic syntax.

Chapter 8
The cartographic tests in this chapter are adapted from Hill. 2013. The emergence of the Romanian subjunctive. *The Linguistic Review* 30 (4): 1-37. This chapter provides novel and more extensive data and discusses these constructions with a view of identifying the cycles of change in Romanian clause syntax.

Chapter 9
Some of the cartographic tests in this chapter are adapted from Hill. 2013. The emergence of the Romanian supine. *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 3(2): 230-271. The article contains an Appendix with all the supine constructions occurring in *Chronicles*. We did not have room for including that list in this book, so we refer the interested reader to that article for more material. This chapter offers a new analysis for the contrast between regular and defective supine stems, and for the balkanization of the supine complement.

Abbreviations in glosses

ABS   = Absolutive Case
ACC   = Accusative Case
ALLOC= allocutive agreement
DAT   = Dative Case
DEF   = definite article
DOM   = Differential Object Marking
ERG   = Ergative Case
F   = feminine
GEN   = Genitive Case
GER   = gerund
IMP   = imperative
INF   = infinitive
INTJ = interjection
M   = masculine
PAST = past tense
PL   = plural
PRES = present
PRF   = perfect
PRT   = particle
REFL = reflexive clitic for any person
SG   = singular
SUBJ = subjunctive
SUP   = supine
VOC   = Vocative Case

Notes:
- All syntactic clitics are indicated in glosses via the symbol '='
- REFL stands for any type of *se* pronoun (arbitrary, reflexive or passive) as these distinctions do not make any difference for the analysis

Preliminaries: Medieval Romania and Old Romanian

The documents that serve as the empirical basis for this book belong to what is traditionally called *Old Romanian* language. The timeline for these writings begins with 1521 and ends in 1780 (Chivu et al. 1997); specifically, from the oldest piece of writing in Romanian that is preserved (a short letter) up to the founding of the first Enlightenment movement by Romanian intellectuals. Historically, this period covers the feudal era in the Romanian Principalities. Cross-linguistically, this timeline corresponds to the Early Modern stages of other languages, including Bulgarian (Mirčev 1978; Hill & Mladenova 2011), which is the most likely source for language contact induced changes. For this reason, previous papers published on verb syntax for this stage of Romanian label it *Early Modern Romanian* (e.g., Alboiu, Hill & Sitaridou 2014). In this book, we maintain the traditional Old Romanian label, with the understanding that no chronological equivalence applies to this stage of Romanian and the old stages of Romance or Slavic languages, whose timelines may start as early as the 9th century (e.g., Old Church Slavonic; MacRobert 2008).

1. Romanian but no Romania

Romania, as a country, is relatively young. In the feudal times, the same geographical contained three Principalities: Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, shown on the Map below.[1]

Map of Principalities around year 1600[2]

These were briefly united by King Mihai the Brave in 1600, but it was only in 1859 that Moldavia and Wallachia were permanently reunited, first as the United Principalities under Alexandru Ioan Cuza, then, as the Kingdom of Romania, under King Carol I. The United Principalities gained complete independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1877, and was joined by Transylvania in 1918, at the end of World War I. Wallachia and Moldavia had Romanian

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[1] The Principality of Transylvania became separated from Hungary in 1570, and kept its independence up to 1711. The princes of this territory were vassals to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, on and off, to the Ottoman Empire.
[2] Map reproduced from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Romania_1600-mod.png; copyright in public domain.

kings, whereas Transylvania had Hungarian princes all throughout the historical period of written Old Romanian. All these Principalities were self-standing states at the time, as a buffer zone between the three threatening empires (i.e., Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Russia). Wallachia and Moldavia were generally tributary to the Ottoman Empire, and the Sublime Porte had authority over their rulers.[3]

In Transylvania, Romanian was spoken mostly by *iobagi* 'slaves', who were Romanian aboriginals without citizenship, so it was not an official language. However, starting with the 16th century, Romanian intellectuals used the language for religious purposes; this was made possible by the flexible religious policy in Transylvania at the time, which allowed freedom of faith.

Although the other two Principalities had Romanian rulers, the official language was Church Slavonic, which is the literary and church language used in Bulgaria from the 10th to the 16th century. This is a later version of Old Church Slavonic (Sala 2001).[4] This oddity is often explained as a need of the Orthodox Church to officially resist the pressures of the surrounding foreign religions, that is, Calvinism and Islam. Thus the official language of Wallachia and Moldavia was not understood by their inhabitants outside the educated and the elite circles. The intransigency of the Orthodox Church extended to banning the printing of religious texts in Romanian, the first printed books in Wallachia being written exclusively in Church Slavonic. This explains why, by mid16th century, Deacon Coresi fled from Wallachia to Transylvania (i.e. Braşov), where he published religious translations in Romanian, which were, in effect, the first printed books in the language.

Considering this historical background, the natural question is to what extent we can trust that the Romanian texts reflect the "real" spoken Romanian. On the one hand, the non-existence of an official Romanian register is reassuring insofar as the authors are not constrained by a standard grammar, and must make use of their own idiolect. On the other hand, the authors are all bilingual or multilingual, and may be prone to introducing artificial structures borrowed from other grammars in which they have native or near native fluency (Slavic languages, Latin, Greek, Turkish, Hungarian and so on). For example, we do not rely on Dimitrie Cantemir's (1673-1723) writings because he heavily transposes Latin word order in his Romanian sentences. In the same vein, translators of religious texts strive to stay as close as possible to the original (most of the time in Church Slavonic), which may result in the copying of the original's word order, irrespective of how awkward it might have sounded in the spoken Romanian. Since outside the written language there is no other source for Old Romanian, we follow the philologists' leads for sorting out the foreign influences in the grammar of the text, while keeping in mind that the grammar we analyze is an imperfect reflection of the spoken language.

To compound the problem, manuscripts have been copied repeatedly, and every editor felt entitled to leave his own mark on the language of the narrative. For example, there is no original manuscript for any of the chronicles written in Romanian. What survives are copies of more ancient copies, each having its own peculiarities of grammar; e.g., Neculce's chronicle came down in seventeen different copies (Bălţatu 2009; Pană Dindelegan 2013: 1-16).

Keeping these problems in mind, we base our analysis mostly on texts written directly in Romanian, in the hope that we thus minimize the impact of foreign grammars. We approach these texts from a comparative perspective, surveying the presence of a given structure diachronically and synchronically in the corpus.

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[3] Poland and the Golden Horde (Tatars) also had the habit of invading Moldavia.
[4] Bulgarians did not invade Wallachia or Moldavia; the influence was only religious and intellectual.

2. Short outline of Old Romanian literature

Neacşu's Letter, dated 1521 and written in the Cyrillic alphabet, counts as the first (very short) original document written in Romanian. Undoubtedly, there were documents and written letters that preceded Neacşu's, but these were not preserved in the original (Bălţatu 2009). However, official documents issued after1521 (e.g., wills, acts of trade/sale, legislations) are well represented.

The printing press came to Wallachia (Târgovişte) at the beginning of the 16th century, and the first printed book appeared in 1508. Printing presses belonged to the church, which restricted the type of books produced to religious texts written in Church Slavonic. Since printing was very expensive, most laic books remained in manuscript form. The manuscripts were circulated after being copied, which is in itself a time consuming and expensive process. Manuscripts of anonymous folk stories written directly in Romanian were produced around this time; however, the originals have been lost and any surviving copies date to the second half of the 17th century at the earliest (Cartojan 1974).

By mid16[th] century, Deacon Coresi fled to Braşov in order to accomplish his goal: he wanted to provide the Romanian church goers with Mass in Romanian, read from Romanian written texts. The priests also needed these books as most of them read the Slavonic text in church without understanding it. Starting from 1559/60, with *Întrebare creştinească* 'The Christian Question' and until his death in 1583, Coresi printed 35 books (liturgies, catechisms, lives of saints etc.), translated from Church Slavonic into Romanian, some of which are included in our corpus.[5] Other printing centres of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania followed suit (e.g., *Palia de la Orăştie*, in 1582, a partial translation of a Hungarian version of the Old Testament).

In Moldavia, the printing press was introduced a century later (1640, in Iaşi), when regulations on language use for religious writings relaxed to allow for Romanian texts (e.g., Varlaam's writings were published, some translated, some written directly in Romanian). The type of acceptable topics became more flexible as well, since the king himself (i.e., the feared Vasile Lupu) decided to have his Code of civil law printed in 1645.

In the second half of the 17th century the writing of *letopiseţe* 'chronicles' became a fashion in the Romanian Principalities. A *letopiseţ* 'chronicle' is a historical recounting of the reigns of Romanian kings from either Wallachia (*letopiseţe munteneşti* 'The Wallachian Chronicles') or Moldavia (*letopiseţe moldoveneşti* 'The Moldavian Chronicles'). These chronicles attempt to go back as far as the Roman occupation of these Principalities. They draw their information from existing historical writings in other languages, as well as from the personal experience of the authors. Since the chronicles are considered the first literary texts written in Romanian, they form our major data source.

While the *Wallachian Chronicles* are only fragmentary, the *Moldavian Chronicles* are very well preserved, although their original manuscripts have been lost. Three authors produced these latter chronicles, in the following order: (i) Grigore Ureche, who wrote from 1642 to 1647; (ii) Miron Costin, who published his chronicle in 1675; and (iii) Ion Neculce, who began writing his text after 1732. The manuscripts on which the modern editions are based are, however, not the originals, but later copies, dated by philologists as follows: 1725 for Ureche; 1700–1750 for Costin; 1750–1766 for Neculce. It is not clear how much language "modernisation" has been introduced by the copyists, but grammatical analysis can easily indicate that Ureche's text

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[5] Philologists are debating the possibility that some of Coresi's printings were not his own translations but later copies of some older anonymous translations (Pană Dindelegan 2015).

contains more archaic elements than Neculce's, notwithstanding the difference of mere two decades between the surviving copies. Religious texts written directly in Romanian around the same time are also used for comparative purposes (e.g., Archbishop Dosoftei's lyrics and compilation writings).

Our book is focused on grammar and has nothing to say about the contents of the *Chronicles*. For those interested in the topic of the narrative, these texts make very good reading (at least in Romanian). They contain anecdotal accounts, short biographies, love and hate stories, and mostly a lot of gripping drama relating to the political events of the three Principalities and the surrounding feudal states of the time. The leaders of the three Principalities, irrespective of their ethnic background, formed alliances as unstable as shifting sands, in order to try to hold on to their thrones and their lives, and, if possible, to secure the independence of their kingdoms. Friends who turn to foes, fratricide murders or worse, torture and wars, falls from grace are the mainstay in these narratives, which concern every politically significant character of the time in the three Principalities, in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, in Poland, Russia and the Golden Horde.

Chapter 1:   Research background and theoretical framework

1. General background

The book is a first attempt to a uniform account on clause structure in Old Romanian.

1.1. Research topics
1.2. Methodology and corpus
1.3. Roadmap for the book

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. The relevant versions of Minimalism and Cartography
2.2. Definition of key concepts used in this book

1. General background

Old Romanian is a treasure trove that has only recently come to the attention of formal syntacticians. In the domain of verb syntax and clause structure, the authors of this book were the first to attempt sorting out the myths from the facts, and to propose formal analyses based on principled constraints on topics such as the variation in verb-clitic word orders, the peculiarities of gerund and supine clauses, and the systematic replacement patterns in clausal complements. This book is a continuation of our previous research that we now situate in a more encompassing perspective: what is the larger picture coming out of these formerly isolated syntactic analyses?

In this respect, we limit our inquiry to **two issues**: (i) the syntax of root clauses and (ii) the syntax of clausal complements to control and raising verbs. Other types of clauses come into discussion only insofar as they are needed to clarify the main issues.

The book adopts a diachronic perspective for the Old Romanian data and focuses on changes that occur in the behavior of verbs and in clause structure. In this respect, our main original points consist of:

(i) revealing the trigger for the fluctuation between V-to-C and V-to-T in Old Romanian root clauses;

(ii) pointing out the loss of certain null operators (i.e., Focus and Assertion);

(iii) highlighting the generalization of the Balkan subjunctive pattern to all clauses selected by control verbs;

(iv) emphasizing the cyclical replacements in non-finite clauses whereby the truncated versus the full-fledged analysis of the CP triggers replacement of complementizers and verb inflectional forms;

(v) discovering the ability of Romanian C heads to split (e.g. split Fin).

These analytical points yield unprecedented results: First, Wackernagel's Law is dispensed with for V-to-C in Old Romanian, as the movement is shown to depend on the presence of a null Focus operator, not on the position of clitics. Second, the generalization of the Balkan subjunctive pattern to all clausal complements under control and raising verbs leads to the discovery of a cyclical change in non-finite clauses that allows for precise predictions and can be projected backwards in time, in order to reconstruct previous stages of complementation in the same environment. These points will be briefly introduced below.

1.1. Research topics

According to philological studies, the major change in the linearization of **root clauses** with indicative and conditional verbs is the parametric switch from a grammar obeying Wackernagel's Law to a grammar that is free of it (Sandfeld 1930; Frâncu 2009 a.o.). The alternation attested in Old Romanian, between clitic > verb and verb > clitic orders, as in (1), would then reflect a grammar in transition; the oldest stage, where only verb > clitic applied, is not available, given the late attestation of Old Romanian. Modern Romanian, on the other hand, where clitic > verb is the default order, shows the end state of this switch.

(1) | ***Vede-se*** | *dară* | *că* | | *ieste* | *vechiŭ* | *obiceiŭ* | *tunsura* | *aceasta* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sees=REFL | thus | that | | is | old | custom | hair.cut | this |
| *care* | *şi* | *pănă* | | *astădzi* | ***să vede*** | *la o* | *samă* | *de* |

that	even	up		today	REFL=sees	at a	few		of

lăcuitorii   *a*   *ţărâi*   *noastre*
inhabitants.the   of   country.the.GEN   our
'Thus, one can tell that this haircut is an old style that is seen even today with some people in our country .' (Costin 221)

We revisit this hypothesis in Chapter 3 and argue that the variable element is not the clitic, but the verb, which moves above the clitic. We first show that Wackernagel's Law was not operative in the recorded Old Romanian, and then argue that the verb > clitic sequences are systematically related to focus semantics. The tests on the language of the *Chronicles* show clear evidence of a complementary distribution between the verb > clitic order on the one hand, and fronting to focus, *wh*-phrases, and negation on the other hand, all of which point to V-to-Focus in the left periphery of the clause. V-to-Focus was lost in Modern Romanian because the null operator in Focus was lost, so only the V-to-T option (i.e., clitic > verb) remained.

      We limit V-to-Focus to clauses with finite verbs (indicative and conditional), and show that V-to-C occurring elsewhere, e.g., imperatives (2) or gerund clauses (3), has grammatical versus discourse triggers.

(2) **_Întoarce-te_**,   *popo,*   *înapoi,*   *nu-ţi*   *lăsa*   *liturghia*   *nesfârşită*
    return.IMP.SG=REFL   Priest   back   not=REFL   leave.IMP.SG   sermon   unfinished
    'Come back, preacher, don't leave your sermon unfinished.' (Neculce 110)

(3) *Şi*   **_bulucindu-să_**   *cineş*   *la*   *ai*   *săi*   *şi*   **_gătindu-să_**
    and crowding=REFL   each   to   the   his   and   preparing=REFL
    săcuii   *de războiu,iară*   *Moldovenii*   *ajutoriu*   **_ştiind_**   *numai*
    Hungarians.the   of war   but   Moldovans.the   help   knowing   only
    de la   *Dumnezeu şi*   *aşa*   *s-au*   *lovit*   *cu*   *dânşii.*
    from at   God   and   thus   REFL=have=   hit   with   them
    'And each was regrouping with his own and the Hungarians were preparing themselves for war, while the Moldovans did not know other help than the one from God, and that's how they faced each other in battle.' (Ureche 149)

Tests indicate that V-to-C is lower in (2) and (3) compared to (1) (i.e., in cartographic terms, V-to-Fin versus V-to-Focus), and can co-occur with the fronting of focused constituents. The trigger for low V-to-C concerns the non-finite property of these constructions: tense is not morphologically specified in either (2) or (3), and verb movement applies to satisfy the requirements of a C unvalued for tense (i.e., Fin [-finite] in cartography). This requirement does not apply to (1), where the indicative verb form is morphologically specified for tense values.

      Thus, the generalization is that high verb movement in Old Romanian responds to two types of triggers: a discourse operator or the properties of Fin. Diachronic change is predicted with respect to the null operators in a situation where (i) the evidence for their existence is ambiguous; and (ii) they are in competition with unambiguous options.

      For the selected contexts, we focus on the structure of clausal complements, and especially, on complements to control verbs. In Old Romanian, a competition is attested in this environment, as in (4), between *de*-indicatives (4a), *a*-infinitives (4b) and *să*-subjunctives (4c), where the matrix verb is the same, and the variation occurs with the same author.

(4) a. | *s-au* | ***apucat*** | *Urechi* | *vornicul* | ***[de*** | ***au scris*** | *din* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REFL=has= | started | Ureche | governor.the | DE | has=written | from |

istoriile	*cele*	*a doi*	*istorici*	*leşeşti]*
histories.the	those	of two	historians	Polish

'Governor Ureche started to write by following the works of two Polish historians'
(Neculce {3})

b. | *s-au* | ***apucat*** | *[a* | *face* | *lucruri* | *dumnedzăieşti]* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REFL=has= | started | INF | do | things | heavenly |

'he started to do heavenly deeds' (Neculce {60})

c. | *s-au* | ***apucat*** | *[să* | *facă* | *Mănăstirea* | *Putna]* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REFL=has= | started | SUBJ | do.SUBJ.3 | monastery.the | Putna |

'he started to build the Putna monastery' (Neculce {7})

By mid17[th] century, another type of complement clause emerges, namely, the supine in (5).

(5) | *După* | *ce* | *deci* | *o au isprăvit* | ***[de*** | ***zugrăvit]*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| after | that | so | it=have.3=finished | DE | painting.SUP |

'so, after they finished painting it…' (RC {151})

Historical linguistics considers that the infinitive has been replaced in Romanian with *să-*subjunctives as a reflex of a Balkan Sprachbund property (e.g. Comrie 1981, Rohlf 1933). It is further asserted that, unlike the other Balkan languages, Romanian has a late onset for this replacement (i.e., mid17[th] century) and that the process is incomplete; that is, the infinitives survive as subject clauses, as complements to nouns and to the modal *putea* 'can', and as adverbial adjuncts. In all these contexts, the subjunctive is possible but optional. Several justifications are brought forth for the incomplete replacement in Romanian versus the complete replacement in other Balkan languages (e.g., Greek and Bulgarian). Geography is considered a factor, Romania being at the periphery of the Balkans (Rohlf 1933 a.o.).

     We look at the same facts from a formal perspective and reach different conclusions. The novelty of the syntactic analysis of the constructions in (4) can be summed up as follows:

- *De*-indicative and the *de*-supine clauses must be included (and we do so for the first time) in the replacement cycle.
- We draw a distinction between the "original" infinitive (i.e., the inherited Latin form with the ending *–re* without mood markers or complementizers) and the *a*-infinitives, which emerged later in the Romanization process. The "original" infinitive has been completely replaced by *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives, arguably at the same time as similar replacements took place in Greek and Bulgarian. From this perspective, the replacement of *a*-infinitives with *să*-subjunctives is a later operation, internally motivated by the grammar of Old Romanian, so it is not part of the Balkan Sprachbund replacement wave – it only mimics this process in certain syntactic environments.
- We point out that one derivational pattern (namely, the pattern of the ***Balkan subjunctive***) underlies all the selected clauses in (4) and it is extending to (5). The Balkan subjunctive pattern allows for the same clause type (e.g., subjunctive) to occur under the same control verb, irrespective of whether control applies or not (no obviation

requirement as in Romance). This is valid for all the non-finite clausal complementation in Old Romanian, as shown for *a*-infinitives in (6), where the same verb displays non-control in (6a) versus control in (6b).

(6) a.

Şi	*aşea*	*fu*	*şeaptedzeci*	*şi*	*mai*	*bine*
and	thus	was	seventy	and	more	well

de	*ai,*	*şi*	*de-aciia*
of	years	and	in-here

nu	*mai* **_părăsiia_**		*de-a*	*să arătarea*	*adease*	*arătări*
not	more=stopped		DE-INF	REFL=show.INF	often	ghosts

dumnedzăeşti,	*de*	*multe*	*ori,*	*noaptea*	*şi*	*dzua*
divine	of	many	times	night.the	and	day.the

'And that's how it has been for more than 70 years, and there was no stopping the divine ghosts showing themselves, many times, night and day.' (Varlaam C {84v})

b.

Omul	*acesta*	*nu*	**_părăseaşte_**	*de-a*	**_grăi_**	*cuvinte*
man.t he	this	not	stops	DE-INF	say	words

de	*hula*	*spre*	*acest*	*sfânt*	*loc*	*şi spre*	*leage*
of	blasphemy	towards	this	saint	place	and towards	law

'This man does not stop swearing at this holy place and at the law' (NT {321})

The underlying configuration in (6) is summed up in the cartographic representation in (7).

(7)   ([**_ForceP_** Force) [_TopP_ Top [_FocusP_ Focus [**_FinP_** Fin [_NegP_ Neg [_TP_ T….]]]]]()

Assuming that (7) is selected by a verb with optional control, as in (6), a full-fledged ForceP is projected when no control applies, but the truncated version of (7) is projected (i.e., no ForceP level) when obligatory control is required. Crucially, the grammatical mood and the mood marker remain the same in the full-fledged and in the truncated version of (7).

This is a crucial departure of Romanian from the other Romance languages, where, as in English, control involves a fully configured CP, regardless of whether there is (non)-obligatory control. Unlike in the Balkan Sprachbund, however, in Romance, the full-fledged CP in control contexts requires an infinitive clause, whereas the full-fledged CP in non-control (obviation) contexts requires a subjunctive clause. In Romanian, moods are not specialized in this way, the *a*-infinitive, *de*-indicative, *să*-subjunctive, all being equally capable of engaging in control configurations, provided that the adequate structural configuration is achieved (i.e. +ForceP in non-obligatory control, -ForceP in obligatory control). We thus establish an important parametric contrast between Romance and Balkan languages when it comes to obligatory control, and we show that Romanian belongs to the Balkan group.

The above generalization allows us to analyze the supine verb in (5), which occurs only in constructions with obligatory control, as a clause structure that is gradually changing to match the Balkan subjunctive pattern. This change is attested regionally in Modern Romanian (e.g., northern varieties), where the supine replaces the subjunctive after verbs with deontic modality.

Within the pattern in (7) we also point out a language internal innovation in Old Romanian: namely, Fin can be further split over two heads. That is, considering that Fin is

associated with the cluster of [finite] and [modal] features, these features are mapped either syncretically or separately; in the latter case, they each have a different spell out, as in (8).

(8) a. *Şi*   *aşe*   *au încetat*   *turcii*   *[de a*   *fugi]*
         and   thus   have=stopped   Turks.the   DE INF   run
         'And thus, the Turks stopped running.' (Neculce 284)

     b. *E*   *acesta*   *face-i*   *[de să*   *se pocăiască]*
         and   this   makes=them   DE SUBJ   REFL=repent.SUBJ.3
         'And this made them repent.' (Coresi EV {57})

     c. *Şi*   *s-au*   *giurat*   *[ca să*   *nu*   *mai   taie*
         And   REFL=has=sworn   CA SUBJ   not   more=cut.SUBJ.3
         de   *acum*   *domnu*   *de*   *Moldova.]*
         from   now   king   of   Moldavia
         'And he swore that from now on he would not decapitate any king of Modavia'.
                                  (Neculce 17)

Word order tests indicate that both highlighted elements are in Fin: they are both higher than NegP, as in (8c) and, elsewhere, constituents in TopP and FocusP precede the higher element. Furthermore, the across-the-board behavior of *de* and *ca* point to a functional deficiency, whereby these complementizers can spell out [-finite] but not [modal]; for example, there is no [*de*-infinitive] in Romanian, the presence of *a* being obligatory to check the [modal] feature; and in the same vein, there is no [*ca*-subjunctive], *să* being obligatory for [modal]. The observation is that split Fin occurs in transition periods, when *a* and *să* were still ambiguous as to their merge site, but are eliminated in Modern Romanian, when the infinitive and the subjunctive complementizers are stabilized in Fin (e.g., although *ca* still occurs in Modern Romanian subjunctives, it has been reanalyzed as a Force head).

From this formal analysis, a recycling pattern emerges, whereby the ForceP configuration in (7) tends to be gradually reanalyzed as only truncated (FinP) in the presence of a certain complementizer. For examples, in 16th century texts, most *de*-indicatives are truncated (FinPs) and used under verbs with obligatory control. In non-control contexts, *a*-indicatives or *să*-subjunctives are preferred, indicating that they are better qualified to project a full-fledged (ForceP) clause. By the 18th century, *a*-infinitives also display only the truncated size in complement position, so *să*-subjunctives are used when the ForceP level is needed. The degree of loss observed in Modern Romanian reflects the replacement cycles whereby the inability of projecting ForceP by a certain type of complement triggers its replacement with another type of complement clause. Thus, as complements to control verbs, *de*-indicative complements are very scarce in spoken standard Romanian; *a*-infinitives are better represented, but in archaic or literary style, whereas *să*-subjunctives are the routine option across the board. We take this to indicate that *de*-indicatives were the first Balkan subjunctives in Romanian, and that they were replaced with *a*-infinitives, which in turn were replaced with *să*-subjunctives. Against this background, *de*-supines emerge in regional varieties and are becoming stronger as a competition to *să*-subjunctives in certain contexts (e.g., under modal verbs).

Along these lines, the analysis proposed in this book provides a formal representation of the typological mix between the Romance morphosyntax and the Balkan patterns of clause

derivation that occurs in the relevant Old Romanian constructions. The empirical observations and theoretical arguments involve cross-linguistic references and are instrumental for further comparative studies in diachronic syntax.

1.2. Methodology and corpus

Our research is based on **two corpora**: The first corpus is our own collection of data from the *Moldavian Chronicles*, cited in the text by the name of the chronicler and the number of the relevant page according to the scanned document we have; for example: (Ureche 65). The second corpus is a digitalized collection of texts we obtained from the "Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics in Bucharest. This corpus contains not only the *Chronicles* (from both Wallachia and Moldavia) but also early religious texts, codes of law and official documents. Examples taken from this corpus are cited by the name of the original author, when available, plus the number of the recorded page in curled brackets; for example: (Coresi {13v}) or (Ureche {66}). For anonymous texts, the name of the text is cited instead; for example: (BB {12r}) stands for the *Bible of Bucharest*.

Insofar as **methodology** is concerned, we have manually searched the corpora mentioned above and do not necessarily base our analysis on statistical data. Although statistics do sometimes come into discussion, they are generally (and carefully) borrowed from existing philological studies and used to distinguish between genuine and imported structures (in translations), rather than as a criterion for establishing the evolution of a construction on the timeline. The perspective we adopt in this respect is that (i) constructions have to be accounted for irrespective of how frequently they appear in texts, and that (ii) the texts are too late (i.e., from mid16th century onwards) to accurately reflect the rate of emergence of certain constructions that arose during the Romanization period or from Slavic bilingualism (which was a historical reality around the 7th-10th centuries). Thus, we base our inferences on the evidence for diachronic constancy or change seen in *syntactic patterns* available in the data, rather than on their frequency in the texts. The theoretical framework in which we couch the analysis is that of generative grammar, and the key concepts that allow us to assess the syntactic structures are introduced in the second section of this chapter.

Our research on the two issues addressed in this book is highly indebted to the rich **bibliographical information** previously available. There are a number of sensitive areas where philological wisdom is welcome and needed in order to help clarify or support the syntactic analysis. For example, the philological insight and the statistics from Zafiu (2014), where the verb > clitic sequences of the 16th century are shown to occur unsystematically and at a reduced rate in translations from Slavonic originals, allowed us to establish that the 16th century linearization arises from a failed attempt to import a rule from Church Slavonic (i.e., the mechanism that results in verb final), whereas the same linearization in the 18th century reflects the parameters of Romanian grammar (i.e., as fronting the verb for discourse effects). In the same vein, in the analysis of clausal complementation, we make use of the findings in Frâncu (1969, 1981, 2009, 2010) and in Pană-Didelegan (ed.) (2013, 2015 and references within), to mention only the major philological sources of information we often refer to in this book.

1.3. Roadmap

The **roadmap** for the book is easy to navigate: Chapter 2 provides the background for the properties of Old Romanian clause structure. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 focus on root clauses, whereas chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 focus on clausal complements. The conclusions, in Chapter 10, point out a systematic pattern of change in Old Romanian clause structure.

Chapter 2 outlines the general properties of Old Romanian clauses with respect to the VSO parameter, the T-related position of clitics and the list of complementizers in selected clauses. This chapter provides the background for the cartography of clauses in Old Romanian, as the properties discussed here apply to all the structures analyzed in the book.

Chapter 3 approaches the alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V orders in finite clauses (i.e. indicative and conditional). We argue that the clitic is stable in T (i.e. Old Romanian is not subject to Wackernagel's Law), while the verb moves around and above it. The trigger for this movement is discourse related: a null Focus operator mapped at the left periphery of clauses forces lexicalization of the CP domain.

In Chapter 4 we analyze imperative clauses, which, in their default derivation, display the V > clitic order that arises from V-to-Fin (grammatical motivation). A peculiarity of Old Romanian imperatives is the "reversing" of person ending and clitic pronoun (i.e., verb > clitic > person instead of verb > person > clitic), when the latter is post-verbal. We argue that the ending after the clitic is not the spell out of the subject-verb agreement, but of the addressee-verb agreement (allocutive agreement).

In Chapter 5, we focus on gerund clauses, which occur in both root and adjunct configurations. Adjunct gerunds are very productive and stayed so because the gerund verb generates a full-fledged clause due to the presence of a functional clause typing feature. On the other hand, the clause typing feature in the root gerund depends on the mapping of a null operator (i.e., the Assertion Operator), pragmatically valued, and which fares poorly in reanalyses (it is lost in Modern Romanian).

The analysis of clausal complements begins in Chapter 6 with *de*-indicative clauses selected by thematically deficient/impersonal verbs. We argue that this is the first Romanian subjunctive, a fact overlooked so far in historical studies. Here, we establish the Balkan pattern for clausal complements and define *de* as a deficient complementizer that triggers the split mapping of Fin.

Chapter 7 focuses on *a*-infinitive clauses, which, we argue, arise within the same pattern of the Balkan subjunctive that underlies the *de*-indicative. In a nutshell, we argue that *a* was fixed as a Fin complementizer with the help of *de* (i.e., *de a* + infinitive sequences), and that this was possible because the mapping of Fin features could be dissociated. Split Fin is thus a language internal innovation within the otherwise typical Balkan pattern of complementation.

The emergence of the subjunctive clause in Old Romanian is the topic of Chapter 8. We argue that the subjunctive particle *să* arises in non-selected clauses (i.e., conditional, imperatives, adjuncts) and spreads to those clausal complements that need an *irrealis* value for their modality. Thus, *să*-subjunctives became the third series of Balkan subjunctive complements in the language. The generalization of subjunctive complements to all classes of thematically deficient verbs occurs when the *irrealis* feature of the subjunctive particle is lost. The emerging complements display the same stages as the infinitives, having a stage where *de* and *să* co-occur in a split Fin head.

Chapter 9 discusses the supine clauses. We argue that they initially supplant the infinitive in non-finite relatives, and then spread to clausal complements, through reanalysis, in configurations where the antecedent for the relative clause is null. Once reanalyzed as clausal complements, the supines display changes in their internal structure, in response to the absence of the relative operator, and under the paradigmatic pressure of the three subjunctive complements.

The general conclusions in Chapter 10 list the highlights of our analyses and point out the trends for change that make syntactic reconstruction possible for clausal complementation in Old Romanian.

2. Theoretical framework

In a call for papers published on Linguist List in 2014, den Dikken remarks that "minimalist syntacticians generally cannot rely on a shared core of hypotheses and central principles" and so linguists working within this framework need to increase the size of their papers by defining the relevant concepts and the way they are used in their particular case study (http://linguistlist.org/callconf/browse-conf-action.cfm?ConfID=180781). In the same spirit, we define, in this section, the key concepts relevant to our book.

Primarily, this book assumes that the reader is familiar with the tenets of the cartographic analysis of clause structure (Rizzi 1997 et seq) and the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995 et seq). Given our choice of theoretical framework, it follows that we take it for granted that all human languages share a single computational system (i.e. syntax) and that there is limited variation which is lexical in nature (i.e. particular grammars are the result of specific choices made during language acquisition). Consequently, **language change**, which involves re-setting of (some) parameters, can only happen in conjunction with the acquisition process (see Hale 2007 for an overview of the relevant hypotheses).

2.1. Minimalism and Cartography

In this book, we work on the basis of a ***crash-merge/feature checking*** version of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2008), as opposed to the free-merge version of this theory (Chomsky 2013, 2014). The justification is that changes in parametric settings have not yet been explored within a free-merge syntactic approach, while the aim of this book is to unravel the parameters that are most relevant for the diachronic changes in Romanian, rather than to use Romanian as a case study for the development of the new version of the theory.

The minimalist analysis of feature checking in the derivation of clauses is applied within a bottom-up, cartographic mapping of the relevant features to functional heads. In particular, in cartography, the CP field is articulated as in (7) and detailed in (17) (Belletti 2008, Rizzi 1997, 2004). In this hierarchy, discourse features relevant to topic and contrastive focus readings are mapped in-between two distinct C heads, Force and Fin.

(17)   **ForceP > TopP > FocusP > ModP > FinP** > (NegP) > TP > …[6]

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[6] In (17) we show NegP situated below C and above T, which, following Zanuttini (1997) reflects the NegP location of the Romance typological group that includes Romanian.

For Rizzi (1997), the Force head mediates between discourse and the clause, and contains features related to clause typing and embedding. This head is equivalent to a full-fledged CP, so is phasal in the sense of Chomsky (2001). The Fin(ite) head mediates between the CP domain and the TP domain and expresses properties such as finiteness and modality. Since derivations that stop at FinP instantiate a reduced CP, these are truncated, non-phasal domains.

In-between Force and Fin, C can also host heads that are independent of selectional constraints but relate to discourse factors. In (17), FocusP hosts constituents with a contrast reading, as well as *wh*-phrases in interrogative clauses. In other words, Focus is associated with an operator feature that triggers exclusive readings; hence, we assume that any type of operator of the same class (e.g., *verum focus*) is mapped to the same position.

Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007; ex. 38) have further refined (17), by showing that TopP can be further articulated as *aboutness*, *contrastive,* and *familiar* TopPs. For them, "contrast" in (17) can be further split in contrastive Topic > contrastive Focus. In this book, we maintain this projection collapsed as FocusP in (17), since we did not come across examples with this splitting in the texts. In other words, operators associated with exclusive and/or alternative readings are merged in the same syntactic slot (in complementary distribution). TopP in (17) corresponds to the aboutness TopP in (18), whereas the familiar TopP is an added projection.

(18) $ForceP > TopP_{aboutness} > Contrast_{(Top > Foc)} > TopP_{familiar} > ModP > FinP$

Lastly, ModP introduced in Rizzi (2004) is available to adverbial modifiers that occur in the left periphery. The NegP projection, associated with propositional negation is situated at the border between the CP domain and the inflectional domain (TP) in Romance languages with pre-verbal negation (Zanuttini 1997).

The mapping of the left periphery in (17)/(18) is especially useful for languages in which XP constituents are positioned to satisfy discourse requirements, and (Old/Modern) Romanian is a case in point. The following example demonstrates how we can use the mapping in (17) to decide on the structural position of a complementizer:

(19)   *i-au dzis*   **că**   *[pasirea] [în   cuibul   său]*   **<u>nu</u>**   *piere*
to.him=has=said   that   bird.the   in   nest.the   Its   not   die.3SG
'he told him that a bird does not die in its nest (but elsewhere)' (Neculce {9})

In (19), *nu* 'not' signals the border between CP and TP, so that the preceding material is in CP. The bracketed constituents have an aboutness Topic reading (i.e., *pasirea* 'the bird') and a contrastive Topic reading (*în cuibul său* 'in its nest'). Thus, the complementizer *că* 'that' is in Force, since it precedes the TopP field.

2.2. Key concepts
2.2.1. Finiteness and structural Case
For Indo-European languages, the concept of *finiteness* is typically defined in terms of verbal morphology (Binnick 1991, Ledgeway 1998, Landau 2013). Thus, verb forms with reduced inflectional morphology (i.e. no phi-features) are non-finite, while verb forms showing person, number, and tense inflection are finite. Since finiteness is also related to the ability to occur with lexicalized subjects, verbs lacking in inflectional morphology, and especially

agreement, are not expected to license subjects. However, despite the invariable form of the verb, many languages (including Old Romanian) allow for the licensing of lexical subjects in their presence (e.g. infinitive or gerund clauses; e.g., Alboiu 2006, Ledgeway 1998, Sitaridou 2002).

Consequently, the presence or absence of inflectional morphology on the verb stem is not a reliable criterion either for finiteness or for independent lexical subjects (i.e. obviation). Rather, what counts for the lexicalization of subjects is the ability of the C-T domain to Case value. In particular, Alboiu (2006, 2009) argues that structural Case valuation should be based on the presence of a phase head and not on phi-completeness (i.e. agreement) as previously assumed in much of generative grammar since the work of George & Kornfilt (1981). This is in line with more recent work by Chomsky (i.e. 2007, 2008 et seq.) which correlates all A-related properties to the presence of a phase head.[7] So, what is crucial for subject lexicalization is the presence of a phasal/full-fledged CP domain, which in cartography translates as a requirement for Force. Consequently, domains that do not project beyond Fin, regardless of whether T has phi-features or not, fail to value Case and to lexicalize independent subjects. Here, we follow the general assumption that, cross-linguistically, root, subject, and adjunct clauses, all of which are strong islands for movement (Cinque 1990), instantiate fully fledged/phasal CP domains. These are the domains we expect to license Case.

Caution is however needed on two grounds: (i) since subject lexicalization is further determined by discourse properties in null subject languages, it cannot be taken as a reliable diagnostic for finiteness, especially when we are looking at written texts; in other words, a null subject may equally denote lack of optional spell out or the impossibility to spell out; (ii) particular constructions may require a silent subject for independent semantic reasons; for example, in subject clauses, a lexical equivalent to PRO can arise in Romanian only under a focus interpretation (Alboiu 2010), despite the phasal status of this CP.[8]

For Old Romanian, we show that complement clauses under non-obligatory control (NOC) verbs project to ForceP and allow for independent subjects. In sum, ForceP, but not FinP domains permit lexicalization of an independent subject in Romanian; this subject is always valued Nominative, as the various data in the book will show. While it is fairly uncontroversial that the independence of root clauses makes these finite, by definition, the question we are left with concerns the exact defining property of finiteness since we are forced to renounce inflection (i.e. we cannot use the presence or absence of phi-features as a reliable indicator).

Crucially, root clauses are temporally independent. So, in our analysis, we equate finiteness with tensed domains and define clauses as [+ finite] whenever these have independent temporal reference (i.e. are *temporally deictic*), specifically, whenever the embedded event is not obligatorily co-referential to the matrix clause event.[9] As with Case valuation, temporal deixis requires a phasal/complete CP domain (i.e. the presence of a Force head). However, this conditional correlation should not be turned into a bi-conditional one. In particular, not all

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[7] These accounts align with views where Case is seen as syntactically relevant (e.g. Lasnik 2008, Legate 2008, Sigurðsson 2008, etc.), rather than a purely morphological phenomenon (e.g. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2008).

[8] See (i) for lexicalization of PRO in Romanian subject clauses:

(i) [_CP_ A   fi   *(doar/numai)   tu   prezent   la adunare]
     [_CP_ INF   be   only   2.SG.NOM   present   at meeting]
     e   de   neconceput.
     be.PRES.3SG   of   inconceivable
     'It's inconceivable that you be the only one present at the meeting.'

[9] This is in line with other proposals (e.g. Carnie 2013) but may not work for all languages (e.g. see Ritter & Wiltschko 2014, Wiltschko 2014 for languages that perhaps employ types of anchoring distinct from tense).

ForceP clauses have independent tense (just as not all ForceP clauses can lexicalize a subject). Under embedding/selection, factors beyond domain completeness may dictate the degree of independence that a clause has with respect to tense values and subject lexicalization. For instance, we will see that clauses with obligatory control (OC) only project to FinP, while clauses with NOC project all the way to ForceP (see also discussion in section 2.2.3.). However, both types have events that are dependent on the matrix clause event (i.e. in both cases, the embedded tense is anaphoric on the matrix tense). Accordingly, since they lack temporal deixis, all clauses involved in control qualify as [- finite], regardless of whether T manifests phi-features or not, or whether they allow for an independent subject (yes, in NOC, no in OC).

By the same token, since a particular complementizer (e.g. *de* in Old Romanian) may spell out a Fin head (non-phasal) and a Force head (phasal), depending on the syntactic context, we are left with temporal deixis as the only unambiguous diagnostic for finiteness. For these reasons, in this book, we use the term finiteness to correlate with temporal deixis, which may or may not have a morphological counterpart. More specifically, **[+finite] domains are defined as domains that are temporally deictic, while [-finite] domains are domains which are temporally anaphoric on the tense in the matrix clause**. Lastly, **Case valuation is a property of phasal CPs (i.e. ForceP) domains, regardless of [+/-finite] or [+/-phi] features.**

In view of the above, it should come as no surprise that, in Romanian, regardless of whether phi-feature morphology is present on the verb stem or not, various inflectional moods can be either [+finite] or [-finite], as illustrated in Table 1.[10] Such an approach enables us to capture the various distributional occurrences of these verbal forms in a systematic way.

Table 1: The correlation between inflectional morphology and finiteness in Romanian

Mood inflection	Phi-feature inflection	Fin [+finite]: temporal deixis	Fin [-finite]: temporally anaphoric
INDICATIVE	√	√ (root & embedded clauses)	√ (OC contexts)
IMPERATIVE	2nd person	*	√ (root clauses)
GERUND	*	√ (OR: root & adjunct clauses); (MR: adjunct clauses)	*
INFINITIVE	*	√ (adjunct clauses)	√ ((N)OC contexts)
SUBJUNCTIVE	√	√ (OR: adjunct clauses)	√ ((N)OC contexts) √ (surrogate imperatives)
SUPINE	*	*	√ (all contexts)

Note that there is a conditional, rather than a bi-conditional relationship between finiteness and the phase; specifically, we take it that all finite CPs are full-fledged/ForceP; however, not all non-finite CP domains are reduced FinP (i.e. non-phasal): for instance, imperatives project a full-fledged CP (and license an overt second person subject), but lack TP, so are not finite. Supine CPs are also full-fledged/ForceP when they project as relatives, but lack a TP, so are equally non-finite.

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[10] In Table 1, OR = Old Romanian, MR = Modern Romanian, and we only distinguish between the two if relevant changes have occurred; contexts in brackets are not exhaustive, but illustrative; OC = obligatory control, while NOC = non-obligatory control (see below); we do not find that gerunds can occur as complement clauses, which is why, for us, this grammatical mood is not set for [-finite].

2.2.2. *Mood* versus *modality*

As mentioned for (17), in Rizzi's (1997, 2004) system, Fin is the C head associated with features related to finiteness and modality. D'Alessandro & Ledgeway (2010) further refine this association by showing that Fin encodes semantic modality (i.e. the feature [mode]), not grammatical [mood], this feature being associated with T (versus Fin), since it belongs to the inflectional properties of the verb. We adopt this distinction between mood and modality throughout the book and take the Fin feature [modal] to express properties such as (*ir*)*realis*, deontic and epistemic readings, whereas T [mood] can be valued as infinitive, indicative, etc.

2.2.3. *Obligatory* versus *Non-obligatory Control*

Rosenbaum (1967) was the first to point out that superficially similar word orders stemmed from distinct underlying representations. Consider (20).

(20) a. *iar*   *pre Miron*   *logofătul*   *la*   *Roman*   *i-au tăiat*   *capul,*
        and   DOM Miron   chancellor.the   at   Roman   to.him=have=cut   head.the
        a   *căruiaşi*   *jupâneasă*   *într-aceea*   *vreme*
        of   whom   wife   in-that   time
        să întâmplase   *[de*   *murise]*
        REFL =happened   DE   died.3
        'and they decapitated chancellor Miron at Roman, at the time when his wife happened to die as well' (CM II {294})

     b. *Mulţi*   *scriitori*   *au nevoit*   *[de*   *au scris*   *rândul*
        many   writers   have.3=strived   DE   have.3=written   chronology.the
        şi   *povestea*   *ţărilor]*
        and   story.the   countries.the.GEN
        'Many writers strove to write the chronology and the story of various countries'
                                (Ureche 63)

In both (20a) and (20b) the linear order within the clause containing the underlined predicate is similar: NP (underlined) > VP (bolded and underlined) > clause (bracketed). However, the configurations in the two clauses are very different. On the one hand, the underlined predicate in (20a) is an impersonal/non-thematic verb that selects an event (i.e. the *de*-indicative clause in brackets). *Jupâneasă* 'wife' in the matrix is the thematic subject of the embedded predicate, so it moved there from its embedded merge position and, thus, it instantiates *subject raising* or argumental **DP-movement**. On the other hand, the underlined predicate in (20b) is transitive and selects not only an event as its complement (i.e. the bracketed clause), but also an Agent argument (i.e. there must be some animate entity, willing and aware of 'striving'). Consequently, since the preverbal nominal *mulţi scriitori* 'many writers' is selected by *nevoit* 'strived', it is merged directly in the matrix clause. However, the embedded predicate *scris* 'write' is equally transitive and requires an Agent subject. Crucially, the interpretation of this subject must be co-referential to the matrix subject *mulţi scriitori* 'many writers'. This is a control configuration with *obligatory control* (OC); that is, obligatory identity between an argument in the matrix clause and the embedded subject.

For English, DP-movement is schematized as in (21a), while OC is schematized as in (21b), without movement from one clause to the other. [11]

(21) a. ***Gorboduc*** *happened [<Gorboduc> to have two sons].*
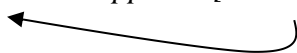
   b. ***Gorboduc*** *strived [~~Gorboduc~~ to keep peace].*

Languages indicate obligatory co-reference between the matrix and the embedded argument by banning the pronunciation of both shared arguments in structures with obligatory control. (21b) shows the embedded subject striken out, indicating that it cannot be pronounced in English.

However, in Romanian OC, either the higher or the lower copy of the shared argument can be pronounced (Alboiu 2007), as in (22). [12]

(22) *(**Victor**)*   *încearcă*   *[să*   *cânte*   *(**Victor**/***Mihai**)*
      (Victor.NOM)   try.PRES.3SG   [SUBJ   sing.3SG   (Victor.NOM/Mihai.NOM)
      la trombon]. [13]
      at trombone
      'Victor is trying to play the trombone.'

On the basis of data from Italian and English, Rizzi (1982) showed (among other asymmetries) that the clause selected by a raising verb is smaller than the clause selected by an OC verb. [14] More specifically: the former disallows a complementizer, so must be an IP (TP), while the latter allows for a complementizer, so must be a CP. This dichotomy still holds, although it needs rephrasing in cartographic terms: the clausal structure is still a CP under raising verbs, but it is truncated (i.e., FinP versus ForceP), so complementizers are also possible in Fin (see Zeller 2006 for cross-linguistic arguments).

There are also predicates that select clauses whose subject may but does not have to be co-referential with an argument of the matrix clause, as in (23), with relevant arguments in italic. This falls under instances of what is referred to as *non-obligatory control* (NOC). [15]

(23) a. *Gorboduc* desires [~~Gorboduc~~ to abdicate].
   b. *Gorboduc* desires [for *his sons* to be at peace].

Complement clauses as in (23b) are finite under the definition adopted in this book.

Languages differ in terms of the configurations used in the two types of control. In (23), both embedded clauses are infinitives, but only (23b) with a distinct subject surfaces with the

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[11] For an overview of properties differentiating raising and OC see Landau (2013) and references therein.

[12] The ability to pronounce the lower shared argument is referred to as *backward control*. For discussion on backward control and backward raising, see Polinsky & Potsdam (2002, 2012); Potsdam (2009) a.o.

[13] Romanian is VSO (see Chapter 2).

[14] Following Landau (2000, 2013), OC verbs include: aspectuals (e.g. *begin, start, finish*), modals (e.g. *have*, *need*, *be able to*), and implicatives (e.g. *try, manage, force*). Cross-linguistically, these verbs select untensed complements with anaphoric T and may allow for verb restructuring (Wurmbrand 2001).

[15] In Landau (2000, 2013), NOC verbs include: desideratives (e.g. *want*, *desire*, *prefer*, *hope*), interrogatives (e.g. *wonder*, *ask*, *find out*, *interrogate*), propositional verbs (e.g. *believe*, *think*, *suppose*, *imagine*), factives (e.g. *regret*, *like*, *hate*).

complementizer *for*. In Romance (but *not* in Romanian), such predicates select an infinitive clause in OC contexts, but a subjunctive clause in NOC contexts, as in (24) from French.

(24)　a.　　**Maki**　*veut*　*[Maki partir].*
　　　　　　　Maki　wants　leave.INF
　　　　　　　'Maki wants to leave.'

　　　b.　　**Maki**　*veut*　*[que*　**vous**　*partiez].*
　　　　　　　Maki　wants　that　　you.PL　leave.SUBJ.2PL
　　　　　　　'Maki wants for you (guys) to leave.'

So, while in English both types of control trigger infinitive complementation (as does raising), in most of Romance, (N)OC is distinguished by the presence or absence of phi-features, alongside a Force complementizer. However, there are many (unrelated) languages, in which both (N)OC predicates can only select clauses where the verb has morphology for phi-features (e.g. Zulu, Iroquoian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian), as in (25) from Old Romanian, where the subjects are either co-referential (25a), or distinct (25b), despite the inflected subjunctive.

(25)　a.　　*am vrut*　　*[să*　　*o iau*　　*pre ea*　　*mie*　　*muiare]*
　　　　　　　have.**1**=wanted　SUBJ　　her=take.**1**　DOM her　　to.**me**　　wife
　　　　　　　'I wanted to take her as my wife' (PO {45})

　　　b.　　*Voiam*　　　*[ca*　　<u>*Mihai*</u>　　*să*　　*cumpere*　　*flori].*
　　　　　　　wanted.**1**　　that　　Mihai　　SUBJ　　buy.SUBJ.**3**　　flowers
　　　　　　　'I wanted for Mihai to buy flowers.'

Crucially, the cross-linguistic constant seems to be the following: raising disallows full-fledged CP/ForceP domains, NOC requires full-fledged CP/ForceP domains, while with OC, the matter is parametrized, with full-fledged CPs for some languages (e.g. English, which also disallows backward control), and truncated CPs for others (e.g. Romanian; Alboiu 2007).
　　　　As Table 1 shows, in Romanian (both Old and Modern), (N)OC predicates do not distinguish between verb mood or the presence of phi-feature agreement morphology, but rather differ as to whether a Force complementizer may be present or not, as in (26) compared to (25b), where *ca* 'that' is in Force in Modern Romanian.

(26)　　**Am*　*început/încercat*　　*[ca*　　*Mihai să*　　*cumpere*　　*flori].*
　　　　　have.**1**=started/tried　　　that　　Mihai SUBJ　　buy.SUBJ.**3**　　flowers
　　　　　'Intended: *I stated/tried for Mihai to buy flowers.'

In this sense then, Romanian follows the Balkan subjunctive, where the (N)OC distinction is not related to the type of selected complement, but rather to the **size** of the complement. Furthermore, since some complementizers may be present regardless of (N)OC, a cartographic fine-graining of the CP becomes mandatory. The pattern that emerges for Romanian is then the following: (i) ForceP in NOC contexts, (ii) FinP in OC and raising contexts.

2.2.4 Grammaticalization and Reanalysis

Grammaticalization refers to a process whereby a lexical item undergoes semantic (and, sometimes, phonological) attrition and becomes more grammatical (i.e. functional). For example, verbs are often reanalyzed as auxiliaries (e.g. modal verbs in English) and prepositions are reanalyzed as complementizers (van Gelderen 2011). In this book we adopt the proposal that grammaticalization paths always involve *reanalysis* "up the tree" (Roberts & Roussou 2003, Roberts 2007). More specifically, grammaticalization entails reanalysis of a particular lexical item in a functional projection that is structurally higher. Furthermore, we also adopt the idea that "the path is traversed by the loss of steps of head movement, leading to changes from Move to Merge" (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 71), a fact which becomes obvious for Old Romanian complementizers such as *de* and *să*.

These are the main concepts we use for approaching the clausal syntax of Old Romanian. Other concepts are introduced as needed, and we trust that the theoretical background provided in this section is sufficient to allow the reader to grasp them.

Chapter 2: Subjects, complementizers and clitics

1. **VSO**
   Old Romanian clauses have VSO as the basic word order; this follows from V-to-T and the subject in situ.

2. **Complementizers**
   The list of complementizers in sentential complements, and their location on the cartographic map: *că* 'that' type complementizers are in Force; *să* type complementizers are in Fin.

3. **Clitics**
   3.1. The list of clitics
   > Table and classes of clitics; their distribution around the verb
   3.2. Vowel prothesis
   > The expansion of the syllabic clitics class
   3.3. Tests for clitics
   > Showing Old Romanian clitics to be 'V-oriented' versus 'C-oriented'
   3.4. Clitic based operations
   > Clitic Doubling; Differential Object Marking; Clitic Left Dislocation; Double Clitic Spell-out
   3.5. Wackernagel and Tobler-Mussafia
   > Introduction of the relevant rules

4. **Tree structures**
   4.1. Movement
   > Typical configurations for subject raising and *wh*-movement
   4.2. The internal structure of clauses
   > Typical representations of matrix and embedded VSO
   4.3. Obligatory adjacency Fin/(Neg)/T and lack of Spec,TP
   > Derived adjacency versus clitic strings for the *să > nu >* clitics *> V* sequences
   4.4. Zooming on the location for clitic pronouns
   > A fine-grained analysis: clitic pronouns and auxiliaries merge in different heads

5. **Conclusions**

This chapter outlines the general properties of Old Romanian clauses with respect to the VSO parameter, the T-related position of clitics and the list of complementizers in selected clauses. The chapter also provides the background for the organization of clauses in Old Romanian, as the properties discussed here apply to all the constructions analyzed in the book.

Typologically, Old Romanian has VSO as its basic word order. In this book, VSO refers to a configuration where the subject remains in its thematic position (i.e., in situ), within the argumental structure domain of the verb (vP), as opposed to mere surface VSO linearization, which may arise even when the subject is outside the vP. The verb always moves out of vP, in both Old and Modern Romanian.

VSO arises in Old and Modern Romanian when information is provided in response to the question "What happened?" as in (1).

(1) a.   Question: *Ce*   *s-a întâmplat?*
                                 what   REFL=has= happened
                                 'What happened?'

                               V   S   O

      b.   Answer: *Au luat*   *Ştefan*   *vodă*   *cetatea*   *Teleajănului*
                           has=conquered Stefan   King   fort.the   Teleajan.the.GEN
                           'King Stefan has conquered the Teleajan fort.' (Ureche 99)

This word order is unexceptional in the Balkan Sprachbund area, and has been shown to involve subjects in situ (e.g., Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).

The verbs display clitic elements attached to them, with the class of clitics comprising pronouns, auxiliaries and some short adverbs. For example, in (1b), the auxiliary *au* 'has' is a proclitic, whereas in (1a) the arbitrary pronoun *se* and the auxiliary *a* 'has' yield a clitic cluster syntactically attached to the verb in T. Typologically, Old Romanian has 'V-oriented' clitics, on a par with other Romance languages (Alboiu, Hill & Sitaridou 2014).

These two typological traits are valid for subordinate clauses as well, as shown in (2), where the VSO order arises below the complementizer *că* 'that'. In (2b) the clitics *au* 'has' and the short adverb *mai* 'more' appear on the embedded verb.

                                        V   S   O

(2) a. *Iar*   *vădzândŭ*   *[că*   *cuprindŭ*   *leşii*   *Ţara*   *Moldovei…]*
           but   seeing   that   invade   Poles.the country.the   Moldova.GEN
           'But seeing that the Poles are invading Moldova…' (Costin 14)

                                        V   S   O

      b. *Şi*   *apoi,*   *înţelegând*   *[că*   *au mai rădicat*   *Dumnădzău* *focul],*
           and   then   understanding   that   has=more=relieved   God   fire.the
           s-au dus   *în*   *Ieşi.*
           REFL=has=gone   to   Iasi
           'And then, realizing that God eased the fire of pestilence, he went to Iasi.'
                                (Neculce {365})

There are many examples in which the word order is not VSO, but shows non-canonical linearization: clitics occuring before or/and after the verb, or the subordinate clause displaying

unusual word order. Variations from the VSO word order provide important clues for the formal analysis since it turns out that the apparently unlimited options are actually restricted in a principled way, by an underlying syntactic structure that we attempt to uncover for every case.

This chapter briefly discusses the two typological properties of Old Romanian mentioned above, and supplements the overview with a presentation of the complementizers in this grammar. There are, certainly, other typological properties of this language that are worth exploring. However, we limit our discussion to VSO linearization and to the clitics because the parametric settings in these two areas are crucial for the assessment of verb syntax in this book.

1. VSO

1.1. Subjects in situ

In Old and Modern Romanian, subjects are post-verbal not only when the verbs have finite forms, as further shown in (3a, b), but also in clauses where the verbal morphology is non-finite, as in (3c, d). These example also show that the subject can be a noun, as in (3a, c) or a strong pronoun, as in (3b, d). We refer the reader to Chapter 1, Section 2 (i.e., the definition of *finiteness*) for clarifications regarding the dissociation between (non)finite verbal inflection and the licensing of subjects in Old Romanian.

(3) a. *întâi*   ***au poftit***   *craiul*   *pe*   *Alexandru*   *vodă…*
         first   has=invited   prince.the   DOM   Alexandru   King
         'first, the prince invited King Alexandru' (Ureche 80)

     b. *căci*   ***iubiia***   *el*   *pre*   *dânsa*
         for   loved   he   DOM   her
         'for he loved her' (BB {21})

     c. *era*   *de-**a***   ***să rumpere***   *tabăra*   *la*   *acela*   *loc*
         was   DE-INF   REFL=break.INF   camp.the   at   that   place
         de   *ai*   *noştri.*
         by   the   ours
         'it was (decided) that the camp should be broken at that place by our soldiers'
                                 (Costin 182)
     d. *iară*   *doo*   *părţi*   *a*   *legiei*   *iaste*   ***a***   ***nu***
         but   two   parts   of   law.the.GEN   is   INF   not
         viia   *noi*   *cu*   *iale*
         live   we   with   them.FEM
         'and two parts of the law is that we should not live with them' (PO {6})

The VSO order is maintained in the presence of clitic > V orders (4a), or V > clitic orders (4b).

	Clitic > V	S	O	
(4) a.	***i-au urât***	*Domnul*	*pre*	*ei*
	them=has=hated	God	DOM	them
	'God hated them' (BB {133})			

		V > Clitic	S	O
b.	***tăiat-au***	*un tătar*	*pre*	*Jolcovschii, hatmanul*	*leşescŭ*

b. ***tăiat-au***   *un tătar*   *pre*   *Jolcovschii, hatmanul*   *leşescŭ*
killed=has   a Tatar   DOM   Jolcovsky   commander.the   Polish
'a Tatar killed Jolcovsky, the Polish commander' (Neculce 112)

The VSO order has been studied at length for Modern Romanian. From a formal perspective, VSO arises in Modern Romanian from a configuration where the subject remains in situ, in the position associated with the thematic role of the verb (i.e., in Spec, vP), whereas the verb moves out of the argumental domain (vP) targeting inflectional or discourse related heads (Motapanyane 1989; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Cornilescu 2000; Alboiu 2002 a.o.).[16]

Since the VSO typological classification did not change from Old to Modern Romanian, we extend this analysis to our data. This extension finds support in various tests that give identical results to those obtained for Modern Romanian. Consider, for example, the bare quantifier test: Cinque (1990) points out that bare quantifier subjects must surface in an argumental position in syntax because of their scope properties at Logical Form. VSO in Old Romanian displays bare quantifier subjects, such as *nime* 'nobody' in (5), which attests to the VSO parameter in this language.

            V   S   O
(5)   ***n-avè***   *nime*   *nice o*   *nevoie, nice*   *la mărsu,*   *nice*   *la întărsu.*
      not-had.3   nobody   not   one need   neither   at going   neither   at returning
      'Nobody needed anything, neither when going nor upon returning.' (Neculce 132)

The distribution of the floating quantifier 'all', shown to be merged together with the relevant DP in its thematic position (Sportiche 1988), also indicates the setting for the VSO parameter. Thus, in (6), *toţi* 'all.MASC.PL' may surface either before the reflexive verb, as in (6a), or after the reflexive verb, as in (6b). Also, the floating quantifier may remain stranded, as in (6c) where its DP associate *slugile tale* 'your servants' fronts to Topic. The important order is seen in (6d): when the DP subject is not fronted, it surfaces under 'all', and the entire 'all-DP subject' surfaces lower than adverbs attached in the vP edge area (Haumann 2007), such as *iara* 'again'[17].

(6)   a.   *ce*   *toţi*   ***să cade***   *să*   *ia*   *darurile*   *ceale*   *bogate*
           but   all   REFL=befits   SUBJ   take.3   presents.the   the   rich
           'but it befits that they all take the rich presents' (BB {PrefaţăXXXV})

    b.   *Şi*   ***să adunară***   *toţi*   *feciorii*   *lui şi*   *featele*   *lui*
           and   REFL=gathered.3PL   all   sons.the   his and   daughters.the   his
           'and all his sons and daughters gathered (there)'(BB {28})

    c.   *Iară*   *slugile*   *tale*   ***vor treace***   *toţi*   *întrarmaţi*
           and   servants.the   your   will=pass   all   armed

---

[16] Fake VSO is possible as well, arising from the fronting of the verb to clause initial position (V-to-C) under discourse triggers (see discussion in Cornilescu 2000; Hill 2006). In such clauses, the subject will always be post-verbal, irrespective of the position it occupies (i.e., Spec, vP or Spec, TopP).

[17] (6c) and (6d) show an instance of homophony: *iară* is the conjunction 'and' in (6c) but the adverb 'again' in (6d).

'and your servants will all pass armed up' (BB {121})

d. *Săpară* **iară** <u>toţi</u> *eghipteanii* *împregiurul* *apeei* *curătoare*
dug   again   all   Egyptians.the   around   water.the.GEN   running
'All the Egyptians dug again around the running water.' (NT {201})

1.2. *Nu* 'not' is a free morpheme, hence V-to-T

        Since the verb is to the left of the subject in neutral VSO linearization, it means that the verb moves out of the vP. The target position may be in the TP field or in the CP field. V-to-C will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Here, we bring evidence for V-to-T. The location of the verb above subjects in-situ, as in (5), is the first indication for verb movement. Further evidence comes from the position of the verb in relation to negation.

        There are two types of clausal negations in Old and Modern Romanian: the free morpheme *nu* 'not' and the affixal morpheme *ne-* 'not', the latter occurring with some non-finite verbs (e.g., gerund **nevenind** 'not.coming'). Finite clauses display only the negation *nu* 'not', which was shown (e.g., by Isac & Jakab 2004) to be a free morpheme that merges in the head Neg, above TP. Evidence for the free morpheme status of *nu* comes from constructions where it appears in isolation, in answer to a question, or as countering a statement, as in (7). It may also support verb deletion, as in (8).

(7)   **Nu**, *iubitule,*   **nu**   *dzâce*   *aşea*
           no   love.the.VOC   not   say.IMP.SG
           'No, love, don't talk like that.' (Dosoftei VS {46v})

(8)   a.   *Să*   *mă iertaţi*   *pentru* *Dumnădzău*   *şi* *di-ţ*   *putea*
               SUBJ   me=forgive.2PL   for   God   and if=will.2PL   can
               şi   *voi suferi*   *ca*   *aceastea,*   *rămâneţi*   *aicea,*   *iară*
               and   will.1SG=suffer   like   these   remain.IMP.PL   here   and
               de   **nu**, *Dumnădzău*   *să*   *vă-nderepteadze dincătro*   *aţi venit.*
               if   not   God   SUBJ you.PL=guide   to.where   have.2PL=come
               'Forgive me in the name of God, and if you too will be able to suffer like these ones, then stay here, and if not, God guide you back to where you've come from.'
                                   (Dosoftei VS {83v})
    b.   *Şi*   *Costantin-vodă*   *ar hi fost*   *mazâl,*   *dar eu*   **nu**
               and   Constantin-King   would=be=been   deposed   but I   not
               'And King Constantin would have been deposed, but I wouldn't.'
                                   (Neculce {335})

Therefore, *nu* 'not' merged in NegP is not clitic or affixal, and so cannot move with the verb.
        Confirmation comes from configurations where *nu* 'not' blocks V-to-C. For example, in imperative clauses, where V-to-C is cross-linguistically obligatory (Rivero & Terzi 1995; Han 1998 a.o.), true imperatives are ruled out with *nu* 'not' in Old and Modern Romanian, as in (9). In negative clauses, the true imperative is replaced with a surrogate verb form that can remain in T, such as the infinitive in (10a) or the subjunctive in (10b).

(9)   *__Nu__   _vino!_
         not   come.IMP.SG
         Intended: 'Don't come!'

(10)   a.   __Nu__   __lepăda__   _de_   _la_   _tine_   _mare_   _izbânde_   _şi_
            not   discard.IMP/INF.2   from   at   you.SG   great   victories   and
            vestite   _în_   _toată_   _lumea_
            known   in   all   world.the
            'Don't discard your victories, great and known all over the world'
                                                             (Costin 106)
       b.   _Feciorul_   _mieu_   _iară_   _acolo_   __să__   __nu__   __duci__
            son.the   my   but   there   SUBJ/IMP   not   take.2
            'but don't take my son there' (PO {76})

        This analysis differs from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), where _nu_ 'not' is considered a clitic integrated in the proclitic cluster of the verb, and the sequence [neg-clitics-V] moves as a complex head. The main argument for that analysis is the obligatory adjacency between _nu_ 'not' and the clitic cluster or the verb. The evidence in (8)- (10) lead us to subscribe, however, to the free morpheme treatment of _nu_ 'not' proposed in Isac & Jakab (2004), and endeavor to derive the obligatory adjacency noticed in Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) from independent factors. An analysis in this respect will be proposed at the end of this chapter.
        The main consequence of a free morpheme status for Neg _nu_ 'not' is that data as in (11) indicate that the verb is in T rather than C. This is valid for cartographic representations (i.e. with Neg > T in Romance) as well as for analyses independent of cartography (e.g., the classification of propositional negations in Longobardi 2014).

(11)   a.   __Nu__   __putum__   _scrie_
            Not   could.1PL   write
            'we couldn't write' (PO {6})

       b.   _Să_   __nu__   _vei __ceti____
            If   not   will.2SG=read
            'if you will not read' (PO {7})

If we map the entire inflectional field as a single TP projection, then there is nothing else to say, because verb movement above vP can only take the form of V-to-T. If, on the other hand, we consider a finer grained articulation of the inflectional field, then the verb lands in some functional head outside the vP. For example, in (11a), the verb moves up to the highest inflectional head, T, which is associated with the phi-features for subject-verb agreement, and those features are lexicalized by the ending on the verb. However, in (11b), the subject agreement mark is on the future auxiliary, whereas the verb is in its bare infinitive form. We can, thus, predict that the auxiliary is in T, carrying the subject-verb agreement ending, whereas the verb is lower, in an aspectual head.
        The aspectual head to which the verb moves depends on the value of its aspectual feature, as infectum (infinitive stem) or perfectum (past participle stem). The past participle illustrated in (12) indicates a level of verb movement low enough that it allows the passive auxiliary to

precede it (i.e., *fie* 'be' inflects for subject-verb agreement). However, this past participle is in the inflectional field and outside the vP, given that it precedes the adverb *totdeauna* 'always', which merges in the functional field; the past participle form of the verb moves to an Aspect head compatible with a perfectum verb stem.

(12)   *ca*   *să*   *fie*   **știută**   **totdeauna**   *hotărârea*   *aceasta*
       for   SUBJ   be.SUBJ.3   known.F.SG   always   decision.the.F.SG   this
       'so that this decision be always known' (PrCond {176})

The same rationale applies to clauses with non-finite verb forms. For example, in (13), the assessment criteria are the subject in situ and the adverb *ades* 'often' which merges in the functional field (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Cinque 1999). The infinitive verb precedes both items, which means that it moves to T.

(13)   *Și*   *așea*   *fu*   *șeaptedzeci*   *și*   *mai*   *bine*
       and   thus   was   seventy   and   more   well
       de   *ai,*   *și*   *de-aciia*
       of   years   and   in-here
       nu   *mai **părăsiia***   *de-a*   **_să arătarea_**   **adease**   _arătări_
       not   more=stopped   DE-INF   REFL=show.INF   often   ghosts
       dumnedzăești,   *de*   *multe*   *ori,*   *noaptea*   *și*   *dzua*
       divine   of   many   times   night.the   and   day.the
       'And that's how it has been for more than 70 years, and there was no stopping the divine ghosts showing themselves, many times, night and day.' (Varlaam C {84v})

Summing up the information so far, Old Romanian exhibits verb movement to the inflectional domain, understood as either movement to T or to an Asp head. Henceforth, we refer to this property as V-to-T, with the understanding that variation occurs as to the exact target for verb movement, which we refine whenever we articulate the TP.

1.3. Word order variations

While Old Romanian has VSO as its canonical word order, the data indicate that this can freely alternate with SVO, VOS, SOV, OVS, and OSV. In this section, we addresse this variation on typological grounds: Old Romanian is a discourse configurational language, in terms of É. Kiss (1995), so variation in word order follows from the displacement of constituents (including the subject) under discourse triggers. These displacements target the left or the right periphery of the clause.

The most common operation in this respect is the movement of one or more constituents to Topic at the left periphery of the clause, which yields an organization according to a *Topic-Comment* structure, in terms of Lambrecht (1994). For example, the preverbal constituents in (14) receive a Topic reading, the verb and the post-verbal material providing the Comment for it. (14c) shows the possibility of multiple Topics.

       <u>Topic</u>   <u>Comment</u>
(14)   a.   ***Alexandru***   ***vodă***   *[făcu*   *priiteșug*   *mare*   *cu*   *leșii...]*   **SVO**

Alexandru King made.3 friendship big with Poles.the
'King Alexandru struck great friendship with the Poles' (Ureche 80)

	Topic			Comment			
b.	***Pre***	***Ştefan-vodă***	***Tomşea***	*[nu*	*l-au ştiut*	*letopiseţul*	**OVS**
	DOM	Stefan-King	Tomsea	not	him=has=known	chronicle.the	
	ce	*neam*	*de*	*om*	*au fostŭ.]*		
	what	type	of	man	has=been		

'As for King Stefan Tomsea, the Polish Chronicle did not grasp what kind of man he was.' (Costin 30)

	Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3	Comment			
c.	***[pre hanul]***	***[aceasta dată]***	***[împărăţia]***	*[nu*	*va*	*să-l mazilească]*	**OXSV**
	DOM chief	this	time	empire.the	not will	SUBJ=him recall	

'but the Sublime Porte would not replace the governor at this time' (Neculce 340)

In cartography, these are *aboutness* Topics (see Chapter 1), and the constituents undergo left dislocation to the Spec,TopP. Multiple Topics, as in (14c), is a free option.[18]

   Further variation of word order follows from constituent fronting to a position with contrastive reading (i.e., contrastive Focus or contrastive Topic), as in (15a). Constituents with *aboutness* Topic and contrastive readings co-occur routinely in texts, the former preceding the latter in word order, as in (15b).

(15)	a.	***[Nici***	***războaie]***	*mai fãcea…*	**OV**
		not.even	wars	more=made	

'Not even wars was he making' (Ureche 70)

	b.	*[Acest*	*Alixandru*	*vodă]*TOP	*[multe*	*lucruri bune]*FOC	**SOV**
		this	Alexandru	King	many	things good	
		au fãcut		*în*	*ţarã…*		
		has=done		in	country		

'This King Alexandru, it is many great things that he has done for the country' (Ureche 75)

In cartography, Spec,TopP is a non-argumental position with non-quantificational properties, so constituents can target it without interfering with operator-variable chains in the structure (i.e., it may occur in *wh*-questions and with fronting to contrastive FocusP), and without preventing multiple XP movements (Rizzi 2004). On the other hand, the contrastive position (Spec, FocusP) has quantificational properties (Rizzi 1997 et seq.) and allows for the fronting of only one item at a time.

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[18] Some studies point out that the intonation in constructions as in (14c) is different for Topic1/Topic2 compared with the subject under Topic3. It is then argued that preverbal subjects, as in Topic3, are not necessarily Topics in Romanian, but may occupy the argumental preverbal position (e.g., argumental Spec,TP; Ştefănescu 1997; Pirvulescu 2002; Izverna-Tarabac 2005/2009, all of whom follow Motapanyane 1991, 1994). That amounts to saying that Romanian also has some genuine SVO, which is an alternative available for free in VSO languages, according to the typological predictions in Greenberg (1963, Universal 6).

The right periphery of clauses is exploited for locating heavy constituents and/or constituents that contain the core information focus (see also Neeleman & Titov 2009), as shown in (16a) and (16b), respectively.[19]

(16) a. *Lăsat-au Ştefan-vodă cel Bun la mănăstirea Putna*
       left=has   Stefan-King   the Good at monastery.the Putna
       după moartea lui, [arcul lui şi un pahar]
       after death.the his bow.the his and a chalice
       'King Stefan the Good left the Putna monastery his bow and a chalice, after his death' (Neculce 106)

    b. *Pre urma lui Dragoş vodă au stătut la domnie [fiiu-său]*
       on track.the of Dragos King has=sat on throne son.the-his
       'After King Dragos, his son sat on the throne' (Ureche 72)

Although the left and right peripheries are still productively exploited in Modern Romanian in the same way, Old Romanian is clearly more prolific, especially for preverbal fronting. In Chapter 3 we argue that fronting for discourse purposes involved not only constituents but also heads (e.g., negation, non-clitic auxiliaries or verbs). At this time, it suffices to mention that verbs are routinely found in a clause final position in the linear order, as a result of massive constituent fronting, as in (17). Modern Romanian is not as prone to derived verb final.

(17) a. *Şi la acestŭ fel de scrisoare gândŭ slobod şi*
       and at this kind of writing thought.the free and
       fără valuri trebuieşte.
       without waves is.needed
       'And for this kind of writing, free, untroubled thinking is needed.' (Costin 9)

    b. *Eu sântŭ jurat, cându am stătut la împărăţie, om de*
       I am.1SG sworn when have.1=sat at throne man of
       sabiia mea şi de judeţul mieu să nu moară.
       sword.the my and of judgment.the my SUBJ not die
       'When I took the throne, I swore that no man will die under my sword or because of my judgment.' (Ureche 68)

    c. *Poate-fi, de ar fi şi scrise de Nicolai logofătul,*
       may=be if would.3=be even written by Nicolai chancellor.the
       dar or fi poate tăinuite şi pănă acmu
       however would.3=be perhaps hidden and up now
       la ivală n-au ieşit.
       to light not=have=come
       'Maybe, if [the works] are even written by Chancellor Nicolai, it is the case that they may be hidden as they haven't been found up to now.'   (Neculce 103)

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[19] In Kayne (1994), there is no right dislocation. Word orders as in (16) are derived via Remnant movement of the structure to the left of the rightmost constituent.

In (18), the verb is not in situ in v/V because it supports the clitic auxiliary that merges in T (18c). Also, it cannot be that linearization of the verb to the right indicates a change in the head parameter spell out (see Pancheva 2005), as such an account would entail that constituents should be able to surface in-between *nu* 'not'/clitics and the verb, which is not the case. Hence, in (18) the verb is in the TP domain, having undergone regular movement to T, which results in the string *nu* > aux > verb. In addition, in (18b) the constituents appear to the left of the complementizer *să*, so they are fronted to the higher area of the CP versus being in situ.

To conclude, for the analysis of clause structure, we start from the premise that VSO is the basic word order. Since verb movement in Old Romanian targets heads in the TP and the CP domains, variations of word order are important when they concern the left periphery of clauses. In particular, we follow the mapping in (17) in Chapter 1, by distributing the fronted constituents, according to their interpretation, over the Topic and Focus projections situated between ForceP and FinP.

2. Complementizers

Variation of word order may arise in subordinate clauses as a consequence of the type of complementizers they display, in addition to other triggers (e.g., the semantic class of the selecting verb; the (non)operator property of the clause typing feature, the mapping of Topic and Focus and so on). In this section, we summarily present the list and properties of the main complementizers that head clausal complements in Old Romanian.

The main property of complementizers is that they tend to pair with a certain grammatical mood form of the verb (e.g., *că* 'that' with indicative mood; *ca* 'that' with subjunctive mood), with the notable exception of *de*, which may combine with any mood form. We take the exceptional distribution of *de* in Old Romanian to reflect its radical semantic bleaching, this item having become an underspecified wild card that would suit the need for any kind of functional relation in the grammar (it also serves as a functional preposition, a Genitive marker, etc.).

A list of complementizers in Old Romanian is presented below, case by case. The list is organized according to the semantics of the matrix verb, making a rough distinction between regular transitive verbs and control and raising verbs, which may all select CP complements of various sizes. The presentation of each complementizer consists of examples and tests indicating its merging location in the articulated CP field.

A.   Regular transitive verbs
These verbs assign two unshared thematic roles, irrespective of whether their direct object is a DP or a CP. The CP is always full-fledged (i.e., ForceP > FinP > TP in cartography) and it is headed by the following complementizers:

- *că* 'that'   (< Lat. *quod*; Coteanu et al./DEX 1998: 147)

This complementizer, illustrated in (18), is very productive in both Old and Modern Romanian, and it types the clause as declarative (versus interrogative). *Că* 'that' is high in the CP, because it precedes Focus and Topic constituents.

(18)	a.	*vornicul*	*Ureche*	*scrie*	*de a*		*zice*	*[că*	*["nu*	*numai*
		minister.the	Ureche	writes	DE INF		say	that	not	only

letopiseţul	*nostru,*	*ce*	*şi*	*cărţi*	*striine]*	*am cercat*
chronicle.the	our	but	also	books	foreign	have.1=searched

ca să	*putem*	*afla*	*adevărul"]*
CA SUBJ	can.1PL	find	truth.the

'Minister Ureche writes to say that "I have searched not only our chronicles but also foreign books in order to find out the truth".' (Ureche 64)

b.
scrie	*letopiseţul*	*cel*	*ungurescu*	*[că*	*[oarecândŭ]*	*[pre*	*aceste*
writes	chronicle.the	the	Hungarian	that	Sometime	on	these

locuri]	*au fost*	*lăcuind*	*tătarii.*
lands	have=been	living	Tatars.the

'The Hungarian chronicle writes that, at some point, there were Tatars living on these lands.' (Ureche 68)

Recomplementation (Paoli 2003) is an option in Old Romanian, so *că* 'that' may be spelled out twice in the same CP, as in (19). This option is lost in Modern Romanian.[20]

(19)
Gândindu-să	*că*	*întru*	*acele*	*amestecături*	*că*	*va putea*
thinking=REFL	that	in	those	shufflings	that	will.3SG=can

să-şi	*facă*	*şi*	*el*	*loc.*
SUBJ=REFL	make.SUBJ.3	also	he	room

'Thinking that during those shufflings he could also make room for himself.'

(Ureche {41r})

Că 'that' may also occur in adjunct clauses, under lexical or null prepositions (e.g., *(pentru) că* 'because that'; *fiindcă* 'being that'/'since'). Another frequent use of *că* in Old Romanian texts is for narrative cohesion, where it begins a new sentence, almost like a transition formula, semantically equivalent to English root clause *for* – see (20).

(20) a.
Că	*ei*	*nefiind*	*tocmiţi*	*de*	*război,*	*nemica*	*de*
for	they	not.being	prepared	for	war	nothing	of

arme	*nu*	*s-au apucatŭ,*	*ci*	*de*	*fugă*
weapons	not	REFL-have=grabbed	but	of	running

'For, since they were not prepared for war, they did not grab any weapons but started running.' (Ureche 93)

b.
Voao	*vă iaste*	*lucru*	*biserica*	*să*	*păziţi,*	*iară*
you.DAT	you.PL.DAT=is	task	church.the	SUBJ	guard.2PL	and

nu	*de războaie*	*să*	*grijiţi,*	*că*	*gândul*	*mieu*
not	of wars	SUBJ	worry.2PL	since	though.the	my

voi	*nu-l*	*ştiţi,*	*numai*	*eu*	*singur.*	*Că*
you.NOM	not=it	know.2PL	only	I	alone	for

de	*aşi pricepe*	*că*	*haina*	*dipre*	*mine*	*ştie*

---

[20] In a feature based account (e.g., van Gelderen 2011), *că* spells out C with a [u-T] feature and values it as [+finite]. In cartography, where CP is split, [u-T] is in Fin; hence, *că* spells out the tense feature only when it is in Fin, under recomplementation, as in (19).

| if | | would.1SG=realize | that | garment.the | on | me | | knows |

gândul   *mieu,*   *în*   *foc*   *o aş băga-o.*
though.the   my   in   fire   it=would.1SG=throw=it
'Your task is to guard the church, not to worry about wars, because you don't know my thoughts, only I do. For, if I would ever come to realize that my garment knows my thoughts, I would throw even that in the fire.' (Ureche 110)

In configurations as in (20), *că* 'for' is clause initial and higher than Topic and Focus constituents. These constructions resemble the phenomenon of *root insubordination* (Evans 2007), except that they are always context dependent (i.e., they cannot occur as 'out-of-the-blue' utterances).

- *cum* 'that'   (< Lat. *quomodo*; Coteanu et al./DEX 1998: 248)

This element is completely equivalent to *că* 'that' in subordinate (but not in root clauses), where it is clause initial. Thus, in clausal complements, *cum* 'that' may precede Topic and Focus constituents, as in (21). In (21), the matrix verb is considered either a double transitive or as part of a frozen expression *a scoate cuvânt* 'to inform'.

(21)   *scoţândŭ*   *cuvântŭ*   *în*   *toate*   *laturile*   ***cum***   *[Dispot]*   *au murit*
          spreading   word   in   all   parts   that   Despot   has=died
          şi   *înţelegândŭ*   ***cum***   *[Alixandru*   *vodă]*   *[oştile*   *sale]*
          and   understanding   that   Alexandru   King   armies   his
          au răşchirat
          has=dismissed
          'spreading the word all over that Despot has died and understanding that King Alexandru has dismissed his army' (Ureche 179)

Cum 'that' is homophonous to the interrogative *cum* 'how', and both occur in clausal complements, as in (22a-d). However, their distribution is different: *cum* 'that' may be separated from the selecting head (V or N) by constituents, as in (21) above and (22a, b), which is typical of complementizers in non-quantified domains, whereas *cum* 'how' is generally adjacent to the verb, as in (22c, d), which is typical of *wh*-phrases.[21]

(22)   a.   *el*   *ştie*   *bine*   ***cum***   *[Dispot]*   *au murit*
             he   knows   well   that   Despot   has=died
             'he knows well that Despot has died' (Ureche 179)

     b.   *au avut*   *ştire*   *şi*   *răspunsŭ*   *de*   *la*   *dânşii,*   ***cum***
             has=had   news   and   answer   from   at   them   that
             [ei]   *vor veni*   *fără*   *zăbavă.*
             they   will.3PL=come   without   delay
             'he had news and answer from them that they will come without delay' (Ureche 169)

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[21] Interrogative *cum* 'how' triggers obligatory subject-verb inversion in Modern Romanian but this rule was not as rigid in Old Romanian.

c. *Şi   dându-i   cahfè,   nu   ştiè   **cum**   o va bè*
   and   giving=to.him   coffee   not   knew.3SG   how   it=will.3SG=drink
   'and when they offered him coffee, he did not know how he was supposed to drink it'
                      (Neculce 109)

d. *Ţara   era   puţină   şi   boierii   era   tineri,   nu*
   country.the   was   small   and   boyars.the   Were   young   not
   *ştiè   **cum**   or schivernisi.*
   knew.3PL   how   will.3PL=manage
   'The country was small and the boyars were young, so he did not know how they
   were going to manage.' (Neculce 194)

We take the word order difference between (22a, b) versus (22c, d) to follow from the fact that the complementizer *cum* 'that' merges directly in declarative Force, and does not interfere with Topic/Focus constituents, whereas *cum* 'how' is an adverbial XP which moves to Spec,FocusP and disallows competing chains.

- *cum că* 'that'

Cum că 'that' is a complex complementizer that precedes Topic/Focus constituents as in (23). Thus, the complex *cum că* has the same location, i.e., Force, as *că* 'that' and *cum* 'that' when they are merged separately. This is an example of split Force, and typically occurs in embedded (versus root) clauses: *cum* checks a [subordination] feature (in the spirit of Haegeman 2004), while *că* checks the [clause typing] feature.[22]

(23) a. *Înţelegând   Ştefan   vodă   **cum că**   [adevărat]   [Radul   vodă]   [domnul*
     realizing   Stefan   King   that   indeed   Radu.the   King   lord.the
     muntenesc]   şi   [cu   oastea   sa]   îi vine   asupră,
     Wallachian   and   with   army.the   his   to.him=comes   against
     ghenarie   13   zile   au trecut   Seretiul
     January   13   days   has=crossed   Siret.the
     'King Stefan, realizing that King Radu, the Wallachian lord, is indeed invading with
     his army, he crossed the river Siret on January 13th.' (Ureche 101)

    b. *Hârea   chielariul   i-au spus   **cum că**   [şi   ţara]*
     Hirea   housekeeper.the   to.him=has=said   that   Even   country.the
     să vorovéşte   să-l   părăsască
     REFL=talks   SUBJ=him   abandon.SUBJ.3
     'The housekeeper Hirea told him that even his fellow countrymen plan to abandon
     him.'(Ureche 153)

All the above complementizers occur mostly with indicative verbs, as seen in our examples so far, but sometimes we also find them with conditionals and subjunctives, as it will be shown later in this book (in Chapter 3 and 8, respectively).

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[22] Cognilio & Zegrean (2012) also show evidence for split Force in root interrogatives in Romanian.

B.   Control and raising verbs

Verbs with optional control behave as regular transitives in their NOC version, but share a thematic role with the embedded verb in their OC version. Derivationally, this translates to a full-fledged CP complement for the former, but a truncated CP complement for the latter. Raising verbs are devoid of thematic roles, they only select an event, which merges as a truncated CP complement. Notably, all the complementizers relevant to control and raising verbs surface lower than the complementizers of the *că* 'that' class in Force discussed above.

- *de*   (< Lat. *de*; Coteanu et al./DEX 1998: 263)

This complementizer is the most widespread option in the sentential complements of control and raising verbs in Old Romanian. It heads non-finite clauses in selected contexts and is compatible with various grammatical mood forms, as in (24).[23] Notably, the non-finite clauses include indicatives under *de*, which leads us, in Chapter 6, to propose the dissociation between modality and mood, only the former being relevant for the finite value (see also Chapter 1, Section 2).

(24) a. *s-au apucat*   *Urechi*   *vornicul*   ***de***   ***au scris***   **indicative**
          REFL=has=started   Ureche   minister.the   DE   has=written
          din   *istoriile*   *cele*   *a doi*   *istorici*   *leşeşti*
          from   histories.the   the   of two   historians   Polish
          'Minister Ureche started to write on the basis of two works by Polish historians'
                                   (Neculce 103)
      b. *Şi*   *cel tânăr*   *nu*   *vru*   ***de să***   ***treacă***   *acest lucru*   **subjunctive**
          and   the young   not   wanted   DE SUBJ   pass.SUBJ   this thing
          'And the young one did not want this opportunity to pass' (PO {117})

      c. *Şi*   *lui*   *încă-i*   *va scrie*   *atunce*   ***de a***   **infinitive**
          and   to.him still=to.him   will=write   then   DE INF
          veni   *cu*   *oastea*   *lui*   *la Tighine*
          come   with   army.the   his   at Tighine
          'And he will then still write to him to come with his army to Tighine' (Neculce 264)

      d. *Şi*   *deaca*   *se săturară*   ***de***   ***jefuit***   **supine**
          and   when   REFL=sated.3PL   DE   pillaged.SUP
          şi   ***de***   ***tăiat***,   *aprinseră*
          and   DE   killed.SUP   burned.3PL
          şi   *cetatea,*   *de*   *arse*   *până*   *în temelie*
          also   fort.the   DE   burned.3SG   Up   in foundation
          'And when they had enough of pillaging and killing, they also burned the fort, until it

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[23] The conditional mood form is also paired with *de* but in conditional clauses, e.g. (i). Here, *de* is directly merged in Force; see Chapter 8.

(i)   *Doar*   *niscaiva*   *veleaturi*   *a*   *anilor*   ***de***   *s-or*   *fi greşit,*
       even   few   countings   of   years.the.GEN   if   REFL=would.3=   be=erred
       iară   *celelalte*   *întru*   *adevăr*   *s-au*   *scris*
       but   others   in   truth   SE_ARB=have.3=   written
       'Even if a few calculations of the years have been wrong, the rest, however, has been written with truth.'
                                   (Neculce 104)

burned down to the ground.' (Moxa C{26v})

In (24a-d), *de* occurs in OC configurations, which involve truncated CP (i.e., ForceP is absent). It means that *de* cannot be in Force, but in Fin. This is supported by word order: Topic/Focus constituents precede *de*, as in (25a), whereas the clausal negation *nu* 'not' is at the left of *de*, as in (25b), indicating a merge position above T.

(25) a. *Acesta   îndrăzni   [cu vasăle   beseareciei]   **de**   beu   cu curvele*
         this   dared   with cups   church.the.GEN   DE   drank   with whores.the
         'This one dared to drink with the whores from the cups of the church.' (Moxa {18r})

      b. *avea   ucaz   oastea   **de**   **<u>nu</u>**   strica   nimănui   nimic*
         had.3   order   army.the   DE   not   damaged.3   nobody.DAT   nothing
         'the army had order to not cause nobody any damage' (Neculce {282})

In cartographic analyses (Rizzi 1997), *de* merges in Fin in Romance languages, in infinitive complements. The surprising factor in Old Romanian is that it also does so in other types of complements. Each of these complements will be discussed in detail (in Chapters 6-9) later in this book. At this time, the point we want to make is that Old Romanian *de* has been stripped of c-selection features -- which explains why it can combine with any type of mood inflection on verbs – which is different from what happens in other Romance languages, where *de* c-selects infinitives.

- *a*   (< Lat. *ad*; Coteanu et al./DEX 1998: 1)
  să   (< Lat. *si*; Coteanu et al./DEX 1998: 949)

These items are considered inflectional mood markers in both traditional and formal grammars (Popescu 1995; Motapanyane 1991/95; Rivero 1994; Cornilescu 2000; Alboiu 2002 a.o.). The assumption is that the grammatical mood of a verb is identified as a subjunctive if *să* precedes the verb, as in (26a); the same goes for infinitives, where the grammatical mood is signalled by the preverbal *a*, as in (26b).

(26) a. *n-au ştiut   [de   dânşii   [**să**   scrie]]*
         not=has=known   of   them   SUBJ   write.3
         'he did not know to write about them' (Ureche 73)

      b. *i-au căutatŭ   iarăşi   [**a**   să întoarce   înapoi   la Ţara   Leşască]*
         to.him=has=tried   again   INF   REFL=return   back   to Country   Polish
         'he tried to return to Poland again' (Ureche 82)

The cartographic approach to the same structure will allow us to revisit the status of *a* and *să* and to associate them with modality, rather than grammatical mood. This change of perspective leads us, in Chapter 7 and 8, to also amend the syntactic definition of these items.

Since detailed tests on the complementizer status of these items will be presented later in the book, we anticipate the discussion here only by pointing out that both items are higher than

Neg *nu* 'not', as in (27), and, according to the mapping in Chapter 1 (Section 2, (17)), that is the first indication that their merge position is in the CP field, not in TP.

(27) a. *nu   să cade   omului   grec   a   **nu** şti   legile   grecilor*
        not   REFL=befits man.the.DAT   Greek   INF not know laws.the   Greeks.the.GEN
        'it does not befit a Greek man not to know the laws of the Greeks'
                                            BB {PrefaţăXXXI}
    b. *să   vă feriţi   **să**   **nu**   luaţi   mânie   lu   Domnedzeu*
        SUBJ   REFL=care.2PL   SUBJ   not   take.2PL   anger   of   God
        'be careful not to attract God's anger' (PO {9})

- *ca* 'that'   (< Lat. *quia*; Coteanu et al./DEX 1998: 123)

In Old Romanian, the complementizer *ca* 'that' occurs mostly in conjunction with *să*:

(28)   *Încă   ne rugăm   **ca să**   ne păzească   sfânt   locaşul   acesta...*
         also   REFL=pray   CA SUBJ   to.us=guard.SUBJ.3   saint   church.the this
         'We also pray that he guards this sanctified church of ours' (Dosoftei L {287})

Ca 'that' precedes *să* on an optional basis, and *ca să* occurs in OC constructions, as in (29), where the clause is truncated (i.e., ForceP level does not project).

(29)   *Şi   s-au giurat   **ca să**   nu   mai taie   de acum   domnŭ*
         and   REFL=has=promised   CA SUBJ   not   more=cut.3   from now   king
         de Moldova.
         of Moldova
         'And he promised not to kill any king of Moldova from now on.' (Neculce 113)

The complementizer system has changed considerably from Old to Modern Romanian:
- *De* has been eliminated from subjunctive and infinitive complements to verbs; *de*-indicative complements are archaic and unproductive (Hill 2004); only the supine complements headed by *de* are productive (Dragomirescu 2013). Note however that *de* is maintained in the infinitive complements selected by nouns (Hill 2013a).
- *Că* 'that' is maintained and productive in the same configurations, but *cum* and *cum că* have been specialized to reportative sentential complements with evidential/epistemic reading (Alboiu & Hill 2013).
- *A* 'to' is productive with infinitives wherever the infinitive clause is preserved (e.g., under selection by nouns and in adverbial adjuncts; Alboiu 2002).
- *Să* 'to' is preserved and productive in subjunctive clauses, alone or in conjunction with *ca* 'that'. However, *ca să* surfaces as disjoint items in standard Modern Romanian, as they are separated by fronted material. That is, the merging site for *ca* 'that' has changed, from Fin to Force.

3. Clitics

Three classes of syntactic clitics are introduced in section 3.1: unstressed pronouns, auxiliary verbs and short adverbs.[24] Section 3.2 focuses on a phonological innovation in clitic pronouns that arises in Old Romanian. Tests clarifying the clitic status of the items discussed and their location in the clause hierarchy are proposed in section 3.3. Finally, section 3.4 provides a short introduction to syntactic operations that may arise on the basis of pronominal clitics: Differential Object Marking, Clitic Doubling, Clitic Left Dislocation, and Double Spell-out.

3.1. The list of clitics

Old Romanian clitics (like Modern Romanian clitics) cover pronouns, auxiliary verbs and some short adverbs.

3.1.1 Clitic pronouns

There are two series of clitic pronouns in Old Romanian: non-syllabic and syllabic. Both series cover direct and indirect object pronouns, with morphological marking for Accusative and Dative Case, respectively. There is no pronominal clitic paradigm for subjects. Table 1 below lists the pronouns in their standard Modern Romanian orthography, since the list is identical to the Old Romanian system. Some of these forms have slightly different spellings in texts, and such variations are mentioned below Table 1. The paradigm of the corresponding strong pronouns is also provided, for comparison. The data come from Densuşianu (1901/1997: 529-534) and Frâncu (2009: 50-53).

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[24] There are also possessive clitics in Old Romanian, which we do not discuss in this book, since they are not relevant for syntax of the verb.

Table 1: Old Romanian clitic pronouns

Person	Syllabic		Non-syllabic		Strong pronouns	
	Accusative	Dative	Accusative	Dative	Accusative	Dative
1	mă	îmi	m	mi	mine	mie
2	te	îţi	-	ţ(i)	tine	ţie
3	îl (M.)	îi	l (M.)	i	el (M.)	lui (M.)
	o (F.)		o (F.)		ea (F.)	ei (F.)
4	ne	ne	-	-	noi	nouă
5	vă	vă	v	v	voi	vouă
6	îi (M.)	le	i (M.)	-	ei (M.)	lor
	le (F.)		-		ele (F.)	

Table 1 needs the following clarifications:

- **Reflexive pronouns** are not included in the Table. They are identical to the personal pronouns for the first and second persons, singular and plural, for Accusative and Dative. The only different form is for the third person, which is the syllabic *se*, with the variant *să*, in Accusative (masculine and feminine, singular and plural). The corresponding non-syllabic form is *s*. For third person Dative, the syllabic form is *îşi* (masculine and feminine, singular and plural) with the non-syllabic form *şi*.
- The reflexive *se* is also used for the arbitrary, non-referential clitic.
- Third person clitics stand not only for masculine and feminine natural genders but also for **inanimate** nouns (e.g., the equivalent of Engl. *it*), in line with their grammatical gender.
- The syllabic forms with **initial *î*** [[ɨ]] (high, central, unrounded) do not appear much in the early texts, as they start to spread by mid17th century. We discuss these forms in section 3.2 below.
- **Spelling variations** apply to most clitics: *ne* as *nă, ni*; *vă* as *vi*; *le* as *li, lă*.
- In the paradigm of **strong pronouns**, the third person had competing forms: *el* 'he'; *ea* 'she' (< Lat. *ille, illa, illud*) versus *însu/nusu* 'he'; *însa/nusa* 'she' (< Lat. *ipse, ipsa, ipsum*). In this form, the latter have been lost in Modern Romanian. There are also spelling variations on which we do not dwell since this paradigm does not concern our tests for verb movement.

Syllabic and non-syllabic pronominal clitics always show strict adjacency to the verb or to the auxiliary, in both proclisis and enclisis. Proclisis with syllabic clitics is shown in (30a), enclisis, in (30b). Syllabic clitics obligatorily target the verb or the auxiliary, but never other constituents.

(30)   a.   *trebuiaşte   a   le ţine*
              needs   INF   them=hold
              'there is need to keep them' (PO {6})

       b.   *poţi-le   numǎra?*

can.2SG=them   count
'can you count them?' (PO {50})

Non-syllabic clitics, on the other hand, can phonologically lean on other constituents but their strict adjacency to the verbal head in T indicates that, syntactically, these also always target the verbal head. They occur as proclitics on auxiliaries or lexical verbs that begin with a vowel, as in (31a) and (31b), respectively. If the verbal element begins with a consonant, the non-syllabic clitic may either occur in proclisis by leaning on the constituent to the left (the verb is still adjacent on the right), as in (31c), or it occurs in enclisis, as in (31d).

(31)   a.   *şi   l-am blagoslovit*
             and   him=have.1=blessed
             'and I blessed him' (PO {92})

    b.   *Şi   l-adusără*
             and   him=brought.3PL
             'and they brought him' (BB {107})

    c.   *şi-l   voiu face*
             and=him   will.1SG=make
             'and I'll make him' (PO {55})

    d.   *pre   feciorul   ce   Agara   născu   lui   chiemă-l   Izmail*
             DOM   son.the   which   Agara   bore   to.him   called=him   Izmail
             'the son Agara bore to him, they named Izmail' (PO {53})

     Clitic pronouns may cluster together in proclisis or enclisis. In either position, the order of clitics is rigid, with the Dative preceding the Accusative. The clusters lean only on the verbal element, and never on constituents to the left, even when they only consist of non-syllabic clitics.

(32)   a.   *care   i s-au arătat   lui*
             which   to.him=REFL=have=shown   to.him
             'which have shown themselves to him' (BB {FacereaCapXII})

    b.   *obrezându-i-se   toată   limba*
             cleaning=to.him=REFL   all   tongue.the
             'having his entire tongue cleaned' (BB {IisusNaviCapV})

Clitic clusters contain not only pronouns but also auxiliaries and short adverbs, which are discussed separately.

3.1.2 Clitic auxiliaries
     Old Romanian clitic auxiliaries are all involved in forming complex tenses, and they consist of grammaticalized forms of the verbs: *avea* 'have'; *fi* 'be'; *vrea* 'want'. Some auxiliaries have different forms compared to their lexical cognates (e.g., auxiliary *au* 'has' versus lexical

are 'has'; *va* or *a* 'will.3SG' versus *vrea* 'want.3SG'), which reflects attrition during the process of grammaticalization.

Clitic auxiliaries are syllabic. The forms based on *avea* 'have' and *vrea* 'want' occur in proclisis (33a, c) or enclisis (33b, d), on par with the syllabic clitic pronouns. The forms based on *fi* 'be' are only proclitic after *a* and *să* (see Section 2 above), as in (33e), since these complementizers block high verb movement.

(33) a. *Şi   ea   era   la Hazvi   când   **au** născut   pre   dânşii.*
          and   she   was   in Hazvi   when   has=born   DOM   them
          'And she was in Hazvi when she delivered them.' (BB {FacereaCapXXXVIII})

      b. *greşit-**au**   norodul   acesta   greşală   mare*
          erred=has   people.the   this   error   big
          'the people here have committed a grave error' (BB {63})

      c. *oricine   să **va** uita   precum   să cade*
          everybody   REFL=will.3SG=look   as   REFL=befits
          'everybody will look as it's befitting' (BB {PrefaţăXXXVII})

      d. *ucide-**voiu**   cu   sabia   mea,   stăpâni-**va**   mâna   mea!*
          kill=will.1SG   with   sword.the   my   dominate=will.3SG   hand.the   my
          'I will kill with my sword, my hand will rule!' (BB {168,IeşireaCapXV})

      e. *să   **fie** făcut   după   cuvântul   acesta*
          SUBJ   be.3=done   after   word.the   this
          'to have done according to this word' (BB {34})

Some philologists argue that these auxiliaries were not always clitics; they were probably free morphemes at a non-attested time in the language, and only relics appear in the earlier texts (Zamfir 2007: 158-163 and references therein). The non-clitic status of the auxiliary is indicated by the lexical material that could be inserted between the auxiliary and the main verb, as in (34).

(34) a. *când   **au**   [ei]   **viiat***
          when   have   they   lived
          'when they have lived' (PO {8})

      b. ***va**   [şi   altele]   **tipări***
          will.3SG   also   others   print
          'it will print others as well' (PO {11})

Nevertheless, examples as in (34) are rare, and there is a debate on whether this word order was calqued by translators from the original texts (e.g., Frâncu 2009) or whether it represents a sample of an earlier status of these auxiliaries (Gheţie & Zgraon 1981). Either way, they are not

representative for the grammar of the attested Old Romanian, so we do not discuss them any further in this book.[25]

The texts display routinely, however, a series of non-clitic auxiliaries in the indicative paradigm that are all derived from *fi* 'be'. As shown in (35a, b), these are not adjacent to the verb and do not lean on other constituents. In fact, they could themselves provide support for clitics, as in (35c), where the non-clitic auxiliary supports the clitic auxiliary, and could undergo head movement (see Chapter 3). These *fi* 'be' based auxiliaries are lost in Modern Romanian.

(35) a. ***era***   *şi*   *hananei*   *şi*   *ferezei*   ***lăcuind***   *acolo*
         were   also   Hanans   also   Pharisees   living   there
         'Hanans and Pharisees were also living there' (PO {46})

    b. *Lavan*   *se-au* ***fost***   ***dus***   *să-ş*   *tunză*   *oile*   *lui*
         Lavan   REFL=has=been   gone   SUBJ=REFL   shear.SUBJ.3   sheep.the   his
         'Lavan had gone to shear his sheep' (BB {23})

    c. ***Fost***-*au*   ***tremes***   *Pavel*   *la*   *acest*   *oraş*
         been=has   sent   Pavel   to   this   town
         'he had sent Pavel to this town' (NT {483})

Clitic auxiliaries cluster with clitic pronouns, and, in this case, the morpheme ordering is rigid: the pronouns (with the Dative > Accusative sequence) precede the auxiliary, irrespective of whether they all occur in enclisis (36a) or proclisis (36b).

(36) a. *alesu*-***i-au***   *Dumnezău*   *pre*   *oamenii*   *săi*   *păstori*
         chose=them=has   God   DOM   men.the   his   shepherds
         'God chose his shepherd men' (NT {109})

    b. *pre*   *carii*   ***i-au*** *dat*   *Dumnezău*   *supt*   *biruinţa*   *lor*
         DOM   which.the   them=has=given   God   under   victory.the   their
         'which God delivered in their power' (NT {111})

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[25] Dragomirescu (2013b) presents data with non-clitic auxiliaries, showing that any type of XP could occur in-between AUX and V. Crucially, the auxiliaries are in T, because they are inflected and preceded by negation and clitic pronouns, see (i); and the verb is still moving to a head in the TP field, because post-verbal subjects are allowed; see (ii). Thus, the non-clitic status of auxiliaries did not have any impact on the parametric setting for verb movement; it only allowed for XP movement to non-argumental Spec positions between the two verbal heads (presumably, with the auxiliary in T and the verb in a lower Asp). There is no evidence of AUX-to-COMP.

(i)   *şi*   *firea*   *doară*   <u>***nu***</u>   *se-**au***   *de*   *toate*   ***domirit***
     and   being.the   however   not   REFL=has   of   all   made.sense
     'however, our being hasn't made sense of all this' (CC210 apud Dragomirescu 2013b)

(ii)   *aşa*   *se-**au***   *tare*   ***puternicit***   <u>***foametea***</u>   *în*   *pământul*   *Canaanului*
     thus   REFL=has   strongly   intensified   hunger.the   in   land.the   Cannan.GEN
     'thus, the hunger has strongly increased in the land of Canaan'
     (PO 166 apud Dragomirescu 2013b)

3.1.3 Clitic adverbs

Some short adverbs are also classified as clitics (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Cornilescu 2000 a.o.), for example the repetitive *tot*, the intensifier *prea* and the plurifunctional *mai* in (37).

(37) a. *au găsit   acolo   un doftor,   de-i **tot** slobodziea   sângeli*
          has=found   there   a doctor   who=to.him=repeatedly=drained.3   blood.the
          din   obraz   şi-l   boţiea   la   nas
          from   cheek   and=him   massaged.3   on   nose
          'he found a doctor there, who kept draining the blood from his cheeks, and massaged his nose' (Neculce 121)

      b. *s-au **prea** mâniet   şi   l-au adus   pre   acel   Nicolai*
          REFL=has=too=angered   and   him=has=brought   DOM   that   Nicolae
          Milescul   înaintea   lui
          Milescu.the   before   him
          'he got too angry and brought that Nicolae Milescu before him' (Neculce 121)

      c. *Şi   **mai** aşteptă   încă   7 dzile*
          and   still=waited   more   7 days
          'and he further waited for another seven days' (PO {32})

      d. *Iară   Marco   evanghelist   **mai** adaus-**au**   şi   "blagoslovită   vine*
          but   Mark   evangelist   more=added=has   also   blessed   comes
          împărăţiia…
          kingdom.the
          'But the evangelist Mark also added the "here comes the blessed kingdom…"'
                              (Coresi L {110})

Clitic adverbs are always proclitic, even in the presence of enclitics, as in (37d), which is an indication that they follow different rules for merging than the pronominal and auxiliary clitics. Indeed, the short adverbs do not display the same restrictions in morpheme linearization within clitic clusters, being able to be either initial or final in the cluster, as shown in (37b) versus (38a) and (37a) versus (38b). However, the clitic adverbs cannot intervene between clitic pronouns and auxiliaries, as in (38c), based on negative evidence and on Modern Romanian.

(38) a. ***prea** se-ară fi mândrit   diavolul*
          too=REFL=would.3=be=boasted   devil.the
          'the devil would have boasted too much' (Coresi E {414})

      b. *Şi   **tot** l-au purtat   cu   voroave*
          and   again=him=has=taken.in   with   words
          'And he deceived him continuously with words' (Neculce {23})

      c. **se **prea** ară fi mândrit   //   *(î)l **tot** au purtat*
          REFL=too=would.3=be=boasted   him=again=has=taken.in

Furthermore, the short clitic *mai* has a different distribution compared to other short adverbs, as shown in (39). That is, beside its variable choice of host in (39a, b), where it procliticizes either on the non-clitic auxiliary or on the verb, it also occurs within affixal constructs, as in (39c).

(39) a. *să*   *nu*   ***mai*** *fie supăraţi*
          SUBJ   not   more=be=angered
          'let them not be upset any more' (Stef. [268],188)

      b. *oamenii* *nu*   *sufer*   *să*   *fie **mai** certaţi*   *de duhul*   *mieu*
          men.the   not   like.3PL   SUBJ   be=more=scolded   by spirit.the   my
          'men don't like being scolded by my spirit' (PO {26})

      c. *de*   *nevoie*   *mare*   <u>*ne**mai**putându*</u>   *suferi*   *ţara*
          of   need   great   not.more.can.GER   stand   country.the
          'the country not being able to put up with it because of great suffering'
                                                  (Ureche {131v})

In (39c), *mai* occurs between the affixal negation and the verb form, which indicates its affixal status. Thus, unlike the other short adverbs, which are clitics, *mai* is a prefix that enters the derivation as part of the verb/auxiliary head, and moves with the verb head as needed.

3.2. Vowel prothesis

Old Romanian displays vowel prothesis, that is, a phonological alternation by which an **initial *î*** [ɨ] (high, central, unrounded) vowel is inserted in front of a non-syllabic clitic. This has the effect of changing non-syllabic clitics into syllabic ones; for example, non-syllabic *–l* 'him' becomes the syllabic *îl* 'him'. The two paradigms remain productive in the language. The 16th century texts display only a few examples of vowel prothesis, but the texts of the following century show an intensive spread of this alternation.

Historical linguists attribute the emergence of [ɨ] to a combination of two factors (Frâncu 2009: 51): (i) proclisis becomes the preferred option; and, (ii) the vowel [u] in the final syllable of verbs with enclisis has been eliminated. That is, a verb like *arătatu* 'shown' in *arătatu-se-au* 'shown-REFL-have' (PO {170}) becomes *arătat*, and the consonantic coda disallows enclitics for phonological reasons (e.g., *arătat-se; *arătat-l). We remain agnostic as to the role of (i) and (ii) in the emergence of vowel prothesis. We only point out that the texts themselves do not provide evidence for these explanations. That is, it is unclear, from the data, whether the prothetic vowel triggered a generalized proclisis versus enclisis, or whether the emergence of a prothetic vowel was itself triggered by the tendency for proclisis that was already present in the language, due to the proclitic use of the existing syllabic paradigm of pronominal clitics (i.e., *se, te, ne, vă, le*, in all their phonological variations; see Chapter 3). There is also no evidence that there is a cause-and-effect relation between the reduction of [u] in verbs' final syllable and the emergence of the prothetic vowel on non-syllabic clitics. After all, the gerunds continue to use [u] for enclisis (e.g., *arătându-l* 'showing-him'; see Chapter 5), although the ending [u] is dropped from the gerund form in non-clitic contexts (e.g., *arătând* 'showing'). In other words, [u] is still available when the phonological environment requires it.

3.3. Tests for clitics
3.3.1. Syntactic clitics
    Phonological clitics are elements that cannot carry syllable stress; hence they are de-accented, and need a lexical (or non-clitic) host. All the clitics introduced in section 3.1 above conform to this description, because:

- They cannot occur in isolation, as an answer to a question, as in Modern Romanian (40).

(40) a. *Pe*   *cine*   *vezi?*   /   ****O.***
          DOM   whom   see.2SG   her
          'Whom do you see?'/ 'Her'.

      b. *Ai*   *văzut-o?*   /   **Da,*   ***am***.
          have.2SG=   seen=her   yes   have.1SG
          'Have you seen her?'/ 'Yes, I have.'

      c. *O*   *vezi?*   /   **Da, **tot***.   *Versus* *Da,*   ***mereu***.
          her=   see.2SG   yes still   yes   often
          'Do you see her?'/ Yes, still/often.'

- They cannot occur under coordination, unless the hosting verb is repeated, as in (41).

(41) a. **Îi*   *şi*   *le*
          them.MASC and   them.FEM   see.1SG

      b. *Îi*   *văd*   *şi*   *le*   *văd.*
          them.MASC see.1SG and   them.FEM   see.1SG
          'I see them (men) and them (women).'

      c. **Am*   *şi*   *au*   *plecat.*
          have.1SG   and   have.3PL   left

      d. *Am*   *plecat*   *şi*   *au*   *plecat.*
          have.1SG   left   and   have.3SG   left
          'I left and they left.'

Although the examples in (40) and (41) come from Modern Romanian, the form and distribution of clitics is unchanged since Old Romanian. For Old Romanain, we must count on the negative evidence (without exceptions) for the starred constructions in these examples.
    The next step is to point out that these elements are also syntactic clitics (i.e., that they require a particular syntactic host). The substitution test supports this characterization. That is, purely phonological clitics can be replaced with their non-clitic version; e.g., *stand'im* can be replaced with *stand him* (Zwart 1992). Old Romanian clitics cannot undergo this kind of substitution, as shown in (42), which indicates the syntactic specialization of the clitic pronouns.

(42) a. *Au*   *nu*   *vedeţi*   *că*   ***v-au***   *început*   *a*
          PRT   not   see.2PL   that   you=have= started   INF

vă călca	şi	pre	voi	leşii?
you=invade	also	DOM	you	Poles.the

'Don't you see that the Poles have started invading you as well?' (Costin 106)

b.

*Au	*nu*	*vedeţi*	*că*	**voi** *au*	*început*	*a*	**voi**
PRT	not	see.2PL	that	you have	started	INF	you

călca	*şi*	*pre*	*voi*	*leşii?*
invade	also	DOM	you	Poles.the

The same can be seen with adverbial clitics:

(43) a.

o	**tot**	*văd*
her=	still=	see.1SG

'I keep seeing her.'

b.

*o	**încă**	*văd*
her=	still	see.1SG

However, short adverbs that precede the clitic cluster, as in (38), allow for the substitution, as shown in (44) – the bracketed material was added to the original.

(44) a.

(mult)/	**prea**	<u>*se-ară*</u>	<u>*fi*</u> *mândrit*	*Diavolul*
much/	too	REFL=would.3=	be=boasted	devil.the

'the devil would have boasted too much' (Coresi E {414})

b.

Şi	**(într-una)/**	**tot**	<u>*l-au*</u> *purtat*	*cu*	*voroave*
and	endlessly/	again	him=has=taken.in	with	words

'And deceived him continuously with words' (Neculce {23})

As shown in (44), when the short adverbs *prea* and *tot* precede (versus follow) the clitic cluster, they can be substituted with AdvPs, such as *mult* 'much' and *într-una* 'endlessly', indicating that they are not syntactic clitics in this position, unlike their clitic occurrence between the auxiliary and the verb. Given this volatile status and peculiar distribution, we do not include short adverbs in our tests that use linearization as an assessment criterion for clitic placement.

Auxiliary clitics may have the same form as their non-clitic counterparts. However, as clitics, they cannot be inflected for tense, whereas their non-clitic counterparts can, akin to non-clitic auxiliaries in other languages (see the English glosses in (45)). These auxiliaries merge directly in T, either because they have no thematic role (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994) or because of their aspectual semantics.

(45) a.

am	*văzut-o*
have.1=	seen=her

'I have seen her.'

b.

*aveam	*văzut-o*	/	*o*	*văzusem*
had.1	seen=her		her=	seen-PAST.PERF.1SG

Intended: 'I had seen her.'

c.

am	*o*	*carte*

have.1   a   book
'I have a book.'

d.   ***aveam***   *o*   *carte*
      had.1   a   book
      'I had a book.'

3.3.2. V-oriented clitics

Typologically, syntactic clitics are associated with a certain position in the clause hierarchy, either in the TP domain (if they are '*v*/V-oriented') or in the CP domain (if they are 'C-oriented').[26] Since (Old) Romanian clitics are obligatorily adjacent to the verb, they are '*v*/V-oriented' and situated in the TP, which also hosts the raised verb. Compare the clitic-verb orders discussed so far with the placement of clitics in Old Church Slavonic, a language that displays 'C-oriented' clitics, as in (46).

(46)   *ouže*   ***ti***   *[neprijazně]*   *ne*   *oudobǎjajetǎ*
        no.longer   =you   disfavor   not   rules
        'disfavor no longer rules you'   (from Pancheva 2005:116)

In (46), the clitic is in second position in the clause and it is separated from the verb by the constituent in subject position. The location of the clitic is in the CP field, being higher than TP hosting the negation and the preverbal subject (see Pancheva 2007 for situating neg>aux/V in T or in Neg).

The contrast between the V-oriented clitics in Old Romanian on the one hand, and the C-oriented clitics in Old Church Slavonic on the other hand, is important because most Old Romanian religious texts are translated from the religious texts written in Church Slavonic. Hence, the translators, who tried to preserve the word order of the original text, had to continuously negotiate the position and the use of clitic pronouns in the target language. As a result, we can see calques that attempt to copy the second position clitic on initial V or of enclitics to V in general (e.g., *află-se* 'finds-REFL'), or keep the pronominal clitics separated from the verb (Zamfir 2007), as we saw in (46).

3.3.3. Old Romanian clitics are in T

The next step is to determine the position of the Old Romanian clitics in the TP field. In this respect, we focus on pronoun and auxiliary clitics and disregard, from now on, the clitic adverbs. The first indication comes from the position of clitic pronouns and auxiliaries in relation to negation: when *nu* 'not' is present, the clitics always linearize lower, as in (47).

(47)   a.   *ce*   ***nu***   *te*   *lăsa*   *voiei*   *lui*
              but   not   you=   leave   will.the.DAT   his
              'don't obey his will'   (PO {22})

        b.   *lăuntru*   ***nu***   *l-au*   *închis*

---

[26] For a distinction between C-oriented and V-/I-/T-oriented clitics see see Roberts (2010) and references therein. Crucially, clitics target phase heads, that is, either *v* or C (Roberts 2010: 65). In this respect, Romanian clitics target v (either in their initial merge position, e.g. *mai*, or as a result of V/*v*-toT raising).

inside   not   him=have   shut

'they haven't shut him inside' (PO {250})

Considering the non-clitic nature of *nu* 'not', which we discussed in section 1 above, and the hierarchy Neg > T in Romance (Zanuttini 1995), the word order in (47) shows that the clitic cluster is in TP field.

       Within TP, the auxiliaries (clitic or non-clitic) occupy a position associated with phi-features (i.e., subject-verb agreement), but not with the [tense] feature. This has been noticed since Dobrovie-Sorin (1994): the auxiliaries cannot be inflected for tense, in the way the English equivalent auxiliaries can (e.g., *has – had; will - would*). Since phi-features are associated with T, the auxiliaries merge in T, and [tense] is valued compositionally by the auxiliary and the verb form (which is in the infinitive, past participle or gerund). Pronominal clitics precede the auxiliary and form a cluster with it, which means that they are also situated in T. Later in this chapter we formalize this co-occurrence along a finer grained analysis of the TP, following the insights from Sportiche (1998) and Ciucivara (2009). For now, the point is that the data allow us to conclude that the Old Romanian clitics are in TP. This conclusion conforms to previous analyses that situate clitic pronouns in the inflectional head (I) in Romance languages, in general (e.g., Kayne 1991). Crucially, this position is constant, irrespective of proclisis or enclisis, as evidenced by the identical morpheme ordering in the clitic cluster in both instances, as further shown in (48).

(48)   a.   ***l-au***   *pus*
                    him=have=   put
                    'they put him' (Neculce 109)

        b.   *pusu-**l-au***
                    put=him=have
                    'they put him' (Neculce 134)

The constant pronoun > auxiliary ordering of morphemes in the clitic cluster indicates that the enclitic pronoun is not in its thematic position within vP, but in T, above the auxiliary.

       The theoretical assumption we make here is that Old Romanian clitics are lexically neutral for being used in proclisis or enclisis. This goes against hypotheses such as in Condoravi & Kiparsky (2002), where the equivalent Greek clitics are analyzed as word-level prefixes. If that were the case, then we would expect clitic pronouns to appear in prefix strings with the affixal negation *ne-*, in the way *mai* was shown to do in (39c). However, this is not an option, as clitic pronouns are always post-verbal with gerunds, as shown in (49a, b), and strings similar to Neg > *mai* as in (49c) are ruled out, as in (49d).

(49) a. *Iară*   *sluga*   *aceaia*   *carele*   *ştie*   *voia*   *domnu-său*
           but   servant   that   who.the   knows   will.the   master=his
           şi   ***ne**gătindu-**să***   *şi*   *nefăcând*   *voia*   *lui,*
           and   not.preparing=REFL   and   not.doing   will.the   his
           cu   *mai*   *mult*   *va fi bătut*
           with   more   much   will.3SG=be=beaten
           'But that servant who knows his master's will and yet does not apply himself and

does not accomplish his master' s will shall be beaten even harder.' (NT {240})

b. *Iară   zise   mie   Duhul   să   mergŭ   cu   ei,*
   but   said.3   to.me   Spirit.the SUBJ   go.1SG   with   them
   neîndoindu-mă   *nemică*
   not.doubting=REFL   nothing
   'But the Spirit told me to go with them and not doubt anything' (NT {331})

c. ***nemai****răbdându*   *Dumnezeu*
   not.more.suffering   God
   'God not suffering this any longer' (CM II {72})

d. **nesă**gătindu;   ***nemă****îndoindu*
   not.REFL.3.preparing   not.REFL.1.doubting

Given the linearization restrictions in (49), the position of clitics in relation to the verb is exclusively syntax driven (as proposed for Greek clitics in Mavrogiorgos 2009).

3.4. Clitic based operations

This book does not discuss the syntax of nominal expressions (i.e., Determiner Phrases - DPs), which can also restrict the distribution of clitic pronouns, the latter qualifying as resumptive or doubling in relation to DPs. Since instances of such relations occur in our examples, a brief overview of possibilities is in order. The purpose of this section is purely informative and meant to aid the reader in keeping apart phenomena that are exclusively related to the DP syntax and which we do not elaborate on, from phenomena relevant to the CP syntax, which is what the book focuses on.

3.4.1. Clitic doubling (CD)

Clitic doubling (CD) is the operation by which a DP in direct or indirect object position has a clitic copy on the verb (i.e., the clitic form agrees in phi-features and Case with the respective DP), as in (50).

(50) a. *lăsămu-**l***   ***elu***   *de-a*   *stânga*
             leave.1PL=him   it   of-to   left
             'we leave it on the left' (CV *Apost.*, 21:3 apud Tasmowski 2008)

        b. *se*   ***me** treacă*   ***mine***   *acestŭ*   *paharŭ*
             SUBJ   me=pass.SUBJ.3   me   this   cup
             'let this cup pass me' (*Evang.* [SB] Matei 26:39 apud Tasmowski 2008)

        c. *Iară*   *să*   ***i-au***   *domnu-său*   *dat*   ***lui***   *muiare*
             but   if   to.him=has   lord.the=his   given   to.him   woman
             'But if his lord gave him a woman…' (PO {246})

        d. *le pusă*   *într-acea*   *svântă*   *besearică*   *ce*   ***i-au făcut***
             them=put   in-that   saint   church   that   to.him=have=made
             svinţiii   ***sale***
             holiness.the.DAT   his
             'he deposited them in that saintly church that they made for his holiness'
                                        (Dosoftei VS {62v})

In (50), the clitic pronoun agrees with the strong pronoun or with the full-fledged DP in direct (50a, b) or indirect (50c, d) object position, in Accusative and Dative Case, respectively. Clitic doubling of this type is rare in Old Romanian[27] and is limited to some early texts, where it occurs in alternation with non-doubled nouns or pronouns in object position, as in (51).[28]

(51) a. *iaca*   *pierde-voiŭ*   ***ei***   *cu*   *pământul.*
             PRT   lose-will.1SG   them   with   land.the
             'there you are, I'll lose them together with the land' (PO {28})

        b. *şi*   *tremease*   ***Avimeleg***
             and   sent.3   Avimeleg
             'and he sent Avimeleg' (PO {64})

        c. *au dat*   *foc*   ***besearicii***
             have.3=given   fire   church.the.DAT
             'they set fire to the church' (Dosoftei VS {105r})

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[27] See Hill & Tasmowski (2008) for a possible explanation for these rare occurrences.

[28] CD as in (50) is the norm in Aromanian, e.g. (i).
      (i)   ***L**$_k$-am*   *vidzută*   ***Petri**$_k$.*
                him-have   seen   Peter
                'I saw Peter.'   (from Mišeska Tomić 2008: 84)

d.	*au dat*	**lui**	*oi*	*şi*	*boi*
	has=given	to.him	sheep	and	oxes

'he has given him sheep and oxes' (PO {79})

3.4.2. Differential Object Marking (DOM)

Some of our examples display the gloss DOM in front of certain nouns or pronouns. DOM stands for *differential object marking* (a term proposed in Bossong 1985), and refers to a phenomenon by which a particle (originating from a preposition in Old Romanian; Mardale 2015) is inserted in front of DPs in direct object position. In Old Romanian, the DOM marker is mostly *pre*, with the variant *pe*.

Various formal analyses have been proposed for the DOM-ed DPs, the most influential being *Kayne's generalization*. Kayne (1975) considers (what is currently termed) DOM as a rescue operation for the loss of Accusative Case marking on DPs. This analysis relies on the overlap between DOM and the presence of Clitic Doubling: a clitic pronoun that doubles a DP, as in (50), absorbs the Accusative Case of the verb, so the DP object needs an alternative Case source, which is satisfied by the preposition *pre*.

This analysis is problematic for Old Romanian for the simple reason that DOM is divorced from CD, as we saw in (50) where CD is present but there is no DOM. Furthermore, DOM seems optional, as it may or may not take place, in the same context, as shown by the options in (52).

(52) a.

dându	*vina*	*lui*	*Ştefan*	*Radul-vodă*	*că*	*au lăsat*	
putting	fault.the	to	Stefan	Radu.the-king	that	has=abandoned	
scaunul	*să*	*cuprindză*	**leşii**		*cu*	*blăstemăţiia*	*lui*
throne.the	SUBJ	surround.SUBJ.3	Poles.the		with	madness.the	his

'blaming king Stefan Radu for having abandoned his court in order to surround the Poles in his madness' (Costin 16)

b.

iară	*singur*	*au tras*	*spre*	*ţara*	*sa,*	*pentru să-şi*	
so	alone	has=turned	to	country.the	his	for	SUBJ-REFL
mai înglotească	*oaste*	*şi*	*să*	*mai obosască*		*şi*	***pre***	*leşi*.
more=increase	army	and	SUBJ	more=harass		and	DOM	Poles

'so, alone, he turned towards his country, in order to increase his army and to harass the Poles' (Costin 23)

While the CD constructions in (50) and the DOM constructions in (52) occur in dissociation in the texts, they may also overlap, especially when the direct object is a pronoun, as in (53a). The overlapping became obligatory in Modern Romanian for certain semantic classes of nouns (i.e., humans and some other animates) and for strong pronouns.

(53) a.

Cea	*fiară*	*rea*	*sălbatecă*	*l-au mâncat*	***pre***	*el*
that	beast	bad		him=has=eaten	DOM	him

'that wild evil beast has eaten him' (PO {130})

b.

l-au	*rupt*	***pre***	***Iosif***
him=has=	torn	DOM	Iosif

'it has torn Iosef' (PO {130})

Some studies analyze DOM as a way of encoding pragmatic features in the DP (e.g., Heusinger & Onea 2008), which is formalized in other studies as the mapping of *topic* features in the left periphery of DPs (e.g., Hill 2013b; Mardale 2015).

3.4.3. Clitic left dislocation (CLLD)

Clitic left dislocation (CLLD) is widely spread in Romance languages: when a DP surfaces in Topic (TopP) instead of being in an argumental position, it triggers a resumptive clitic pronoun on the verb, as in (54), where the examples show a direct object DP in-situ (54a) and in TopP (54b). Note that the Dative clitic in (54a) is the spell-out of the indirect object and is independent of the direct object.

(54) a. *Ce*   *numai*   *i-au*   *căutat*   *a*   *lăsa*   ***Ţara***   ***Leşască***
          but   only   to.him=has=   caused   INF   quit   country.the   Polish
          'he only made him leave Poland' (Neculce {198})

      b. ***Ţara_k***   *n-o_k*   *lăsa*   *să*   *să bejănească*
          country.the   not=her   let.IMP.2SG   SUBJ   REFL=ruin.SUBJ.3
          'He did not let the country fall into ruin.' (Neculce {104})

3.4.4. Double clitic spell-out

A peculiarity of the Moldavian variety of Old Romanian is the double spell-out of clitics. The default situation concerns the repetition of the clitic pronoun, as in (55). The tense value and morphology of the verb do not matter: the double spell-out is seen with simple verbs (55a) or complex verbs, the latter having the lower copy encliticized to the infinitive form (55b) or to the past participle (55c, d).

(55) a. *Dece*   *a*   *dooadzi*   *îl gătiră*   *de-**l***   *porni-**l***
          so   the   next.day   him=prepared.3PL   DE=him   sent.3SG=him
          'so the next day they prepared him to be sent away' (Neculce 202)

      b. ***mă*** *voi*   *feri-**mă***
          REFL=will.1SG=   guard=REFL
          'I'll be on my guard' (DPV 22 apud Chivu 1997: 335)

      c. *după*   *ce*   ***l**-au*   *slobozitu-**l***   *turcii…*
          after   that   him=have=   released=him   Turks.the
          'after the Turks released him' (Neculce 151)

      d. ***s**-au*   *fost*   *zăuitatu-**să***
          REFL=has=   been   forgotten= REFL
          'it had been forgotten' (PPr. 332 apud Chivu 1997: 335)

For the constructions in (55), we have to assume that the double spell-out reflects both the T position and an intermediary position through which the clitic moves on its way to T. The word order in (55c) indicates that the enclitic is not in the argumental position within vP, because it is

higher than the subject in situ (i.e., *turcii* 'the Turks'). We may, thus, assume that the enclitic in the TP field is in a position associated with object agreement, as proposed in Kayne (1989) for French, or in an aspectual head through which *v*, which attracts the clitic, has moved.[29]

The important point is that in the context of (55), the verb is still in the TP field, as established in section 1 above. Evidence for that location comes from examples as in (56), where the double spell-out of clitics can be preceded by the negation *nu* 'not'. We know that *nu* blocks V-to-C, so the verb does not move out of the TP.

(56) a. <u>*nu*</u> ***m**-oi* *mâhni-**mă*** *de* *lungă* *zăbavă*
not   REFL=will.1SG=   sadden=REFL   of   long   wait
'I will not get saddened by the long wait.' (Dosoftei PS {181})

b. <u>*nu*</u> ***s**-au* *udatu-**să*** *prin* *vale*
not   REFL=have=   watered=REFL   through   valley
'they did not get wet in the valley' (Dosoftei PS {511})

A predictable possibility is that the clitic pronoun may be spelled out only in enclisis. Such examples exist, as shown in (57), but they are scarce. The presence of negation, as in (57c), signals again that the auxiliary is in T and the verb is even lower in the TP.

(57) a. *şi* *au făcutu-**i*** *şi* *tindă*
and   has=made=to.it   also   deck
'and he also made it a deck' (Neculce 341)

b. *pe* *alţi* *mulţi* *boieri* *munteneşti* *au prinsu-**i**…*
DOM   other   many   boyars   Wallach   has=captured=them
'he captured many other Wallach boyars' (Neculce 150)

c. ***n**-au* *nemeritu-**ş*** *iertare*
not=has=   found=REFL   forgiveness
'he hasn't found forgiveness for himself' (Dosoftei L {200})

The system seems to be complicated by the possibility of repeating the auxiliary as well as the clitic pronoun, as in (58).

(58) ***i-ai*** *mîntuitu-**i-ai***
them=have.2SG=   absolved=them=have.2SG
'you absolved them' (PH, xxi, 5 apud Densuşianu 1901/1997: 707)

These examples are very rare (we know of this one only), and are restricted to translated texts; we have not found any such occurrence in the texts where the double spelling of pronouns is productive (e.g., Dosoftei and Neculce's texts, written directly in Romanian). These may very

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[29] In minimalism, cliticization to *v* is either the result of a phi-probe on *v* (Roberts 2010) or the presence of the Case feature on this head (e.g., van Gelderen 2011). Since *v* is a phase-boundary, the lower copy could also indicate cyclic transition through phase-edge.

well be hypercorrections in translations. However, the main point is that the clitic is obligatorily involved in the repetition, while the double spell-out of the clitic auxiliary alone is inexistent. Hence, (58) may show a reanalysis of the clitic cluster as being phonologically unbreakable.

In the next chapter, which focuses on the level of verb movement in Old Romanian, we disregard constructions with double spell-out of clitics in our tests as these do not contribute anything beyond constructions with a single spell-out: as discussed, in both cases, the verb is in the TP domain. What counts for the assessment of verb movement is its position in relation to the auxiliary clitic and the negation *nu* 'not'.

3.5. Wackernagel and Tobler-Mussafia

Tobler (1875) and Mussafia (1888) determined that, in Medieval Romance languages, enclisis of the object clitic arises when these would otherwise be in clause initial position. Wackernagel (1892) traces this phenomenon back to Indo-European more generally, and relates the ban on clause initial clitics to a requirement that forces the clitic not only to have a lexical host (phonological constraint) but also to be in the second position in the clause (syntactic constraint). Evidence for Wackernagel's Law comes from the same type of clitics as those discussed for Old Romanian in this section.

The influence of Wackernagel's Law on subsequent research in historical linguistics has been overwhelming, for both traditional and formal approaches.[30] Along these lines, enclisis in Old Romanian is assumed to be a reflex of Wackernagel's Law (Frâncu 2009 and references therein). In particular, it is surmised that this Law was in force up to the emergence of the prothetic vowel [ɨ] (see above); the new syllabic paradigm of clitic pronouns bans enclisis on prosodic grounds, so proclisis is generalized and Wackernagel's Law is abolished.

There are several problems with this assumption, discussed in Chapter 3. The main objection is that enclisis applies in Old Romanian to syllabic as well as to non-syllabic clitics before the prothetic vowel emerges. The fact that prothesis increased the number of syllabic clitics should not have an effect on their ability for enclisis, contrary to fact. In other words, why should (59c) be different than (59b), since both items are syllabic?

(59) a. *mi dă*   VERSUS   ok.   *dă-mi*   **non-syllabic**
to.me=give.IMP.2SG   give.IMP.2SG =to.me
'give me (something)'

b. *mă dă*   ALSO   ok.   *dă-mă*   **syllabic**
me=give. IMP.2SG   give.IMP.2SG =me
'give me (in marriage)'

c. *îmi dă*   VERSUS   *   *d(ă)-îmi*   **syllabic**
to.me=give IMP.2SG   give.IMP.2SG =to.me

---

[30] Wackernagel's Law has been contested cross-linguistically (e.g., Klavans 1982 and references therein). E.g., Agbayani & Golston (2010) argue that the second position clitic requirement did not apply even in early Indo-European languages. They assess the conditions for alignment between phonology and syntax and argue that clausal conjunctions, which are often taken to be the lexical host for an otherwise clause-initial clitic pronoun, are not visible to the alignment, so, in fact, the sentence starts with the clitic pronoun in Hittite, Ancient Greek and Latin.

'give me (something)'

There is no phonological explanation for the ungrammaticality of enclisis with the prothetic vowel in (59c), since similar sound sequences are licit in other contexts, as in (60).

(60) **d-îmbe**   *părţi   însuliţat*
      from-both   sides   speared
      'speared from both sides' (Dosoftei VS {92v})

Such inconsistencies would rather indicate that the option for proclisis or enclisis does not depend on prosody or phonology alone but it is also conditioned by the syntactic derivation.

In the same vein, enclisis in Old Romanian is unrelated to the second position in the clause, since the verb with the enclitic element may occur in any position, including as verb final, as in (61).

(61)   *Duhul   svânt   va pogorî   pre   tine   şi   putearea*
        Spirit.the holy   will.3SG=descend   on   you   and   strength.the
        *celui   de   sus   **umbri-te-va**.*
        that.GEN   of   above   shadow=you=will.3SG
        'The Holy Spirit will descend upon you and the strength from the One Above will shadow you.' (Dosoftei VS {52v})

Since phonology alone cannot account for the distribution of syllabic clitics or for the distribution of verb-enclitic strings, an alternative reassessment is needed for what has been taken for granted to be a reflection of Wackernagel's Law.

4. Tree structures and Movement

In this section, we provide basic information on NP-movement and long *wh*-movement in Old Romanian, as well as the explicit representation of the Old Romanian clause with VSO word order, V-to-T, and clitics. These comments and representations can be consulted whenever specific information in this respect is introduced and discussed in individual chapters. We also present a justification for the obligatory adjacency between Fin complementizers, negation, and the clitic cluster by arguing for independent restrictions on the projection of Specifiers.

4.1. Movement

Raising verbs trigger movement of the embedded subject when matrix T needs a DP argument to check its [EPP]/[D] feature. Thus, the embedded subject crosses the clausal border and targets the matrix subject position. The result is subject-verb agreement on the matrix verb (which also arises in VSO contexts). While this movement is generally expected to occur from non-finite clauses, in Old Romanian it may also occur from clauses with inflectional agreement, and across lexical complementizers. Examples of possible DP-movement are shown in (62). The exact landing site for DP movement is irrelevant; what counts is that matrix T establishes an A-relationship with the embedded subject. This latter fact is a certainty given the agreement.

(62) a. *Şi*   **acealea**   *le se* **par**   *a*   *fi*   *mai*   *dulci*
and   those.PL   to.them=REFL=seem.3PL   INF   be   more   sweet.PL
'And those seem to them to be sweeter and better' (Coresi EV {291})

b. *Care*   *pe urmă*   **acel**   **Crupenţchi**   **au agiunsu**   *de-au*   *fostŭ*
which   in end   that   Crupentsky   has=turned.out   DE=has   been
şi   *jicnicer*   *mare.*
even   provision.officer   great
'In the end that Crupentsky was even promoted to great provision officer at the court'
(Neculce {96})

c. *Şi*   **această**   **încoronare**   **urma**   *să*   *să facă*   *prin*
and   this   coronation   followed.3   SUBJ   REFL=do   through
alegerea   *electorilor*
selection.the   electors.the.GEN
'And this coronation was to be implemented through the selection of the electors'
(Văcărescu 164)

d. **Multe**   **lucruri**   *ne* **par**   *că*   *sânt*   *găcite*
many   things   to.us=seem.3PL   that   are   guessed
'Many things seem to us to be guess work' (Costin {122})

e. *Iară*   **cealea**   *ce*   *ne* **par**   *noao*   *că-s*   *mai*   *fără-de-cinste*
but   those   that   to.us=seem.3PL   to.us   that=are   more   not-of-honesty
'but those that seem to us to be less honest…' (Coresi EV {380})

DP-movement out of the infinitive complement in (62a) is predictable. The other examples, however, are theoretically challenging because they take place from complements that contain other verb forms than the infinitive. The cases in (62b, c) will be covered in the discussion of *de*-indicative and *să*-subjunctive complements (i.e., Chapter 6 and 8, respectively) where the CP field is shown to be systematically truncated to FinP in these constructions. In effect, according to our definition in Chapter 1, these are non-finite clauses, as they lack temporal independence, despite the presence of inflectional agreement. Thus, we establish that DP-movement is allowed across CP fields as long as the complementizer is low (i.e., in Fin versus Force) and the CP is truncated. This assumption seems at first glance to be challenged in (62d, e), which involve the phasal complementizer *că* 'that', merged by default in Force. Judging by the subject-verb agreement in the matrix, DP-movement takes place across the complementizer *că* 'that', which we argued in the previous section to be in Force. Although we do not dwell on the syntax of *că* 'that' complements in this book, we do remind the reader that in Old Romanian *că* 'that' could also spell out Fin, as shown in examples with recomplementation. Assuming that Fin is a merge option for *că* 'that', the data in (62d, e) are then unproblematic under an analysis where Old Romanian had the option of truncated CPs with *că* 'that'. This option is lost in Modern Romanian, alongside the loss of recomplementation.

Wh-movement can also cross CP fields with complementizers, including *că* 'that', as shown in (63).

(63) a. **Cine**   *vă pare*   *că*   *sânt?*
who   to.you=seems   that   are

'Who do they seem to you to be?' (NT {335})

b. *Avea*   *o slugă*   *Radul*   *vodă,*   *încă*   *din*   *copilăriia*   *sa,*
had   a servant   Radu.the   King   since   from   childhood.the   his
căruia   *socotind*   *că*   *nu*   *este*   *hirea*   *de boierie,*
to.whom   thinking   that   not   is   nature.the   of boyar
îl socotea   *de*   *amână,*   *iară*   *boierie*   *nu-i*   *da*
him=considered   of   handy   but   lordship   not=to.him   gave
'Radu King had had a servant since childhood, whose nature he considered not to be noble, so he considered him handy but did not give him lordship' (Costin {90})

The extraction may take place from any position (63b), including the subject (63a). As in Modern Romanian, there is no 'that'-trace effect in Old Romanian, which is unsurprising given that the language is VSO (Rizzi 1990).

4.2. The internal structure of clauses

In this section, we provide some tree structures that capture the VSO order in root and embedded clauses. The derivational tree for the root clause in (64) is as in (65). Note that the clitic pronoun in (64) is associated with the direct object DP, in a CD/DOM construction (for further discussion on clitics, see Section 4.4).

(64)   *Şi*   *l-au*   *iertat*   *împărăţia*   *pre*   *Vasilii-vodă.*
and   him=has=   pardoned   empire.the   DOM   Vasilie-King
'And the Sublime Porte pardoned King Vasilie.' (Neculce {20})

(65)

```
                CP/TP
             /        \
           T           AspP
         l_k-au       /    \
                   Asp      vP
                  iertat   /   \
                        Spec    v'
                     împărăţia  /  \
                               v    VP
                             iertat /  \
                                   V    DP
                                 iertat  pre Vasilii-vodă_k
```
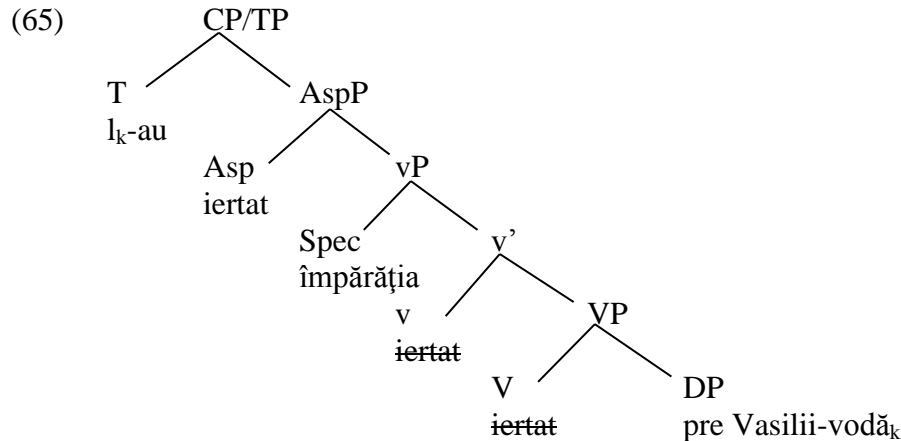
Derived word orders involve the CP field, as in (67), representing (66).

(66)   *Şi*   *acolo*   *multă*   *groază*   *le*   *făcea.*
and   there   much   fear   to.them=   made
'And there, he terrified them to no end' (Neculce {22})

(67)

```
              TopP
             /    \
         Spec      Top'
         acolo    /    \
               Top      FocusP
                       /      \
                    Spec       Focus'
                    multă groază  /    \
                              Focus     TP
                                       /   \
                                      T     vP
                                  le făcea   făcea le multă groază acolo
```
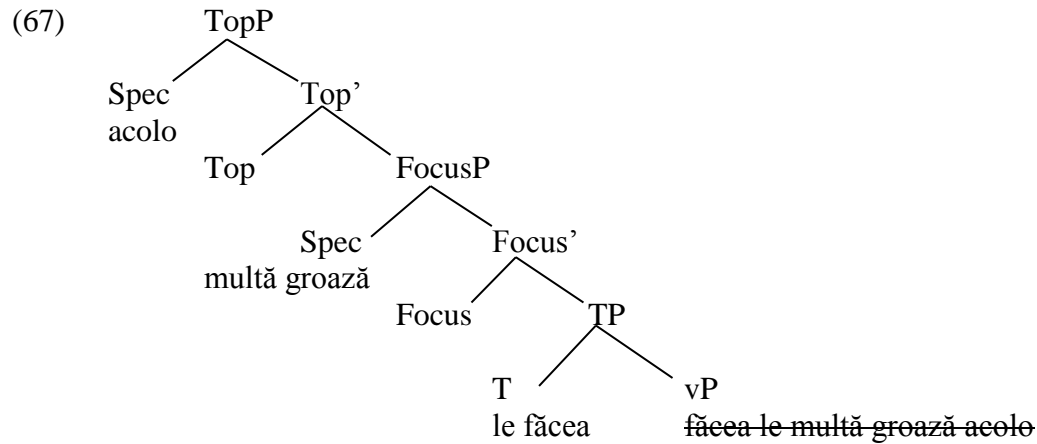
The same derivation, with the clitics in T and XP fronting to CP, serves for generating clausal complements, as in (68), represented as (69). [31]

(68)   *Când*   *au murit*   *Ştefan-vodă*   *cel Bun,*   *au lăsat*   *cuvânt*   *fiiului*   *său*
     when   has=died   Stefan-King   the Good   has=left   word   son.the.DAT   his
     că   *el nu o*   *va putea*   *ţinea*   *ţara*   *cu sabia*
     that   he not it=   will.3SG=can   hold   country.the   with sword.the
     'When King Stefan the Good died, he left word to his son that he would not be able to hold the country together with the sword' (Neculce {12})

---

[31] 'Mod' in (69) denotes ability modality with narrow scope (as in Cinque 1999), which is lower and different than the modal feature with wide scope in Fin/C. 'Asp' in (69) is imperfective/continuous but can equally host perfectivity in other contexts.

(69)

```
                    VP
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
      V_matrix               ForceP
                        ┌────────┴────────┐
                      Force             TopP
                       că         ┌───────┴───────┐
                                Spec           Top'
                                 el       ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        Top           NegP
                                              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                            Neg                  TP
                                             nu          ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                        T              ModP
                                                       o va      ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                            Mod_ability        AspP
                                                              putea        ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                                      Asp_contin       vP
                                                                        ținea      el ținea țara
                                                                                     cu sabia
```
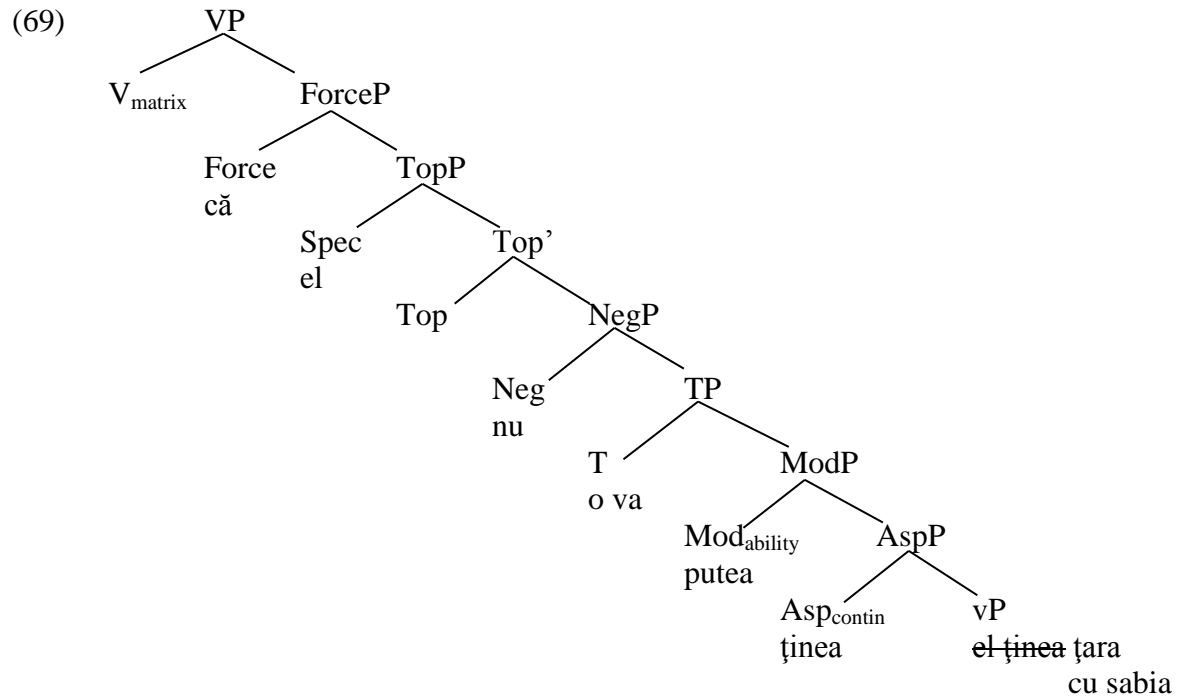
Interrogative clauses have an articulated CP in both matrix and selected contexts. An examples follows in (70), with the representation in (71).

(70) *că   cuvânt grăit   cine-l   poate trage înapoi?*
      for   word   said   who=it   can   draw   back
      'for, once something is said, who can take the words back?'
              (Crest, TE 220, 92)

(71)

```
        ForceP
       /      \
   Force      TopP
   că        /    \
          Spec      Top'
       [cuvânt grăit]k  /  \
                    Top    FocP
                          /    \
                       Spec     Foc'
                       cine    /    \
                             Foc    FinP
                                   /    \
                                 Fin     TP
                                        /   \
                                       T     ModP
                                     -lk poate /  \
                                          Mod³²   AspP
                                          p̶o̶a̶t̶e̶  /   \
                                              Asp      vP
                                             trage  c̶i̶n̶e̶ ̶p̶o̶a̶t̶e̶ ̶t̶r̶a̶g̶e̶
                                                    înapoi c̶u̶v̶â̶n̶t̶ ̶g̶r̶ă̶i̶t̶
```
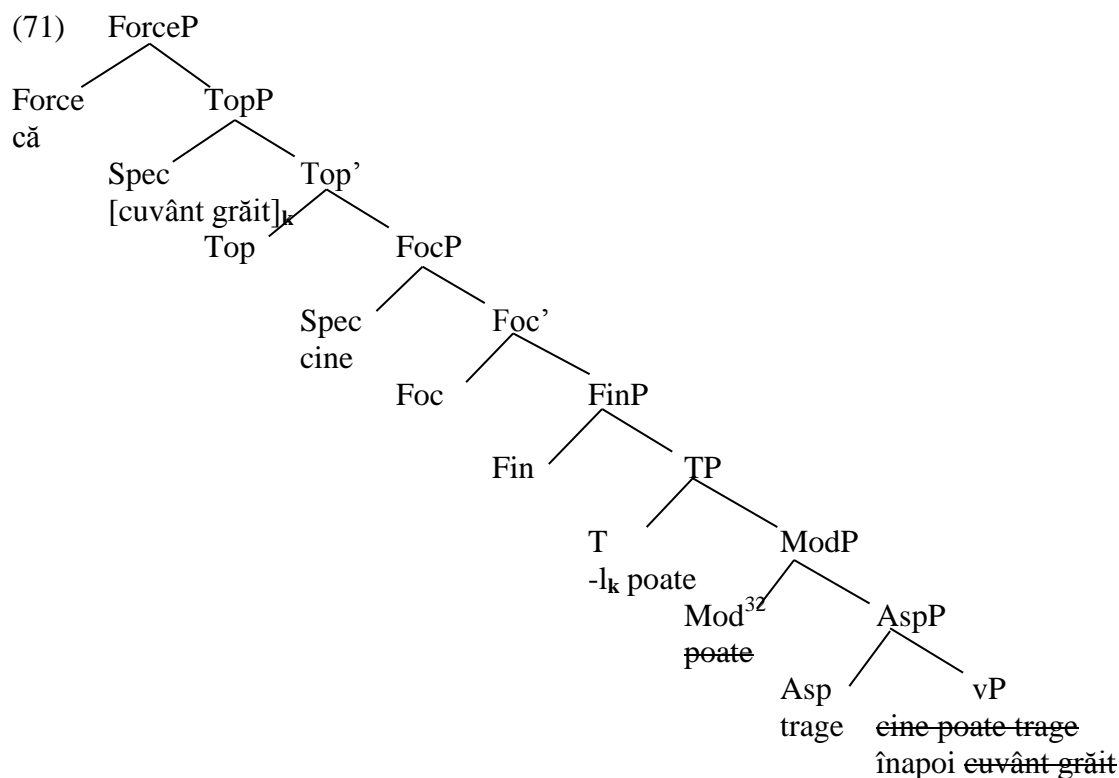
These configurations outline the background for the assessment of V-to-C in the next chapter.

4.3. Obligatory adjacency Fin/(Neg)/T and lack of Spec,TP

The structures in section 4.2 do not show specifier projections in the TP field. This situation contrasts with what is depicted for the vP and CP domains. In this section we provide some support for the assumption that specifiers related to inflectional heads are not projected in Old Romanian.

In SVO languages, TP typically projects A-related specifiers. That is, the highest DP in the vP domain establishes a privileged relationship with T (for EPP and/or Case) and consequently dislocates to Spec,TP (or some other inflection related specifier, such as Spec,AgrSP). However, for languages with basic VSO word order the facts are less straightforward as nothing needs surface (at least, overtly) to the left of the verb in T. So the question becomes whether Spec,TP projects as a null expletive *pro* or not at all, and this extends to SVO linearization, where the concern is whether the subject dislocates to Spec,TP or to a C-related specifier.

Crucially, since in Romanian the subject is licensed post-verbally, Case requirements can never force the projection of Spec,TP. Preverbal subjects, then, do not dislocate for Case. This leaves the EPP feature, which is couched in a theory-internal general principle requiring saturation of all functions (Chomsky, 1986). In Minimalism, the EPP is reformulated as a nominal [D] feature on T (Chomsky 1995), which in null-subject languages (where VSO is often

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[32] In (69), T contains the auxiliary *va* 'will' but in (71) the modal raises to T to check the phi-features.

basic), such as Romanian, is arguably satisfied by verb movement to T (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999), rather than by Spec,TP projection. Consequently, unless a null expletive is assumed, Spec,TP does not project in null subject languages and preverbal subjects are C-related, occupying left-peripheral positions like Topic and Focus related to their semantics.

That this holds of Old Romanian is reinforced by word order requirements on preverbal subjects. Specifically, these do not simply precede the verb but, rather, occur to the left, hence higher than clitics, negation (where present), and, crucially, the subjunctive complementizer *să*, which we argue (in Chapter 8) to reside in Fin. Examples are provided in (72).

(72) a. *și* **noi** <u>*să*</u> **vedem** *de* *ți-i* *cu* *bine.*
     and   we   SUBJ   see.1PL   if   to.you=is   with   good
     'and we'll see if it's good for you' (Dosoftei {145})

    b. *Și* **Costantin** **-vodă** <u>*ar hi*</u> **fost** **mazâl**, *dar eu* <u>**nu**</u>
     and   Constantin   -King   would=be=   been   deposed   but I   not
     'And King Constantin would have been deposed but I wouldn't have.'
                           (Neculce {335})

In (72a), the subjunctive morpheme immediately follows the subject *noi* 'we', while (72b) contains two preverbal subjects: *Costantin-vodă* 'King Constantin' which precedes the auxiliary clitics in T and *eu* 'I', which precedes Neg *nu* 'not'; elements that precede *nu* are in CP.

More recently, however, it has been argued that whether Spec,TP projects as an A-related position in null subject languages needs to be parametrized. Specifically, Villa-García (2013) shows that in Spanish, which is canonically SVO, there are (at least) two preverbal subject positions: one is C-related and allows for left-dislocated material more generally; the other is T-related and dedicated to *bona fide* subjects. Evidence for T-related subjects comes from contexts with desideratives and exhortatives which require the complementizer *que* 'that' in Fin, followed by the subjunctive. Crucially, while left-dislocated material in Spanish obligatorily precedes *que*, genuine subjects may follow, in effect, intervening between *que* and the subjunctive verb in T. Consequently, such subjects must be assumed to occupy an A-related Spec,TP position.

As predictable, this does not work in Old Romanian, which only manifests data with preverbal subjects preceding clitics, Neg, or *să* in Fin, as shown in (72). The same holds for Modern Romanian, as shown in (73): Fin/(Neg)/T must be adjacent. Alboiu (2002: 33-34), among others, shows that no XP, including the subject, can interfere between these categories (Fin is labelled 'Mood' in that account).

(73) a. *(Mihai)* **a** *(*Mihai)* **venit** *(Mihai)* *ieri.*
     Mihai   has=   Mihai   come   Mihai   yesterday.
     'Mihai came yesterday.'

    b. *(Mioara)* **să** *(*Mioara)* **nu** **citească** *(Mioara)* *scrisoarea.*
     Mioara   SUBJ   Mioara   not   read.SUBJ.3SG   Mioara   letter.the
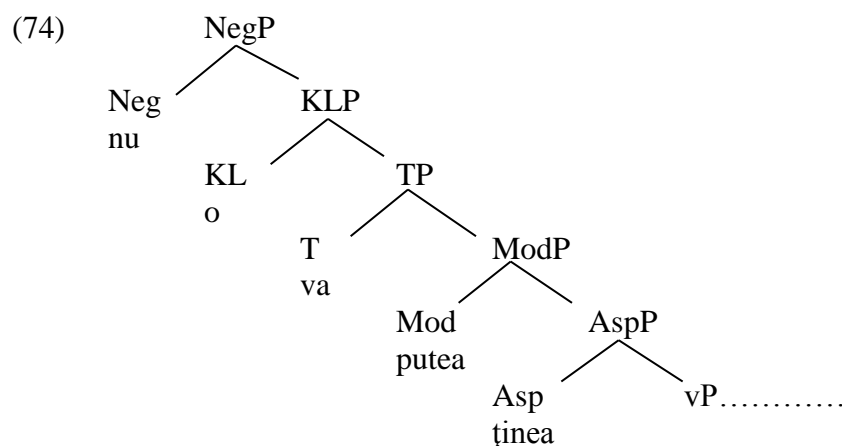   'Mioara should not read the letter.'

While the absence of preverbal subjects linearizing after Fin and to the left of clitics (i.e. in Spec,TP) could be considered accidental, we suggest that it is not – it is a consequence of the

VSO parametric setting. Thus, we conclude that in (Old) Romanian all preverbal subjects are C-related, while postverbal subjects are *v*-related.

4.4. Zooming on the location for clitic pronouns

We have argued that clitic pronouns are in TP in Old Romanian, but left opened their exact location within this field. Here we provide a finer grained analysis of the TP, which captures the hierarchical relation between clitic pronouns and clitic auxiliaries.

Following Chomsky (1995 et seq) we consider that clitic pronouns are mixed XP/X categories. Furthermore, following the cross-linguistic analysis of clitics in Sportiche (1988), and in Ciucivara (2009) for Romanian, we consider that clitics merge in a separate functional head, distinct from and higher than T (where the clitic auxiliary merges). Thus, the representation we assume for the TP left periphery is given in (74), where the clitic head has an arbitrary KL label, showing that we remain agnostic as to specific analyses. The illustration is for the segment *nu o va putea ţinea* 'not it will can hold' taken from the example in (68).

(74)

```
                NegP
              /      \
           Neg        KLP
           nu        /    \
                   KL      TP
                    o     /   \
                        T      ModP
                        va    /     \
                           Mod        AspP
                           putea     /     \
                                  Asp        vP…………
                                  ţinea
```

In this book, the location of clitics may be either itemized, as (74), or collapsed, as in (69) or (71), depending on the purpose for the representation.

5. Conclusions

This chapter introduced the properties of Old Romanian grammar that are relevant to the discussion of verb syntax. We focused on two parametric settings in Old Romanian: the basic VSO word order and the V-oriented nature of clitics. In addition, we provided a list of complementizers, together with their changes towards Modern Romanian.

We showed that VSO applies in root and subordinate clauses, with either finite or non-finite verbs. This word order replicates the situation in other Balkan languages, where the subject remains in situ in the vP domain, while the verb moves to T or further. Other possible word orders are derived through further constituent movement in the clause.

The relevant clitics are pronouns and auxiliaries, for which our tests indicated a location in the TP field, lower than the negation *nu* 'not' (which is a free morpheme). They do not interfere with the movement of the verb or of other constituents. This position for clitics is stable

in Old Romanian (and remained so in Modern Romanian) and applies across the board, in root and subordinate clauses, with finite or non-finite verbs.

While VSO and the T location for clitics have been preserved in Modern Romanian, the list of complementizers has changed considerably. Since the scope of the book involves the C field extensively, we saw fit to list and introduce the distribution of these items in Old Romanian. More detailed discussion of each type of complementizer follows in the remainder of the book.

The formalizations of clause structure that we presented in section 4 are based on a large number of studies on the structure of Old and Modern Romanian (see references throughout this chapter). Although we refine these representations throughout the book, as required by a more detailed discussion of the data, the configurations in section 4.2 above provide a useful reference point for the forthcoming analyses.

Chapter 3: High Verb Movement in Finite Clauses

1. **Traditional approaches: Wackernagel's Law**
   V > clitic orders cannot be justified by Wackernagel's Law.

2. **Syntax rather than phonology**
   V > clitic linearization is blocked by operator movement.

3. **Types of Focus**
   The mapping of semantic foci to syntax in Old Romanian.

4. **Formal analyses**
   Three formal approaches to V > clitic linearization are considered.

5. **V > clitic is V-to-Focus**
   V > clitic linearization arises from verb movement to the CP field.

6. **Apparent counter-examples**
   Cases that seem to (but do not) challenge the proposed analysis.

7. **Conclusions**
   Loss of V-to-Focus is related to loss of the null focus operator.

This chapter identifies the factors that allow for the alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V orders in Old Romanian finite clauses. The main argument is that the option for one order or the other is syntactically, not phonologically motivated. In this respect, we counter the proposal in historical linguistics that attributes this alternation to the change in the clitic position around the verb; we argue, instead, that the triggers involve verb movement above the clitics.

The data that support our analysis (the first five sections of this chapter) come from texts written directly in Romanian.[33] The relevant constructions, illustrated in (1), (2) and (3), contain indicative and conditional verb forms accompanied by clitic auxiliaries and/or clitic pronouns. As argued in Chapter 2, section 3, these clitics are V-related and merge in the inflectional field.The main observation is that indicative and conditional verb forms may appear either before or after these clitics (auxiliaries and/or pronouns). This alternation is shown in (1) for the indicative complex past tense; in (2) for the indicative complex future tense; in (3) for indicative simple tenses; and in (4) for conditionals.

(1) a. *şi*   *aşa*   *într-acea*   *vară*   ***întâmplatu-i-s-au***   *grea*   *boală*
     and   so   in-that   summer   happened=to.him=REFL=has   harsh   illness
     'and so, that summer, he was struck by a serious illness' (CM II {31})

   b. *despre*   *împărăţie*   *domniia*   ***i s-au***   ***dat***
     from   Empire   throne.the   to.him=REFL=has=   given
     'the throne was given to him by the Empire' (CM II {59})

(2) a. *omul*   *nesilnic*   *la inemă*   ***cădea-va***   *la rău*
     man.the   bad   at heart   fall=will.3SG   in trouble
     'the man with an evil heart will get in trouble' (CM II {56})

   b. *Dumnezeu*   *altu*   *mijloc de*   *mântuinţa*   *lor*   ***va arăta***
     God   other   means of   absolution.the   their   will.3SG=show
     'God will show another means for their absolution.' (CM II {22})

(3) a. *Pre*   *aceaia*   *vreame*   *Batâr*   *Jicmon-craiul*   ***supărase-i-se***   *cu*
     by   that   time   Bator   Jicmon-prince   upset=to.him=REFL   with
     oştile   *şi*   *bătându-se*   *cu turcii*   *şi-şi*   *închină*   *ţara*
     armies   and   fighting=REFL   with Turks.the   and=REFL   submitted   country
     împăratului   *creştinesc,*   *cum să-i*   *poarte*   *grija*
     emperor.the.DAT   Christian   as SUBJ=to.him   bear   care.the
     'At that time, Prince Bator got upset in a military way, and fought the Turks, and submitted his country to the Christian Emperor as to have his protection.' (CM I {129})

   b. *şi*   *nu-i*   *fu*   *peste*   *voie,*   *ci*   ***i se împlu***   *voia*
     and   not=to.him   was   over   wish   but   to.him=REFL=filled   wish.the
     de   *la împărăţie*

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[33] The documents searched for this chapter are: Wallachian Chronicles (CM I; CM II); Moldavian Chronicles (Ureche; Costin; Neculce); Dosoftei's writings in Romanian (Dosoftei PS); Ipsilante's code of law (PrCond); and official documents from mid16[th] century on (DIR).

from   at Empire
'and his wish was not exaggerated, for the Sublime Porte fulfilled this wish'
<div align="center">(CM I {286})</div>

(4) a.   *nu*   *ştim*   *cât*   *de oştile*   *împărăteşti*   **scăpar-_ar_**   *au ba*
     not   know.1PL   how.many   of armies.the   imperial   escape=would.3   or not
     'we do not know how many of the imperial armies would escape' (CM II {287})

   b.   *şi*   *cu aceasta*   *doar*   **_ar scăpa_**   *ţara*   *de*   *cea*
     and   with this   barely   would.3=escape   country.the   of   that
     de   *tot*   *prăpădirea*   *ei*
     of   all   distruction.the   her
     'and with this the country would (hopefully) escape from its total destruction'
<div align="center">(CM II {22})</div>

   c.   **_Bătu-te-ar_**   *norocul!*
     beat=you=would.3   luck.the
     'If only luck were on your side!'   (endearment;   **Modern Romanian**)

Standard Modern Romanian generalized the proclitic linearization. Enclisis may still occur in colloquial registers but only in wishes, curses, or endearing addresses, as in (4c). The Modern Romanian speaker has solid passive judgments about the constructions above because they were in use in the literary language until very recently and are still present in archaic speech (e.g., the current versions of the *Bible* still contain them), alongside the registers mentioned above.

     A striking fact in (1) to (4b) is that the relevant verbs are not clause initial, so the enclitics cannot count as being in the second position in the clause. This immediately highlights an incompatibility between the word order in Old Romanian clauses and the requirements of Wackernagel's Law (see their presentation in Chapter 2, Section 3.5). One may, however, argue, that a softer version of this Law applied, requiring the clitics to appear post-verbally only, for phonological reasons (e.g., Croitor 2014). We address this issue in the next four sections.

1. The traditional approach: Wackernagel's Law

     Historical linguistic studies attribute the enclisis in (1) to (4) to the application of Wackernagel's Law (e.g., Rosetti 1978; Frâncu 2009, following Meyer-Lübke 1890; Sandfeld 1930). The main idea is that Wackernagel's Law applied in Old Romanian before the emergence of the prothetic vowel [ɨ] in clitic pronouns (see Chapter 2, section 3.2). Once the prothetic vowel became established in the pronoun paradigm, proclisis became possible on a systematic basis and Wackernagel's Law was abolished. The clitic paradigm for Old Romanian was introduced in Chapter 2, Section 3.1.

     There are some obvious problems with the exclusive phonological approach to enclisis in Old Romanian. First, Wackernagel's Law rules out clitics in clause initial position, so all the Old Romanian clitics should be banned from that position before the spread of the prothetic [ɨ]. However, both clitic auxiliaries and clitic pronouns occur in clause initial position in the16[th] century texts, as shown in (5). This option is available in texts/sentences written directly in Romanian, but rarely in translated texts (e.g., *PH* is translated, but the example (5a) occurs in its

prologue, which is written directly in Romanian).[34]

(5) a. ***Vă scriu***   *închinăciune*   *de multă*   *viaţă*   *şi*   *sănătate*
     to.you=write.1SG   wish   of much   life   and   health
     'I write to you with wishes of a long life and good health' (PH {779})

    b. ***Ne-amu***   ***pus***   *peceţile.*
     to.us=have=   put   seals.the
     'We applied our seals.' (DIR, A, I, nr.325, {242-243})

     Au lăsatu   *den ceriu*   *la Irusalim*   *cuvântŭ*   *şi*   *spunerea*
     has=dropped   from heaven   in Jerusalem   word.the   and   saying.the
     cu   *frică*   *mare.*
     with fear   great
     'He dropped the word and the commandment frightfully from heaven onto
     Jerusalem.' (Crest 46, 152)

    d. *Popa*   *aşa*   *întreabe:*   *"Frate*   *drag,*   *voia*   *ţi-e*
     priest.the   thus   ask.SUBJ.3   brother.VOC   dear   will.the   to.you=is
     această   *fată*   *în legea*   *lu Dumnezeu*   *să*   *o iai*   *la tine*
     this   girl   in law.the   of God   SUBJ   her=take.2SG   at you
     să-ţi   *fie*   *căsătorie?"*   ***"Mi-e".***
     SUBJ=to.you   be   wedding   to.me=is
     'The priest should ask: "Dear brother, is it your will to take this girl to be your wife in
     God's law?" "It is."' (Crest, Molit 257, 89)

    e. ***S-au mai făcut***   *mai*   *pre urmă*   *o episcopie*
     REFL=has=more=made   more   after that   a diocese
     'Later on, a diocese was built' (Axinte {19})

The examples in (5a) and (5c) are dated from 1601, the one in (5b) from 1605, and the one in (5d) from 1567. Hence, they precede the period of intensive spread of prothetic [ɨ] in clitic pronouns (see Chapter 2, section 3.2). They are, thus, unexpected, under Wackernagel's Law which is considered to have applied at that time. Crucial in this respect is *mi-e* 'to.me is' in (5d), which quotes a spoken answer, and where the clitic pronoun belongs to the non-syllabic paradigm and yet it is preverbal. In fact, the examples in (5) also bring evidence against the milder versions of encliticisation, such as Tobler-Mussafia rules. Evidence for procliticization continues in texts up to the end of the Old Romanian stage (end of the 18th century).

     Further evidence comes from subordinate clauses: Wackernagel's Law predicts that subordinate clauses with a free morpheme complementizer should constrain the word order to clitic > V. This is because the complementizer itself would fulfill the function of phonological host for clitics. However, the data show that free variation may occur in these configurations in the same way it occurs in root clauses. In particular, the presence of the subordinating

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[34] Nicolae & Niculescu (2014) analyzed an extensive corpus of 16th century Romanian texts and found that in matrix clauses the clitic is placed in the second position in 45% of occurrences. First position clitics are not to be found in 16th century translations (with the exception of one text), but they occur in original texts of the same period.

complementizer *că* 'that' permits both enclisis, as in (6a), and proclisis, as in (6b).

(6) a.

O mare	*ciudă*	*au făcut*	*acel*	*Şărban-vodă*	*cu*	*gineri-său*
a great	envy	has=done	that	Serban-King	with	son.in.law=his
Gligoraşco,	***că***	*tatăl*	*lui,*		*Ivaşco*	*şi moşă-său*
Grigorascu	because	father.the	his		Ivascu	and gran.father=his
Gheorghe	*din*	*Băleani*	***fost-au***		*mari*	*vrăjmaşi asupra*
Gheroghe	from	Baleni	been=have		great	enemies against
lui	*Şărban-vodă*					
of	Serban-King					

'King Serban created great enmity against his son-in-law Grigorascu, because his father, Ivascu and his grandfather Gheorghe of Baleni, had been great enemies of King Serban.' (CM I {213})

b.

Şi	*au spus*	*adevărul*	***că***	*această*	*venire*	*a lui*	*cu*
and	has=said	truth.the	that	this	coming	of his	with
oştile	***o au făcut***		*pre*	*minciunile*	*acelui*	*Bălăcean*	
armies.the	it=has=done		by	lies.the	that.GEN	Balacean	

'And he spoke the truth, namely that his arrival with the armies happened because of that man Balacean's lies.' (CM I { 223})

The examples in (6) do not follow the pattern of Wackernagel's Law, so an analysis along these lines cannot be adequate.

2. Syntax rather than phonology

The distribution of V > clitic strings as in (1) to (4), potentially separated by any number of XPs from the clause initial position, as well as the facts in (5) and (6), clearly indicate that phonological constraints cannot explain why and when enclisis applies in the language. The fact that Old Romanian had a group of non-syllabic clitics may account for the necessity of such clitics to be spelled-out as enclitic to simple verb forms that begin with consonants. Hence, enclisis (but not Wackernagel's Law) is phonologically imposed on a sub-set of clitics, in relation to a sub-set of verb forms. Beyond that, phonology cannot explain why syllabic clitics also occur in enclisis, and why non-syllabic ones are enclitic even when phonological support is available for their proclisis (e.g., the verb begins with a vowel).

In this chapter, we adopt the opposite view, namely, that the reason for the variation in clitic-verb orders is the location of the verb, not of the clitic (see also Alboiu & Hill 2013; Alboiu, Hill & Sitaridou 2014). In other words, it is the verb that moves around and above the clitics, and not the other way round. Verb movement generally involves a syntactic approach, and we shall show in this section that syntax is at play in the relevant constructions.

In the *Moldavian* and *Wallachian Chronicles*, we notice that the V > clitic order follows a systematic pattern whereby enclitics are obligatory in *yes-no* questions, as in (7), while proclitics are obligatory in *wh*-questions, as in (8a), and in clauses with contrastive Focus, as in (8b).

(7) a.

Cunoşti-mă	*pre*	*mine,*	*au ba?*
know.2SG=me	DOM	me	or not

'Do you know me or not?'   (Neculce 120)

b. ***Grijit-au***   *bine*   *cetatea*   *Hotinului*   *Vasilie-vodă?*
   cared=has   well   fort.the   Hotin.the.GEN Vasilie-king
   'Did king Vasilie take good care of the Hotin fort?' (Costin 124)

(8) a. *Şi*   *[ce]*   <u>***i-ar***</u>   *lipsi*,   *fiindŭ*   *ca şi*   *un domnŭ*   *în ţara*   *lor?*
      and   what   to.him=would.3   lack   being   as if   a king   in country   their
      'And what could he be lacking, when he's like a king in their country?' (Costin 76)

b. *[Numai*   *capete*   *câteva*   *de tătari]*   <u>***au adus***</u>   *la Jolcovschii…*
    only   heads   few   of Tatars   have.3=brought   to Jolcovschii
    'It's only a few Tatar heads that they brought to Jolcovoschii' (Ureche 43)

The systematic difference between (7) and (8) indicates that encliticization is sensitive to the properties of the *operators* involved in question formation (i.e. base-generated null operator in (7), versus operator moved from within the derivation, as in (8a)) and in the mapping of *contrast* in the syntax, as in (8b). A pattern emerges whereby a complementary distribution arises between constituent/XP-movement and verb/head-movement under the impact of these operators. Fronting to Focus and Topic is very prolific in Old Romanian (see Chapter 2, section 1), so our observations rely on structures that occur in the range of hundreds in these texts.

Another environment for encliticization is that of declarative clauses as in in (1). It seems that these contexts allow for *optional* encliticization, which is different from the contrasting but *obligatory* V-clitic orders in (7) and (8). On a closer look, however, encliticization prevails when the *comment* is introduced as new information, in need of the spotlight, as in (9).

(9) *Însă*   *mult*   ***l-au mai***   ***împodobit,***   *mai*   *frumos,*   *şi*
     but   much   it=have.3=more=   ornated   more   beautiful   and
     Miron   *logofătul* *şi*   *fiiu-său*   *Nicolai*   *Costin.*   *Iar*   *mai*
     Miron   chancellor and   son.the=his Nicolae   Costin   but   more
     înainte   *nu*   *să mai găseşte*   *scris*   *de*   *Miron*   *sau*
     before   not   REFL=more=finds   written   by   Miron   or
     de   *fiiu-său*   *Nicolai.*   *Poate-fi,*   *de **or fi şi***
     by   son.the=his Nicolai   may=be   if would.3= be=even
     scrise   *de Nicolai* *logofătul,*   *dar*   ***or fi***   ***poate-fi***
     written   by Nicolai   chancellor.the   but   would.3=be   =may=be
     tăinuite,   *şi*   *pănă acmu*   *la ivală*   *n-au*   *ieşit.*
     hidden   and up   now   at light   not=have.3= come
     Iară   *de*   *la*   *Dabije-vodă*   *înainte,*   <u>***îndemnatu-s-au***</u>
     but   from at   Dabija-King   further   started=REFL=has
     şi   *Ion*   *Neculce,*   *biv-vel-vornic*   *de Ţara*
     and   Ion   Neculce   magistrate   of Country.the
     de Sus,   *a*   *scrie*   *întru*   *pomenirea*
     of Upper   INF   write   for   recording.the
     domnilor.   *Însă*   *până*   *la*   *Duca-vodă*
     kings.the.GEN   but   up   at   Duca-King

cel bătrân		**l-au**	**scris**	*di*	*pe*	*neşte*		*izvoade*
the old		it=has=	written	from	on	some		sources
ce	**au aflat**	*la unii*	*şi*	*la alţii*		*şi*	*din*	
that	has=found	at ones	and	at others		and	from	
audzitele		*celor*	*bătrâni*	*boieri;*				
hearings.the		of	old	boyars				

'And Chancellor Miron ornated it (the chronicle) beautifully, and so did his son Nicolae Costin. But nothing else written by them can be found before this. It may be that if anything at all was written by Nicolae, it is hidden and it has not come to light so far. But starting from King Dabija onwards, it is up to Ion Neculce, magistrate of the Upper Country, to strive to write the recording of kings.'   (Neculce {4})

This example belongs to Neculce's introduction to his chronicle, where he explains the background for his work, by listing previous chroniclers and the timelines they covered. The first lines of example (9) capture part of this background stage setting. Then the author introduces himself and his work against this background. The switch between the background and the spotlight the author creates for himself triggers a switch between the clitic > V order used consistently throughout the background remarks, to the V > clitic order for the clause introducing his name and the purpose of his enterprise. The spotlight falls on the event, that is, his decision to undertake the task to record the kings, and not on his name; the reverse would have been immodest. Once this is achieved, the author returns to the clitic > V order to explain the details of his project. This switch in clitic-verb order as a means of capturing the switch between background and spotlight, or the switch in the topic of the narrative, is seen systematically in these chronicles.

Another typical context for the switch to V > clitic is at the beginning of a new paragraph, when the topic of the narration changes. Such contexts display the comment, in the shape of a V > clitic string, without a topic (i.e., no presupposition), as in (10).

(10)	*Şi*	*dacă*	**au aşedzat**	*vlădicii,*	**le-au**		**făcut**	*cinse*	*mare,*
	and	when	has=sat	bishops.the	to.them=has=		made	honour	great
	că	**le-au**		**pus**	*scaunele,*		*de şed*	*denadreapta*	
	as	to.them=has=		put	chairs.the		so sit	to.the.right	
	domnului,	*înaintea*		*tuturor*	*svetnicilor,*		*aproape*	*de scaunul*	
	king.the.GEN	before		all.DAT	counsellors.DAT		close	to throne.the	
	domnescŭ.								
	royal								

	Tocmit-au	*şi*		*boieri*	*mari în svat,*	*de chevernisala*	
	hired=has	also		boyars	big in counsel	for benefit.the	
	ţării			*ş-a*	*pământului*	*Moldovii:*	
	country.the.GEN			and=of	land.the.GEN	Moldova.GEN	

'And when the bishops were seated, he honored them greatly, as he placed their chairs so that they sat on the king's right side, closer to the royal throne than all the counsellors.
He also hired important boyars in his council, for the benefit of the country and of the land of Moldova:' (Ureche 76)

The first part of (10) narrates a certain event involving the bishops, which continues some previous discussion. Then there is an abrupt switch to a completely new topic, unrelated to the previous sentence, that is, the hiring of boyars at the royal court, marked as a new paragraph in the edited text. This switch is also marked through the V > clitic order, and there is no topic constituent preceding it. The topic of discussion becomes the hiring event itself, as the sentence is followed by the list of names of the hired boyars.

For Latin contexts similar to (9) and (10), Devine & Stephens (2006: 145 et seq.) consider the possibility that the event itself is presented as the topic, being foregrounded (via V-movement). Semantically, this type of foregrounding involves a contrastive Topic (i.e. *aboutness* plus *focus*, following Krifka 2007). Since narrative foregrounding is another instance of mapping discourse features, we are brought back to the observations originally made for (7) and (8), where encliticization is shown to be sensitive to question formation and the mapping of focus. Insofar as narrative foregrounding creates a topic contrast, it too involves an operator.[35]

At this point, we can draw the following conclusions:
(i)   Variation in clitic-verb orders is related to discourse features that act as operators; since, cross-linguistically, operator triggered movement involves phrasal constituents or verbal heads, but not clitics (e.g., there cannot be contrastive focus on clitics), V > clitic linearizations should be syntactically versus phonologically justified. In particular, the observations put forth so far can be captured by an analysis based on verb movement across the clitic cluster.
(ii)   If that is the case, then verb movement is discourse driven, not functionally required. That is, a declarative clause is grammatical with or without encliticization; however, encliticization triggers a difference in reading.

In the remainder of the chapter, we develop an analysis based on verb movement, which is consistent with our empirical observations.

3. Types of Focus

Before presenting the formal analysis, we have to address the relation between semantic focus and the functional (syntactic) [focus] feature. In a nutshell, there is no one-to-one mapping between various types of semantic foci and the syntactic configuration: any semantic focus that involves an operator with wide scope is mapped to the same syntactic position, irrespective of whether it involves exhaustiveness, alternatives, or both.

For the syntactic mapping, we adopt the cartographic approach presented in Chapter 1, section 2, where [focus] is associated with a Focus projection in the CP field. Verb movement triggered by the [focus] feature means, thus, V-to-C/Focus, as we show in Section 5 below. V-to-C/Focus naturally yields the V > clitic order (as opposed to V-to-T, which yields the clitic > V order). Therefore, in this section, we are concerned with the exact interaction between high verb movement (i.e., V-to-C) and the mapping of various semantic foci.

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[35] In Lambrecht (1994: 97) contrastive Topics provide clarification when several options are possible; for example, "I saw MARY yesterday. She says HELLO". Contrastive Topics also allow for list readings, as in "I saw MARY and JOHN yesterday. SHE says HELLO, but HE's still ANGRY at you". This type of topic is different from the contrastive focus, which involves an alternative reading.

For a semantic classification of focus, we follow Krifka (2007). In line with Rooth (1992), Krifka (2007:6) argues that "Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions." Interrogation is always associated with focus (polarity or constituent) and various types of focus can occur in assertions.

Yes-no questions elicit polarity alternatives, so are associated with polarity focus. Devine & Stephens (2006: 145, 235) propose the existence of an interrogative polarity operator (Int POL OP) in the CP domain of Latin interrogatives which attracts the verb to the CP layer, yielding V-initial (as opposed to the canonical V-final) structures that lexicalize the Int POL OP. In Old Romanian, these contexts systematically linearize as V > clitic, which indicates V-to-C, on a par with the situation in Latin. An example is provided in (11).

(11)   **_Pus-au_**   _oamenii_   _săi_   _şi_   _puşcile_   _au_   _ba?_
       put=has   men.the   his   and   guns.the   or   not
       'Has he or has he not positioned his men and guns?' (Costin 124)

Wh-interrogatives also project a CP associated with the [focus] feature as *wh*-constituents are semantic operators whose interpretation depends on focus and are associated with focus (Krifka 2007:14; Rizzi 1997). The linear order is exclusively clitic > V in these Old Romanian interrogatives, so such contexts do not trigger V-to-C. Importantly, *wh*-movement to CP is consistent, as in (12) below.

(12) a.   **cum**   _au_   _putut_   _hi_   bine?
               how   have.3=could   be   well
               'How could they be well?'   (Costin 100)
     b.   **Ce**   _ţi-i_   voia,   măi?
               what   to.you=is   wish.the   INTJ
               'What is your wish, man?' (Neculce 117)

In assertions, Krifka distinguishes between cases of presentational/information focus, verum focus, contrastive focus, exhaustive focus, and scalar/emphatic focus. Krifka (2007: 12) argues that cases of presentational focus can be subsumed under the use of alternatives to indicate covert questions (e.g. 'What happened?') hinted at by the context. Accordingly, this type of focus must also be mapped to CP, at least in these cases. Since presentational focus of this type yields thetic assertions – specifically, event reporting predication, in which the information presented is all new and the presupposition is null –an overt constituent (i.e., XP) fronted to CP from within the clause is not an option. Constituent fronting to CP is ruled out because thetic assertions predicate about events and not about entities (Kuroda 1972). Rather, since the entire event is an instance of new information focus, the [focus] feature in CP can only consist of a null operator referring to this event, as opposed to some focalized constituent dislocated from within the event. [36] This base-generated null operator triggers V-to-C. Interestingly, this mirrors the

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[36] We do not claim that XP constituents with presentational/new information focus in Old Romanian relate to operator features in CP, contra claims made for Old Catalan (Fischer 2003) and Old Spanish (Sitaridou 2011). In fact, data as in (i) show that they do not. In (i), Old Romanian keeps the constituents with information focus to the right of the verb, on par with Modern Romanian. In these cases, FOC$_{INFO}$ either projects above the *v*P (cf. Belletti 2008 for Italian), involves the left edge of *v*P (Alboiu 2002), or is clause final (cf. Neeleman & Titov 2009). Crucially, these are categorical rather than thetic assertions.

situation in Latin, as per discussion in Devine & Stephens (2006). These authors suggest that CP encodes presentational focus in Latin thetic sentences and propose that Latin clauses that contain only new information instantiate an operator in C which triggers verb movement.

Back to Old Romanian, we refer to the examples (9) and (10) above, and further, to (13).

(13)
Vădzând	*ţara*	*cuprinsă*	*de turci,*	*singur*	***au năzuit***	*la*	*Bator*
seeing	country.the	taken	by Turks	alone	has=hoped	in	Bator
domnul	*Ardealului*	*şi* ***au trimis***		*soli*	*şi*		*la împăratul*
king.the	Ardeal.GEN	and has=sent		envoy	also		to emperor.the
neamţăsc,	*dându-i*	*ştire*	*că,*		*cuprindzând*		*Sinan*
German	giving=to.him	news	that		conquering		Sinan
paşea	*Ţara*	*Muntenească,*		*pre*	*lesne*		***va putea***
Pasha	Country.the	Wallach		too	easy		will.3SG=can
să	*supuie*	*şi* *Ardealul.*					
SUBJ	subjugate	also Ardeal.the					
Dat-au	*Bator*	*îndată*	*oşti*	*într-agiutor*		*lui*	*Mihai*
given=has	Bator	fast	armies	in-help		to	Mihai
vodă,	*vădzând*	*că*	***să apropie***	*de dânsul*		*focul.*	
King	seeing	that	REFL=approaches	to him		fire.the	

'(King Mihai) seeing that his country was taken by the Turks, appealed to Bator, the king of Transylvania, as his only hope , though he also sent envoys to the German Emperor. Mihai gave Bator news that, since Sinan Pasha had conquered Wallachia, it would be easy for him to also conquer Transylvania. Bator immediately gave him the support of his army, seeing how the fire was getting close to him too.' (Costin {48})

The first part of (13) presents the actions of King Mihai and uses the clitic > V order. This first part is followed by a new paragraph which starts with *Dat-au Bator*…. 'given-has Bator', so V > clitic word order. This sentence conveys a change of perspective (i.e. from Mihai's thoughts and actions to Bator's reaction) expressed through an event, rather than through an entity. Specifically, *Dat-au* 'given-has' introduces the *comment* as new information, without an entity topic. Here again we are dealing with new eventive information focus. There is a change in the source of the narrator's report (from King Mihai to Prince Bator's reaction to King Mihai's request), and hence in focus. Our crucial point is that this particular type of information packaging is achieved through enclitic linearization (i.e. V-to-C).

Moving on to *verum* focus, Krifka (2007) takes this to represent focus on the truth value of the sentence. In effect, this is an instance of strong positive polarity which evokes and excludes the negative counterpart of the assertion (Devine & Stephens 2006). Again, Latin shows V-fronting in these contexts, while in English these invoke emphatic *do*-support (e.g. *I did (indeed) fix that problem*). It is difficult to tease apart instances of *verum* focus from other types of V-fronting in Old Romanian, especially since we have no prosodic information to rely on. However, that *verum* focus was instantiated in the left periphery of Old Romanian clauses can be seen by looking at (14). The presence of the *verum* focus operator *adeverat* 'truly' in CP blocks

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(i)
[Pe	*urma*	*lui*	*Dragoş*	*vodă]*TOP	***au stătut***	*la domnie*	*[fiiu-său]* FOCinfo
on	track	of	Dragos	king	has=stayed	in throne	son=his

'After king Dragos, his son followed to the throne.' (Ureche 72, 7v)

V-to-C. This is in line with what we have seen in other overt cases of Focus operators movement in CP (e.g. *wh*-movement).

(14) *în dooă-trei   rânduri   au   trimis să   vadză,*
     in two-three   times   have.3=sent   SUBJ   see.SUBJ.3
     *[adeverat]*_{FOC}   ***au   sosit****?*
     truly   have.3=arrived
     'He sent someone two-three times to see whether it is indeed true that they've arrived.'
                                 (Costin 118)

Krifka (2007) distinguishes between contrastive focus, (which, according to the author, is an instance of corrective focus), and exhaustive focus, which indicates that the focus denotation is the only one that leads to a true proposition. Other authors do not necessarily distinguish between these two types, as both contrastive and exhaustive focus can correct a presupposition and introduce an exhaustive subset for which the predicate actually holds (Erteschik-Shir 1997, É. Kiss 1998). Clefts in English are a typical example for the absence of such distinction (e.g. *It is Mihai that studies maths, not Victor*). We also include both instances under contrastive focus. As with other types of focus, we notice an asymmetry in Old Romanian between instances of contrastive focus with an overt operator dislocated to CP from within the derivation, as in (15a), and instances where the null contrastive operator is merged directly in the CP domain, as in (15b). In (15a), there is operator movement and no V-to-C. This is a *yes-no* identity seeking question focusing on *el* 'he'; in the text, the context is that the king, passing through some fields, hears a loud yell and wants to know who produced it: is it the peasant he sees in the distance or someone else he does not see? In (15b), in the imperative clause, the null operator referencing whoever it is that does evil, realized merely as the clitic *i* 'to.him', triggers V-to-C visible as encliticization.

(15) a. *l-au   întrebat   Ştefan-vodă: [el]*_{FOC} ***au strigat   aşa   tare…?***
       him=has=   asked   Stefan-King   he   has=yelled   so   loudly
       'King Stefan asked him: was it he who yelled so loudly?' (Neculce 108)

    b. *Că   cine   face,   **faci-i-să**.*
       for   who   does   does=to.him=REFL
       'For he who does evil, that's who has it done back to him.' (Neculce 284)

Lastly, Krifka (2007) considers scalar/emphatic focus associated with particles like *even* and *also*. In this case, alternatives are ordered, and the focus denotation is the least or the greatest element. (16) shows an example of emphatic focus, where *şi* is ambiguous between a coordination conjunction and an emphatic element, and according to the larger context, the emphatic reading must apply. In other words, a reading with *even* or *also* is implied by the context.[37] There is no focus operator movement and, predictably, V-to-C applies.

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[37] *Şi* is also used for emphasis and focalization in front of any type of constituents, as in (i), (ii).
  (i) *Vine   şi   Maria.*
     comes   and   Maria
     'Maria is also coming.'/'Even Maria is coming'.

(16) *cu*   *nusul* *am*   *mâncat*   *şi*   **băut-am**   *cu*   *nusul*
      with   him   have.1=   eaten   and   drunk=have.1   with   him
      'I ate and even/also drank with him …..' (CPr 48 apud Chivu 245)

Summing up, Old Romanian texts written directly in Romanian provide evidence for all types of operator focus in the left periphery of the clause. Furthermore, V-clitic orderings are consistent in that there is V-to-C in the absence of an XP operator moved to CP from within the derivation, versus clitic > V (i.e. V in T/Asp) in the presence of operator movement and overt material in the relevant Spec,CP. This suggests that the intuition in Devine & Stephens (2006) offered for Latin, namely V-movement as lexicalization of a CP-related focus operator, can be extended to Old Romanian as well.

4. Formal analysis

So far, the discussion has indicated that an approach in terms of verb movement is more promising than a purely phonological one for dealing with the alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V in Old Romanian. Theoretically, there are different ways of dealing with verb movement and changes in linearization between verb and clitics:

(i)   Verb movement at PF, not in syntax; this allows for a free linearization of morphemes at Spell-out.

(ii)   Verb movement in syntax; it is always V-to-T, but at PF, T is projected either on the left or on the right of its complement, resulting in variation in the setting of the parameter for head-directionality at Spell-out.

(iii)   Verb movement in syntax; it targets different functional heads (i.e., either T or C), which results in different word orders.

We shall consider each of these hypotheses in turn, but opt for the last one, given that semantics is involved.

4.1. Arguments against PF linearization

In this section, we explore the hypothesis in (i). There are several proposals for treating verb movement as head movement at PF, not in syntax, for various theory-internal reasons, but mainly on grounds that verb movement does not involve semantic changes (see Chomsky 2001). That is, irrespective of whether the verb is lower or higher in the clause, the interpretation is the same (see Roberts 2010; Schoorlemmer & Temmerman 2012 for overviews).

This is the main point of contention for the constructions under inquiry: the V > clitic order *does* trigger a different interpretation than the clitic > V order in the original texts. More precisely, the clitic > V order is neutral, whereas the V > clitic order signals a change in the subject matter, in a way that foregrounds the event expressed by the verb or, in *yes-no* questions,

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(ii)   *Şi*   *Maria*   *trebuie*   *să*   *vină.*
        and   Maria   must   SUBJ   come.SUBJ.3
        'Maria must also be coming (not only Ion).'

signals the presence of a polarity operator. We have seen the former in (9), (10) and (13) above, and we further illustrate it in (17).

(17) | *Ieremie-vodă* | **au fost** | **pus** | *multă* | *avere* | *la* | *mănăstire* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ieremia-King | has=been | put | much | wealth | in | monastery |
| *la* | *Suceviţă,* | *într-un* | *beciŭ* | *supt* | *curţile* | *domneşti.* *Iară* |
| of | Sucevita | in-a | cave | under | courts.the | royal   but |
| *după* | *moartea* | *lui,* | **_vinit-au_** | | *doamna* | *cu   ginerii* |
| after | death.the | his | come=has | | queen.the | with sons-in-law.the |
| *ei* | *din* | *Ţara* | *Leşască* | *şi* | **au luat** | *acea* | *avere* |
| her | from | Country.the | Polish | and | has=taken | that | wealth |
| *toată,* | *de* | **s-au** | **dus** | *cu* | *dânsa,* | *de* | **au făcut** |
| all | and | REFL=has | gone | with | it | so | has=made |
| *oaste* | *în* | *Ţara* | *Leşască,* | *şi* | **au vinit** | *în* | *Moldova.* |
| army | in | Country.the | Polish | and | has=come | in | Moldova |

'King Ieremia had stored a lot of wealth in the monastery of Sucevita, in a cave under the royal courts. But after his death, his queen came from Poland with her sons-in-law and seized all that wealth, and took it with her so she could raise an army in Poland, and then came back to Moldova.' (Neculce {15})

Again, the background story in (17) is told with the clitic > V order. However, the spotlight of that story, that is, the unexpected arrival of the queen, is introduced with a V > clitic order, as the culminating point of the new information. The rest of the story goes back to clitic > V order.

Crucially, such examples indicate that the switch from clitic > V to V > clitic order is not semantically vacuous, as it adds clues for the information structure. Therefore, if this variation involves variation in verb movement, then the movement takes place in syntax, not at PF, so that it can be accessed by the semantic component.

4.2. Arguments against changes in head directionality

We next explore the hypothesis listed as (ii) in the introduction to this section. Pancheva (2005, 2008) relates the changes from proclisis (and verb final) to enclisis in the history of Bulgarian by positing that verb movement is always low, to T, but that T changes its directionality setting at PF, appearing either on the left or on the right of its complement. This, combined with the phonological constraints on deaccented clitics, would account for the variation in the clitic-verb orders.

This analysis cannot be extended to Old Romanian, where, to begin with, it undergenerates in the presence of Double Spell-out of clitics. In particular, the two sets of clitics always occur around the verb, as in (18) (see discussion in Chapter 2, section 3.4).

(18) | *au mărsu* | *la împăratul* | *de* | **_i-au_** | *spusu-**i*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| have.3 =gone | to emperor.the | DE | to.him=have.3= | said=to.him |

'they went to the emperor and told him' (Neculce 248)

If T containing the verb could have variable direction at PF, we would expect the two sets of clitics to be able to also appear in adjacency, post-verbally, contrary to the data.

Furthermore, the change in head directionality at PF over-generates in the presence of non-clitic auxiliaries. In particular, changes in directionality setting for T at PF should be able to allow for all the variations in (19), which is not the case, as indicated by the starred examples.

(19)   a.   *a fost*   *chemat*
               has=been   called
               'he was called'
        b.   **a chemat*   *fost*
               has=called   been
        c.   *nu*   *fu*   *chemat*
               not   was   called
               'he wasn't called'
        d.   **nu*   *chemat*   *fu*
               not   called   was

According to the representation (76) in Chapter 2, both the clitic head (KL) and the negation *nu* (Neg) are hierarchically higher than the T in which the non-clitic auxiliaries (i.e., *fost/fu* 'been/was') merge. On the other hand, the past participle *chemat* 'called' moves to an aspectual head selected by T. If T is projected either on the left or on the right of its complement, it follows that all the word orders in (19) should be grammatical, with the auxiliaries either preceding or following the past participle. This is, however, not the case, and the ungrammaticality is independent of the clitic; that is, (19d), where there are no clitics, is still ungrammatical.

      Another piece of counter-evidence for alternative linearization of T at PF comes from the complementary distribution of the V > clitic order and fronting to focus, such as illustrated in sections 2 and 3. That is, the *Chronicles* display either constituent movement to the left periphery for contrastive focus reading or V > clitic, but not both:

(20) a.   *Şi*   *pe*   *dzi*   *[numai*   *o mierţe*   *de pâne]*   **să mânca**
         and   per   day   only   a measure of bread   REFL= ate
         'And only one measure of bread per day was eaten' (Neculce {17})

    b.   **Şi*   *pe*   *dzi*   *[numai*   *o mierţe*   *de pâne]*   **mânca- să**
         and   per   day   only   a measure of bread   ate=REFL

The ungrammaticality of (20b) is based on negative evidence arising from hundreds of constructions with fronting to focus in the *Chronicles*. Crucially, this complementary distribution cannot be justified through an analysis relying on variable directionality of the head parameter: whether T or another inflectional head is projected on the right or on the left should not prevent movement of constituents to contrastive Focus, which is above T. Hence, such an approach cannot grasp the main properties of the constructions under inquiry.

5. V > clitic is V-to-Focus

      Having eliminated the hypotheses outlined in (i) and (ii) of the previous sections, we now turn to the hypothesis in (iii) as the most viable formal approach to date. This is supported by the

data that indicate alternation between V-to-T and V-to-C, the latter taking place when a null focus operator is merged directly in the left periphery of the clause.

In this section, we redefine V-to-C as V-to-Focus. To do that, we work with the cartographic representation (17) presented in Chapter 1, section 2, and repeated here as (21).

(21)   ForceP > TopP > FocusP > FinP > (NegP) …

We start from the premise that the focus operator is mapped as the specifier of the Focus head with an uninterpretable [uFocus], with the Focus head at the left periphery of clauses, as in (21); this Focus is an umbrella term for the **Contrast** distinctions represented in (22), following Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007).

(22)   ForceP > TopP$_{aboutness}$ > **Contrast**$_{(Top >Foc)}$ > TopP$_{familiar}$ > ModP > FinP

Hence, the [uFocus] feature acts as a probe that attracts a lexical item with interpretable features, either a focused XP constituent, when the operator is lexical, or the verbal head, when the operator is merged directly in the CP domain. [38]

5.1. The target head in the CP

Empirically, we take the position of clitics to be an assessment criterion for the locus of verb movement: given that clitic pronouns and clitic auxiliaries cluster in T, as argued in Chapter 2, section 3, it follows that proclitics indicate low V movement (i.e. movement within the TP domain), while enclitics indicate high V movement (i.e. V-to-C).

Negation provides another assessment criterion for V-to-C. We showed in Chapter 2, section 1 that the negation *nu* 'not' is an accented free morpheme that merges in the Neg head and prevents verb movement in imperative clauses. This is a general constraint: non-clitic negations merged in the Neg head block V-to-C, irrespective of the trigger (see Rivero 1993; Roberts 2001). Accordingly, examples as in (23), where the negation systematically pairs with clitic > V, indicate that clitic > V does not involve V-to-C, whereas V > clitic does.

(23) a.   **_n-au_   _fost_   _având_   mestei   la   nădragi**
          not=has= been   having   slippers   at   pants
          'He didn't have slippers with his pants.' (Neculce 109)

     b.   **_Nu să_   _ştie_   din   ce   pricină   au fost   luat**
          not REFL=   knows   of   what   cause   have.3=been   taken
          şi   ei   moşii
          and   they   land
          'It's not clear why they too had taken land …' (Neculce 118)

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[38] There are various proposals in the literature regarding the way in which a lexical item becomes associated with a focus feature (see Breitbarth & van Riemsdijk 2004; Hinterhölzl 2012; Szendroi 2004). We do not take sides, but point out that the non-clitic auxiliary may also move to Focus, instead of the verb, as in (32). Presumably, the auxiliary is associated with a polarity feature that qualifies it as a goal for the focus probe (see Breitbarth, DeClerk, Haegeman 2013 for Aux-to-Focus for polarity emphasis).

This property is related to the polarity feature of the negation, which qualifies it as a goal for the probing operators such as focus. Giurgea & Remberger (2012) explicitly define emphatic/contrastive focus as ancillary to polarity, predicting Neg-to-Foc. Accordingly, in (23), the negation, being higher up, moves to Focus instead of the verb.

Crucially, it follows that V-to-C illustrates verb movement above the edge of the inflectional phrase (i.e., NegP), which, according to (21), leaves room for Force, Top, Focus or Fin heads as possible targets of movement. In other words, the effects of V-to-C on focus may arise either from V-to-Focus or from V-through-Focus, if the target is a higher head.

The word order in embedded clauses excludes Force as the target since Force may display non-clitic complementizers. We saw examples with *că* 'that' and V > clitics in (6), and we show this again in (24) where the V > clitic sequence is also preceded by a Topic constituent.

(24)   *Scrie   letopiseţul   nostrum   [**că**   [în   anii   6947...]*
       writes   chronicle.the   ours   that   in   years   6947
       ***intrat-au**   în   ţară   oaste   tătărască]* TOP
       entered=has   in   country   army   Tatar
       'Our chronicle says that, in 6947, Tartar army invaded the country.' (Ureche 83)

Matrix clauses do not have overt complementizers in Force, but the word order TopP > V > clitic is also available throughout, as in (25).

(25) a.   *Mai   apoi   [în   zilele   acestui   Ştefan   vodă]*
          more   after   in   days.the   this.GEN   Stefan   king
          ***fost-au**   foamete   mare   şi în   Tara   Moldovei   şi   la   unguri*
          been=has   starvation   big   and in   Kingdom   Moldova   and at   Hungarians
          'Later on, during the reign of this King Stefan, there was huge starvation, both in the Kingdom of Moldova and in Hungary.' (Ureche 159)

     b.   *Apoi   [şi   Petriceico-vodă,   ce   l-au   ales   boierii,]*
          then   and   Petriceico-King   whom   him=have=   elected   boyars.the
          ***vide-veţi**   la câta   stingere   şi   robie   au dus*
          see=will.2PL   to how.much   burning   and   servitude   has=brought
          ţara   cu   faptele   lui
          country.the   with   deeds   is
          'Then you will see what devastation and servitude King Petriceico, the one elected by the boyars, has brought to the country through his deeds.' (Neculce 133)

This means, on cartographic assumptions, that the CP is fully articulated and the level of V-to-C movement is the same in both matrix (25) and embedded clauses (24).

Having established that the level of high verb movement does not differ in matrix and embedded clauses, and that Force is not the targeted head, our task is to verify the next lower head in the hierarchy, that is, Top. Such a target is immediately excluded by the word order, since V-to-Top would predict grammatical sequences with V > clitics > *wh*-phrase[39], for which there is no evidence in our corpus. That is, according to the mapping in (21), Top is higher than

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[39] A V > wh-phrase > clitic is excluded on more general grounds, since these are "V-oriented clitics" and therefore obligatorily adjacent to V.

FocusP, and the type of movement to Top would not preclude movement to FocusP. This is unsurprising since the relevant semantics with V > clitic is Focus, rather than Topic related. Consequently, we must look lower in the hierarchy, to Focus or Fin: (i) If the verb moves to Focus, then there must be some type of focus realized semantically with encliticization; (ii) If the verb moves to Fin, then we expect to see grammatical sequences with $XP_{contrastive} > V > clitic$, as well as sensitivity to Fin features.

As argued in Section 3, the $XP_{contrastive} > V > clitic$ order is unobtainable in the original texts, the data showing complementary distribution between V > clitic order and XP constituents in FocusP. More precisely, *wh*-phrases (which, following Rizzi 1997, target Spec, FocP) block verb movement above T, in both matrix and embedded interrogatives. The word order in (26) confirms that Old Romanian *wh*-phrases move to Spec, FocusP because such phrases are preceded by Topic constituents (26a) and by the lexical complementizer in Force (26b). Crucially, *wh*-movement to Spec, FocusP restricts the word order to clitic > V.[40]

(26) a. *[Neamul   Ţării   Moldovei   **de**   **unde**   **să tărăgănează***?*
       people.the Country.the.GEN Moldova.GEN   from   where   REFL=originates
       'From where do the people of Moldova originate?' (Costin 6)

    b. *întrebându-l   [**că**   **ce**   **au fugit**   din   scaun?]*
       asking=him   that   why   has=run   from   throne
       'asking him what he has abandoned the throne for'   (Costin 112)

Clitic >V is also the obligatory word order in the presence of fronted constituents with a contrastive focus reading, as in (27).

(27)   *[**Prostatec**]_Foc   **îl**   **ţinea** Vasilie-vodă   pre   Matei-vodă.*
       hostage   him=   kept   Vasilie-King DOM   Matei-King
       'It was as hostage that King Vasilie was keeping King Matei.' (Costin 90)

The complementary distribution between constituent movement and verb movement to FocusP indicates that Fin is excluded as a possible target for movement. Interaction with XP-movement to the Spec, FocusP operator position is only expected if high V movement targets the Focus head but not if V > clitic targets Fin. Since V > clitic is not attested in these contexts, we rule out Fin as the target for movement.

Further support in this direction comes from the behavior of *yes-no* interrogatives. There are 25 *yes-no* interrogatives in the *Moldavian Chronicles*, all of which display the V > clitic order, as illustrated by (28a, b), unless the negation *nu* is present, as in (28c). As with declaratives, encliticization is ruled out in negative interrogatives, since negation blocks verb movement. The *Wallachian Chronicles* display the same rule, having V > clitic in equivalent contexts (Todi 2001: 49, 123, 128 *et passim*). Examples from chancellery documents that were written directly in Old Romanian show that constituents with Topic reading may precede the V > clitic sequence in interrogative clauses, as shown in (28d).

(28) a. ***Pare-le***   lor   bine   c-au luat   împărăţia   Cameniţa,   au ba?

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[40] We also checked the proclitic word order in *wh*-questions for Dosoftei PS, contemporary to some *Chronicles*, and did not find any exception to this rule in the 89 *wh*-questions available in the text.

seems=to.them to.them good that-has=taken empire.the Camenitza or not
'Are they glad that the Sublime Porte took Camenitza?' (Neculce 134)

   b.   ***Fost-<u>au</u>***   *hain?*
         been=has   mean
         'Has he been mean?' (Neculce 401)

   c.   *Au*   ***n-<u>au</u>***   *fost*   *hrană?*[41]
         or   not-has= been   food
         'Wasn't there food?' (Costin 123)

   d.   *Şi*   *[Tudor*   *sluger]*   ***dat-<u>au</u>***   *bani*   *pre ei,*   *au*   ***ţinutu-<u>i-au</u>***
         and   Tudor   purveyor   given=has money   for them   or   held=them=has
         în   *sila*   *lui?*
         in   power.the   his
         'Has purveyor Tudor paid for them or has he confiscated them?' (DIR {228})

The examples in (28a-b, d) indicate that a verbal head can spell out Focus in the absence of an overt operator in Spec, FocusP. Predictably, the presence of a constituent with focus reading in Spec, FocusP blocks V-to-Foc in *yes-no* questions, and triggers clitic > V orders, as in (29).

(29) a.   *l-au întrebat*   *Ştefan-vodă:*   *[el]*_{FOC}   ***<u>au</u> strigat***   *aşa*   *tare…?*
         him=has=asked   Stefan-King   he   has=yelled   so   loudly
         'King Stefan asked him: was it he who yelled so loudly?' (Neculce 108)

   b.   *în dooă-trei*   *rânduri*   *au trimis*   *să*   *vadză,*   *[adeverat]*_{FOC}
         in two-three   times   has=sent   SUBJ   see.SUBJ.3   truly
         au sosit?
         have arrived
         'He sent someone two-three times to see whether it is indeed true that they've arrived.' (Costin 118)

In these examples, the context indicates a contrastive reading for the elements labeled as focus: In (29a), movement of the DP *el* 'he' to Spec, FocusP blocks V-to-Focus. In (29b), the question is whether it is true (or not) that they have arrived. In this construction, the fronted position of the adverb is an indication of focalization, since semantically it is not compatible with a topic reading; in default settings, this item is either predicative (i.e., 'it is true that') or it occurs as a post-verbal PP (i.e., *cu adeverat* 'in truth').

     In sum, the attested distribution of V > clitic is as follows: (i) optional in declaratives; (ii) obligatory in *yes-no* interrogatives; and (iii) absent in *wh*-interrogatives. In any of these environments, high verb movement is blocked by: (i) intervener polarity heads (i.e., negation); or (ii) by constituents moved to contrastive focus/topic (i.e., Spec, FocP).

     The above properties clearly point to high verb movement being related to Focus and not Fin. Focus always projects in interrogatives, but is optional in declaratives, where it projects only

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[41] *Au* is an adversative *yes-no* question particle approximating 'isn't it?' It may be spelling out Force, but we do not have sufficient data for a definitive analysis.

in the presence of a focused operator. By contrast, FinP is required throughout. Consequently, should the V-to-C trigger be Fin-related, we would expect to see encliticization systematically in declarative indicatives, but, crucially, that is not the case in the 17th-18th centuries. Furthermore, Fin properties should not be sensitive to the type of interrogative operator, but should be sensitive to issues relating to finiteness, for instance. However, both finite V forms and non-finite V forms can equally move to C in Old Romanian. (28a) shows V-to-C of a verbal form containing agreement and tense features, hence finite; conversely, (28b) shows V-to-C of a participial form. One would expect Fin in a finite domain, as that instantiated by indicatives, to be sensitive to the [+/- fin] distinction, contrary to fact.

        In conclusion, the data in this section confirmed that V > clitic means V-to-C, and then allowed us to redefine V-to-C as V-to-Focus. The basis for the assessment came from tests of word order that closely followed the predictions made by the cartographic representation of the CP field in (20) and (21).

5.2. The technicalities of Head Movement to Focus
5.2.1. LHM
        V-to-Focus involves what Lema & Rivero (1989) called Long Head Movement (LHM); that is, the verb head skips the head occupied by clitics in its movement to the CP field, as in (30a). This is challenging to the theory, where head movement is supposed to involve local moves, from head to head, as in (30b).

(30)   a.   CP   **LHM**
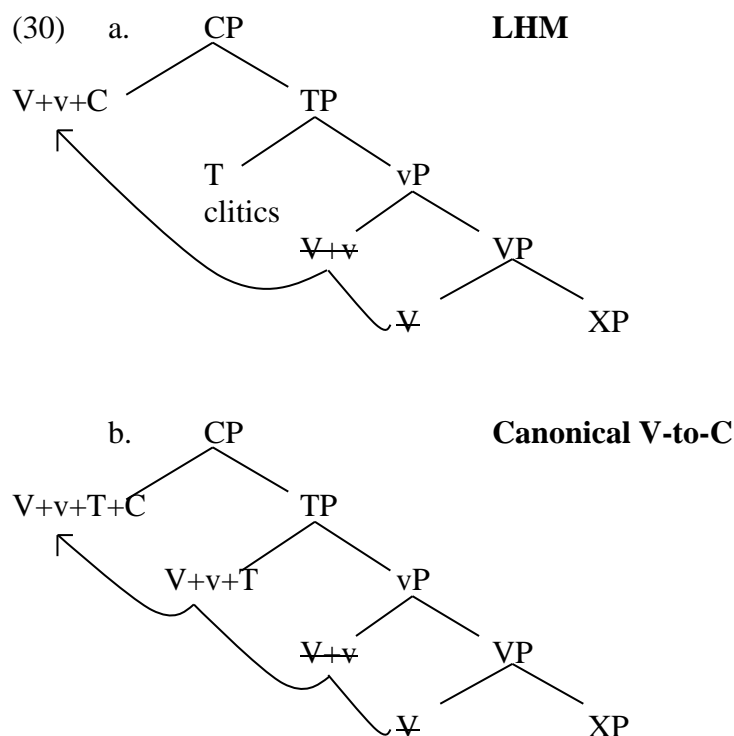
LHM in Lema & Rivero (1989) concerns only complex tenses, where an enclitic auxiliary is present, as shown again in (31).

(31)   *Chiematu-o-au   unii   şi   Flachia*

called=it=have.3　　some　also　Wallachia
'Some have also called it Wallachia'　(Ureche 2v, 66)

In (31), the clitics cluster in TP, so V-to-C for the verb *chematu* 'called' has to skip T, as in (30a). The authors justify the avoidance of the locality requirement on locality by postulating that verb movement to the CP domain targets A' positions, whereas verb movement within TP targets A positions (see also Roberts 2003: 144 for the split between 'operator' versus 'non-operator' heads). So the past participle form (or the infinitive in complex future) may skip the occupied T head because the target head has a different status than the T head.

　　In Minimalism, the violation of locality in (30a)/(31) can be reformulated in terms of feature checking. More precisely, assuming the C-to-T feature transfer hypothesis (see Chapter 1, Section 2), the TAM feature probes are in T, and require adequate valuation. In (31), this is fulfilled through the merge of an aspectual auxiliary in T (e.g., *au* 'have.3'), which blocks V-to-T, since T has already checked its TAM probe. Consequently, the verb remains lower, in an Asp head, as shown in Chapter 2, section 4. In derivations with a [focus] probe in C, the auxiliary, being a clitic, does not qualify for movement to Focus. Rather, it is the verb in Asp that is targeted (unless negation is present which, being higher, qualifies as a closer goal). This legitimizes LHM for V-to-Focus around T.

　　Some non-clitic auxiliaries or the copula 'be' also undergo V-to-Focus, as in (32).

(32) a.　***Fost-au***　　**luat**　　*Iordachi*　*Cantacozino*　*şi*　　　*Toma*　　*frate-său*
　　　　been=have　taken　Iordache　Cantacuzino　and　　　Toma　　brother=his
　　　　toate　　　*moşiile*　　　*Ceaureştilor*
　　　　all　　　　lands.the　　　Ceauresti.the. GEN
　　　　'Iordache Cantacuzino and his brother Toma took over all the lands of the Ceauresti.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Neculce 118)
　　b.　***ieste-le***　　*cu*　　*voie*　　*tuturor*　　*să*　　*le fie*　　　　　*domnŭ?*
　　　　is=to.them　by　　will　　all.DAT　　SUBJ　to.them=be.SUBJ.3　king
　　　　'Is it to everybody's agreement that he be their king?'(Ureche 91)

In (32a), it is [$_{Asp}$ *fostu*] (i.e., the free morpheme auxiliary of the analytic past perfect, lost in Modern Romanian) that undergoes V-to-C, not the lexical verb, here *luat* 'taken'. In (32b), the copula *fi* 'be' moves to Focus. [42]

5.2.2. Head-to-head movement
　　Crucially, V-to-Focus in Old Romanian is not restricted to LHM, but also involves cyclical movement, as in (33), where the verb carries the ending for subject-verb agreement, so it definitely moves to/interacts with T before moving to Focus.

(33)　***Cunoaşti-se***　*că*　　*au*　　*fost*　　*neaşezaţi…*
　　　tells=REFL　　that　　have= been　　unsettled
　　　'One can tell that they have not been settled' (Ureche 73)

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[42] In Chapter 2, we mentioned that there are traces of 'have' and 'want' based auxiliaries in their non-clitic form. None of the extant occurrences attest to V-to-Focus, to match the 'be' auxiliary in (32). We cannot tell whether this is due to chance or whether it shows a syntactic contrast in the behavior of non-clitic auxiliaries.

Hence, (33) has the underlying configuration in (30b). As shown Chapter 2 (configuration (76)), clitic pronouns are mixed A/A' categories that merge in a separate KL head above the TP that hosts the verbal heads (i.e., KL > $T_{aux/verb}$). That is, the site for merging clitic pronouns is separate from the head for verbal elements that display subject-verb agreement. Thus, clitic auxiliaries and verbs are in complementary distribution in T, both having the same function, while clitic pronouns may co-occur with any of them. Therefore, from a feature checking perspective, KL has no feature that probes the verbal element, and as such, it cannot interfere with verb movement triggered by other verb related higher probes.

5.2.3. Focus operator and [focus] feature

The next relevant point concerns the checking of the [uFocus] feature. Regardless of whether the word order is V > clitic or clitic > V, we have argued for the presence of an operator (derived or base-generated) in Spec,FocusP. We assume that this operator is the syntactic item responsible for checking the relevant [uFocus] feature. In other words, we suggest that there is no justifiable reason to postulate a morpho-syntactic [focus] feature on either T or the lexical verb, even in derivations with V > clitic. This follows from the fact that we are not dealing with predicate focus (i.e. the V is not semantically focused) but with generalized focus operators.[43] That is why in (32) a functional item (which could not be semantically focused) can move to Focus.

Having established that the verbal head moving to Focus does not bear a morpho-syntactic [focus] feature, the question we need to address is *why* there is head movement to Focus in the presence of focus null operators. Here we capitalize on Miyagawa's *Strong Uniformity* principle, as outlined in (34).

(34)   *Strong Uniformity* (Miyagawa 2010: 12)
        All languages share the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features.

In effect, (34) requires some form of overt manifestation of all checking relationships. Consequently, as a grammatical feature, checking of [uFocus] must have a visible correlate and we propose, in the spirit of Miyagawa, that this is what triggers V-to-Focus in these Old Romanian derivations.[44]

5.3. Other Verb movement accounts

This sub-section presents a summary of previous proposals that V > clitic orders involve V-to-C in syntax. The main point is that for these proposals V-to-C translates as V-to-Force, and the trigger is a purely syntactic feature in C with a structure preserving function. This is different

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[43] This type of V-movement is distinct from instances of A-bar movement in which the verb or VP occupies a clause-initial position and has a topicalized or focused interpretation, as discussed in Roberts (2010) for some Germanic and Romance. Crucially, in these cases, also referred to as predicate clefting constructions, there is also a copy of the verb clause-internally, as in (i).

(i)   ***Comprar**,   Juan   ha   **comprado**   un libro.*
        buy-INF,   Juan   has   bought   a book
        'As for buying, John has bought a book.' (from Vincente 2006: 44)

[44] We can also think of this as a Recoverability mechanism ensuring that a syntactic unit with semantics must be pronounced unless otherwise retrievable (in the spirit of Pesetsky 1998).

from our proposal, since for us, the trigger in C is a discourse feature, therefore, not a feature obligatorily mapped to CP, and the movement is V-to-Focus. The summary we provide will allow the reader to better grasp the technical differences, which in the end amount to a different conclusion on the nature of the left periphery in finite clauses in Romance and Balkan languages.

5.3.1 Generalized Verb Second (V2)

With generalized V2 all matrix clauses project to CP, where C has a property that obligatorily attracts the verbal head (V-to-C) and requires a constituent in a local (Spec-Head) relation to C. The property responsible for V-movement to C has been identified as a [+finite] feature (Rivero 1993), or an Infl-feature (Platzack 1987; Holmberg & Platzack 1995 a.o.), or simply a V feature (e.g. den Besten 1983). In any case, C attracts the verb and projects a Specifier (i.e. has an Edge Feature, as in Chomsky 2008).

Generalized V2 was first discussed in the context of Germanic languages (Erdmann 1886 and, from a generative perspective, Thiersch 1978), but Benincà (1983/84) extends the V2 analysis to Old Romance languages. Several studies adopt this proposal for individual languages; for example, Adams (1987) for Old French; Fontana (1993) for Old Spanish; Ledgeway (2008) for Early Neapolitan; Ribeiro (1995) for Old Portuguese.

Why is a V2 analysis not appropriate for Old Romanian?

First, the verb is rarely in a second position in the Old Romanian finite clause, the default location being V1 or V3 in both root and embedded clauses, and this irrespective of the clitic > V or V > clitic order. If it happens that the verb is in second position, it is by chance. Second, if V1 occurs in a V2 language, it is rare and restricted with respect to the type of constituents that may follow V1, namely only a subject DP noun or pronoun (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010; Schrodt 2004). No such restrictions apply to V1 in Old Romanian, which can be followed by any type of constituent, irrespective of whether a DP subject is also present, anywhere in the clause. Similarly, V2 languages have rare examples of V3, and when they appear, the word order is restricted, in the sense that the second constituent is always a subject pronoun (Lippert 1974:15, Tomaselli 1994). Again, such restrictions do not apply to V3 in Old Romanian. Crucially, these properties equally apply to clitic > V and V > clitic orders. Lastly, V2 is always T-to-C (Roberts 2003), while in our cases we saw that LHM in Old Romanian involves mainly Asp-to-Focus (i.e. most instances are of LHM across an auxiliary in T). [45]

5.3.2. Standard LHM

In a number of languages, declarative matrix clauses with complex tenses show movement of the past participle or infinitive verb stem to C bypassing the clitic cluster, as discussed for (30a). Rivero (1993 and previous work) argues that this type of V-movement is triggered by the second position clitic requirement, as in Wackernagel's Law. This is a last resort operation that occurs only when there is no other constituent preceding the clitics in the sentence. The languages displaying this operation are canonical null subject Old Romance and South and West Slavic languages (but see Embick & Izvorski 1995 for a different analysis).

While LHM, as a technical term for non-finite verb movement across the clitic auxiliary, may derive V > clitic strings in Old Romanian, the trigger and the target in CP are not as proposed in Rivero's studies. In particular, we saw that there is no evidence for Wackernagel's Law in Old Romanian, and the V > clitic order arises not only when non-finite verbs undergo LHM, but from regular/finite form verb movement, as argued for (30b). Furthermore, the

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[45] For a more extensive discussion of the typological differences, see Alboiu, Hill & Sitaridou (2014).

restrictions on word order predicted under the LHM proposal do not materialize in our constructions. That is, V-to-C should occur in complementary distribution with fronting to Topic, since either the verb or the Topic constituent can satisfy the second clitic requirement, but that is not what we see in the data. Also, V > clitic should be disallowed after complementizers, which is again an incorrect prediction for our data.

5.3.3 Criterial V-movement

A Criterial requirement is a structural constraint on Spec-Head relations, where Spec has an operator feature it shares with the Head in a bi-unique feature checking relation (Brody 1995, Haegeman 1995, Horvath 1995, and Rizzi 1997, 2006). The operator features are [wh], [neg], [focus], or [affective]; for the latter see Hulk & Tellier (1999). Sitaridou (2011, 2012) resorts to this approach to explain the peculiarity of Old Romance languages in encoding the information structure at the clausal left periphery. It is argued that [focus] is a feature of V, so feature checking within FocusP triggers V-to-Focus. This movement mimics V2, but it does not respond to the same triggers (e.g. Platzack's (1987) [+finite] feature) and does not target C (i.e. Force or Fin in Rizzi's 1994 terminology). This analysis echoes the findings on Old Portuguese in Martins (1994), who distinguishes between a strong V-feature (in languages such as Old Portuguese, Old Galician), and a weak V-feature (in languages such as Old Spanish, Catalan, French and Romanian), in the sense that high verb-movement is not motivated by a [+finite] feature à la Germanic, and therefore, is not an instance of V2.

There are two main differences between the Criterial approach and the analysis we propose here. First, our trigger is a contrastive type of [focus] versus the information focus in Sitaridou's analysis. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the Criterial approach has no way of ruling out V-movement to C/Focus in the presence of XP movement to Spec, FocusP (i.e. *wh-*movement or operator focus movement). This complementarity of distribution is one of the main reasons an alternative solution is required for the Old Romanian data. However, the overall result is similar to that arising from Criterial analyses, insofar as V-to-C in some Old Romance languages, including Old Romanian, is an epiphenomenon of information structure packaging more generally available to discourse configurational languages.

6. Apparent counter-examples

This section looks at data that seem to challenge the analysis we propose. Such data fall in two groups: (i) texts written directly in Old Romanian; and (ii) translations from Church Slavonic. We show that such exceptions are instructive but not problematic.

6.1. Romanian texts

The analysis we have proposed is based on data from texts written directly in Old Romanian. Among these texts, we found an important exception: Văcărescu's *Istoria Othomănicească* ('The History of the Ottoman Empire') displays the clitic > V order consistently throughout, including in *yes-no* questions, as shown in (35).

(35) *au*   *doar*   **_s-au_ _turburat_**   *Poarta*   *pântru dosirea*   *fiilor*   *săi?*
      or   just   REFL=has=upset Porte.the   for   hiding.the   sons.the.GEN   his
      'Did the Sublime Porte get upset just for the hiding of his sons?' (Văcărescu 131)

The word order in (35) is identical to *yes-no* questions in Modern Romanian and so contrasts with the systematic V > clitic order we found in *Chronicles*. There is no way to know whether Văcărescu's grammar reflects the real spoken Romanian, or whether he decided to adopt the emerging tendency for systematic procliticization before this change had been generalized. In any case, we have to acknowledge that there is no null [focus] operator feature mapping the semantic verum focus in his grammar.

This is, however, not a problem for our analysis. The point is that there is no *optional* encliticization in his interrogatives.[46] All we can say is that his grammar operates with the setting for the focus parameter that applies to Modern Romanian. The problem would have been if the writer used both options in free alternations, as our analysis could not have accounted for that.

6.2. Translations

The reason why we based our analysis on texts written directly in Old Romanian is that, as pointed out in Zafiu (2014), the translated texts do not show a systematic pattern for procliticization or encliticization on verbs. Generally, the translators strove to keep the translation as close as possible to the wording of the original, and the Church Slavonic originals had a second position clitic rule (i.e. Church Slavonic observed Wackernagel's Law), as well as free encliticization (Pancheva 2007). This resulted in a second position clitic/enclitic requirement being imported into the target language (i.e. Old Romanian), despite the fact that Wackernagel's Law was inoperative in this language (see also Croitor 2014).

Furthermore, there are noticeable differences in the use of V > clitic strings from one translated text to another. For example, *Palia de la Orăştie*, dated from 1582, shows V > clitic orders almost as predicted in our analysis, that is, independently of the second position clitics. Thus, V > clitic occurs after Topic constituents, as in (36).

(36) a.   *[în care   Bitie   şi   carte   dentâniu]   **scris-au**   sfânt   Moisi*
        in which Bitie   and   book   of.first   written=has saint   Moses
        începătura   a   toate   fãpturilor
        beginning.the   of   all   creatures.the.GEN
        'in which gospel and book of origins, Saint Moses has written about the beginning of all creatures' (PO {4})

    b.   *şi   [lu Moisi] **fu-i**   iară   de iznoavă   a   proceti*
        and   to Moses   was=to.him again   of whim   INF   preach
        'and Moses felt like preaching again' (PO {5})

When it comes to V1, the translator shows insecurity in applying the V > clitic rule in the presence of *şi* 'and', as shown in (37).

(37) a.   *Şi   **deşchiseră-se**   ochii   amândurora*
             and   opened=REFL   eyes.the   both.GEN
             'And the eyes of both of them have opened' (PO {19})

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[46] The same can be said about *Dosoftei PS*: there are three *yes-no* questions in this text, all of which have clitic > V order. The other 89 questions are *wh* and are consistently clitic > V, as predicted.

b.	*Şi*	***se sculă***	*demâneaţa*	*Avraam*
	and	REFL=woke.up	in.morning.the	Avram

'And Adam woke up in the morning' (PO {67})

Şi is supposed to act as phonological host for the clitic and trigger clitic > V (Croitor 2014), as in (37b). However, it also occurs with the V > clitic order in (37a), mimicking the order of the Slavonic original, with V1. This is in line with our prediction that Romanian translators had no native intuitions for the application of Wackernagel's Law.

On the other hand, some of Coresi's texts, dating from the same period, show a more regular application of Wackernagel's Law. Basically, we see co-occurrence of fronting to Focus with V > clitic order, as in (38), against our predictions. In (38), the bracketed constituent has a contrastive Topic reading, so it occupies Spec, FocusP in the presence of high verb movement.

(38)	*Că*	*cine-ş*	*va căuta*	*ale*	*lui*	*păcate,*	*[iertătoriŭ*	*milostiv]*
	for	who=REFL	will.3SG=search	the	his	sins	forgiver	merciful
	fi-va		*de greşalele*	*altora*
	be=will.3SG		of sins.the	others.GEN

'For who acknowledges his own sins will be a merciful forgiver of the sins of others'
(Coresi EV {8})

There are two explanations for this word order: One is that Coresi's idiolect required both the Spec and the Focus head to lexicalize, as in the Criterial analysis. This is a well-known cross-linguistoc option (e.g. English main clause *wh*-interrogatives which show both *wh*-movement and T-to-C movement), so the co-occurrence we see in (38) may reflect a double filled FocusP. The alternative is that Coresi was a bilingual intellectual, having a mastery of Church Slavonic, so unlike other translators, he may have imported the V > clitic rule in its correct application regarding the optional directionality of the T head, as proposed in Pancheva (2005, 2008). Obviously, such a derivation does not interfere with movement to Focus.

A choice between the two explanations should take into account the distribution of the negation: with the Church Slavonic rule, negation is allowed; with the double filled FocusP, negation is disallowed, since it is a free morpheme in Old Romanian. However, this seems to vary from one text to another. We checked two texts, *Coresi EV* and *Coresi PS*. We did not find any examples of *nu* 'not' > V > clitic order in *Coresi EV*, although there were 2618 occurrences of clausal *nu*. On the other hand, *Coresi PS* has 582 occurrences of *nu*, 36 of which precede V > clitic strings, as in (39): (39a) is a *yes-no* question; (39b) shows a declarative clause; (39c) shows a subjunctive clause.

(39) a.   *cela*   *ce*   *feace*   *ochiul*   *nu*   ***vedea-va?***
         the.one   that   makes   eye.the   not   see=will.3SG
         'the one who makes the eye, wouldn't he see?' (Coresi PS {182v})

   b.   *Derept*   *aceaia*   *nu*   ***spământămu-ne***
         for   that   not   scare.1PL=REFL
         'that is why we do not get scared' (Coresi PS {85v})

   c.   *să*   *nu*   ***bucure-mi-se***
         SUBJ   not   enjoy.SUBJ.3=to.me=REFL
         'let it not be joyful for me' (Coresi PS {63r})

Crucially, there is a sharp difference in the writing styles of the two texts, the second one being much more foreign in the word order chosen.[47] For example, V > clitic after the negation in the presence of the subjunctive particle *să*, as in (39c), is not a grammatical option for either Old or Modern Romanian grammar. This word order is missing in all other translations in our corpora. As it will be argued later in this book, *să* merges in Fin (see Chapter 8). If V > clitic involves V-to-C in Romanian, then both the negation and *să* systematically block this option.[48] Hence, the only explanation for (39c) is that V > clitic does not entail V-to-C, but the change in the T-head directionality, as was the case for Slavonic. *Coresi PS* is practically Church Slavonic grammar with Romanian vocabulary.

      Are these facts a problem for our analysis? Since these examples occur in translations whereas our analysis is based on texts written directly in Romanian, it is obviously the case that two grammars were at stake for the V > clitic rule. The fact that the application of the V > clitic order is unsystematic in most translations indicates that the translator was not following an actual internal grammar rule. Furthermore, the fact that negation does not occur with V > clitic even in translations, and even in most of Coresi's books, indicates that optionality in the head directionality for T did not operate in Old Romanian, to the extent that *nu* > V > clitic was felt as much more awkward than the liberal use of V > clitic alone.

6.3. Section conclusions

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[47] Philologists tend to conclude that Coresi printed versus authored the texts, which originate from various translators on a variable timeline; for more details see Pană Dindelegan (2015).

[48] *Să* blocks V-to-C because it is not a clitic: it precedes the non-clitic negation *nu* and it alternates with *nu* for checking the features of Fin in surrogate imperatives (Isac & Jakab 2004).

This discussion brings us back to the question of how far we can trust the texts to give us information about Old Romanian grammar. In reaction to this problem, we based our empirical tests on texts written directly in Romanian, and selected examples from translations only sporadically, under the advisement of philological studies. Some translations have paragraphs written directly in Romanian, especially in the introductions.

Nevertheless, the constructions we find in translations tell us a story about what happens when a syntactic pattern is artificially transferred from one language to another. We can safely assume that some encliticization on verbs existed in Old Romanian, at least for a sub-set of non-syllabic clitics. There is no evidence that this was more than a phonological requirement, but it is sufficient to acknowledge that the possibility existed. Imagine that a Romanian speaker with such a grammar has to translate a text from Church Slavonic, and is forced (by the fashion of the time, or by his bishop) to keep the translation close to the word order of the original. The encliticization rule is applied more liberally, but not correctly as far as Wackernagel's Law is concerned. Obligatory encliticization with V1 is easier to grasp, but other distributions are not, unless for a savvy bilingual like Coresi. It is not clear whether V-to-C was ever a rule of colloquial Old Romanian, but it definitely became a rule of written Old Romanian.

7. Conclusions

This chapter looked at the alternation between clitic > V and V > clitic orders in finite (i.e. indicative declarative and interrogative) clauses in Old Romanian texts written directly in Romanian; most data came from the *Moldavian Chronicles* and the *Wallachian Chronicles*. It was argued that V > clitic involves V-to-C in syntax, and that the exact C head targeted in this movement is Focus.

The justification for V-to-Focus relied on the nature of the focus operator that maps semantic foci to syntax: this operator can be either lexical (i.e., a constituent), in which case it is present in the derivation and itself moves to Spec,FocusP; or it can be null, in which case it is merged directly in Spec,FocusP. In the latter scenario, the highest non-clitic overt head (i.e. the verb, non-clitic aspectual auxiliary, copula, or negation) typically undergoes head movement to Focus for recoverability purposes (i.e. to guarantee lexicalization of the Focus domain in the left-periphery). Modern Romanian lost the null operator, hence, there is no V > clitic in finite clauses in this language. These two structural options are illustrated in (40a, b), with relevant items in italics and pronounced items in bold.

(40) a. Focussed/interrogative OP *moved* to Spec,FocusP, V-to-T, and proclisis

ForceP/CP

Force   (TopP)

(XP_TOP)

(Top)   FocusP

OP (wh-**phrase)**

Focus   FinP

Fin   K_LP

K_L   TP

CL

T   vP

V   T   <V>…<OP>
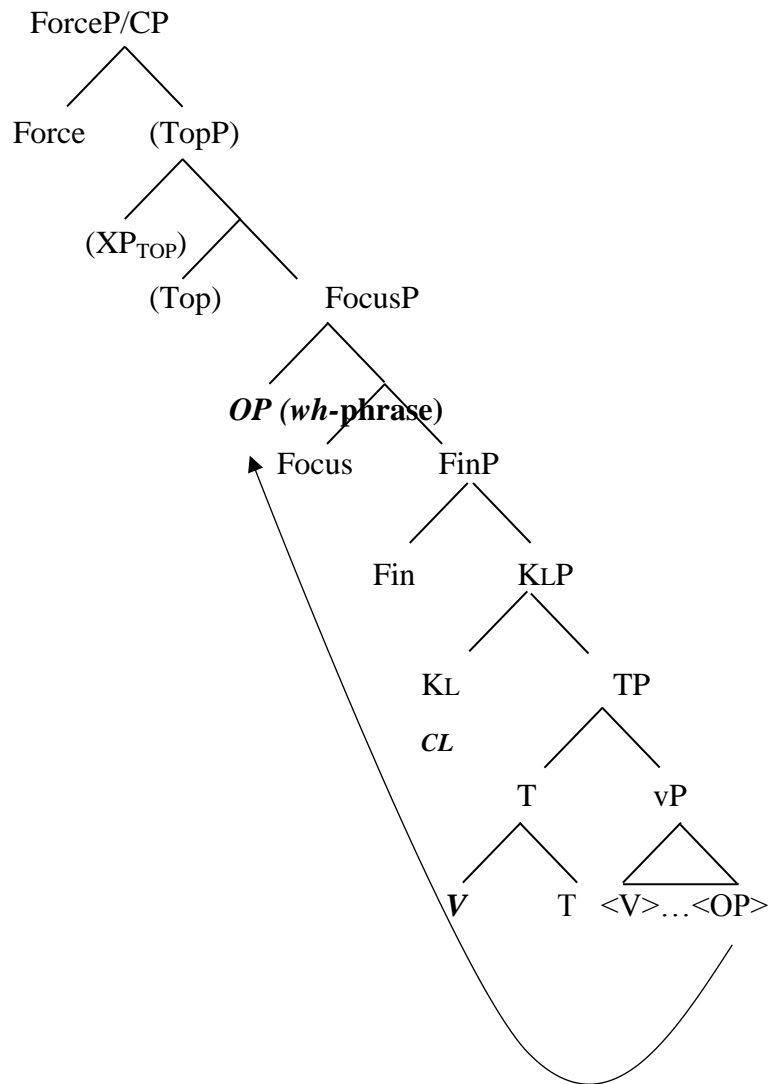
b. Null OP merged in Spec,FocusP, V-to-Focus, and enclitics
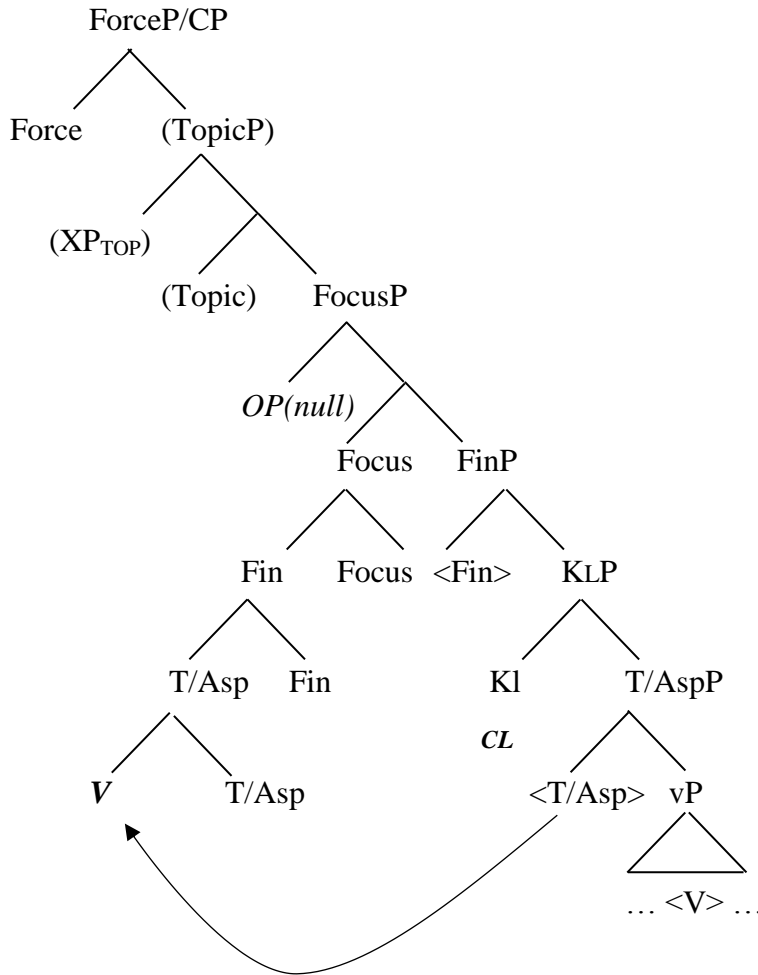
The fact that movement of the highest inflectional head is required reinforces the syntactic nature of V-to-C movement, as phonology should not care about intervention effects triggered by c-command.

    From a cross-linguistic perspective, we showed why alternative cross-linguistic accounts for V-to-C movement (i.e. V2 and clitic-triggered LHM) cannot capture the internal properties of finite clauses in Old Romanian. In particular, the data we discussed show support for accounts that view V-to-C as discourse driven rather than structure preserving, and is possibly extendable to similar constructions in Old Romance.

    From a typological point of view, this analysis suggests the necessity of distinguishing between different syntactic patterns that converge to the same word order. That is, the V > clitic order may arise from V2 requirements, or second position clitic requirements, or discourse based requirements, and each of the above may involve different degrees of movement to the CP field (e.g., to Force, or to Focus, or to Fin) or no V-to-C at all, as proposed for the change of T head directionality in Old and Middle Bulgarian (Pancheva 2005, 2008).

Chapter 4:   Imperative clauses

1. Morphology
A descriptive introduction of inflectional forms for:
1.1.   True imperatives
1.2.   Negative imperatives
1.3.   Surrogate imperatives
1.4.   Other variations

2. The cartography of true imperatives
2.1.   Alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V
2.2.   Word order tests: true imperatives
2.3.   Word order tests: *De*-imperatives
2.4.   A formal analysis of imperative clauses with true imperatives

3. The cartography of negative imperatives
The patterns for Neg-to-C.

4. Other configurations
Allocutive agreement and speech acts in the syntax of imperatives.
4.1.   The addressee feature
4.2.   Allocutive agreement in Basque
4.3.   Allocutive agreement in Albanian
4.4.   Allocutive agreement in Romanian

5. Conclusions

This chapter focuses on another type of root clause: the imperative. Typologically, Old Romanian follows the Romance pattern for deriving true and negative imperatives, but it adopts the Balkan pattern for imperative surrogates that use subjunctive clauses. In this chapter, we discuss the internal structure of true and negative imperatives, but not of surrogate clauses, because the subjunctive surrogates will be included in the analysis of subjunctive clauses in Chapter 8.

For the syntactic analysis, we adopt the formalizations proposed in current studies on the structure of imperative clauses cross-linguistically (Rivero & Terzi 1995; Zanuttini 1997; Han 1998; Isac & Jakab 2004; Isac 2013). We show that, in light of current analyses, Old Romanian imperatives are unexceptional in their default use, but display non-trivial peculiarities in their marked use. That is, V > clitic and clitic > V orders alternate, the former occurring by default in imperative clauses, whereas the latter may arise in the second conjunct of a coordination phrase with two imperative clauses. Furthermore, the imperative form displays the possibility of alternating the morpheme ordering of clitic pronouns and the inflectional ending for 2nd person plural. The syntactic account we propose for these peculiarities involves an alternative lexicalization of C, and the mapping of allocutive agreement.

1. Morphology

1.1. True imperatives

In Old Romanian, true imperatives occur only for second person, and their morphological paradigm is basically parasitic on the present indicative, from which the forms for second or third person, or sometimes both, are borrowed.[49] Very few forms of genuine true imperative existed. The information presented in this section relies on the historical studies of Densuşianu (1901), Maiden (2006) and Frâncu (1981, 2009). We refer the reader to these works, and also to Pană Dindelegan (2015) for a discussion of the paradigmatic changes in imperatives from Latin to Old Romanian, which we do not provide here.

The plural true imperative form is identical to the second plural form of the indicative verb, where the ending *–ţi* marks the person and number features; see the example in (1).[50]

(1) **Lucraţi**   *nu*   *pentru bucate pieitoare,*   *ce*   *pentru*
     work.IND.2PL/IMP.2PL   not   for   food   perishable   but   for
     bucate ce   *rămân*   *în viiaţa*   *veacilor*
     food   that   remain.IND.3PL   in life.the   centuries.the.GEN
     'Work, not for perishable goods, but for goods that will last for centuries.' (NT {278})

The singular true imperative is less regular. For example, the second person singular equivalent to *lucraţi* in (1) could be either *lucreadză* or *lucră* (Densuşianu 1901/1997: 573), both

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forms being parasitic on indicative third person singular. Standard Modern Romanian preserved *lucrează*, whereas *lucră* is still used in regional varieties.

The second person singular indicative present was also used as an imperative form, see (2a). Such forms were in competition with those based on the third person singular, as in (2b). Only the latter have been preserved in Modern Romanian.

(2) a. ***Acoperi-me***   *de*   *adunrătura*   *hicleanilor*
      cover.IND.2SG/IMP.2SG=me   from   swarm.the   crooks.the.GEN
      'Protect me from the swarm of crooks' (PH {52})

    b. ***Acoperă-mă***   *Doamne*   *cu-ndurare*
      cover.IND.3SG/IMP.2SG=me   God.VOC   with-mercy
      'Cover me, God, with mercy' (L. Boltasu - http://www.resursecrestine.ro/poezii/)

There are also some genuine imperatives, inherited from Latin or with unclear etymology: *bleţi/ blemaţi* 'go.IMP.2PL', which also had a first person plural form, *blem (blăm)*; *pasă, păsaţi* 'go.IMP.2SG/PL'; *vă* 'go.IMP.2SG'; *adu/ado/adă* 'bring.IMP.2SG'; *aibi* 'have.IMP.2SG'; *sta* 'stay.IMP.2SG'; *vino/vinro/viro/viină/vienă/vienu* 'come.IMP.2SG'. Some of the 'go' forms have completely disappeared, and all these imperatives had a reduction in the number of variants towards Modern Romanian. Notable is the disappearance of *blem*, *bleţi*, which was replaced with the particle (PRT) *haide* 'c'mon, ok', of Turkish origin, during the 17th century. Thus, we can find both forms in the *Chronicles*, as in (3).

(3) a. ***Blem***   *pe la*   *mine,*   *că*   *îţi este*   *şi*   *doamna*   *la Brăila*
      go.IMP.1PL   by at   me   for   to.you=is   also   lady.the   in Braila
      'Let's go to my place, since your lady has also left for Braila.' (Neculce 158)

    b. ***Haida,***   ***haida,***   *la ei,*   *la ei!*
      PRT.IMP   PRT.IMP   to them   to them
      'Let's go, let's go, towards them, towards them!' (Costin 154)

The particle *haida* is invariable for person and number.[51]

1.2. Negative imperatives

Most true imperatives cannot co-occur with negation, be it the free morpheme *nu* 'not' or the affixal negation *ne-*.[52] Instead, infinitive forms are used, which is typical for Romance languages with preverbal negation (Fischer 1985) – namely, languages where Neg is a head that occurs above TP (Zanuttini 1997). In Old Romanian, the infinitive had two variants: a long infinitive, which displayed the ending *–re* (e.g., *venire* 'come'); and a short infinitive, without such an ending (e.g., *veni* 'come'). Modern Romanian has only the latter. For the second person singular, negative imperatives consist of *nu* 'not' followed by the short infinitive, as in (4a). On

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[51] A detailed analysis of Romanian *hai/haide* is provided in Hill (2013c).
[52] There are some rare occurrences with the free morpheme *nu*: *nu du* 'don't take.IMP.2SG', *nu adu* 'don't bring.IMP.2SG'. For more discussion, see Maiden (2006).

the other hand, the second person plural shows both the long (4b) and short infinitives (4c), and both display the ending *-ţi*:[53]

(4) a.   **nu**   **te teame**   *a*   *lua*   *pre*   *Maria*   *muiarea*   *ta*
        not   REFL=fear.INF/IMP.2SG   INF   take   DOM   Maria   wife.the   your
        'Don't be afraid to take Maria as your wife.' (NT {122})

    b.   *Îngăduiţi,*   **nu**   **vă apropiiareţi**   *de patul*   *mieu*
        pardon.IMP.2PL   not   REFL=come.close.INF/IMP.2PL   to bed.the   my
        spurcatŭ   *de*   *ficiorul*   *lui*   *Tarcvinii.*
        soiled   by   son.the   of   Tarquinus
        'Excuse me and do not come close to my bed soiled by Tarquinus' son'. (Costin 200)

    c.   *Spuneţ*   *cine*   *este,*   **nu**   **faceţ**   *zăbavă.*
        say.IMP.2PL   who   is   not   make.INF/IMP.2PL   delay
        'Say who it is, don't delay.' (Dosoftei PS {163})

1.3. Surrogate imperatives

      True imperatives have only second person morphology. For other grammatical person features, a root subjunctive is used, as in (5), in either positive or negative turns. This is typical for Balkan languages.

(5) a.   *De*   *nu*   *se poartă*   *cum*   *să cade*   *unui*   *boierin,*   **să-l**
        if   not   REFL =behaves   as   REFL=befits   a.DAT   boyar   SUBJ=him
        scoată   **şi**   **să**   **puie**   *altul*   *în locŭ*
        expel.SUBJ.3   and   SUBJ   put.SUBJ.3   another   in place
        'If he does not behave as it's befiting for a boyar, [the authorities] must expel him and put someone else in his place' (Costin 65)

    b.   **Să**   **nu**   **te ierte**   *Dumnedzău*   *cu*   *cel*   *cap mare*   *al*   *tău.*
        SUBJ   not   you=forgive.SUBJ.3   God   with that   head big   GEN   your
        'May God not forgive you, you with your big head.' (Costin 35)

The subjunctive has inflection for second person as well, and it is used instead of a true imperative when the directive is hortative, or it involves etiquette and politeness, as in (6).

(6)   *Pre*   *acestŭ omŭ*   *iară*   **să-l**   **aduceţi**   *la mine.*
        DOM   this   man   though   SUBJ=him   bring.2PL   to me
        'As for this man, (please) bring him to me.' (Costin 95)

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[53] In the second person plural, negative imperatives with short infinitives are homophonous to indicative present forms; e.g., *nu aduceţi* 'not bring.IMP.2PL' or 'not bring.IND.2PL'. The indicative form is also used as a subjunctive; see (6) above. For more details on morphological parasitic paradigms in Romanian, see Pirvulescu (2002).

1.4. Other forms

The forms discussed so far generate the bulk of imperative clauses in the texts. There are, however, other forms used for the same purpose (i.e. with imperative force):

1.4.1. Bare subjunctives
Subjunctive inflection on verbs existed in Old Romanian before the emergence of the subjunctive marker *să* (Frâncu 1969).[54] Most of these forms display the third person, as in (7).

(7) *Şi   zise   Dumnezeu: **rodească**   pământul   iarbă   vearde*
     and   said   God   bear.SUBJ.3   earth.the   grass   green
     'And God said: Let the earth bear green grass' (PO {13})

These forms are still present in non-standard Modern Romanian and archaic registers.

1.4.2. Gerunds in surrogates
Old Romanian has the peculiarity of using gerunds in root clauses, in declaratives and imperatives. An example is provided in (8).

(8) *iară   carei   aţi pestit   până   la al   noaole   ceas,*
     and   which.PL   have.2PL=fasted   up   to the   ninth   hour
     apropiiaţi-vă   *şi   nemica   **ruşinîndu-vă.***
     approach.IMP.2PL=REFL   and   nothing   being.ashamed=REFL
     'and those who fasted up to the ninth hour, come close and don't be ashamed of anything.' (Coresi E {125})

The gerund verb in (8) is coordinated with a true imperative clause, and receives the same illocutionary force in this context.

1.4.3. True imperatives with an unusual ordering of morphemes
Frâncu (1981) points out that by the 18th century the texts from Wallachia display imperatives where the clitic and the personal ending reverse their order. That is, instead of the regular string in (9a), where the clitic follows the person ending *–ţi,* we may also find the morpheme ordering in (9b), where the clitic intervenes between the verb stem and *-ţi.*

(9) a. *Dzisu-le-u*   *viziriul:*   *"Alegeţi-vă*   *un   domnŭ   dintre*
       said=to.them=has   Vizir.the   choose.IMP.2PL=REFL   a   king   among
       voi,   pe   cine   v-a plăcea…"
       you   DOM   whom   to.you=would.3=please
       'The Vizir told them: "Choose a king from among yourselves, whomever you want"'
       (Neculce {13})

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[54] The subjunctive inflection is a typical Romance property, whereas subjunctive complementizers like *să* are a Balkan Sprachbund property, so it makes sense that this arises later in Romanian.

b. *Un.* *alege* *tu,* *să* *aleagă* *el.* *alege-te*
SG   choose.IMP.2SG   you   SUBJ   choose.SUBJ.3   he   choose.IMP.2SG=REFL

tu, *să* *se* *aleagă* *el.* *Înm.* *alegeţ* *voi,*
you   SUBJ   REFL=   choose.SUBJ.3   he   PL   choose.IMP.2PL   you

să *aleagă* *ei.* **alege-vă-ţ** *voi,* *să* *se aleagă...*
SUBJ   choose.SUBJ.3   they   choose=REFL=2PL   you   SUBJ   REFL=choose.SUBJ.3

'Singular. choose (you), let him choose. choose yourself, let him choose himself. Plural. choose (you), let them choose. choose yourselves, let them choose themselves'

(Eustatievici {57})

The example in (9b) presents the inflectional paradigm for imperative recommended in Eustatievici's grammar of 1757, and it contains the inverted form. Therefore this form was already established in the language at that time.

1.4.4. Imperative enhancers

The texts display some imperative verb forms that show semantic and, sometimes, phonological attrition; for example, *las'* or *lasă*; *pas'* or *pasă*. These are true imperatives that can be used either as verbs or as items without verbal properties (i.e., they do not have a thematic grid). The latter versions are used only as enhancers of full-fledged imperative verbs, as in (10). The borrowed particle *haide* is directly included in this class.

(10) a. *Şi* *zise* *Isav:* **blăm** *să* **meargem…**
    and   said   Isav   PRT.1PL   SUBJ   go.1PL
    'And Isav said: let's go...' (PO {114})

b. **Lasă,** **lasă** *să* **vie** *Simedriul,* *să va căi*
    PRT.2SG   PRT.2SG   SUBJ   come.SUBJ.3   Simedriu   REFL=will.3SG=regret

    soltanŭ *Osmanŭ* *c-au* *venit* *asupra* *leşilor.*
    Sultan   Osman   that-has=   come   against   Poles.the.DAT

    'Ok, ok, let Simedriu come, and Sultan Osman will regret it that he attacked the Poles.' (Costin 56)

In (10a), *blăm*, originally 'go', does not contribute any lexical information, being identical to the subjunctive imperative. It only enhances the illocutionary force of the subjunctive. Similarly, *lasă* 'leave/abandon' in (10b) does not add any lexical information as to what the addressee is supposed to abandon; rather, it is used as an injunctive particle by which the speaker reassures the addressee of the imminence of the event. The subjunctive in (10b) is a root clause, not a clausal complement of *lasă*. Hence, the preceding item is not a semantic selector but a functional enhancer of the force with which the event is being conveyed through the subjunctive.

2. The cartography of true imperatives

In this section, we focus on imperative clauses with true imperative verb forms, and determine their internal structure. First, we propose tests for V > clitic linearization, then clitic > V linearization, which occurs in *de*-imperatives. Basically, we conclude that the imperative verb is involved in the checking of a Fin feature in both configurations.

2.1. Alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V

True imperatives display the order V > clitic, which has been argued in an impressive number of formal studies to be derived from V-to-C in syntax (Rivero & Terzi 1995; Han 1998; Potsdam 1998; Pirvulescu 2002; Isac & Jakab 2004 a.o.). Old Romanian data follow this pattern, which is unexceptional for a Romance language.

Nevertheless, the order clitic > V also appears in texts, in configurations in which the imperative clause follows a coordinating conjunction, such as *şi* 'and' in (11a, c-d), or *de* in (12).

(11) a. *Vedeţi,*   *nesocotitori*   *şi*   *miraţi-vă*   *şi*   *sfârşiţi-vă!*
          see.IMP.2PL   ignorants   and   wonder.IMP.2PL=REFL   and   stop.IMP.2PL=REFL
          'See, you ignorants, and wonder and stop yourselves!' (Coresi L {62})

      b. *E*   *voi*   *rodiţi-vă*   *şi*   *vă înmulţiţi*   *şi*
          and   you   reproduce.IMP.2PL=REFL   and   REFL=multiply.IMP.2PL   and
          viiaţi   *pre*   *pământ*
          live.IMP.2PL   on   earth
          'And you reproduce yourselves and multiply and live on earth' (PO {35})

      c. *iară*   *grăiesc*   *voao,*   *cinstiţi*   *mai*   *marii*   *voştri*   *şi*
          again   talk.1SG   to.you   revered   more   great.the   your   and
          egumenii   *voştri,*   *ca*   *dereptătorii*   *şi*   *învăţătorii*
          abbots.the   your   as   guides.the   and   teachers.the
          spăseniei   *sufletelor*   *noastre,*   *şi*   *vă plecaţi*
          expiation.the.GEN souls.the.GEN   our   and   REFL=bow.IMP.2PL
          lor,   *ca*   *unor*   *duhovnici*   *părinţi.*
          to.them   as   some.DAT   wise   parents
          'your revered superiors and your abbots talk to you again, as the guides and teachers
          for the expiation of your souls, so bow to them as you would to your wise parents.'
          (Coresi E {616})

In (11a), the imperative clauses have a V > clitic order under coordination, which is the default linearization. However, in (11b), the second conjunct displays clitic > V order. In (11c), the same change in linearization to clitic > V applies to the imperative clause that follows *şi* 'and', although the first conjunct is not an imperative clause. Hence, the data indicate that the switch of word order to clitc > V depends on the presence of *şi* 'and', irrespective of the type of first clausal conjunct (see also Croitor 2014). Wackernagel's Law cannot be invoked for the word order change because: (i) the change is unpredictable (see 11a); and (ii) V-to-C in imperatives is independent of Wackernagel's Law (i.e., it occurs in the absence of clitics). In addition, Chapter 3 brought independent evidence that Wackernagel's Law was not operative in Old Romanian.

Next, we consider *de*-imperatives, as in (12). Philological studies consider that *de*, which is generally seen in non-finite complements, was also used as a coordinating 'and' conjunction, with indicative or with imperative clauses (Todi 2001; Sava 2012).

(12) a.   *Acmu,*   *de vreme*   *c-ai omorât*   *pe*   *Velicico,*   *triimite*

now   of time   that-have.2SG=killed   DOM   Velicico   send.IMP.2SG

de   _prinde_   _şi_   _pe_   _frate-său,_   _Miron_
DE   catch.IMP.2SG   also   DOM   brother=his   Miron

logofătul,   ***de**-l*   _omoară._
chancellor.the   DE=him   kill.IMP.2SG
'Now, since you have killed Velicico, send to also catch his brother, the chancellor Miron, and kill him.' (Neculce 185)

b.   _Derept_   _aceaia,_   _pasă_   ***de***   _te pocăiaşte_
      for   that   go.IMP.2SG   DE   REFL=repent.IMP.2SG
      'For that reason go and repent yourself' (Coresi EV {VI})

c.   _Iară_   _acum_   _pasă_   ***şi***   _te pugoară_   ***şi***
      and   now   go.IMP.2SG   and   REFL=descend.IMP.2SG and
    povăţeaşte   _norodul_   _acesta_
      teach.IMP.2SG   people.the   this
      'And now go descend and teach this people.' (BB {IeşireaCapXXXII})

d.   _Acolea_   _au venit_   _şi_   _Ştefan_   _vodă,_   ***de***   _s-au împreunat_   _cu_
      there   has=come   also   Stefan   King   and   REFL=has=united with
    craiul   ***şi***   _toate_   _ce_   _au avut_   _mai de treabă_   _au vorovitŭ._
      prince.the   and   all   that   have=had   more of business   have=talked
      'King Stefan also arrived there, and got together with the Prince, and they talked about all the business they had on their agenda.' (Ureche 107)

In (12a), _de_ seems to act as a coordinator of imperative clauses (though see discussion in 2.3); there is no requirement that it be adjacent to the first imperative verb. The examples in (12b, c) show that _de_ and _şi_ occur in free alternation in the same imperative context. (12d) shows _şi_ and _de_ as alternating conjunctions for the coordination of root indicative clauses (see Sava 2012 for arguments in this respect).

2.2. Cartographic tests: true imperatives

      The first set of cartographic tests are applied to the default word order in Old Romanian true imperatives, which is V > clitics. As mentioned, this word order disallows negation. The negation _nu_ blocks V-to-C (Rivero 1994; Isac & Jakab 2004), so its systematic absence indicates that high verb movement applies. In addition, clitic pronouns are in T in Old Romanian (see Chapter 2) and they are obligatorily enclitic (versus proclitic) in these clauses, which further confirms that the imperative verb is higher than TP, hence in CP. Thus, we have to establish which C head is targeted by verb movement.
      There is an overwhelming number of true imperative clauses in the texts, most of them displaying a clause initial V > clitic string, as in (13), with all the constituents following the imperative verb.

(13)   ***Dă-ne**,*   _doamne,_   _pre_   _greci._
      give.IMP.2SG=to.us   God   DOM   Greeks

'God, give us the Greeks.' (Costin 74)

That might suggest that the imperative verb moves to Force.

On the other hand, some true imperatives are preceded by constituents in Topic and Focus, as in (14a, b), and, in this case, clitics still follow the verb, as seen in (14a).

(14) a. *[Tu],*   *[ş-acmu]*   **trimite-ne**   *agiutoriul*   *Tău*
          you   also-now   send.IMP.2SG=to.us   help.the   your
          'You, send us your help now, yet again.' (Dosoftei VS {37v})

      b. *Ce*   *[tu],*   *Doamne*   *svinte,*   *[la*   *ceas*   *de*   *năvală]*
          but   you   God.VOC   blessed.VOC   in   time   of   invasion
          [De   *sus]*   **trimite**   *a*   *ta*   *sprejineală*
          from   above   send.IMP.2SG   the   your   support
          'But you, blessed God, in this time of invasion, from up above send us your
          protection.' (Dosoftei PS {115})

The enclitic in (14a) indicates V-to-C. In the same sentence, *tu* 'you.NOM' is the subject in Topic, whereas *acmu* 'now' is a Focus constituent. We detect the Focus reading due to the presence of *şi*, which in non-coordinated constructions has the meaning 'even' or 'also'. The example in (14b) shows the same word order: the Topic constituents (i.e., *tu* 'you.NOM' and *la ceas de năvală* 'at the time of invasion') are followed by a Focus constituent (i.e., *De sus* 'from up above'), and they all precede the imperative verb. This word order indicates that V-to-C targets a head lower than Focus, which is Fin. That imperatives involve V-to-Fin has also been claimed for Modern Romanian (i.e., Isac & Jakab 2004, where Fin is the equivalent of their Mood head). The results of the cartographic tests receive a formal analysis in the next section.

2.3. The representation of true imperatives

In the cartographic system we adopted in this book (see Chapter 1), Fin is associated with two features: [finite] and [modal]. Accordingly, in imperative clauses, Fin is [-finite] since the temporal value is given by the pragmatic context. [55] As for [modal], imperatives need valuation for *irrealis*/deontic modality (see Isac 2013, in agreement with Davies 1986 and Han 1998 a.o.). The values for the features of Fin are needed irrespective of whether the verb form is a true imperative or a surrogate. With true imperatives, checking and valuation take place through V-to-Fin (as in Isac & Jakab 2004), as shown in (15). [56]

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[55] There are numerous studies arguing for lack of syntactic tense in imperatives, including the absence of TP (e.g. Platzack & Rosengren 1998, Wratil 2005).
[56] Note that, while we assume the presence of some operator in imperatives, its exact status and location are an issue of some controversy (see discussion in Zanuttini et al. 2012), so we leave it out of our structures.

(15)   ForceP/CP
```
(15)   ForceP/CP
           /\
       Force  (TopP)
        OP      /\
            (FocusP)
               /\
              FinP
              /\
           Fin    KLP
           /\      /\
          T   Fin  KL   TP
             [modal] CL   /\
             [-finite]  <T>   vP
        V_IMP    T              /\
                          … <V_IMP> …
```
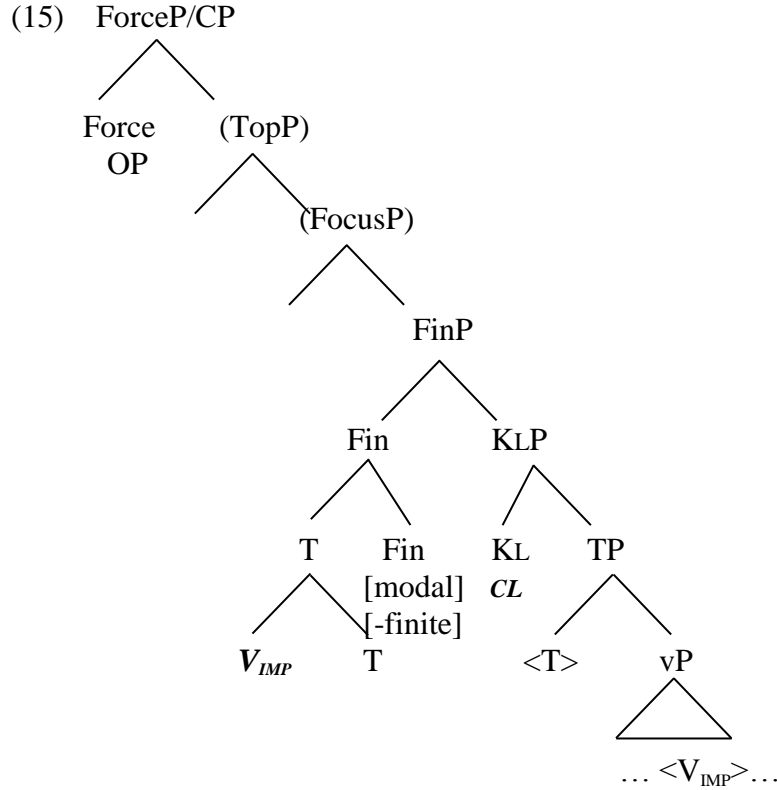
V-to-Fin in (15) triggers enclisis (i.e. V > clitic order) and rules out negation which would otherwise block V/T-to-C head movement.

   The representation in (15) shows that the V > clitic linearization in imperatives arises from a different configuration than in the root indicatives discussed in Chapter 3. Basically, the triggers for verb movement are different: a discourse operator for V-to-Focus in root indicatives, but a [modal] feature for V-to-Fin in imperatives, where *irrealis* [modal] is selected by a (directive) clause typing operator; [-finite] is checked by free-ride (Isac 2013).

2.4. Word order tests: *De*-imperatives

   The data in (11) and (12) indicated that coordination of imperative clauses by *de* requires the clitic > V order in the second conjunct, whereas coordination by *şi* does not. In this section, cartographic tests show that *de* merges in Fin, hence it is not the counterpart of *şi*.

   Coordination with *de* is very productive in the 16th century texts, with imperatives and with indicatives, which seems to occur in free alternation with *şi* 'and' (as argued in Sava 2012). However, there is an important asymmetry between the two conjunctions: *de* but not *şi* 'and' allows for fronted material to surface above it, as in (16).

(16) a. *grăbeaşte*   ***[[pre noi]***   ***de***   *ne agiută*   *în*   *niştotele*   *noastre]*
    hurry.IMP.2SG   DOM us   DE   us=help.IMP.2SG   in   poverty.the   our
    'hurry up and help us in our poverty' (Coresi T.EV {237v})

    b. *Să*   *mă socotiţi*   *credincioasa*   *Domnului*   *să*   *fiu,*
        SUBJ   me=count.2PL   faithful.the   God.the.GEN   SUBJ   be.1SG
        veniţi,   *[[în*   *casa*   *mea]*   *de*   *fiţi.]*
        come.IMP.2PL   in   house.the   my   DE   be.IMP.2PL
        'Count me to be faithful to God, come, enter my house.' (Coresi L {75})

In (16), *de* follows the constituents fronted to TopP or FocusP, so it is merged low in the CP field of the imperative clause (i.e. in Fin).
    This is confirmed in (17), where FocusP occurs lower than the conjunction *şi* 'and'.

(17)   *Toţi*   *setoşii*   <u>*veniţi*</u>   *la*   *această*   *apă*   ***şi***
        all   thirsty.the   come.IMP.2PL   at   this   water   and
        <u>*adăpaţi-vă*</u>   ***şi***   *[viaţă]*   <u>*priimiţi!*</u>
        drink.IMP.2PL=REFL   and   life   receive.IMP.2PL
        'All those who are thirsty, come to this water and drink and receive life!'
                        (Coresi E {208})

    Therefore, the tests indicate that *şi* 'and' behaves as a regular coordinating conjunction, insofar as it is orthogonal to the internal structure of the coordinated clause: it is higher than the CP and it is not sensitive to the word order in that clause. On the other hand, *de* is inside the coordinated clause (it is in Fin) and interferes with the word order in that clause.

2.5. Formal analysis: *de*-imperatives
2.5.1. Coordination
    Since the tests above indicate that *de* merges in Fin, we must factor this finding into the representation of the coordination structure. Thus, if we assume a Coordination Phrase (CoordP) as in Johannessen (1998), the counterpart of *şi* 'and'is not *de*, but a null Coord head, as in (18).

(18)
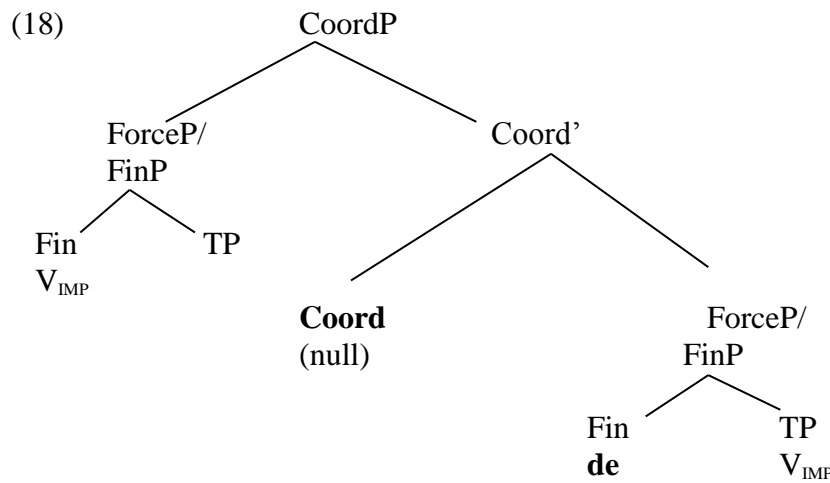
The representation in (18) explains why the speaker has the intuition that *de*-imperatives are ambiguous between coordination and subordination: as there is no morphological evidence for the Coord head, the second CP may be analyzed as selected by or adjoined to the verb of the first clause.[57] For example, the interpretation of (16a) can be: either 'hurry up **and** help us'; or 'hurry up **to** help us'.

2.5.2. Internal structure

The second inference from the tests is that the location of *de* in Fin naturally explains the obligatory clitic > V linearization: *de* in Fin blocks V-to-C, so the verb remains lower in T. Confirmation in this respect comes from (19), where the clausal negation *nu* is present, and it follows *de* in Fin, as expected, so the verb remains in T.

(19) *Cată*   ***de***   ***nu***   *te*   *lăsa*   *pe*   *tânjală*
       try.IMP.2SG   DE   not   REFL=   leave.INF/IMP.2SG   on   laziness
       'Try and don't give in to laziness.' (Creangă, Amintiri)

However, this analysis needs further refinement because:

(i) While *de*-imperatives may display either a true imperative, as in (16), or a surrogate, as the infinitive in (19), they only allow for the negation with the surrogates, but not with the true imperatives. That is, the following sequence is ungrammatical: **de nu ne dă* 'DE not to.us=give.IMP.2SG', compared to the positive *de ne dă* 'DE to.us=give.IMP.2SG'. In regular imperatives, as in (15), the negation is excluded on grounds of obligatory V-to-Fin. Since V-to-Fin is not supposed to occur in *de*-imperatives, why is the negation still excluded with true imperatives?

(ii) If *de*-imperatives do not involve the verb (in T) in the checking of Fin, then the constant 2nd person interpretation is puzzling in light of discrepancy with the verbal inflection. In (15), the 2nd person interpretation arises from V-to-Fin, the 2nd person being intrinsic to the illocutionary force (Isac 2013). If *de* can check all the features of Fin, why can Fin still override the inflectional marking for person? For example, why is the 3rd person indicative in (20) still interpreted as 2nd person on V/T?

(20) *pasă*   ***de***   *te*   *pocăiaşte*   *şi*   *plângi*
       go.IMP.2SG   DE   REFL=   repent.IMP.2SG   and   cry.IMP.2SG
       'Go and/to repent and cry.' (Coresi EV {VI})

(iii) *De*-imperatives also occur outside the coordination configurations, in surrogates that display a concurrent complementizer, such as *să* in subjunctives – see (21). In Chapter 8, *să* is shown to merge in Fin. Hence, how can it co-occur with *de*? Also note that the negation *nu* can be present in (21b, c).

(21) a. ***De***   *să*   *fie*   *cu*   *noi*   *dulce-dată,*   *milă*   *şi*   *pace*
         DE   SUBJ   be.3SG   with   us   sweet-given   pity   and   peace
         de   *la Dumnezeu*   *Tatăl*
         from   at God   Father.the
         'May pity and peace be with us, gently bestowed by our Father God.'

---

[57] We use the ForceP notation for all domains that are phasal (i.e. matrix clauses).

b. **De**   **să**   **nu**-i   *pare*   *omului*   *că*   *priimeaşte*
  DE   SUBJ/IMP   not=to.him   seem.SUBJ.3   man.the.DAT   that   receives
  ceva   *de*   *la Domnul;*
  something   from   at God
  'Let the man not believe that he is receiving anything from God' (Coresi L {144})

c. *Şi*   *de bogaţi*   *aciia*   *spuse:*   **de**   **să**   **nu**   **osândească**
  and   of rich.men   this   said.3   DE   SUBJ   not   punish.SUBJ.3
  spre   *mişei*   *bogaţii*   *în*   *besearecă*
  DOM   villains   rich.men.the   in   church
  'And about the rich, he said: let the rich not punish the villains in church'

The questions above indicate that an analysis where *de* merges in Fin and, thus, checks all the features of this head, is not sufficient or adequate to account for the data. Thus, we propose an adjustment to this analysis. In particular, we follow Hill (2013c), where *de să* sequences as in (21) are analyzed as reflecting a split Fin head in Old Romanian (see tests in Chapter 8): the [finite] and [modal] features of Fin are mapped to separate heads, instead of being clustered.

Along these lines, at the time when *de*-imperatives were very productive (i.e., 16th – 17th centuries), *să* was a strong marker for *irrealis* modality (Frîncu 1969). It follows that in (21), *să* checks and values [modal], while *de* is dissociated from this feature. That is, in (21), *de* spells out [-finite], while *să* spells out (and values) [modal], so Fin is split over two heads, each being associated with one functional feature; that is, Fin1$_{[-finite]}$ **de** > Fin2 $_{[modal]}$ **să**.[58] The split Fin analysis finds support in data where *de* heads other non-finite CPs (e.g., *de a* 'DE to.INF'), and where it is systematically associated with the [-finite] feature, but unable to check [modal] (see infinitive CPs in Chapter 7 and subjunctive CPs in Chapter 8). That gives us (22).

---

[58] In Old Romanian, *de* is semantically bleached/underspecified, so it can be merged in any functional head that needs spelling out (it appears in Force, Fin, P, D and so on).

(22) ForceP/CP

```
                    ForceP/CP
                   /         \
               Force        (TopP)
                OP             \
                            (FocusP)
                               \
                              Fin1P
                             /      \
                         Fin1       Fin2P
                       [-finite]    /     \
                          de    Fin2      NegP
                              [modal]    /     \
                                sǎ    Neg       KLP
                                      nu        /   \
                                             KL      TP
                                             CL      /  \
                                                    T    vP
                                                   / \    /\
                                            V_SUBJ   T  … <V_SUBJ> …
```
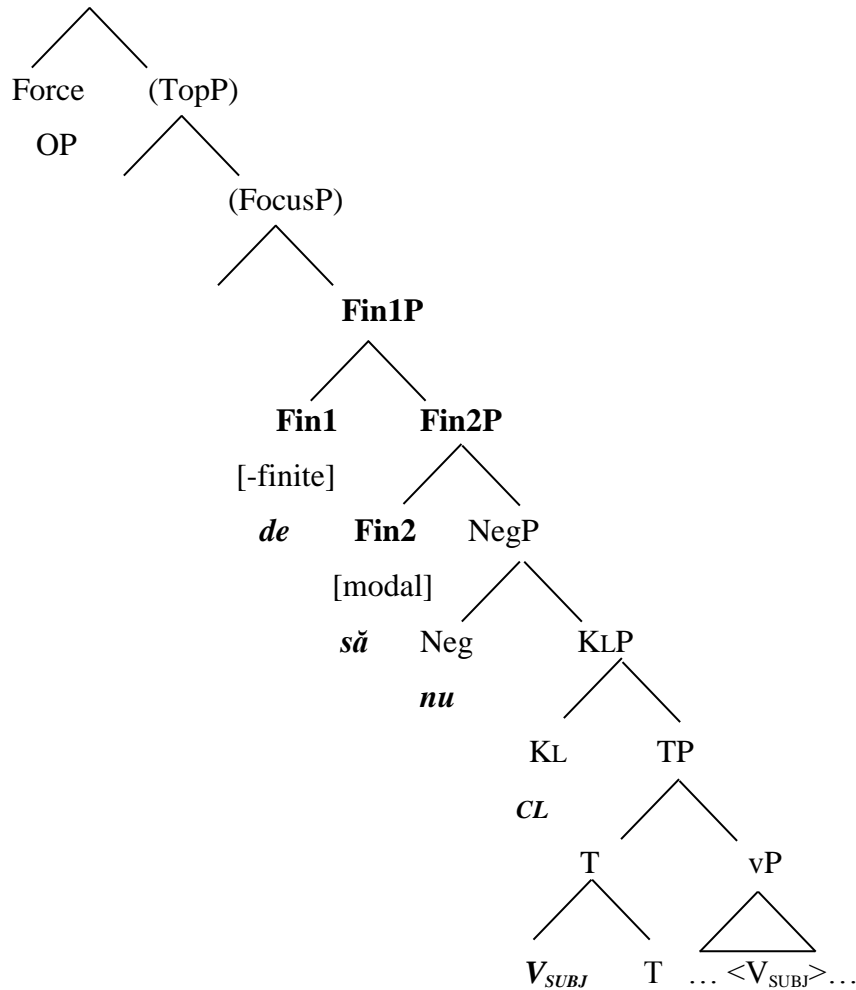
In (22), *de* checks [-finite] in Fin1 but is unable to check [modal] in Fin2, which triggers the separate merging of *sǎ* for that purpose.[59] This entails that Fin is always split in the presence of *de*, including in the constructions where the clause involves a true imperative, as in (20). However, there is no lexical complementizer in (20) to supplement *de*. Then how is Fin2 [modal] checked?

The answer that suits the data is that, in (20), [modal] in Fin2 is checked through long distance Agree by the verb in T. The fact that V is still involved in the checking of Fin (Fin2) naturally entails that the 2nd person feature of Fin will still override the inflectional morphology of V in T, and that the negation is excluded, since it would block the head-to-head Agree operation.[60] In other words, the configuration in (22) also underlies the constructions in (19) and (20), the only variation concerning Fin2, which is empty, instead of having *sǎ*.

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[59] Alternatively, *sǎ* can check the unsplit Fin (see Chapter 8).

[60] One might expect the [modal] probe to trigger V-to-Fin2, which is what happens in supine clauses - see Chapter 9. However, it seems that when V can stay in T (T is absent in supines), it does not move to Fin2, since [modal] must agree by default with the grammatical mood in T. In this case, V-to-Fin takes place only if V checks off both features of Fin plus the illocutionary force.

Now we can return to the comparison of true imperatives under coordination with *şi* 'and' versus *de*. Casting the representation in (22) within the clause coordination in (18), it follows that the clitic > V order in imperatives cannot arise unless *de* is present. This explains the instances where *şi* 'and'coordinates imperative clauses that maintain the V > clitic order. However, we also saw optional clitic > V order after *şi* 'and'or equivalents (i.e., *ci* 'but'). For these configurations, we notice that there is a restriction on constituent fronting. As shown in (23), constituent fronting is possible in the second conjunct when the order is V > clitic (23a), but not when it is clitic > V (23b). The test is constructed in Modern Romanian, but we extend it to Old Romanian since this type of imperative coordination is very well preserved, and the negative data in the texts concern examples with clitic > V imperatives in the range of hundreds.

(23) a. *Du-te*   *la ei*   *şi,* *spre* *seară,*   *ajută-i*   *la lucru.*
        go.IMP.2SG=REFL to them   and   by   evening   help.IMP.2SG=them   at work
        'Go to them and help them at work in the evening.'

   b. *Du-te*   *la ei*   *şi,* *(*spre* *seară,)* *îi ajută*   *la lucru.*
        go.IMP.2SG=REFL to them   and   by   evening   them=help.IMP.2SG   at work
        'Go to them and help them at work.'

We take the absence of pre-clitic material in (23b), alongside clitic > V order, to indicate truncation and coordination at the TP level, rather than the ForceP or FinP level. This is unproblematic as the sole requirement in coordination is that the two conjuncts be of identical categories. On the other hand, in (23a), coordination involves the ForceP/FinP level.

2.6. Section summary

The tests and analysis we proposed in this section led us to the following conclusions:
- The regular imperative clause involves true imperative verbs in positive full-fledged CPs derived through V-to-Fin, which results in V > clitic linearizations.
- These CPs occur as such under coordination by *şi* 'and'.
- Alternatively, full-fledged imperative CPs with *de* in Fin are also possible. These CPs involve a split Fin, with Fin1[-finite]-*de* and Fin2 [modal]-V/T long distance Agree. The result is a clitic > V linearization.
- Coordination of *de*-imperatives involves a null Coordinator head, instead of *şi* 'and' or equivalent. We remain agnostic as to why *şi* 'and' is in complementary distribution (versus free alternation) with the null Coordinator head when *de*-imperatives are involved.[61]
- Clitic > V linearizations in the presence of *şi* 'and'involve coordination at the TP versus CP level.
        Another issue raised in this section concerned the presence of the V > clitic order not only in imperative clauses, but also in root indicatives, as we showed in Chapter 3. We pointed out that the V > clitic linearization arises from different underlying structures: V-to-Focus in root indicatives versus V-to-Fin in imperatives. Crucially, with imperatives, the alternation between

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[61] Once explanation would be that *de* was indeed used as a coordinating conjunction that became reanalysed in C. However, that involves transitional stages with coordinator *de* and V > clitic order in the imperative, of which there is no trace in texts.

clitic > V and V > clitic does not trigger a change in interpretation, whereas it does so in root indicatives. This is related to the difference in triggers, which is a discourse operator in root indicates, but a grammatical clause typing/modal operator in imperatives.

3. The cartography of negative imperatives

As already mentioned, true imperatives cannot be negated. Rather, negative imperatives require a verb in the infinitive form, as shown in (19).[62] Although the verb is in the infinitive form, it does have a person/number ending: a zero morpheme ending stands for 2SG, whereas the infinitive with the –ţi ending stands for 2PL.

Unlike most constructions with true imperatives, negative imperatives have a systematic clitic > V order (on par with surrogate subjunctives and *de*-imperatives). Accordingly, the prediction is that the verb does not move to Fin, but stays in T. Confirmation comes from word order: in (24), the Nominative subject *tu* 'you' is post-verbal (in Spec, vP), between verb and direct object, signalling verb movement out of vP; and the negation *nu* 'not' precedes the verb, signalling that the verb does not move beyond the TP field.

(24) a.

Drept	*aceaea*	*nu*	*te-nşela*		*tu*	*acea*	*prea-nţăleaptă*
for	that	not	REFL=hesitate.IMP.2SG		you.NOM	that	so-wise
a	*te închina*	*răstignitului*		*pre*	*cruce,*	*pre*	*carele*
INF	REFL=worship	crucified.the.DAT		on	cross	DOM	whom.the
nime		*din*	*poetici*	*Dumnădzău*		*nu*	*l-au numit*
nobody		from	poets	God		not	him=has=named

'In that respect, don't you hesitate, wise-one, to worship the one crucified on the cross, whom none of those poets knew to call God.' (Dosoftei VS{165v})

b.

Nu	*te griji*		*tu*	*de-aciia,*	*şi*	*nemică*	*nederept*
not	REFL=worry.IMP.2SG		you.NOM	for-that	and	nothing	unjust
să-l		*aibi*					
SUBJ=it		have.IMP.2SG					

'Don't let these matters worry you, and may nothing untoward happen to you.'
(Coresi E {23})

The underlying structure of (24) is the same as in true imperatives, and as represented in (15), but the implementation of feature checking is different: instead of V-to-Fin as in (15), we have Neg-to-Fin in (24), as also argued in Isac & Jakab (2004). This is possible because the [modal] feature of Fin probes the negation: *nu* 'not' has a polarity feature, and semantic modality is ancillary to polarity, so Neg-to-Fin is predicted.

There are no exceptions to this rule in our corpora. However, a counter-example is shown in (25) from another source.

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[62] Note that *de* imperatives and surrogate subjunctive imperatives can also be negated. For the former, see discussion in the previous section. For the latter, illustrated in (5b), we assume that the features in Fin are checked by *să*, where present, and by *nu* 'not', otherwise. Crucially, the verb never moves to Fin in these constructions as the order is consistently: Neg > clitic > V. For more elaborate discussion on subjunctives in Old Romanian, see Chapter 8.

(25) **Nu**   *ciudireţi-vă,*   *fraţii*   *mei!*
      not   wonder.IMP.2PL=REFL   brothers.the   my
      'Don't wonder, my brothers!' (CB 356 apud Chivu et al. 1997: 244)

The example comes from a translated text, and displays the word order of the Church Slavonic original. That is, negation precedes a V > clitic string, instead of a clitic > V one, as discussed above, giving the impression that Old Romanian may also have V-to-Fin co-occurring with preverbal negation, as if negation were a clitic on T. Negation is indeed a clitic in Church Slavonic, and so can be carried along with verb movement as needed (Pancheva 2005). Thus, we take (25) to be a replica of the word order in the original text, and to not reflect on the rules of Old Romanian grammar (see also Croitor 2015 for Church Slavonic calques). As a general rule, translators tend not to crudely overwrite the rules of the target language, so such examples are very rare.

4. Beyond CP

In this section, we look at imperative clauses whose underlying representation needs to be extended beyond the CP field discussed in the previous sections. More precisely, some imperative clauses explicitly map the addressee, by spelling out the inter-personal relation between speaker and interlocutor, through politeness values. In this respect, we make an argument for the existence of the allocutive agreement in Romanian imperative clauses.

4.1. The addressee feature: theoretical background

While true imperatives display only a second person subject, surrogate imperatives display subjects with all person values. For instance, the data in (5) and (10b) showed 3rd person singular and plural subjects. However, even in those cases, the 2nd person is somehow encoded in the imperative, since the command concerns the addressee, not the subject, as in (26), repeated from (5a).

(26) *De*   *nu*   *se*   *poartă*   *cum*   *să*   *cade*   *unui*   *boierin,*
      if   not   REFL=   behave   as   REFL= fits   to.a   boyar
      să-l   **scoată**   *şi*   **să**   **puie**   *altul*   *în locŭ*
      SUBJ=him   expel.SUBJ.3 and   SUBJ   put.SUBJ.3   another   in place
      'If he does not behave as it is fit to a boyar, [the authorities] must expel him and put someone else in his place' (Costin 65)

In (26), the null subject in the surrogate imperative refers to the authorities, but the command is actually given to the addressee, who should see that the authorities act on that command (see also Isac 2013, Chapter 8). For this reason, various studies on imperatives have argued for the mapping of the speaker (the issuer of commands) and the addressee features in the derivation of these structures as a universal requirement (Zanuttini 2008; Isac 2013). In particular, the pragmatic feature of the addressee is associated with a functional phrase with various labels in different studies but to which we shall refer as a Speech Act Phrase (SAP), following Speas & Tenny (2003). SAP maps the general pragmatic features involved in addresses, and selects the

CP/ForceP (Espinal 2013, Haegeman & Hill 2013, Hill 2007, 2014a, a.o.). The point here is that, since the addressee is relevant to imperatives, we are entitled to assume this additional projection above CP in imperatives, as in (27).

(27)

```
            SAP
           /   \
              SA'
             /   \
          SA        ForceP
   [addressee], [speech act]
                   /   \
               Force      FinP
                         /   \
                      Fin       TP
                               /   \
                              T      vP
```
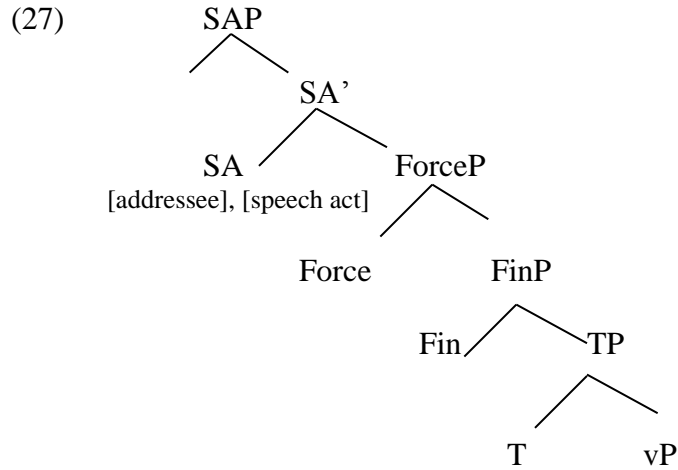
As the addressee comes with an intrinsic 2nd person feature, and the respective functional feature is merged in SA, it means that 2nd person/addressee c-commands Force/FinP, and constrains the checking of phi-features in the domain of its complement (i.e. Fin) to 2nd person. Specifically, true imperatives, which move to Fin, can only allow for 2nd person subjects, because the phi-features of the verb in Fin must match those of the SA head selecting this imperative C. Surrogate imperatives, on the other hand, contain no inflected verb in Fin (nor Fin-T checking via long distance Agree), but either a mood marker *să* or Neg *nu* 'not'. Consequently, in those cases, the verb in T may bear other phi-features, such as, for instance, 3rd person (singular or plural) in (26) and elsewhere.[63]

The representation in (27) allows for interesting possibilities, one of which we argue concerns the morpheme alternation introduced in (9): V-*ţi*-clitic versus V-clitic-*ţi*. Before proceeding with our analysis of this Old Romanian alternation, we first offer some more background on the mapping of the addressee in the next two sub-sections. In particular, taking into account that the spell out of the addressee's gender and number through an ending on the verb qualifies the respective morpheme as *allocutive agreement*, we point out that this definition matches the function of -*ţi* in the V-clitic-*ţi* order in (9).

4.2. Allocutive agreement in Basque

The main point in (27) is the presence of two series of person features in the imperative clause (i.e. the addressee feature in SA and the grammatical phi-feature in Fin or T), and theoretically, they may both be spelled out, through identical or distinct morphemes.

In general, Balkan and Romance languages lexicalize only the grammatical person, while the addressee is null. Other languages, however, lexicalize both features, and not only in imperative clauses, but any time a speaker addresses someone. The most known example in this respect is the allocutive agreement in Basque, illustrated in (28), from Miyagawa (2012:82).

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[63] For a technical implementation of this see Isac (2013).

	allocutive agr.	subject agr.

(28) a. <u>To a male friend</u>
  *Pettek lan egin di**k**.* ⇓ ⇓
  Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3SG ABS 2SG.MASC.ALLOC-3SG.ERG
  'Peter worked.'

  b. <u>To a female friend</u>
  *Pettek lan egin di**n**.* ⇓ ⇓
  Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3SG. ABS 2SG.FEM.ALLOC-3SG.ERG
  'Peter worked.'

In (28), the verb is inflected for subject agreement, which is 3rd person singular, but also carries an ending for agreement with the addressee, which differs according to the biological gender of the collocutor. Miyagawa (2012) proposes a minimalist analysis where the subject agreement mark comes after the allocutive agreement mark because the head T, with the subject agreement, is projected on the right of its complement in this language, whereas the projection for allocutive agreement, which is the highest in the hierarchy (e.g., SAP in our (27)), is left headed.

In van Gelederen (2011), cross-linguistic variation in the morphological encoding of agreement follows from variation in the stages of the agreement cycles. For example, DP pronouns used as subjects may become reanalyzed as subject clitics (non-phrasal categories in T), which may further be reanalyzed as inflectional suffixes on verbs. Crucially, for any of these stages to take place, there must be an uninterpretable phi-feature associated with a functional head that inflects the verb. In other words, no agreement cycle/reanalysis is started unless the feature is grammatical versus purely semantic.

Along these lines, we can say that allocutive agreement in Basque reflects the presence of uninterpretable [gender] related to the addressee (i.e., interpretable 2nd person) feature associated with the SA head in (27), and that this feature is checked by the inflectional ending on the verb. Hence, cross-linguistic variation may arise from: (i) whether the language encodes [u-gender] and/or [u-number] on the addressee feature; and (ii) the stage of the agreement cycle. In the same vein, we next argue that the allocutive agreement is also a functional feature in some Balkan languages, including in Romanian.

4.3. Allocutive agreement in the Balkans

Joseph (2010) points out the peculiar distribution of *–ni* in Albanian, where this morpheme stands for the 2nd person plural in non-past verb forms, but may also extend to greetings. To begin with, this is the ending that occurs on imperatives, as in (29) and (30). The examples are from Kallulli (1995: 40), and show object Clitic Doubling (see Chapter 2 on Clitic Doubling), and the word order V > clitic in imperatives. In (29), *-ni* is the person ending on the imperative, followed by the enclitic pronoun.

(29) *Hap-**ni**-e   dritaren!*
  open.IMP.2PL=it   window.the
  'Open the window!'

However, in (30), -*ni* occurs after the enclitic pronoun, although it still spells out 2nd person. Thus, the inflectional person ending -*ni* allows for a puzzling free order in relation to the clitic pronoun.

(30)   *Hap-e-ni*   *dritaren!*
       open.IMP=it=2PL   window.the.ACC
       'Open the window!'

In addition to this puzzling distribution, Joseph (2010) signals that –*ni* also surfaces on phrasal constituents that convey greetings, as in (31).

(31)   a.   *mirëdita__ni__*
             good.day.you.PL
             'Good day!'
       b.   *o   burra__ni__!*
             PRT   men.you.PL
             'O you men,…'
       c.   *tungjatjeta__ni__!*
             'hello'

It is obvious that –*ni* cannot be an inflectional suffix for the grammatical person feature on the phrases in (31); rather, it is a clitic that indicates a plural addressee and that attaches to an XP constituent. For the vocative noun in (31b), -*ni* is not the Vocative Case ending, which has a distinct form in Albanian (Hill 2014). Thus, we take -*ni* in (31) to be spelling out the allocutive agreement in the language.

Furthermore, we point out that this allocutive agreement applies only in the plural, never in the singular. We can relate this restriction to the fact that the plural is also used as the polite way of talking to one single person, a property of the entire Balkan Sprachbund (and also beyond). All the expressions in (31) involve polite addresses.

The allocutive agreement analysis of -*ni* is supported by the historical analysis in Rasmussen (1985), also reported in Joseph (2010): –*ni* has the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) etymon **nu*, which was a 'now' adverb. Crucially, this adverb starts by adjoining to a 2nd person plural **te*, being therefore distinct from the grammatical person feature, but supplementing it in some way, through its deictic property. Eventually, **te* disappears from imperatives, and –*ni* is reanalyzed as the 2nd person feature marker. This development indicates not only that –*ni* became reanalyzed from adverb (phrasal) to allocutive agreement (clitic), but also that it was further reanalyzed from allocutive agreement to 2nd person marker (affix).

In terms of formal syntax, PIE has an uninterpretable [number] feature included in the addressee feature (2nd person) whenever plurality is pragmatically associated with politeness. The AdvP 'now' comes to spell out this [number] feature and is eventually reanalyzed as the clitic –*ni*, which is the allocutive agreement that surfaces in (31). Concurrent reanalysis of the same –*ni* takes place, by which it becomes an inflectional suffix on the verb, as a plural marker for the grammatical 2nd person feature. This is the use of –*ni* in (29). In other words, there are two types of –*ni* in Albanian: one is the clitic –*ni* that serves as an allocutive agreement marker and that merges in SA, as in (30), represented in (32); the other is the suffix –*ni* that stands for 2nd person plural on the verb form in C/T, as in (29), represented in (33).

(32)   SAP   Allocutive agreement [i-2nd pers/u-number]

    CP   SA'
  [hap-*e*]
         SA   CP
        -ni

            vP   <CP>
        [dritaren]
             C   K$_L$P
          hap

             K$_L$'   TP
            e

                  <T>   <vP>
                         < dritaren>

                V   T
             <hap>
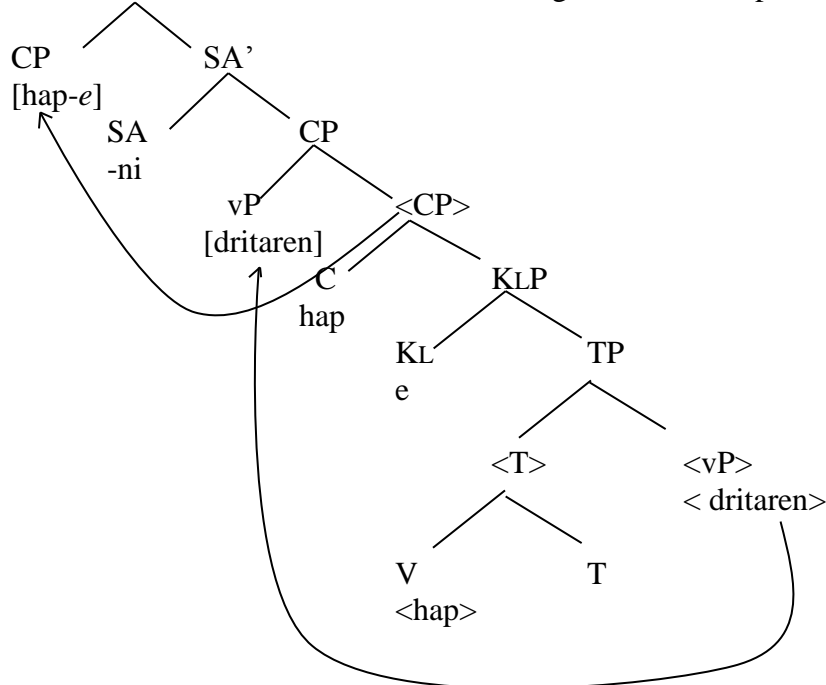
(33)   CP   Subject agreement [u-2nd pers/u-number]

     C   K$_L$P

    T   C   K$_L$ TP

  hap-**ni**   **e**

               <T>   vP
            <hap-**ni**>   <hap>
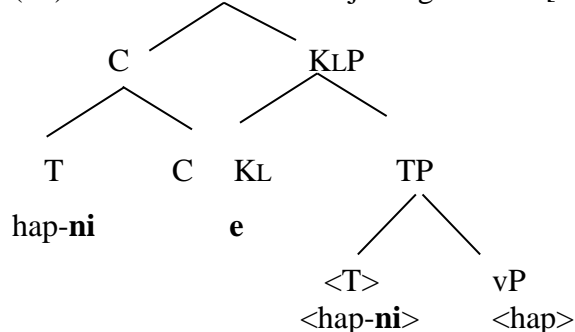
The 2nd person is interpretable but unvalued (for number) in (32), but uninterpretable and unvalued (for number) in (33). The derivation in (32) involves phrasal (Remnant) movement, whereas in (33), there is head-to-head movement of the verb, and each derivation reflects a different stage in the agreement cycle for –*ni*. Crucially, the alternation in morpheme ordering signalled in (29) and (30) follows from the syntactic structure, not from an arbitrary re-ordering in morphology.

      The contrasting linearizations of the configurations in (32) and (33) appear in a variety of Indo-European languages. Within the Balkan Sprachbund, it has been reported for Albanian, Arbëresh, Serbian, Thessalian varieties of Modern Greek, and Romanian (Frâncu 1981; Joseph 2010). We can now look at the innovation in Old Romanian from the perspective of the PIE heritage rather than as an areal language-contact effect.

4.4. Allocutive agreement in Romanian

We start by pointing out that Old Romanian displays a form of *ni*, as a free morpheme, for introducing addresses, as in (34).

(34) a.   *Şi*   *zisără:*   ***ni,***   *să*   *dzidim*   *o cetate*
       and   said.3PL   NI   SUBJ   build.1PL   a city
       'And they said: let's build a city' (PO {40})

     b.   ***Ni,***   *deaca*   *amu*   *ai vrut*   *să*   *te duci*   *şi*   *aşa tare*
       NI   if   now   have.2SG=wanted   SUBJ   REFL=go.2SG   and   so   much
       ai jeluit   *la casa*   *tătâni-tru,*   *derep-ce*
       have.2SG=mourned   at house.the   father-your   for-what
       ai furat   *domnedzeii*   *miei?*
       have.2SG=stolen   gods.the   my
       'Now, if you wanted to go and you mourned so much in your father's house, why for Christ's sake did you steal?' (PO {107})

This particle was optional and disappeared by the 18th century; its use is always clause initial, and unambiguous as to its polite address function. There is no evidence that it has ever served as a morpho-syntactic element, as it does in Albanian; in Old Romanian, *ni* never progressed beyond the first (phrasal) stage of the agreement cycle. However, its presence signals that Old Romanian also has a [u-number] feature associated with the addressee feature of SA.

     Considering the timeline, the loss of *ni* in Old Romanian coincides with an alternative way of optionally spelling out the addressee in the plural, this time through the suffix *-ţi*, as illustrated in (9b) and further in (35a). Basically, *-ţi* in (35) displays the same alternation of morphemes ordering as seen in (29) versus (30) for Albanian (see also Frâncu 1981).

(35) a.   *Duce-**vă-ţi***   *de*   *la mine,*   *blestemaţilor,*   *în focul*   *cel*   *veacinic*
       go.IMP=REFL=2PL   from   at me   cursed.the.VOC   in fire.the   the   eternal
       'Cursed sinners, get away from me and burn in the eternal fire.' (Antim {354})

     b.   *rugaţi-**vă***   *pentru*   *mine*
       pray.IMP.2PL=REFL   for   me
       'Pray for me' (Antim {398})

The important difference between Albanian *–ni* and Old Romanian *–ţi* is that the former began as an allocutive agreement marker and ended up as a subject agreement suffix on the verb, whereas the latter began as a subject agreement suffix (i.e., PIE **te*) and ended up as an allocutive agreement marker.

     The alternation in (35a, b) occurs in the same text, in free variation. According to Frâncu (1981), the morpheme inversion is an innovation that emerged in Southern Romania by mid18th century. The reversing of a clitic pronoun and a suffix is challenging for both morphological and syntactic theories, especially when there is no etymological support for an allocutive agreement analysis of *-ţi* in Old Romanian, in the way seen for *–ni* in Albanian. So far, the accounts for Old Romanian have been exclusively morphological and have invoked metathesis through prosodic

analogy with various inflectional forms (Byck 1935; Frâncu 1981; Istrătescu 1937; Mării 1969; Morariu 1921), but there is significant disagreement as to which forms would be relevant to this innovation and how the analogy might have developed. None of these analyses is able to exploit the comparative angle with Albanian, since the metathesis proposed is language specific, and cannot be related to any language-contact factors. Furthermore, a language-contact induced change is out of the question because of the geographical distance between Albania and Romania, compounded by the different timelines for the emergence of these constructions in each language.

Against this background, the syntactic approach we proposed for the Albanian data provides a plausible hypothesis for the spread of this construction: if allocutive agreement can be traced back to PIE, as it was for Albanian –*ni*, it is then to be expected that it may resurge anywhere and anytime within a group of descendant languages – and we take the presence of *ni* in Old Romanian as sufficient proof of it. Furthermore, from a formal perspective, as long as an uninterpretable [number] feature is associated with the addressee in SA, it is predictable that there will always be some way of checking this feature, and that the particular spell-out for this feature may change over time.

One may object to this line of reasoning on grounds that the loss of *ni* should rather indicate the loss of the [u-number] option on the addressee in Old Romanian. This is, however, problematic in light of information we have on constructions as in (35a) in Modern Romanian. Such constructions appear in the literary language of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, but are now restricted to the regional varieties of the South-West. In particular, the dialectal data indicate the following variation seen in (36) in imperatives:

(36) a.   *Mume*   *cernite,*   *șterge-vă-ți*   *plânsu*
          mothers.VOC   mourning.VOC   wipe.IMP=REFL=2PL   tears
          'Mourning mothers, wipe your tears' (Macedonski apud Mării 1969: 258)

     b.   *ștergeți-vă*
          wipe.IMP.2PL=REFL

     c.   *ștergeți-vă-ți*
          wipe.IMP.2PL=REFL-2PL

Mării (1969: 256) points out that some speakers use the variation in (36a, b) according to social distinctions. For example, one speaker uses the order in (36a) when addressing men, but the one in (36b) when addressing women; another speaker uses the order in (36a) when addressing children, but the one in (36b) when addressing adults. Most speakers, however, use the orders in (36a, b) in free variation in non-standard registers, as long as the addressee is in the plural; in a more restricted geographical area, the free variation may include (36c) as well. This overview indicates that the alternations in (36) concern the intra-speaker variation, and that, whenever this option arises, [u-number] is always present; in addition, [u-gender] or [u-age] may also be part of the set of values required by the 2nd feature in SA.

The constructions in (36) are shown in Frâncu (1981) to have slightly different timelines for their attestation, with the following diachronic sequence: (36b) > (36a) > (36c). This succession is crucial for the analysis, so we start by focusing on (37), which provides more

examples resembling (36b). In these constructions, –*ți* is eliminated in the presence of the reflexive *vă* for 2nd person plural.

(37) a. ***Întoarce-vă***   *de*   *asupra mea,*   *că*   *eu*   *am făcut*   *rău*
       turn.IMP=REFL.2PL   from   above me   that   I   have.1=done   damage
       'Turn from me, because I've done wrong…'
                           (NB 165/15 apud Frâncu 1981: 84)

    b. ***Mărturisi-vă***   *lui*   *şi*   *lăudaţi*   *numele*   *lui*
       confess.IMP=REFL.2PL   to.him   and   glorify.IMP.2PL   name.the   his
       'Confess to him and glorify his name'   (NB 125/25,39 apud Frâncu 1981: 84)

Notably, (37b) shows that the regular imperative with –*ți* is present in the grammar of the writer (e.g., *lăudaţi* 'glorify.IMP.2PL'), but it is used only when the reflexive 2nd person plural clitic *vă* is absent. In other words, we see a complementary distribution between the reflexive clitic for 2nd person plural, and the ending for 2nd person plural. This signals that, at some point, the reflexive clitic is reanalyzed as a suffix for 2nd person, on par with – *ți*. This is predictable, clitics being often reanalyzed as heads directly merged in T (van Gelderen 2011: 43).

      Subsequently, we have the forms in (36a) and (38).

(38)   ***Duce-vă-ți***   *pe*   *loc*   *de-i*   *spuneţi*
       go.IMP=REFL.2PL=2PL   on   spot   DE=to.him   say.INDIC.2PL
       'Go right away and tell him.' (Iosif apud Frâncu 1981: 87)

Again, with respect to the timeline, Frâncu (1981) reports that imperatives as in (38) occurred only with the 2nd person reflexive clitic until the end of the 18th century, when a few examples with other clitics could be found. The general use of the reflexive 2nd person plural as the default option in these constructions persists up to the regional Modern Romanian in which these imperatives are still attested (Mării (1969). This is different from the situation seen in (32) for Albanian, where the clitic pronoun could regularly occur with phi-features different from the 2nd plural reflexive.

      Importantly, when other clitic pronouns occur in the inverted order, -*ți* is obligatorily present, as shown in (39a). That is, (39b), without –*ți* or –*vă*, fails to have a plural addressee, the reading being exclusively for the singular.

(39) a. *Că*   *a*   *ţinea*   *minte*   *toate,*
       for   INF   hold   in.mind   all
       Crede-mă-ți   *că*   *nu*   *se poate.*
       believe.IMP=me=2PL   that   not   REFL=can
       'As for remembering everything, believe me (plural addressee), that is not possible.'
       (CPV 251 apud Frâncu 1981: 84)

    b. ***crede-mă***
       believe.IMP=me
       'Believe me (singular addressee)'

Therefore, in order to rescue a 2nd person plural reading in (39b), either the reflexive *vă* or the ending *–ţi* must be present.

Summing up the analysis so far, we took clitic pronouns to be non-branching DPs (i.e., mixed XP/X categories), whereas inflectional endings belong to the verb form (affixes). Just as in Modern Romanian, we take Old Romanian clitic pronouns to merge in a separate, Clitic Phrase (i.e. KLP), part of TP/IP, so crucially not to be attached as inflectional affixes on the verb or auxiliary in T and, thus, not expected to interfere with V-to-C head movement. However, for data as in (37), the reflexive clitic *vă* 'REFL.you.PL' is reanalyzed as an affix versus a clitic, and thus it may substitute for the inflectional 2nd person plural ending (i.e. in effect, this is an inflectional affix in T expected to move together with the verb in subsequent head movement). The ending *–ţi* is then reanalyzed as allocutive agreement, that is, it checks the [u-number] feature of 2nd person in SA, as per the structure in (27). Accordingly, we have a configuration as in (40), where both agreement markers are heads, but they are merged in different locations. Head-to-head movement of the verb derives the morpheme ordering in (36a) or (38).

(40)   SAP
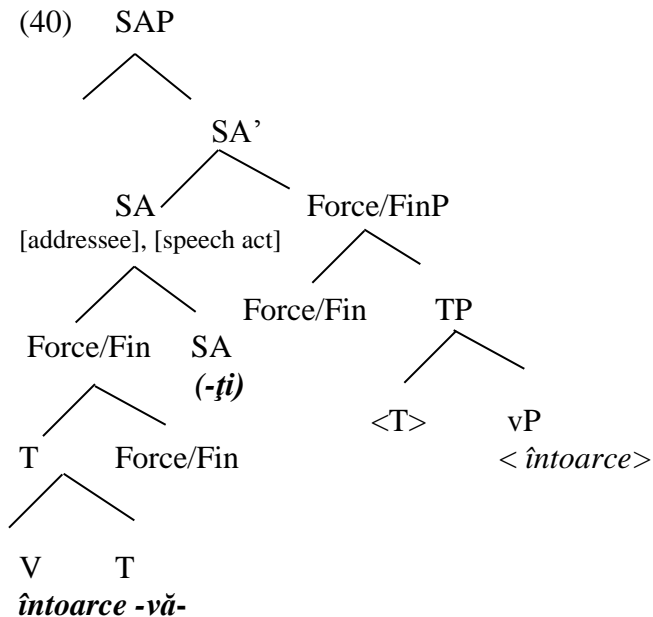
The derivation in (40) is different from the one proposed for Albanian in (32) insofar as the Albanian derivation involves XP movement to Spec, SAP, whereas Romanian involves head-to-head movement of the verb. In particular, the head-to-head movement in Old Romanian restricts the type of clitic compatible with the inverted order, to the reflexive for 2nd person plural, which has been reanalyzed as a head in T (i.e. a spell-out of phi-features in T). Consequently, the rare Romanian examples where the clitic pronoun is different, as in (39a), must involve the Albanian structural pattern (i.e., CP to Spec, SAP) in (32).

This analysis also predicts the last construction on Frâncu's (1981) timeline, namely the one in which a double *–ţi* must be possible, once for subject agreement, and once as an allocutive agreement. This appears in (36c) and further in (41).

(41) a.   ***Împleţi-vă-ţi***   *muzeul*   *de*   *săpături,*   *inscripţii*
      fill.IMP.2PL=REFL.2PL=2PL   museum.the   of   diggings   inscriptions
      'Fill your museum with diggings and inscriptions' (Bolliac apud Frâncu 1981: 87)

b. ***cătaţi-le-ţi***
    look.for.IMP.2PL=them=2PL
    'look for them' (Frâncu 1981: 87)

The morpheme ordering in (41) appeared late chronologically (i.e. mid19th century), and, therefore, signals an attempt to preserve the regular imperative inflection and V > clitic order, while also maintaining the allocutive agreement. Such constructions rely on a derivation as in (42), where CP moves after being vacated by vP.[64]

(42)
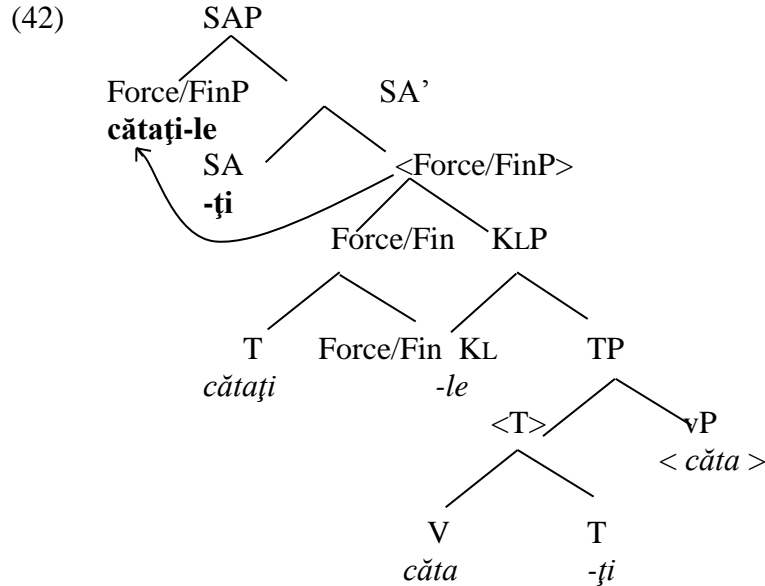
The only unattested combination is the one in which the allocutive agreement and the 2nd person ending are adjacent, as in **lăudaţiţi 'glorify.IMP.2PL.2PL'. We exclude such forms under the *haplology* constraint, which is a morphological rule: when there are two phonologically identical morphemes underlyingly, only one phonological string appears in the surface form (for a discussion of haplology, see De Lacy 1999 and references therein).

The formal analysis we proposed derives the optional alternation in the ordering of morphemes on the imperative verbs from the syntactic computation of the allocutive agreement. From this perspective, the alternation is principled and predictable, and applies cross-linguistically. Thus, there is no need to postulate language contact induced change from Albanian to Old Romanian (as has been attempted in historical linguistic studies; see Frâncu 1981 and the references therein), since the fact that the allocutive agreement is an option in the PIE language family is sufficient to predict the implementation of this option randomly, in the descendant languages.

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[64] (42) may raise objections on grounds that the complement is moving to the Spec position of its sister. However, the SAP hierarchy we present here is a collapsed version of the sap > SAP hierarchy in Speas & Tenny (2003) a.o. In the expanded version, the movement takes place to the Spec of saP associated with the speaker's point of view, whereas the lower SA is associated with the addressee.

5. Conclusions

This chapter discusses imperatives in Old Romanian by first listing all the morphological forms used to generate true, negative, or surrogate imperative clauses and then offering an analysis. The syntactic analysis showed that, by default, true imperative clauses are derived through V-to-Fin in positive contexts (hence, V > clitic order). In negative contexts, the negation *nu* 'not' moves to Fin instead of the verb, and the verb remains in T (hence, clitic > V order). These are the default patterns for deriving imperative clauses in Old Romanian and they are preserved as such in Modern Romanian.

We also discussed *de*-imperative clauses, where the order is obligatorily clitic > V. In these contexts, we argued for a split Fin. Evidence was provided by *de să* surrogate subjunctives, where *de* checks Fin [-finite] , whereas *să* checks Fin [modal]; in the absence of *să* (i.e., true imperatives), [modal] is checked via long distance Agree by the verb in T. Therefore, unlike negative *nu*, *de* does not interfere with the imperative verb's requirement to check the [modal] feature of Fin. This analysis allowed us to show that *de* is not a coordinating conjunction in these contexts (i.e., it is not the counterpart of *şi* 'and'), as previously believed (e.g., Sava 2012).

Finally, we discussed the alternation between V-*ţi*-clitic and V-clitic-*ţi* on imperative verbs, where *ţi* is the suffix for 2nd person plural. We argued that -*ţi* has a double use, as a suffix for subject agreement when immediately following the verb, and as a marker of allocutive agreement when following the clitic. The variation in morpheme ordering arises from the direct merge of the latter in the SA head, and the inflectional incorporation of the former in the imperative verb form. This pattern is absent from standard Modern Romanian but is still present in regional varieties.

Chapter 5: Gerund clauses

1. **Origins and morphology**
   The Romanian gerund is an exclusively [V] form inherited from Latin.

2. **The distribution of gerund clauses**
   A survey of gerund clauses in root and embedded contexts; gerund complements are scarce in Old Romanian (and lost in Modern Romanian).

3. **Tests**
   Cartographic tests show that the gerund CP is full-fledged and it displays V-to-Fin.

4. **Analysis**
   Gerund clauses are derived on the basis of operators in CP: a discourse based Assertion operator for root gerunds; functional operators for adverbial and relative gerunds.

5. **Conclusions**

The most challenging task for any analysis of Old Romanian gerunds is to account for the possibility of having these non-inflected verb forms in root clauses, a property lost in Modern Romanian. Most grammars (both traditional and formal) completely ignore this topic (e.g., Niculescu 2013; but see Niculescu 2014), whereas others mention this possibility but provide no explanation for it (e.g., Edelstein 1972). In this chapter, we propose an analysis for root gerunds on the basis of comparative paradigms with embedded gerunds; so the latter are also discussed in detail with regard to their left periphery.

The chapter starts from the premise that the Romanian gerund is purely verbal (Section 1 provides data from Old Romanian), and proceeds to the classification of the type of clauses such verbal forms can generate. Section 2 shows the list of gerund clauses in Old Romanian, in both unselected and selected contexts. Section 3 provides tests that establish the level of verb movement: Old Romanian shows a mixture of V-to-Fin (the default situation) and V-to-T (rarer), with only V-to-Fin preserved in Modern Romanian. In Section 4, we propose a formal analysis for the pairing of non-finiteness with a root clause derivation – which is the challenge arising from the examples with root gerunds. We propose that uninflected verb forms may occur in root clauses as long as the respective CP has an Assertion Operator that values the features which, in indicative declarative clauses, are valued by morphological/inflectional marking on the verb. The diachronic loss of the root gerund is then related to the loss of the Assertion Operator.

Before beginning the discussion of gerund clauses, we draw the reader's attention to the redefinition of *finiteness* provided in Chapter 1. Old Romanian data indicate a mismatch between the value of the [finite] feature in Fin and the inflectional morphology of the verb: [-finite] Fin can be paired with indicative verbs (e.g., *de*-indicative complements; see Chapter 6), whereas [+finite] Fin can be paired with non-finite verbs (e.g., the gerunds discussed in this chapter). What counts for the value of Fin is the size of the clause (i.e., full-fledged or truncated), as only full-fledged clauses can be independently anchored to the speech time and can license lexical subjects. In such clauses, Fin has a [+finite] value, irrespective of the type of verb inflection.

1. Origins and morphology

Romanian inherits from Latin the verbal gerund, which was used as in (1).

(1)   *iniūriās*   **ferendō**   *maiōrem*   *laudem*   *quam*
      wrongs.ACC.FEM.PL   bear.GER.ABL   greater.ACC.FEM.SG   praise.ACC.FEM.SG   than
      ulcīscendō   *merērē*
      avenge.GER.ABL   earn.IMPF.SUBJ.2SG   (Cicero, *in Caecilium* 60 *apud* Miller 2000: 314)
      'by bearing the injustice you earn more praise than by avenging it'

The Latin gerund in (1) (e.g., *ferendo* 'bearing'; *ulciscendo* 'avenging') is verbal because it can have a direct object in the Accusative (e.g., *iniurias* 'wrongs'), despite its own inflection for Ablative Case. This is the type of gerund that was preserved in Old Romanian. Philological studies (Caragiu 1957; Edelstein 1972; Fischer 1985 a.o.) agree that Romanian did not inherit the gerundive (i.e., the adjectival gerund) or the present participle.[65] The inherited form maintains

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[65] Densuşianu (1997/1901) reports that Romanian dialects provide no evidence of Latin present participle (unlike other Romance languages), but only of gerunds. The –*nt*- participle had disappeared from the Danubian Latin varieties before the cut between N and S Danubian Latin idioms (pre-Romance period). The only traces of Latin

the Latin ending *–nd-* indicating grammatical mood. The verbal nature of the Romanian gerund makes it incompatible with nominalization; that is, a gerund such as *citind* 'reading' cannot combine with the definite article *–(u)l*, ruling out **citindul* 'the reading'.

An adjective derived from the gerund, as in (2), emerges in Romanian literary register around the 19th century, under the influence of French (Edelstein 1972; cf. Gabinschi 2010: 85).

(2) *sufletele*   *blânde,*   ***iubinde,***   *fericite*
     souls.the.FEM gentle.FEM.PL loving.GER.FEM.PL   happy.FEM.PL
     'the gentle, loving, happy souls'   (Alecsandri 1852/62: 262 *apud* Niculescu 2013: 27)

Adjectival gerunds do not exist in Old Romanian, so we do not discuss them in this chapter (but see Niculescu 2013 for Modern Romanian).

In Romanian, the gerund verb displays the ending *–ind* or *-ând*. In Old Romanian, the ending *–ind* often occurs in iotacized environments which are different from Modern Romanian.[66] For example: Old Romanian *ţiind* versus Modern Romanian *ţinând* 'holding'; Old Romanian *spuind* versus Modern Romanian *spunând* 'saying' (Frâncu 2009: 130). Also, in Old Romanian only, the vowel [ʋ] may optionally occur after the ending; for example: *potrivindŭ* 'arranging', *lipindŭ* 'sticking' (Ureche 64). These phonological variations do not have any impact on the morpho-syntactic behavior of the forms concerned.

The gerund verb appears in two contexts in Romanian: (i) in periphrastic tense and mood forms morphologically marked for finiteness on the auxiliary; and (ii) as an invariable, non-finite form that generates a clause. There are more gerund based periphrastic forms in Old Romanian than in Modern Romanian. Thus, Old Romanian has a gerund form to derive the present and past perfect (e.g., *fu zicând* 'he has said'; or *au fost zicând* 'he had said') which have been lost in Modern Romanian. The other periphrases are preserved in Modern Romanian but only in regional varieties; for example, the present presumptive (*o fi având* 'will be having'), the hypothetical conditional (*ar fi având* 'would be having'), the presumptive subjunctive (*să fi având* 'would be having'). In this chapter, we do not discuss the finite periphrases with gerunds, but only the properties of the non-finite gerund that generates a clause. For information on the verbal periphrases with gerunds, we refer the reader to Densuşianu (1997: 565), Niculescu (2013: 144), and Zamfir (2007).

Statistically, the gerund is very productive in Old Romanian. Measuring the occurrence of gerunds in the *Moldavian Chronicles*, Edelstein (1972: 128) found that the percentage of gerunds in relation to the total of verbal forms is of a mean of 10%, which is double the mean of infinitives. Most of these gerunds are used in adjunct clauses, which is also the environment with a high incidence of gerund clauses in other Romance languages.

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present participle occur in recategorized items such as adjectives (*fierbinte* 'hot') or nouns (*părinte* 'priest') (see also Edelstein 1972: 14 following Drăganu 1922: 278). Lack of the present participle may explain the high productivity of gerund constructions in Romanian dialects.

[66] Iotacism involves the insertion of an iota after a high vowel that occurs at the end of the preceding syllable.

2. The distribution of gerund clauses

In this section we show that gerund clauses can occur both in root and in embedded contexts. The embedded gerund clauses are not favored in selected positions but rather as adjuncts to verbs and nouns. These observations are in line with the purely verbal characterization of Old Romanian gerunds adopted in the previous section.

2.1. Root clauses

2.1.1. Independent root clauses

Root gerund clauses occur in out-of-the-blue contexts; for example, (3) begins Costin's *Chronicle*, with no preceding text. The first two root clauses display gerund verbs and lexical subjects (underlined).

(3)   *Traian   întâiŭ,   împăratul,   **supuindŭ**   pre   dahii.*
         Trajan   first   emperor.the   conquering   DOM   Dacians.the
         *Dragoş   apoi   în moldoveni   **premenindŭ**   pre   vlahi.*
         Dragos   then   in Moldovans   turning   DOM   Wallachs
         Martor   este   Troianul,   şanţul   în   ţara   noastră
         witness   is   Trojan.the   ditch.the   in   country.the   our
         Şi   Turnul   Saverinului,   munteni,   în ţara   voastră.
         and   tower.the Severin.the.GEN   Wallachs.VOC   in country.the your
         'First, Trajan, the Emperor, conquered the Dacians. Then, Dragos turned some Wallachs into Moldavians. Witness is the Trojan ditch, in our country, and the Tower of Severinus, Wallachs, in your country.' (Costin 11)

Root gerunds are easier to find in the earliest texts. *Palia de la Orăştie*, from which the example in (4a, b) are taken, dates from 1582, whereas Costin's *Chronicle* containing the fragment in (3) was written about a hundred years later, around 1675. The root gerunds in (4a, b) also display lexical subjects, while (4c) has a null *pro* subject. Since the root gerund in (4c) is in the passive voice, the 'be' passive carries the gerund ending.

(4) a.   *Ce   o fântână   sau   negură   den   pământ   **stropind**   şi*
         but   a fountain   or   fog   from   earth   splashing   and
         ***udând**   toată   faţa   pământului.*
         watering   entire   face.the   earth.the.GEN
         'But a fountain or a fog splashed and watered all the face of the earth.' (PO {16},6)

   b.   *Eber   **fiind**   de 31   de ani   şi   rodi   Peleg.*
         Eber   being   of 31   of years   and   begot.3   Peleg
         'Eber was 31 and begot Peleg.'   (PO {41},16)

   c.   *Învincut   **fiind**   de   răutatea   jidovilor.*
         defeated   being   by   malice.the   Jews.the.GEN
         'He was defeated by the malice of the Jews.'   (NT {304})

Root gerunds are also seen in folk poetry, as in (5). The original date of these folk poems is unknown, but they started to be recorded in collections in the 19th century.

(5)   *La   izvoare   reci*
       at   springs   cold
       *Acolo   cerb   **şezândŭ**,*
       there   deer   sitting
       ***Şezând   rumegândŭ**,*
       sitting   chewing
       *Nămeaza   **făcândŭ**.*
       noon.time   doing
       'By the cold springs sat a stag, which sat chewing till noon time.'
                       (Mocanu 2007: 51)

Gabinschi (2010: 83) notices that in another folk song from the same collection the root gerund is replaced with indicatives, as in (6). He argues that (6) must be more recent than (5).

(6)   *Cerbu   odihnea,*
       male.deer.the   rested
       Nămeaza-şi   făcea.
       noon.time=REFL.DAT   did
       'The stag was resting till it became noon.' (Mocanu 2007: 56)

        Edelstein (1972) attributes the high incidence of gerunds in Old Romanian texts to the translator's efforts to convey the participial or infinitive forms of the original document by an equivalent non-finite form. Note, however, that: (i) these non-finite verbs likely do not occur in the root environment of the source language, and (ii) even if they did, Old Romanian had participial and infinitive forms that could have better suited the purpose of calquing. That, in addition to the fact that the root gerund also occurs in non-translated texts, alongside folk poems, flags this structure as being idiosyncratic to Old Romanian rather than some foreign calque. Equivalents do not exist in the other Romance Balkan languages.

2.1.2. Coordinated root clauses
        Coordination of root gerund and root indicative clauses is attested, as in (4b) and further in (7); coordination indicates syntactic equivalence between the two conjuncts.

 (7) a. ***Postindu**-mă **şi** **voiŭ**   **dezlega**   a   mânca,   şi   nu   mă voiŭ arăta.*
         fasting=REFL   and   will.1SG   stop   INF eat   and not me=will.1=show
         'I will fast and will stop eating and will not show myself.'   (Coresi EV {4})

    b. *Apoi   leşii,   vădzândŭ aşè,   **au început**   a   scrie   cu   bănat*
        then   Poles.the   seeing   so   have.3=started   INF write   with anger
        *la   Vasilie   vodă,   **iar**   Vasilie-vodă   **răspundzâ**nd: «Ceie ce*
        to   Vasilie   King   but   Vasilie-King   answering   those who
        pradă   ţara   mè   aceie   pradă   şi   ţara   voastră».
        plunder.3   country.the   my   those   plunder.3 and   country.the your

'Then the Poles, seeing this, began writing angrily to King Vasilie, but King Vasilie answered: Those who plunder my country also plunder your country.' (Neculce 114)

According to Edelstein (1972), by the end of the 19th century, the use of gerunds in root clauses was deemed sub-standard and ridiculed. In the 20th century Romanian, outside the frozen lyrics of some folk poems, there is no evidence of gerunds in root clauses, in either standard or sub-standard registers. Is the disappearance of root gerunds due to sociolinguistic factors only or is there a grammatical justification for its fall from grace? Here we argue for the latter.

2.2. Argumental positions

We are not aware of any record of gerund clauses in subject position. In the early texts (but not in the *Moldavian Chronicles*), we found a few gerund clauses as direct object complements to some aspectual (8a, b) or raising verbs (8c).

(8) a. *nu   înceta   **învăţându**-i*
    not   stopped.3   teaching=them
    'he did not stop teaching them' (Coresi EV {454})

b. *toţ   fiii   lui   Israil   trecea   pre   uscat   până   au săvârşit*
    all   children.the   of   Israel   passed.3   by   land   until   has=finished
    *tot   nărodul   **trecândŭ**   Iordanul.*
    all   crowd.the   passing   Jordan.the
    'all the children of Israel were passing on land until the entire crowd managed to cross Jordan' (BB {IisusNaviCapIII})

c. *Iară   un   preut   oarecarele   să tâmplă   **mărgând**   pre acea cale...*
    and   a   priest   whichever   REFL=happened   walking   on that road
    'And some priest happened to walk on that road' (Varlaam C {342r})

Some linguists (e.g., Niculescu 2013) consider that gerunds occurring after verbs of perception, as in (9a), are also clausal complements. We argue in section 3 that some are and some are not. In particular, our tests show that the pattern in (9a) has the gerund clause adjoined to the matrix VP, while the Accusative DP is in the matrix object position; on the other hand, the pattern in (9b) has the gerund CP selected by matrix V, instead of a DP.

(9) a. *aşè   să vedè   [focul]   **[ieşind**   din   puşci.]*
    so   REFL=saw.3   fire.the   coming.out   from   guns
    'that's how one could see the fire coming out of the guns' (Neculce 290)

b. *şi   vădzu   [**tămăduindu-să**   împocături   trupeşti   şi   boale*
    and   saw.3SG   curing=REFL   heatings   bodily   and   illnesses
    fără   leac.]
    without   cure
    'and he saw bodily fevers and illnesses without cure being cured'
                    (Dosoftei VS {178r})

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Gerund complements, as in (8a, b), were lost towards standard Modern Romanian, and in fact, they stop occuring in the texts of the late 17th and the 18th centuries.[67] The pattern in (9b) is also lost in Modern Romanian, only the pattern in (9a) being preserved and productive.

2.3. Adjunct positions

Under the umbrella of *adjunct clauses* we include both adverbial and adnominal (relative) clauses (Demirdache 1991 a.o.). The incidence of adjunct gerunds in the *Moldavian Chronicles* is high, the number needing digits in the hundreds, compared to the 22 examples of root gerunds.
Miller (2000) points out that infinitives and gerunds shared a morpho-syntactic paradigm in Classical Latin, since only infinitives could appear instead of Nominative subjects, and almost only gerunds (versus infinitives) could be adjuncts. Post-Classical Latin shows a tendency to replace present participles with gerunds. Thus, *Ablativus absolutus* (which was constructed with present participles) became a gerund construction in the pre-Romance period (e.g., Spanish *sole levante* > *sole levando* 'sun rising'; Ozete 1983). Given the Ablative origin of the gerund, it is analyzed as more suitable to adverbial use (adjuncts) than to adjectival use (Ernout 1945). Old Romanian also goes in this general direction.

2.3.1. Relatives
Gerunds appear in relative clauses headed by *care* 'which/who', as in (10).[68] In (10), the first *care*-relative is constructed with an indicative, whereas the second one is constructed with a gerund. The antecedent may or may not be present.

(10) *Un   Filip   oarecarele   de-aicea   răspundzându-să   au venit   la noi*
      a   Philip   certain   of-here   answering=REFL   has=come   to us
      *carele   cu   adevărat   **are**   graiul   ne-mvăţat   cu*
      who.the   with   truth   has   speech.the   unused   with
      cuvântul,   prostac, iară   ne ameţeaşte   inema   şi
      word.the   simple   but   to.us= stuns   heart.the   and
      moşiia   noastră   mărturisind un tânăr   om   de   proaspăt,
      holding.the our   preaching   a young   man of   fresh
      *anume   Isus,   pre   carele   **având**-l   în   limba   sa*
      namely   Jesus   DOM   whom.the   having=him   in   tongue his
      *şi-n   rostul   său   **numindu**-l,   goneaşte   dracii…*
      and-in   mouth   his   calling=him   chases   devils.the
      'A certain Philip has come to us, [someone] simple, who has an uneducated way of speaking indeed, but stuns our heart and mind, for he chases the devils and all kinds of illnesses, just by preaching about a fresh young man, namely Jesus, whose name he has

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[67] This construction was preserved in regional varieties in Modern Romanian (see Pană-Dindelegan 2013: 103).
[68] For (10) there is a different analysis (Giurgea p.c.) in which the relative does not originate in the gerund clause but is pied piped from the clause with the indicative verb; i.e., *pe carele* 'whom.the' would be the argument of *goneaşte* 'he chases'. This is based on comparison with the syntax of the Greek text. We cannot adopt that analysis because (i) the relative pronoun displays DOM, which clearly indicates its direct object status; thus, it cannot be the direct object of *goneaşte* 'chases', which is mono-transitive and selects *dracii* 'devils.the'); and (ii) the DOM-ed relative pronoun undergoes clitic doubling, and the clitic is on the gerund, not on *goneaşte* 'he chases'. The Romanian syntax forces the analysis we propose here, irrespective of the Greek original.

in his mouth.' (Dosoftei VS {124v})

The default case, however, is that the gerund relative has no relative *care/wh*-phrase, as in (11a). In these contexts, the gerunds can be either restrictive (11a) or non-restrictive (11b), and they may be conjoined with an adjective (11c).

(11) a.   *de*   *vor fi*   *şi*   *nescari*   *nevoi*   **țiind**   *pre*   *noi*[69]
      if   will.3PL=be   and   some   needs   holding   DOM   us
      'if there will be some needs holding us' (Coresi EV {338})

    b.   *Şi*   *Gazeanul*   *Ioan*   *sholasticul,*   **bolind**   *la ochi*   *de*   *cursoare,*
       and   Gazean.the   Ion   intellectual.the   suffering   at eyes   of   discharge
       l-au   *tămăduit*
       him=has=cured
       'he has cured the intellectual Ion Gazean, who was suffering from a discharge from his eyes' (Dosoftei VS {3r})

    c.   *măsură*   <u>*îndesată*</u>   *şi*   **vărsându**-*se*   *are*   *a*   *se da…*
      amount   compacted   and   overflowing=REFL   has   INF   REFL=give
      'a compacted and overflowing measure is going to be given' (Coresi EV {406})

2.3.2. Adverbials

Adjunct gerund clauses can indicate time, location, manner, cause, purpose, concession, and so on, so they can be coordinated with adverbs, as in (12a); or with adverbial adjuncts that have indicative verbs, as in (12b). Furthermore, they may occur under the complementizer *că* 'that', as in (12c); *că* 'that' is used by default with indicative clauses, which further points to the equivalence between indicatives and gerunds in these contexts. The gerund inflection applies to a lexical verb, but also to copula 'be', with either a nominal predicate, as in (12c), [NP *izrailteanu*] 'the Jew', or an adjectival predicate, [AP *greşiţi*], 'guilty', as in (12d).

(12) a.   *toate*   *să*   *le răbdăm*   <u>*bărbăteaşte*</u>   *şi*   **bucurându**-*ne*
      all   SUBJ   them=put.up   bravely   and   rejoicing=RELF
      'we should put up with everything bravely and happily' (Coresi EV {67})

    b.   *Şi*   *cu*   *cutremur*   *noao*   *va*   *să*   *se ivească*   *judecata*
       and   with   terror   to.us   will.3SG   SUBJ   REFL=surge.SUBJ.3   judgment.the
       aceaia   *cu*   *ispită*   *înfricoşată,*   *când*   *scaunele*   **se vor pune**
       that   with   temptation   scared   when   chairs.the   REFL=will=put
       şi   *cărţile*   **se vor deşchide**   *şi*   *judecătoriul*   *nefăţarnic*
       and   books.the   REFL=will=open   and   judge.the   humble
       va şedea   *şi*   *untunearece*   *de*   *îngeri*   *fără*   *de număr*
       will.3SG=sit   and   darkness   of   angels   without   of number

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[69] In (11a) *fi* 'be' is existential, so it does not form a complex tense with the gerund (i.e., there are two independent predicates). The position of the focused subject (i.e., preceded by the focus particle *şi* 'also'), in-between *fi* 'be' and the gerund, also indicates this analysis, since focused constituents either precede (by fronting) or follow (in-situ) the entire complex form, which is not the case here.

slujindu-i.
serving=to.him
'And that judgment will surge as a terror for us, with the scared temptation, when the chairs will be set and the books will be opened and the humble judge will sit and crowds of the angels will be working for him.' (Coresi EV {27})

c. *Miră-se*   *amu   Hristosŭ,   că*   **nefiindu**   *sutaşulu*
    wondered=REFL.3SG   now   Christ   since   not.being   commander.the
    izrailteanu,   nici   scriptura   jidovească   de el   **ştiindu**.
    Jew   nor   scripture.the   Jewish   of him   knowing
    'Christ was surprised now, because the commander not being Jewish, did not know the Jewish Scripture' (CC2.1581: 251 apud Niculescu 2014)

d. *Că   ce   laudă   iaste   că   veţi răbda   bătae   **fiind**   **greşiţi?***
    for   what   praise is   that   will.2PL=endure beating being   wronged
    'What kind of self-praise is this, that you will endure the beatings although you were guilty?' (NT {379})

Occasionally, a gerund occurs combined with the verb 'be' in adverbial contexts, as in (13a-c), where 'be'is lexical (versus copula).

(13) a. *Şi*   **fiind**   **ducându**-l   *în tabără,   Pavel   zise   căpitanului*
         and   being   bringing=him   to camp   Pavel   said.3   captain.the.DAT
         'And after being in the situation of taking him to the camp, Pavel said to the captain…' (NT {351})

b. *Iară   dac-   au mărsŭ   oastea   la Ceahrin,*   **fiindŭ**   **ştiind***
    and   if-   has=marched army.the   to Ceahrin   being   knowing
    Halep-paşe   pe   Buhuş hatmanul,…
    Halep-Pasha   DOM Buhus counselor.the
    'And since the army went to Ceahrin, Halep-Pasha being in the position of knowing counselor Buhus, who went with a mission to Camenita…'(Neculce 147)

c. *Şi*   **fu**   **ducându**-se   *ei,   curăţiră-se.*
    and   was   going=REFL   they   cleaned.3PL=REFL
    'And so it was that they went and cleaned themselves.' (CC2.1581: 421)

d. **Fu**   *derept   aceaia*   **trecând**   *trei   zile.*
    was   for   that   passing   three   days
    'For that it was that three days have passed.' (PO.1582: 138)

Arguably, 'be' is lexical here, being semantically equivalent to the impersonal *întâmplâdu-se* 'happening=REFL' (Niculescu, p.c., who actually provided (13c, d)). What is interesting for us is the fact that 'be' occurs either in the gerund form (13a,b), or in the indicative form (13c), which further supports the inter-changeable nature of the gerund and the indicative.
    The distribution of gerunds in adverbial contexts occurs both in the active voice, as in (12a, b), and the passive voice, as in (14).

(14)   *dovedit*   **fiind** *cel*   *pârât*   *că*   *iaste*   *vinovat*
       proven   being the   accused   that   is   guilty
       'the accused being proven guilty…' (PrCond {74})

As adverbials, gerunds may have a co-referent null subject as in (12a), an independent lexical or null subject, as in (15a, b), or a co-referent subject spelled out in the gerund clause, instead of the matrix, as in (15c). The subject of the gerund displays Nominative Case, as in (15a, c, d), where the pronominal subject is marked for Nominative.

(15) a.   *Şi*   **cugetând**   <u>*eale*</u>   *aceasta,*   *însuş*   *îngerul*   *răsturnă*   *piatra*
          and   musing   they.NOM   this   himself   angel.the   tipped.3   stone.the
          'And while they were musing on these, the angel himself tipped the stone'
                                                                    (Coresi EV {150})
     b.   *Şi*   *învise*   *învierea,*   *şi*   *mortul*   *învise*   *cătră*   *îngrupare*
          and   won.3   resurrection.the   and   dead.the   won.3   to   burial
          purtându-*l*
          carrying=him
          'and the Resurrection won, and the dead won while they were carrying him for burial'
                                                                    (Coresi EV {385})
     c.   *cum*   *să*   *ne spodobim*   *împărăţiei*   *ceriului,*   **lăcuind**
          how   SUBJ   REFL=worth.be   reign.the.DAT   heaven.the.GEN   living
          <u>*noi*</u>   *cu*   *leane*   *şi*   *nedreptaţi*   *întru*   *lucruri*   *bune?*
          we   with   laziness   and   undirected   to   things   good
          'how could we be worth of the reign of Heaven when we live in laziness and are unnjust to good things?' (Coresi EV {V})

     d.   **neavând**   <u>*noi*</u>   *de agiuns*   *treabele*   *trupului*   *şi*   *sufletului*
          not.having   we   of enough   workings.the   body.the.GEN   and   soul.the.GEN
          nostru,   *nu*   *ştim*   *ce*   *iaste*   *noaă*   *mai*   *de*   *folos*
          our   not   know.1PL   what   is   to.us   more   of   use
          'since we do not have enough knowledge of the workings of our body and soul, we do not know what is truly more useful to us' (Varlaam C {75r})

In addition, the gerund may stand for protasis (i.e. the antecedent in conditional sentences), as in (16).

(16) a.   *neci*   *o*   *slavă*   *a*   *lui*   *Dumnedzeu*   *nu*   *vei*   *şti*   **necitind**   *acolo*
          none   a   glory   of   the   God   not   will.2SG=know   un.reading   there
          'you will not know the glory of God if you do not read there'   (PO {7})

     b.   *Deci*   *nu*   *mai*   *zăbăvi,*   **fiind**   *noaă*   *priiatin*   *ce*   *leapădă*
          so   not   more   delay.IMP.2SG   being   to.us   friend   but   abandon.IMP.2S
          leagea   *creştinească*
          law.the   Christian
          'So don't delay anymore, if you are our friend, abandon the Christian law.'

(Varlaam C {80v})

2.4. Imperatives

The texts attest to a few examples where the root gerund has an imperative reading, as in (17) (see also Niculescu 2013, 2014). Elsewhere, these readings are conveyed through root subjunctive clauses. These root gerunds replicate active participles from the original texts (i.e., Greek, then Church Slavonic) where the latter forms were used to convey an imperative reading.

(17) a. *Aşa* *şi* *muierile* **supuindu**-*se* *aleloru* *săi* *bărbaţi.*
thus and women.the obeying=REFL the.GEN their men
'In the same way, women must also obey their own men.'
(Cod Vor CL 13 apud Edelstein 1972: 37)

b. *Ainte* *de* *toţi,* *adinsu* *voi* *iubosti* *purure* **aibăndŭ**,
before of all especially you love always having
derepce *iubostiea* *coapere* *mulţime* *păcatelorŭ.*
for love.the covers swarm.the sins.the.GEN
'You must always have love towards everyone, for love covers the swarm of sins.'
(Cod Vor CLIX 1 apud Edelstein 1972: 37)

Predictably, gerund imperatives are coordinated with subjunctive imperative clauses; see (18).

(18) a. *Şi* **să** **ne nevoim** *într-această* *neşchită* *vreame* *cu*
and SUBJ REFL=strive.1PL in-this insecure time with
credinţa *ceaia* *curata* *şi* *luminata,* *şi* **lucrând**
faith.the that clean and bright and working
sfinteei *a Domnului* *învăţătură.*
saint.the.DAT of Lord.the.GEN teaching
'And we must strive in these insecure times with clean and bright faith, and we must work according to the sanctified teaching of our Lord.' (Coresi EV {106})

b. **Fie** *calea* *lor* *întunrerec* *şi* *lunrecoasă* *şi* *îngerul*
be.SUBJ.3 road.the their dark and slippery and angel.the
lui *Dumnedzău* **gonindŭ** *ei.*
of God chasing them
'Let their road be dark and slippery and God's angel chase them.' (PH {28v})

In comparison to the use of gerunds in root declaratives, gerund imperatives are rare, the former being much better represented in texts (especially in the early texts). Gerund imperatives do not appear outside of the early translations, which we take to indicate a calque limited to the written register and with no consequence for the Romanian grammar.

2.5. Modern Romanian

Only adjunct gerund clauses are preserved and productive in standard Modern Romanian, whereas root and complement gerund clauses are lost. This is remarkable because other outdated

constructions may still appear in Modern Romanian as archaisms (e.g., clitic-verb inversions, use of infinitive complements to verbs, etc.), but there is no presence at all of root and complement gerund clauses.[70]

3. Tests

In this section we map the gerund clauses by following the cartographic hierarchy introduced in Chapter 1, and show that root and adjunct gerunds are full-fledged CPs. The tests will be applied to root declarative, adjunct and complement gerunds, but not to gerund imperatives, for which we do not have sufficient data.

3.1. Root clauses

All root clauses are necessarily full-fledged CPs (i.e. ForceP), since they are independent domains; furthermore, they have Nominative subjects.[71] The task is then to see what the level of verb movement is within this CP. The assessment tests in this respect will look at the position of the gerund verb in relation to clitics, negation, Topic and Focus constituents.

3.1.1. V-to-Fin

The first test considers the word order between gerund and clitic pronouns, on the premise that the clitics merge in the highest T node (see Chapter 2, representation (76)). The clitics are post-verbal in relation to the gerund verb, by default, as in (19). Since the gerund verb is higher than TP, it must reside in C.

(19) *Deci*   **adunându-_să_**   *amândoi*   *şi*   **privitind**   *şi*   **implându-_să_**   *în*
      so   gathering=REFL   both   and   looking   and   filling=REFL   in
      de-alalt   *de saţâul*   *voroavelor*   *sufleteşti*   *...*
      of-other   of fill.the   words.the.GEN   hearty
      'So they got together and looked at each other till they had their fill through hearty words
      […]'   (Dosoftei VS {43r})

This is further confirmed by the choice of negation, which is typically the prefixal *ne-* instead of the free morpheme *nu* used in indicative or infinitive clauses. Compare (20) to (21).

(20) *Filip,*   *svântul*   *apostol,*   *deaca*   *botedză*   *pre*   *Candachie,*   **având**
      Philip   saint.the   apostle   when   baptized.3   DOM   Candachie   having
      svinţia   *sa 4*   *fiice,*   *carile*   *evanghelistul*   *Luca*
      sainteness.the   his 4   daughters whom.the   evangelist.the   Luke
      prorociţe   *le numeaşte,*   *şi*   *ficioare*   *le mărturiseaşte,*   *din*   *carile*
      prophets   them=calls   and   virgins   them=testifies   from   which.the
      Ermioni   *şi*   *Evtihiia*   *mearseră*   *în Asiia   Mică*   *cercând*   *să*
      Ermiona   and   Evtihia   went   to Asia   Minor   trying   SUBJ

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[70] Earlier studies have argued for gerunds as complements to perception verbs (Avram 2003, Alboiu & Hill 2013). However, new tests show that even those contexts involve adjuncts.
[71] See Chomsky (2007, 2008) for a correlation of all A-features to phasal CP (and vP) domains.

afle	*pre*	*svântul*	*Ioan Bogoslov*	*şi*	***neaflându-l***,
find.SUBJ	DOM	saint.the	Ion Bogoslov	and	not.finding=him

căce	*l-au mutatu-l*	*Dumnădzău*	*ca*	*pre*	*Ilie şi*	*Enoh.*
because	him=has=moved=him	God	as	DOM	Ilie and	Enoch

'Upon baptizing Candachie, Saint Philip the Apostle had four daughters, whom Luke the Evangelist declared prophets and testified to their virginity; two of them, Ermiona and Evtihia went to Asia Minor looking for Saint Ion Bogoslov, but they did not find him, because God had moved him in the same way he did Ilie and Enoch.' (Dosoftei VS {6v})

(21) a.
Şi	*nime*	*lui*	***nu-i***	*nemereaşte*	*mormântul.*	**indicative**
and	nobody	to.him	not-to.him	finds	tomb.the	

'And nobody can find his tomb.' (Dosoftei VS {6v})

b.
până	*a*	***nu***	*să lovi*	*cu*	*oştile*	**infinitive**
up	INF	not	REFL=attack	with	armies.the	

'until attacking each other with their armies' (Dosoftei VS {121v})

The contrast in (20)/(21) indicates that the gerund, which occurs to the left of clitics (unlike the situation with infinitives and indicatives) moves above the level of NegP, into the CP field. This explains the prefixal negation: the free morpheme *nu* 'not' blocks V movement (see Chapters 3 and 4; Isac & Jakab 2004), while prefixal *ne-* can be carried along by V-to-C.

Once we acknowledge that the gerund verb moves out of TP, as in (19)-(20), we have to determine its target within the CP. To this end, we show that: (i) the root gerund clause can display the Force complementizer *că* 'that', as in (22); (ii) Topic and contrastive Focus/Topic constituents occur to the left of the gerund, as in (23).

(22)
Acesta	*svânt*	*părintele*	*nostru*	*Averchie*	*au fost*	*episcop*	*în Ierapol*
this	saint	father.the	our	Averchie	has=been	bishop	in Herapolis
de Frighiia		*Salutariei*	*în*	*vremile-*	*mpăratului*		*lui Marco*
of Phrygia		Salutaris	in	times.the	emperor.the.GEN		of Marcus
Antonie,	*a*	*multe*	*minuni*	*făcătoriu,*	*că* **puind**		*vinul*
Antonius	of	many	miracles	doer	for putting		wine.the
cu	*untul-de-lemn*	*şi*		*cu*	*de alt*	*fealiu*	*tot la un*
with	oil-of-wood	and		with	of other	kind	all in one
vas	*şi*	*feace*	*de nu*	*să mestecară,*		*nice*	
container	and	makes	DE not	REFL=mixed.3PL		nor	
să stricară		*una de alaltă*		*cu*	*ruga.*		
REFL=spoiled.3PL		one of other		with	pray.the		

'This saint father of ours, Averchie, was bishop in Herapolis of Phrygia Salutaris during the time of the Emperor Marcus Antonius; he was the maker of many miracles, for he put wine with oil and other substances in the same container and made them, through his prayer, to neither mix together nor spoil each other.' (Dosoftei VS {76r})

(23) a.
[Şir	*de bună*	*mireazmă]*	***izvorând***	*dintr-însele*	*şi*	*nime*	*să*
string	of good	smell	springing	from-them	and	nobody	SUBJ
nu	*fie*	*necredincios*					

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not   be.SUBJ.3   unbeliever
'A string of good smells will come out of them [saint's bones] and let nobody be an non-believer' (Dosoftei VS {IIIr})

b. *Şi,   [de vintre] **păţând**   **rău**   odată,   şi   aceasta-i   boală*
    and   at guts   happening   badly   once   and   this- is   illness
    cumplită foarte,   şi,   rugându-să   lui   Dumnedzău   s-au isţealit.
    terrible   very   and   praying=REFL to   God   REFL=has=recovered
    'And, once, he fell sick with gut pain, and this is a very terrible illness, but, by praying to God, he recovered.' (Dosoftei {73v})

c. *[Pe   lângă   aceastea]*_{TOP} *[şi   altele   oareşcare   povăţi   de înşine]*_{FOC}
    on   beside these   also   other.the various   advice   of ourselves
    alcătuind *Domniia   mea   din   jălbile   şi   pricini*
    compiling   Majesty   my   from   petitions and   complaints
    ce   pe   toată   zilile   să aduc   la   auzul   nostru.
    that   on   all   days.the REFL=bring.3PL to   hearing.the   our
    'Beside these, I compiled various other guidelines of my own, on the basis of the petitions and complaints that are brought to my hearing every day.' (PrCond. {44})

In (22), the root complementizer *că* 'for' in Force (see Chapter 2) co-occurs with the root gerund *puind* 'putting'. In the root gerund clauses of (23), the gerund verb follows constituents with an aboutness Topic reading (23a), a contrastive Topic reading (23b), or a Topic > Focus constituent sequence (23c). Thus, the word order indicates that the root gerund targets a position lower than Focus and Topic, which points to C/Fin as the landing site.[72]

3.1.2. V-to-T

The data in (19) to (23) showed the default situation in root gerunds. There are however occasional examples of a different word order. To begin with, the free morpheme *nu* is also sometimes found with gerunds, as in (24).

(24)   *Ce   nu-l   strângea,   ce   nu-l   săruta,   ce   **nu***
        what   not=him   hugged.3   what   not=him   kissed.3   what   not
        grăind *şi   ce   **nu**   **făcând**   într-atâta   cât   şi*
        saying   and   what   not   doing   in-so.much   that   even
        cealea   ce   n-au   suflet   atunce   vrea   face   voie   bună.
        those   that   not=have soul   then   want.3 do   will   good
        'He hugged and kissed him so much, and talked to him and fussed over him to such an extent that even the heartless would have rejoiced then.' (Dosoftei VS {59r})

Furthermore, there are contexts in which the clitic pronouns are preverbal, as in (25).[73]

(25) a. *Când   în   târg   ca-n   Ţarigrad   **intrând**,*
         when   in   town   as-in   Istanbul   entering

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[72] This is unsurprising, since Fin is a target for gerunds in imperatives anyway (as per requirements in Chapter 4).
[73] The data in (25b, c) were kindly provided by Niculescu (p.c.).

Soarele	***răsărind***,	*dughenele*	***deschizând***.				
sun.the	rising	shops.the	opening				
Iar	*cuconŭ*	*mirele*	*cu*	*ochi*	*negri*	***le***	***privind***.
and	mister	groom.the	with	eyes	black	them=	watching
Şi	*cu*	*galbeni*	***le***	*cumpărând,*			
and	with	money	them=	buying			
Feţisoarei		*dumitale*	***le***	*potrivind*.			
face.the.DAT		yours	them=	fitting			

'When he entered town as if in Istanbul, the sun was rising and the shops were opening. The groom watched them [the earrings] with black eyes and bought them with money and fit them to your face.' (Gabinschi 2010: 83)'

b.
După	*aceaia*	*fu*	*tremes*	*fiiul*	*lui*	*Dumnezeu,*	*în*
after	that	was	sent	son.the	of	God	in
trupŭ	***se ivind,***	*ce*	*nici*	*pre el*	*nu*	*priimiră,*	
body	REFL=arising	but	nor	DOM him	not	received.3PL	
ce-l	*răstigniră.*						
but=him	crucified.3PL						

'After that, God's son was sent, arising in bone and flesh, but they did not receive him either, they crucified him.' (CC[1].1567-8: 96ᵛ)

c.
Cât	*am umblat*	***mă ferindu***,	
how.long	have.1SG=wandered	REFL=hiding	
Tot	*de mine*	*ţi-o stat*	*gându*
still	to me	to.you=has=stayed	thought.the

'No matter for how long I kept hiding myself, your thought still stayed on me.'
(CânteceCâmpenesti.1768: 30)

There are no examples where *nu* 'not' co-occurs with proclitic pronouns; we take this to be due to chance, since the number of gerunds with *nu* 'not' is very small. However, gerund linearization in (23)-(24) forces us to assume that, in these configurations, the gerund verb stays in T. The scarce occurrences of such constructions, paired with the fact that they are found in earlier texts rather than in the *Moldavian Chronicles*, also suggests that they are archaic, and that V-to-T in gerunds must have been the configuration that preceded V-to-Fin, discussed in the previous section.

3.1.3. Full-fledged CP

Irrespective of whether the gerund verb moves to T or to Fin, the root clauses they generate qualify as full-fledged (i.e. fully configured, temporally independent C/ForceP domains). As mentioned, one indication in this respect is the presence of Nominative subjects. For V-to-T configurations, a lexical subject is present in (25). For V-to-Fin configurations, lexical subjects appear in preverbal position in (3), (4), (7b), and in post-verbal position in (26) (the language is VSO; see Chapter 1).

(26)
Ce	*iarăşi*	*vicleanul*	*n-au părăsât,*	*scurmând*	*asupra*	*şerbului*
but	again	crook.the	not-has=stopped	harassing	on	servant.the.GEN

lui	*Dumnădzău,*	*că*	**mărgând**	*dănăoară*	*svântul*	*pintru*
of	God	for	going	once	saint.the	for
cercetarea	*fraţâlor,*	**tâlnindu**-*l*	*în cale*	*o*	*femeaie*	
search.the	brothers.the.GEN	meeting=him	on way	a	woman	
şi-i	*ţânu*	*calea,*	*rugându-l*	*să*	*margă*	
and=to.him	held	way.the	asking=him	SUBJ	go.SUBJ.3	
pre	*la*	*casa*	*ei*	*să-*	*i blagoslovască*	*casa.*
to	at	house.the	her	SUBJ	to.her=bless.SUBJ.3	house.the

'But yet again, the crook did not desist, but continued to harass God's servant, for, at one time, while the saint was searching for brethren, a woman showed up his way, and accosted him, asking him to go to her house and bless it.' (Dosoftei VS {43r})

We take these subjects to be Nominative on the followings grounds: (i) these are root clauses and there is no Case checking configuration for DP subjects other than through T; (ii) overt pronominal subjects occur in the Nominative in gerunds in Old Romanian, see (15); (iii) lexical subjects in Modern Romanian gerund adjuncts are consistently Nominative (Alboiu 2009).

Since the gerunds presented in this section function as verbs in root clauses, we expect them to have independent tense values, despite their invariable morphological form. This is indeed the case, since the root gerund can be read as present, past or future. The exact tense value comes from the larger context of the story or from the presence of indicative verbs in the text. For example, in (27a) the tense value is that of simultaneity in relation to the subordinate verb *vedea* 'saw', which is in the simple past. The same reference to the context forces a punctual past tense interpretation for the root gerund in (27b) and the future reading in (27c).

(27) a.

Mărgând	*pre la*	*vaduri*	*şi*	**pornind**	*curabii*	*cu*	*pâne*
walking	to at	bays	and	starting	boats	with	bread
de-l	*vedea*	*cu*	*ochii*	*curăbiiarii*	*pre*	*mare*	*pre*
DE= him	saw.3	with	eyes.the	sailors.the	on	sea	DOM
svântul,	*iară*	*acel*	*pururea*	*pomenit*	*împărat*	*Iustinian,*	*carele*
saint.the	and	that	ever	mentioned	Emperor	Justinian	who.the
au făcut,	*în*	*numele*	*a de*	*o*	*fiinţă*	*cuvântului*	
has=made	in	name.the	of	a	being	word.the.DAT	
lui	*Dumnădzău*	*şi*	*înţălepciunei,*	*acel*	*de*		
of	God	and	wisdom.the.DAT	that	by		
Dumnădzău	*sporit*	*lucru,*	*adecă*	*besearica*	*svintei*		
God	increased	work	that.is	church.the	saint.the.GEN		
Sofiei,	**cercând**	*vro*	*părticea*	*de moştiile*	*svântul*		
Sofia.GEN	trying	some	piece	of remnants	saint.the		
Dimitrie	*să*	*i să aducă*		*să-i*	*fie*		
Dimitrie	SUBJ	to.him= REFL= bring.SUBJ.3		SUBJ=to.him	be.SUBJ.3		
la-ncepătura	*lucrului*		*aceii*	*svinte*	*şi*	*din veaci*	
at-beginning	work.the.GEN		that.GEN	saint	and	for centuries	
tăinuite	*besearici*	*minunate.*					
sacred	church.the.GEN	marvellous					

'The saint stepped on waves and put boats to water just with bread in his hands, so the boatmen saw with their own eyes this saint on the sea, which is why Emperor Justinian

of everlasting name, who has turned God's word and wisdom into realiy, and contributed to God's workings, that is, with the church of Saint Sofia, was trying to have brought to him some piece of the remnants of this Saint Dimitrie, to put such piece in the foundation of that blessed and for ever marvellous sacred church.' (Dosoftei VS {87v})

b. | *Aceastea* | *cuvinte* | *cu* | *îndrăznire* | ***grăind*** | *măcenicul* | *şi* | *cu* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| these | words | with | courage | saying | martyr.the | and | with |
| *faţă* | *veaselă,* | *iară* | *giudecătoriul* | *adease-ş* | <u>*schimba*</u> | *faţa* | |
| face | serene | but | judge.the | often=REFL | changed.3 | face.the | |
| *de* | *mâniia* | *ce* | *să aprinsease* | *într-însu.* | | | |
| from | anger.the | that | REFL=burned | in-him | | | |

'The martyr spoke those words with courage and with a serene face, but the judge's face was often changing because of the anger that burned within him.' (Varlaam C {81v})

c. | *Şir* | *de bună* | *mireazmă* | ***izvorând*** | *dintr-însele* | *şi* | *nime* | *să* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| string | of good | smell | springing | from-them | and | nobody | SUBJ |
| *nu* | *fie* | *necredincios* | | | | | |
| not | be.SUBJ.3 | unbeliever | | | | | |

'A string of good smells will come out of them (saint's bones) and let nobody be an non-believer' (Dosoftei VS {IIIr})

Therefore, although tense values are not morphologically encoded on the gerund verb, such values arise pragmatically, from the context.

To conclude, the underlying structure of the root gerund must be equivalent to the structure of an indicative clause in the same declarative context (see Chapter 3), contrasts arising only in: (i) the level of verb movement, which is to T or to Focus for indicatives, but to Fin (and, less frequently, to T) for the gerund; and (ii) the nature of negation, the gerund moving to Fin having *ne-* instead of *nu*. Differences of word order (V > clitic versus clitic > V) are consequences of these two main contrasts.

3.2. Adjuncts

We first show empirical support that adjunct gerunds are full-fledged CPs, on par with root gerunds.[74] We then determine the level of verb movement within this CP, by using the same tests as in the previous section. In this respect, the results indicate a similarity with root gerunds as well: the default option for verb movement is V-to-Fin, but V-to-T is also found.

3.2.1. Full-fledged CP

In this section, we present tests that confirm a full-fledged (ForceP) status for Old Romanian gerund adjunct clauses.

The first test looks for evidence that ForceP is projected. Relative gerunds optionally display the relative pronoun *care* 'which', as in (28a), in the same way a relative clause with indicative verbs would, as in (28b), so they are ForceP.

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[74] Adjunct clauses are phasal domains when they are independently anchored to the speech time. This phasal status explains empirical properties such as their island behavior.

(28) a. *Că   proştii   şi   săracii   nu-i   împiadecă   avuţiia   şi*
for   simpletons.the   and   poor.the   not=them   hinder   wealth.the   and
*bunătatea   lumiei,   **carea**   **neavîndu-o**,   să grijesc*
kindness.the   people.the.GEN   which   not.having=it   REFL=care.3PL
de   cea cerească.
of   that divine
'For the simpleton and the poor are not hindered by wealth and by people's kindness;
by not having it, they pay attention to the divine one.' (Varlaam C {361r})

   b. *Iani   deşchide   svânta   evanghelie   **pre**   **care**-ţ   **pui***
Iani   opens   saint.the   bible   on   which=REFL   put.2SG
mânule   de giuri
hands.the   DE swear.2SG
'Iani opens the saintly bible on which you put your hands to swear'(Varlaam C {376r})

Care 'which' in (28a), doubled by the Accusative clitic *o* 'it', can only be construed as the direct object of the gerund, and not of the matrix verb *grijesc* 'care'. The latter is reflexive and so cannot assign Accusative Case; rather, it selects a PP argument, *de cea cerească* 'about the divine one'. Since *wh*-relative phrases merge in Spec, ForceP (Rizzi 1997), the presence of *care* 'which' indicates the ForceP level of this gerund clause.This location is further confirmed in (36)-(37), where *care* 'which' precedes Topic and Focus constituents.

      For adverbial gerunds, the indication for a ForceP in the structure comes from the possibility of having the narrative *că* 'for', merged in Force since it precedes Topic and Focus constituents (e.g., *pretutindinea* 'everywhere' below), as in (29).

(29) *Cu   dumnezeiia   amu   şi   mai   den   nainte împlea,*
with   bliss.the   now   and   more   from   before filled
că   *pretutindinea **fiind**   şi   toate   **împlundu**-le*
because   everywhere   being   and   all   filling=them
'He was filling himself with God's bliss now as before, for it is everywhere and it fills everything' (PO {95})

      If adjunct gerunds project to ForceP, we expect them to allow Nominative subjects and independent tense values. This is shown for both relative (30a) and adverbial adjuncts (30b).

(30) a. *Deci,   întrebându-ne   sfatul   boierilor   celor   mari   şi*
so   asking=us   council.the   boyar.the.GEN   those.GEN   great   and
Divanului   domnii   mele,   dă   găsim   cu
Assembly.the.GEN   majesty.the.GEN   my   if   find.1PL   with
cale   a   să urma   şi   in   domniia   noastră tot   această
way   INF   REFL=follow   also   în   reign.the   our   same   this
*orânduială,   la care   **fiind**   şi   a noastră   **bună voinţă**,   de*
regulation   to which   being   also   the our   willingness   of
vreme   ce   alcătuirea   aceasta   s-au făcut   cu   sfat
since   that formula.the   this   REFL=has=made   with   counsel

de	*obşte,*	*am poruncit*	*dar,*	*aşa*	*să*	*se urmeze.*
from	people	have.1=ordered	therefore	thus	SUBJ	REFL=obey.SUBJ.3

'So the Council of the elated boyars and of my majesty's Assembly asked us if we found it suitable to adopt, during our reign, the existing laws. Since these laws were made with the people's council, there being good will from our side as well, we therefore decided that they should be obeyed as such.' (PrCond. {192})

b.
Atunci	*very*	*striga*	*şi*	*Dumnedzău*	*te va audzi*	*şi*
then	will.2SG	shout	and	God	you=will.3SG=hear	and

încă	**_grăind_**	**_tu_**	*va dzice:*
still	talking	you.NOM	will.3SG=say

'Then you will shout and God will hear you and while you are still talking he will say…' (Varlaam C {314v})

The presence of lexical items in ForceP and of lexical subjects licensed in the gerund clause indicates that adjunct gerunds are full-fledged CPs. Predictably, this property is paired with the capacity of T here to acquire tense values independently of the matrix T (i.e., T in the adjunct clause is not anaphoric). Examples as in (31) confirm this: there is no temporal coreference between matrix T and the adjunct gerund T (no anaphoric tense).

(31) a.
Împărăţind	*Gratian,*	*goţii*	*o au luat*	*Dachia.*	**simultaneous**
reigning	Gratianus	Goth.the	her=have.3=taken	Dacia	

'During Gratian's reign, the Goths conquered Dacia.'
(St. Cantacuzino, I 33/9 apud Edelstein 1972: 134)

b.
Arătându-l	*boierii,*	*l-au şi*	*îmbrăcat*	*cu*	**anterior**
pointing=him	boyars.the	him=has=fast	clothed	with	

caftan	*de domnie*
mantle	of king

'After the boyars indicated him, he clothed him right away with the royal mantle.'
(Neculce 123)

c.
Apoi	*au vinit*	*la Moldova*	*cu neguţitorie*	[…]	**posterior**
then	has=come	to Moldova	with merchandise		

lipindu-să	*de curte,*	*fiind şi*	*Vasilie-vodă*	*tot*	*de un neam.*
attaching=REFL	to court	being and	Vasilie-king	same	of a kin

'Then he came to Moldova as a merchant, and he will have attached himself to the court, since King Vasilie was his kin.' (Neculce 119)

In (31), the present perfect tense is constant for all the matrix verbs. However, the adjunct gerund shows different tense readings in relation to the matrix present perfect, the reading depending on the context. This is evidence for independent, full-fledged CP status of adjunct gerunds.

3.2.2. V-to-Fin
The structural similarity between root and adjunct gerunds can now be extended to the level of verb movement. The following tests show that the default option is V-to-Fin, as predictable. More precisely, the presence of the prefix *ne-* instead of the free morpheme *nu* for

clausal negation indicates verb movement above NegP > TP. This is shown for both relative and adverbial gerunds in (32) and (33), respectively.

(32) *Ei   fură   feciori dulce-făcători şi   **netemîndu**-se   de nece o   frică.*
they   steal   lads   sweet-doers and   not.fearing=REFL   of not one   scare
'They steal young lads who are innocent and unaware of fears.' (Coresi L {167})

(33) *fiind   ei   cu   uşile   încuiate   şi   **nefiind**   Toma*
being they   with   doors.the   locked   and   not.being   Thomas
'them having their doors locked and Thomas not being there…' (Coresi EV {144})

Furthermore, clitics are post-verbal, which equally indicates verb movement above TP, as in (34) for relatives, and (35) for adverbial gerunds.

(34) *Şi   celor   rămaş   den   voi   voiŭ aduce   robime   la inema*
and   those.DAT left   from   you   will.1SG=bring   servitude   to heart.the
lor,   la pământul   vrăjmaşilor   lor,   şi-i   va goni
their   to land.the   enemies.the.GEN   their   and=them   will.3SG= chase
*pre   dânşii glas   de frunză   **mutându-se**,   şi   vor fugi   ca*
DOM   them   noise   of leaf   moving=REFL   and   will.3PL=run   as
când   ar fugi   de   la războiŭ
when   would.3=run   from   at war
'And for those of you who are left, I will bring servitude to their hearts, in the land of their enemies, and even the rustling of leaves will scare them away, and they will run as if they are running from a war.' (BB {91})

(35) ***postindu-se*** *şi   preveghind   şi   **rugându-se***
fasting=REFL   and   watching   and   praying=REFL
'by fasting, watching and praying' (PO {373})

The tests above indicate V-to-C movement of the gerund verb in adjuncts. In order to determine the landing site in C, we next apply tests that combine the lexicalization of ForceP, where available, with the location of constituents fronted to Topic and Focus. The examples in (36) and (37) display *care* 'which' in Spec, ForceP, followed by a Topic constituent at the left of the gerund verb. This shows the gerund in Fin, as there is no focus interpretation on the gerund.

(36) *svinţii   trei   mii   şease   sute   douădzăci   şi   opt   de măcenici*
saints.the   three   thousand   six   hundred   twenty   and   eight   of martyrs
carii   s-aflară   ascundzându-să   în munţi   şi   în gauri
who.the   REFL=found.3PL   hiding=REFL   in mountains   and   in caves
*la Nicomidiia,   **pre   carii**   [Maximian]   **căznind**   cu   miile*
in Nicomedia   DOM   whom.the   Maximian   torturing   by   thousands.the
de munci   de   i-au omorâtu-i   pentru   Isus   Hristos
of chores   so   them=has=killed=them   for   Jesus   Christ
'the 3628 saint martyrs who were hiding in the mountains and the caves of Nicomedia, whom Maximian had tortured with thousands of chores until he killed them, for Christ,

our Lord and God.' (Dosoftei VS {8r})

(37) | *Lăsând* | *pre* | *tatăl* | *ei,* | *acea* | *fericită* | *şi* | *bună* | *hiică* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| leaving | DOM | father.the | her | that | serene | and | good | daughter |
| *alergă* | *de* | *să află* | | *în* | *mijloc* | *de călugări* | *ca piatra* | |
| ran.3SG | so | REFL=found.3SG | | in | middle | of monks | as stone | |
| *zmaragdului,* | *de carea* | *să feace* | *mare* | *căutare* | *de oamenii* | | | |
| ruby.the.GEN | of which.the | REFL=makes | big | search | by men | | | |
| *ei,* | *mai* | *vârtos* | *de* | *tatăl* | *ei,* | ***carele,*** | *[plângând* | |
| her | more | strongly | by | father | her | who.the | crying | |
| *şi* | *hlipind* | *cu dureare* | *de* | *la* | *inemă* | *pentru* | *departe* | |
| and | sighing | with pain | from | at | heart | for | far | |
| *ducerea* | *ei],* | ***suspinând*** | *şi* | ***cercând*** | *munţâi* | *şi* | | |
| departure.the | her | sighing | and | trying | mountains.the | and | | |
| *prăpaştile* | *şi* | *pustietăţâle,* | *chinuindu-să* | *38 de ai,* | *căutând* | | | |
| precipices.the | and | deserts.the | torturing=REFL | 38 of years | trying | | | |
| *să* | *o vadză* | *şi* | *venind* | *adease* | *de* | *o vedea* | *şi* | *nu* |
| SUBJ | her=see.SUBJ.3 | and | coming | often | so | her=saw.3 | and | not |
| *o cunoştea* | *că* | *avuseasă* | *de* | *demult* | *obicină* | *de* | *veniia* | |
| her=knew.3 | for | had.had.3 | of | long | custom | DE | came.3 | |
| *la dzâle* | *mare* | *de* | *rugă* | *Pafnutie* | *la acea* | *svântă* | *mănăstire* | |
| at days | big | and | prayed.3 | Pafnutie | at that | saint | monastery | |

'Abandoning her father, that serene and good daughter ran away, finding herself in the middle of monks, like the ruby, which her men were searching for on a large scale, and especially her father who, crying and sighing with pain in his heart because of being far from her, cried and searched mountains, precipices, deserts, torturing himself for 38 years, trying to see her, when in fact he was often coming to see her, without recognizing her, for he had the habit to come and pray to Pafnutie, at that monastery, on major religious days.' (Dosoftei VS {27r, v})

Along the same lines, the gerund verb in the adverbial gerund clauses in (38) is preceded by Topic and Focus constituents, which again indicates Fin as the target of verb movement.

(38) | *Aceasta* | *era* | *fată* | *lui* | *Nicolai, [...]* | *şi* | *multă* | *dosadă-i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this | was | daughter | to | Nicolai | and | much | scolding=to.her |
| *făcea* | *să* | *o-ntoarcă* | *la* | *eresia* | *ei,* | *opt* | *ai*_{FOC} |
| did.3 | SUBJ | her=turn | to | heresy.the | her | eight | years |
| ***bătându-o*** | *şi* | *[preste* | *ceafă]*_{TOP} | *[cu* | *pietri]*_{FOC} | ***ucigându-o,*** | *şi* |
| beating=her | and | over | neck | with | stones | hitting=her | and |
| *[desculţă]*_{FOC} | ***întirindu-o*** | *pre* | *locuri* | *ascuţâte* | | | |
| bare.feet | pushing=her | on | places | sharp | | | |

'This one was daughter to Nicolai,… and he was scolding her to turn her back to heresy, by beating her for eight years, and by hitting her with stones over her neck and by dragging her bare feet over sharp rocks.' (Dosoftei VS {20v})

In sum, the level of verb movement in adjunct gerunds is the same as in root gerund clauses, namely, there is V-to-Fin.

3.2.3. V-to-T

As with root clauses, there are a few examples of adjunct gerunds that display the verb within TP. In particular, we can find the negation *nu* instead of *ne-*, as in (39) and (40); however, we could not find any data where *nu* co-occurs with clitics.

(39)   *Toma   ce-l   chema   geamănul,   **nu**   **fiind**   acolo,   nici   crezu.*
Thomas   that=him   called   twin.the   not   being   there   not   believed
'Thomas, the one they call the twin, did not believe it, since he was not there.'
        (PO {136})

(40)   *Ce   **nu**   **lăsândŭ**   în voia   căpăteniilor   de Ardeal   împăratul*
but   not   leaving   at will.the   captains.the.GEN   of Ardeal   emperor.the
nemţescŭ,   au socotit   şi   cu   sabiia   să-i   supuie
German   has=decided   also   with   sword.the   SUBJ=them   repress.SUBJ.3
'But the German Emperor, not leaving things at the will of the captains of Ardeal , decided to repress them by sword' (Costin 19)

The (rare) occurrence of gerunds following Neg *nu* suggests that V-to-T was also a possibility in Old Romanian adjunct gerunds.

3.3. Clausal complements?

In Section 2 we mentioned that there are configurations with gerund clauses in the complement position of control verbs, but such configurations are not frequent and they did not fare well even in Old Romanian. Specifically, they are confined to translated texts, but do not appear in texts that are written directly in Romanian (e.g., the *Moldavian Chronicles*). In this section, we revisit these configurations, and conclude that: (i) under aspectual verbs, the gerund CP is truncated; and (ii), with verbs of perception, the gerund CP is full-fledged and adjunct. Only the latter remained productive in Modern Romanian.

3.3.1. Aspectuals

The verbs *înceta* 'stop' and *săvârşi* 'finish/accomplish' occasionally select a gerund complement, as shown in (8) and further in (41a, b).

(41) a.   *n-am   încetat   **[învăţând**   cu   lacrăme   pre   fietecarele   de voi]*

not=have.1   stopped   teaching   with   tears   DOM   each.the   of you
'I haven't stopped teaching each of you, with tears (in my eyes)' (NT {349}

b.   *săvârşi   Iisus   [**porâncind**   ucenicilor   Săi   celor   doisprăzeace]*
finished   Jesus   ordering   apprentices.the.DAT   His   the.DAT   twelve
Jesus finished giving orders to his twelve apprentices' (NT 137)

These are typical subject control configurations, with aspectual matrix verbs and non-finite complements with anaphoric tense. The matrix verb and the embedded gerund are either adjacent, as in (41a), or are separated by the matrix subject, as in (41b). The latter word order is predictable, since Old Romanian is VSO, so this is not an ECM configuration.

There is no evidence for an articulated CP field in these gerund clauses: there is no spell out for Force, and no data with fronting to Topic or Focus. However, we can tell that the verb moves to Fin, since it precedes the clitics, as in (8a), repeated in (42).

(42)   *nu   înceta   învăţându*-i
not   stopped   teaching=them
he did not stop teaching them' (Coresi EV {454})

Accordingly, we conclude that these gerunds derive a truncated FinP structure, which is the default clausal structure in OC configurations in Old and Modern Romanian (see Chapter 1).

The gerund is not the typical complementation option for Old Romanian aspectual verbs, which prefer the infinitive. In fact, the option for the gerund seems to be related to formulaic use, since *înceta* 'stop' will predictably occur with the gerund if the selected verb is *învăţa* 'teach', whereas *săvârşi* 'finish' is usually followed by the gerund form of *grăi* 'talk'. The construction is unproductive in later texts and was lost in standard Modern Romanian.

3.3.2. Verbs of perception and knowledge
One possible configuration with gerund complements is that derived by verbs of perception (e.g., *vedea* 'see'; *audzi* 'hear') and knowledge (e.g., *afla* 'find out/realize'; *cunoaşte* 'understand/know'), which are transitive and may select either a DP as in (43) or a CP, as in (44). The default options for a CP complement in these contexts are indicative clauses headed by *că* or *cum* 'that', as in (44b), or a small clause/past participle, as in (44c), rather than the gerund CP in (44a).[75]

(43) a.   *vădzând   şi-ntr-aceastea   [răbdarea   ei   şi   ne-nduplecarea]*   **DP**
seeing   also-in-these   patience.the   her   and   determination.the
'seeing also in these her patience and determination' (Dosoftei VS{4v})

(44) a.   *vădzând   svântul   împărat   [**turburând**   iriticii   svânta*   **CP**-gerund
seeing   saint.the   emperor   disturbing   heretics.the   saint.the
besearică   a   lui   Dumnădzău]
church   of   the   God
'the saintly emperor seeing the heretics disturbing God's holy church'

_____
[75] For a detailed and formal discussion of perception/knowledge verbs with small clause complements we refer the reader to Irimia (2012), where such constructions are treated as *secondary predicates*.

b. *deaca* *vădzu* *ighemonul* *[că-i* *batgiocureaşte* *muncile]* **CP**-indic
   when saw.3 king.the that=to.him disrespects deeds.the
   'when the king saw that he disrespects his deeds,…' (Dosoftei VS {5r})

c. *deaca* *o vădzu* *Simplichie* *[cu* *totul* *sănătoasă]* **SmClause**
   when her=saw.3 Simplice with entirely healthy
   'when Simplice saw her healthy and well,…' (Dosoftei VS {20v})

In (44a), we can see that the gerund CP is full-fledged, because it can license its own subject: the underlined subjects in the matrix and embedded clauses are different. The post-verbal position of the embedded subject and lack of Differential Object Marker and of clitic doubling also indicate that this is not an ECM configuration, but a regular ForceP/CP where the embedded T can license subjects with Nominative Case. The post-verbal embedded subject may have an information focus reading, as further seen in (45).

(45) a. *să vădzu* *[la* *scaun* *de giudeţ* ***şedzând*** *straşnic* *şi* *slăvit*
   REFL=saw.3SG on throne of judgment sitting tremendous and glorified
   împărat *în* *scaun]*
   emperor on throne
   'it was seen that, at the house of judgment, a tremendous and glorified emperor was sitting on the throne' (Dosoftei VS {149r}

b. *ş-aflară* ***puind*** *scările* ***slovacii*** *să* *dea-n* *cetate*
   and-found.3PL putting ladders.the Slovaks.the SUBJ give.SUBJ.3-in fort
   'and they discovered the Slovaks rising ladders to enter the fort'(Dosoftei VS {87v})

c. *căci că* *vedea* *dracii* *[multe* *şi* *minunate* *ciudese*
   for that saw.3 devils.the many and splendid wonders
   fãcând ***Domnul*** ***Hristos]***
   doing Lord.the Christ
   'for the devils saw that the Lord Christ did many and splendid wonders'
   (Varlaam C {237v})

The ForceP status of the gerund clause in (45) is supported by the possibility of fronting to Topic, as in (45a, c), which indicates a derivation beyond FinP. However, such constructions were not productive in Old Romanian, and in fact, we could not find any similar configurations in the *Moldavian Chronicles*, which suggests that they must have been eliminated from the grammar some time during the Old Romanian period.[76]

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[76] Modern Romanian selects a regular full-fledged CP *că* 'that'- indicative in these contexts, as in (44b).

There is another type of construction derived by perception and knowledge verbs that involves gerund clauses and that is productive in Old Romanian (and is preserved as such in Modern Romanian). This alternative pattern is illustrated in (46).

(46) a. *deacă   vădzu   **pre-mpăratul** **ieşindu**-i   nainte   cu   cinste*
      when   saw.3SG   DOM-king.the   coming=to.him   forward   with   honour
      'when he saw the king coming to welcome him with honour' (Dosoftei VS {76v})

   b. ***îl*** *aflară   în   biserică   **îmvățând**   nărodul*
      him=found   in   church   teaching   crowd.the
      'they discovered him in the church teaching the crowd'(BB {157v})

In these constructions, what looks like the subject of the embedded verb surfaces in the matrix, as the direct object of the matrix verb, as indicated by the Differential Object Marker in (46a) and by the Accusative Case form of the clitic pronoun *îl* 'him' in (46b). Hence, some linguists assumed that these are ECM configurations (Avram 2003; Niculescu 2013).

However, an alternative analysis is possible, if we follow the tests in Cinque (1992): Cinque points out that the Italian construction in (47) can have three underlying structures: (i) V selects DP, and CP is a (pseudo)-relative adjoined to DP; (ii) V selects DP, and the CP is an adverbial adjunct to VP; (iii) V selects CP, and the DP moves to the matrix clause (ECM/RtoO).

(47) *Ho   visto Mario che   correva   a   tutta   velocità.*
     have.1SG   seen Mario that   ran   at   all   speed
     'I saw Mario running at full speed.'

Configuration (i) arises when the matrix verb selects the DP *Mario* modified by the *che*-clause. *Mario* and the *che*-clause can move as one constituent in tests, for the purpose of clefting, fronting to Topic or passivization. This configuration is labelled a *pseudo-relative*.

Configuration (ii) arises if the matrix verb selects the DP *Mario* as its direct object, while the *che*-clause is adjoined to VP, as an adverbial clause. In this structure, *che* can be replaced with adverbial items, such as 'when', 'because' etc.

Finally, configuration (iii) arises if the matrix verb selects a CP as its direct object. In this case, the DP *Mario* is the subject of the embedded clause and undergoes ECM. In these constructions, there is obligatory adjacency between the matrix verb and the embedded subject, since Accusative Case checking requires a local V-DP relation. Furthermore, adjacency between the Accusative DP and the gerund is also expected, since ECM contexts require truncated CPs, without left-peripheries, so there cannot be fronting to Topic or Focus.

Along these lines, the Old Romanian gerunds that occur after a perception verb qualify as adverbial adjuncts as is also the case in Modern Romanian (Alboiu & Hill 2015).[77] While we

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[77] Alboiu & Hill (2015) show that, in Romanian, perception verbs can derive a construction with Raising-to-Object across a full-fledged *că* 'that' CP (i.e. no ECM). We illustrate it in (i) but do not discuss it in the chapter since it does not involve a gerund form.

(i) *Apoi,   a doa   dzi,   dacă   **au vădzutŭ**   chihaia   veziriului   **pre***
   then   the next day   when   has=seen   officer.the   vizir.the.GEN   DOM
   Costin   postelnicul *că   au venitu   dez-dimeneața iară înaintea lui,   au dzis*
   Costin   chamberlain.the   that   has=come   very-morning again before him   has=said

cannot replicate all the tests without recurring to Modern Romanian, we can eliminate configurations (i) and (iii) based on available data.

More precisely, a construction as in (48a) is, in principle, ambiguous as to the location of the DP with DOM: the DP may be the sister of matrix V or in the Spec,FinP of the gerund. Both positions allow for matrix V to assign it Accusative Case. However, variations encountered in texts suggest that the DP is associated with the matrix verb, not with the embedded verb. For example, in (48b) the gerund is coordinated with an indicative clause, so the Accusative Case marked DP cannot be the subject of the indicative complement. Also, in (48c), the DP with DOM is followed by an indicative clause for which it does not qualify as a subject. Crucially, since the indicative clause is interchangeable with a gerund, the Accusative DP is never part of the gerund clause.

(48) a. *Ce*   *Ermioni*   *vădzând*   ***pre***   ***Domnul***   ***Hristos***   *şedzând*   *în scaun*
      but   Hermiona   seeing   DOM   Lord.the   Christ   sitting   on throne
      în   *chipul*   *lui Petronie,*   *întărindu-o*   *şi*   *îmbărbătând*   *întru*
      in   likeness   of Petronius   strengthening=her   and   encouraging   in
      nemică,   *nu băga*   *samă*   *bătăile.*
      nothing   not paid.3   heed   beatings.the
      'But Hermiona seeing the Lord Christ sitting in the chair in the likeness of Petronius, strengthening and encouraging her not to give up, did not pay heed to the beatings.'
                      (Dosoftei VS {7r})

   b. *unde*   *văd*   ***toate***   ***făpturile***   *întregindu-se,*   *şi*   *iară*   ***învie***
      where   see.3PL   all   beings.the   remaking=REFL   and   again   live.3PL
      'where they see all the creatures being reborn and alive again' (Coresi EV {144})

   c. *că*   *văzură*   ***pre***   ***ei***   *că*   *nu-i*   *priimi*   *Dumnezeu*
      for   saw.3PL   DOM   them   that   not=them   received.3SG   God
      de   *ce*   *vrea*   *ei*
      for   what   want.3   they
      'for they saw that God did not accept them as they wanted' (Coresi EV {93})

We infer from these observations that the DP with DOM is the direct object of the matrix verb, and that the gerund or the substitutable clauses are adverbial adjuncts. The adverbial configuration maintains the direct evidential value of the perception verb.[78]

     'Then, the next day, when the vizir's officer saw chamberlain Costin coming yet again before him early in the morning, he said…. ' (Costin 1979: 79)

[78] In Modern Romanian, the adjunct status of the gerund CP is also proven by extraction tests: when 'see' selects a CP indicative complement as in (i), extraction is grammatical, as in (ii); when 'see' is construed with a gerund, as in (iii), extraction is ruled out, as in (iv). Hence, the gerund CP shows islands constraints, which should not apply if the gerund were a selected small clause with an ECM subject (for further discussion see Alboiu & Hill 2015).

   (i)   *Ai*   *văzut*   *că*   *vinde*   *Maria*   *toate*   *cărţile.*
         have.2SG=   seen   that   sells   Maria   all   books.the
         'You saw that Maria is selling all the books.'
   (ii)   *Ce-ai*   *văzut*   *că*   *vinde*   *Maria?*
         what=have.2SG   seen   that   sells   Maria
         'What have you seen Maria selling?'
   (iii)   *Ai*   *văzut-o*   *pe*   *Maria*   *vânzând*   *toate*   *cărţile.*

Confirmation for this analysis comes from data showing that the relevant DP does not observe adjacency to matrix V or to the embedded gerund. There are at least two such situations in the texts: First, (49), repeated from (46b), shows a locative ('in the church') construed with the matrix verb and preceding the gerund. This should interfere with Accusative Case checking from matrix V if the construction were ECM (Felser 1999: 93).[79]

(49) **îl** *aflară*   *[în bisearică]* **îmvăţând**   *nărodul*
      him=found.3PL   in church   teaching   crowd.the
      'they discovered him in the church teaching the crowd'(BB {157v})

Second, the examples in (50) show constituents in A-bar position in the left periphery of the gerund clause. This should interfere with any A-related Agree relationship between matrix v and the embedded subject, be it in pseudo-relatives or ECM complements. Adjacency is a requirement for both configurations (Cinque 1992).

(50) a. *vădzând* **pre** **un bubos**   *cu*   *lepră*   *[[lângă*
       seeing   DOM a boils.ridden.man with leper   beside
       vadul   *cetăţii]*   **dzăcând]**
       ditch.the   fort.the.GEN   lying
       'seeing a man ridden with leper boils lying beside the ditch of the fort'
                              (Dosoftei VS 182v)
     b. *vădzându-***i**$_k$ *Maxim*$_i$ *şi* *alţi* *elini*$_i$ *[[aşea* *cu* *slavă]* **ducându-**i$_j$]
       seeing=them Maxim and other Greeks so   with glory carrying=them
       'Maxim$_i$ and other Greeks$_i$ seeing them$_k$ as they$_k$ carried them$_j$ with so much glory'
                              (Dosoftei VS {141r})

We take these data to confirm that constructions with perception verbs and an Accusative DP (whether lexical DP and/or clitic pronoun) can only combine with gerund adverbial adjuncts and not with gerund complements. Recall, however, that perception verbs in Old Romanian (not in Modern Romanian) can select a gerund complement clause, but these only license Nominative subjects, as in (44b). Hence, ECM is never involved in these constructions.

3.4. Section summary

The cartographic tests presented in this section indicate that Old Romanian gerund clauses occur in root and adjunct contexts (the latter including constructions with verbs of perception and knowledge), while they are rare and unproductive in argumental positions. As the distribution of non-finite clauses (including gerunds) in argumental positions entails the presence of a nominal ([D]) feature in addition to the [V] feature of the clausal head, we may conclude that such distribution was not typically successful for Old Romanian gerunds because they are

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       have.2SG=   seen=her   DOM   Maria   selling   all   books.the
       'You saw Maria selling all the books.'
  (iv)   *?Ce-ai   *văzut-o*   *pe*   *Maria*   *vânzând?*
       what=have.2SG   seen=her   DOM   Maria   selling
[79] Felser (1999: 93) shows that a strict adjacency requirement holds between a matrix perception verb and the ECM post-verbal DP, as in (i), where the adverbial phrase rules out the sentence.
       (i)   *We saw **very clearly** him win(ning) the race.

strongly [V] categories. Therefore, in those cases where a perception verb allows for a complement CP with a gerund, this must be by analogy with the indicative (i.e. here the gerund functions as an indicative as per root clauses). This account also explains why gerund CPs are lost as complements in Modern Romanian, which also lost the root gerunds.

The internal structure of a gerund clause projects a fully-fledged CP domain (i.e. up to ForceP) in both root and adjuncts clauses. Within this structure, gerunds can license Nominative subjects, have independent tense values, and show V-to-Fin movement. However, Old Romanian also shows traces of V-to-T movement in configurations with the clausal negation *nu* (instead of *ne*-), and proclitics instead of enclitics. Accordingly, two questions arise: (i) what is the significance of the examples with V-to-T instead of V-to-Fin? and (ii) why are adjunct gerunds preserved so well in Modern Romanian, whereas root gerunds have been lost? The next section attempts to answer both questions.

4. Analysis

The cartographic assessment of the previous section provides the basis on which we build a formal analysis. We argue that both root and adjunct gerunds need an operator to value the clause typing of Force, but that the source for this operator is different: speech act pragmatics for root gerund clauses versus syntax for adjunct clauses. Only the latter clause typing operator has been preserved.

4.1. The features of T and their underspecification

One finding of the cartographic tests was that the gerund verb could target two positions for its movement: Fin, predominantly; or T, occasionally. As V-to-T is relatively easier to find in the early texts than in the *Moldavian Chronicles* (only one example in the latter), we assume that this was an archaic configuration that was gradually replaced by V-to-Fin.[80] The fact that V-to-T occurs in old folk ballads, where the word order is hard to change because of the rhyme and rhythm, also supports this sequence on the timeline. [81]

If we are on the right track, then we need to understand what triggered the change from T to Fin as the target of verb movement in gerunds. In this respect, we take a further look at the functional features associated with T and Fin, to clarify what the theoretical predictions would be and how they are implemented for Old Romanian.

As mentioned in previous chapters, in Rizzi's (1997, 2004) system, Fin is the head associated with finiteness and modality. D'Alessandro & Ledgeway (2010) further refine this definition, by showing that Fin encodes semantic modality (i.e., [modal] in this book), whereas the grammatical [mood] feature is associated with T (versus Fin), since it belongs to the inflectional properties of the verb. Accordingly, the fact that the gerund verb has the inflectional mood mark –*ind* is irrelevant for the level of verb movement to C as this is a feature of T. In particular, following D'Alessandro & Ledgeway, [T GER] would not automatically entail V-to-

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[80] We do not claim that the Latin gerund was analyzed in T in the Romanization phase (that cannot be proven), but that a V-to-T construction existed in the pre-attested period (i.e., before the 16th century).

[81] While folk ballads were collected in volumes starting with the 19th century (Gabinschi 2010), there is no way to measure the antiquity of these creations, which were transmitted for centuries, orally and unchanged, from generation to generation.

Fin. In general, when V-to-Fin takes place, it is triggered by a feature in Fin (e.g., *(ir)realis*, (non)-finite, not by the features of T. The presence of grammatical mood, however, is of no immediate consequence for the modality feature of Fin.

In minimalism, T has an intrinsic [tense] feature, and may also inherit phi-features and an EPP feature from phasal C (i.e., Force in cartography), which allows T to check the Case of a DP subject (Chomsky 2008). According to D'Alessandro & Ledgeway, a [mood] feature must also be included in T. Furthermore, if we encode the entire inflectional field through T, as we do here, then [aspect] needs also to be included in the feature cluster on T. Briefly, T is associated with phi-features and EPP by inheritance from C, but is intrinsically responsible for the TAM system. The TAM features on T need checking and valuation (in terms of Pesetsky & Torrego 2007), so they probe the verb, which provides valuation through its inflectional marking when present.

In configurations with root indicatives, the checking and valuation of TAM features take place when the verb moves to T, as V has intrinsic values for these properties (i.e. indicative inflectional endings), as we show in section 4.4. This is why root indicatives are by default [+tense]. This, however, cannot be the case for root gerunds, where only the grammatical [mood] is valued as *gerund*, while [aspect] and [tense] are checked by gerund V-to-T but remain unvalued prior to Spell-Out since gerunds do not inflect for these categories.

One assumption would be that gerund T has no [tense] or [aspect] at all, and that the interpretation in this respect depends on the matrix T (e.g., anaphoric tense). However, such an assumption is falsified by the data, because there are clear differences in the interpretation for tense and aspect values, with both root and adjunct gerund CPs, as we saw in (27) and (31), respectively. The variation in aspectual values, along the same lines, is shown in (51): in (51a) the matrix verb has a present progressive interpretation, whereas the relevant adjunct gerund has a present perfect reading; likewise, in (51b), the matrix verb is punctual in the past, whereas the gerund has a past perfect interpretation.

(51) a. *căci de multe ori un stăpân vrând să-ş dea* **Pres. Perfect**
for of many times a lord wanting SUBJ=REFL give
*acaretul său la altul în chirie, **nemaiprimind** pe acel*
asset.the his to another in rent not.more. accepting DOM that
dintâiu chiriaş, el cu cuvântul de protimisis
first tenant he with word.the of promising
să înpotriveşte chiar voinţii stăpânului
REFL=contests even will.the.DAT lord.the.DAT
'for, many times, when a landlord wants to rent out his assets to another person, after having denied it to his former tenant, he (the former tenant) contests even the landlord's will on the basis of the promisory agreement.' (Prav.Cond. {209})

b. *Isus **nefiind** acolo, însă ca un văzătoriu şi* **Past Perfect**
Jesus not.being there but as a visionary and
ştiutoriu de toate, grăi ucenicilor
informed of all said apprentices.the.DAT
'although Jesus had not been there, as a visionary and well informed person he still addressed his apprentices' (PO {100})

This path of analysis amounts to saying that gerund T has [tense] and [aspect] features, which are checked by V-to-T, but receive their value contextually (i.e. in the semantic, rather than the syntactic component). In other words, these features are underspecified.

Independent proof for TAM feature underspecification on gerund T comes from constructions with predicate clefting, as in (52).

(52)   **_Dând_**   _să-i_   <u>_dai_</u>   _lui_   _şi_   **_împrumutândŭ_**   _să_
         giving   SUBJ=to.him   give.2SG   to.him   and   lending   SUBJ
         <u>_împrumutezi_</u>   _pre_   _el_   _oricâtu-i_   _va trebui_   _de_   _la tine_
         lend.2SG   DOM   him   much=to.him   will.3SG=need   from   at you
         'As for giving, give him, and as for lending, lend him as much as he needs from you'
                      BB {LegeaIICapXV}

Predicate clefting fronts the V(P) for focus/topic purposes, with a copy of the V(P) in clause-internal position (Abels 2001; Roberts 2010: 198 a.o.). Importantly, Roberts (2010) points out that, while the clause-internal copy is fully inflected for TAM values, the fronted verb must be realized in a *default* form (see also Landau 2006). Therefore, (52) demonstrates that the Old Romanian gerund is an underspecified *default* form, which explains its plurifunctionality. Its underspecification does not, however, account for how the gerund acquires the various values for tense and aspect.

The tense and aspect values for the gerund come from context, not from inflectional morphology. It is, then, necessary to understand how contextual valuation can be implemented. Since inflectional morphology is out of the question, some other mechanism must be at work that makes up for the inflectional deficiency.

4.2. The features of Fin and Force

Fin selects T, so the properties of T reflect directly on the properties of Fin. Thus, the various tense values observed in root and adjunct clauses signal the presence of [+tense] on gerund T, which means that Fin is necessarily [+finite] (in the sense that the embedded T has independent versus anaphoric tense values), despite the non-finite inflection of the verb form. In principle, Fin [+finite] is compatible with both *realis* and *irrealis* modality; the actual modal value depends on the clause typing feature of Force, which selects Fin: declarative Force selects Fin [realis]; imperative Force selects Fin [irrealis] and so does conditional Force. Crucially, the selectional mechanism (i.e., Force selects Fin; Fin selects T) must be identical for indicative CPs and gerund CPs in similar contexts (i.e., root and when selected by perception verbs) or else these, following Adger & Smith (2005), could not be used interchangeably.

On the basis of this theoretical outlook, we can now argue that the factor which allows for gerund T to have a [+tense/aspect] feature is ultimately related to the clause typing feature of Force. In this respect, we have to identify how the checking and valuation of this feature takes place in root indicatives and in root gerunds.

The standard situation for root clauses is that Force is unmarked in declaratives but marked for any other clause type. Thus, in root indicatives, the unmarked declarative Force is not associated with a clause typing features. The absence of a syntactic mapping for [declarative] Force triggers the default valuation of Fin [+finite], [+ realis], and of T [+tense/aspect] by the indicative morphology of V in T. In non-declarative root clauses (imperative, interrogative,
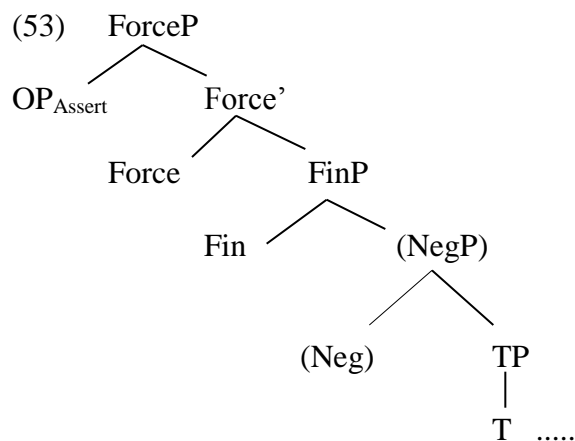
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exclamative), the clause typing feature is mapped to Force, generally by an operator, and is made visible through V-to-C, or the merging of specific complementizers, or in some other way (e.g., *wh*-movement).

Root gerunds fall in-between these two derivational mechanisms: they are declarative, but need to have their Force head marked, because V in T cannot provide the needed feature valuation. This is not a problem for adjunct gerunds, where there is operator movement to Force (e.g., in peripheral adverbial clauses; Haegeman 2010b), and any unselected Force automatically assigns a [+finite] value to Fin. The problem arises only for root gerunds, where there is no operator movement to Force. Hence, it means that the illocutionary force that yields the interpretation of the root gerund as declarative needs to be somehow encoded as a clause typing feature on the respective Force head.

4.3. The Assertion Operator

In semantics, Meinunger (2004) shows that root clauses are split between illocutionary Force and propositional content. He argues that declaratives with indicative verbs have the illocutionary Force realized through an Assertion Operator (Assert OP) in Spec, ForceP that takes the structured proposition as its argument. Hence, we infer that if an Assert OP is present in the semantic component of declaratives with indicatives, it must also be present in the equivalent root gerunds.

Refining on Meinunger, we suggest that root indicatives are parsed as declaratives by default (i.e. in the absence of any operator syntactically present in ForceP) since their Fin is intrinsically [+finite] and [+realis] and valued from V in T. However, since gerunds are underspecified for their tense/aspect values, an Assert OP must obligatorily map to syntax in these cases. In other words, root gerunds need explicit declarative clause typing, which can only be a consequence of merging the Assert OP in their Spec, ForceP, as shown in (53).

(53)   ForceP

OP_Assert   Force'

          Force   FinP

              Fin   (NegP)

                  (Neg)   TP
                              |
                              T   .....

In (53) the Assert OP takes scope over Fin and T and, crucially, binds Fin as [+finite], [+realis]. In other words, Assert OP makes possible the pragmatic/contextual valuation of the Fin/T system in the root gerund, as detailed in section 4.4 below, and explains the possibility of root gerunds with V-to-T: what values Fin in these contexts is the Assert OP rather than verb movement.

4.4. Feature valuation

In Old and Modern Romanian, tense and aspect are syncretic, and should therefore be discussed as a cluster on T. Hence, when we discuss the checking and valuation of tense below, we include [aspect] in the equation. With respect to tense and aspect features, Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) assume that interpretability and valuation are two distinct properties: both interpretable and uninterpretable features need to be valued. Thus, the [+tense] feature is interpretable but unvalued, and so acts as a probe targeting the finite lexical verb, which has an uninterpretable tense (uT). Tense valuation obtains from the intrinsic values on V (i.e. indicative inflectional endings), as in (54).

(54)   ...Tense ..... [v finite]   =>   ... Tense ...... [v finite]
        iT [ ] ..... uT + value   =>   ... iT [√] ..... uT̶ + value

With gerunds, the verb is not inflectionally specified for a Tense value, so is incapable of valuing iT [ ]. Hence, temporal deixis is acquired contextually, via Assert OP > Fin, and valuation in (55) is pragmatic, not syntactic.

(55)   ...Tense ..... [v]   =>   ... Tense ...... [v]
        iT [ ] ..... uT   =>   ... iT [√] ..... uT̶

The feature checking system in (54) and (55) offers an explanation for temporal/aspectual valuation in both gerunds and indicatives, hence their free variation.

The analysis proposed so far and the diagramme in (53) essentially advocate that clause typing operators that map illocutionary Force with propositional arguments come with a certain set of values for the features of Fin (i.e., [+finite], [+realis] for Assert OP). The inference is that clause typing operators that do not map illocutionary Force will not be able to mediate the pragmatic checking/valuation of their T. This is the case with the interrogative operator, which maps various kinds of Focus (exclusivity; alternatives; Krifka 2007), but no illocutionary Force. As predicted, there are no examples of root gerunds in interrogative clauses.

4.5. Adjunct versus root gerunds

Section 3 concluded that root and adjunct gerund clauses have the same underlying structure: they are ForcePs and display V-to-Fin most of time, and V-to-T occasionally. However, diachronically, their outcome is different: root gerunds disappeared, whereas adjunct gerunds remained productive. The question is why? In this section we argue that the clause typing feature of Force is different in adjunct and root clauses: Force in adjuncts may map functional features or operators, but not the illocutionary Force, as in root gerunds; these clause typing features were acquired differently by the learner.

First, in gerund relative clauses, the relative operator in ForceP can be visible upon extraction (Grosu 1994) or whatever other mechanism is responsible for the operator-variable chain involving the antecedent (Bhatt 1999). Second, operators are intrinsic to adverbial adjuncts as well. We follow Haegeman (2010b: 307, and earlier work), where two types of clauses are identified: *central* adverbial clauses, whose function is "to structure the event expressed in the associated main clause"; and *peripheral* adverbial clauses, which provide a

background proposition for the main clause event and are more root-like in that they have independent temporal deixis and clause typing. This is the class of adjuncts we surveyed in sections 2 and 3.

Central adjuncts are not propositional, so cannot have an illocutionary operator to begin with. Peripheral adjuncts, on the other hand, do instantiate Force and require relevant anchoring. Following Haegeman (2010b), who, in turn refers to Aboh's (2005) work on factives in Gungbe, this anchoring can be realized via an operator or via V-to-C. In Old Romanian, V-to-Fin co-occurs with the operator in Spec, ForceP; this co-occurrence is visible if we include the gerund relatives in the class of peripheral adjuncts. The important point is that the operators involved in peripheral adverbial gerunds or conditionals are of the *wh*-type ('where', 'when', 'how' etc.), and are thus obligatorily merged, irrespective of whether the verb form is finite or non-finite. They are, thus, semantically and syntactically different from the operators that map the declarative illocutionary force in root clauses.

4.6. Variation and change

The tests and analysis proposed in this chapter suggest a diachronic shift as in (56) for Romanian gerunds, in both root and adjunct CPs.

(56)　(i)　　pre-16th c.:　　V-to-T
　　　(ii)　　OR:　　　　　V-to-Fin; V-to-T
　　　(iii)　　MR:　　　　　V-to-Fin

The list in (56) presents the gerund as initially targeting T, whose features were pragmatically valued, as enabled by (53) to (55). The pattern in (i) was established on the basis of a few examples (and their chronology) by a backwards recasting of the switching pattern in verb movement. Since, in Old Romanian, V-to-T is rare, while V-to-Fin is preferred, this indicates that the target for verb movement is changing to Fin. Thus, Old Romanian is a system in transition, with later stages allowing only for V-to-Fin. Why the change?

We suggest that the explanation resides in the weak evidence for pragmatic feature checking of tense and aspect in gerunds, and to the non-lexical status of Assert OP, which, moreover, alternates with lack of an operator in the declarative indicatives (so, again, no overt evidence). Thus, as the evidence for its presence was always weak, it was readily lost and V-to-Fin arises as an attempt to syntactically (instead of pragmatically) check and value the features of the Fin/T system throughout. This entails loss of the gerund being used with an indicative function as only V-to-Fin cannot recover the semantics of indicatives.

The discussion so far has paid attention to change. However, it is important to note that change occurred in the presence of free alternation between constructions with equivalent output: root gerunds were in free alternation with root indicatives; adjunct gerunds were in free alternation with indicative and conditional adjuncts; gerund imperatives were in free alternation with true imperatives and other surrogate imperatives; gerund complements to perception verbs were in free alternation with indicative complements. Ultimately, the change reflects the speaker's preference to the point where one option is completely lost and, typically, that is the more marked option. For gerunds, 'more marked' refers not only to the syntactic status, but also to sociolinguistic factors, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

In this respect, we follow Adger & Smith (2005), who argue that intra-speaker variation follows from a system where competing syntactic derivations yield different Spell-Outs with identical semantics. The option for one derivation rather than its alternate is assigned in this study to sociolinguistic considerations (e.g., language register; code-switching). For our case study, Edelstein (1972) reports that, by the 19th century, the use of root gerunds or of too many gerunds, in general, was socially ridiculed, as a sign of backwardness. There is no doubt that this contributed to the loss of the root gerund: if such constructions were not sufficiently present in the input for language acquisition, then misanalysis is expected from the learner.

5. Conclusions

This chapter surveyed the gerund clauses of Old Romanian texts. It was shown that gerund clauses qualify mostly as adjunct (including relatives, adverbials, conditional protasis) and root, with few instances of clausal complements. The preponderance of adjunct and root gerunds was attributed to the strong [V] feature of these constructions, which is a pervasive claim in traditional linguistic studies on Old Romanian, and which reflects their Latin ancestry. Thus gerunds are different from infinitive clauses, the latter being able to occur as arguments.

The main peculiarity of the Old Romanian gerund is the possibility to occur in free variation with indicatives, as root declaratives, under coordination, or even as complements to perception verbs. Cartographic tests indicated that, with the exception of a few clausal complements, these constructions are full-fledged CPs, which predominantly display V-to-Fin, but also allow for V-to-T (here clausal negation is *nu* instead of *ne-*, and clitics are preverbal). The number of root gerunds is small compared to the number of adjunct gerunds: For example, the *Moldavian Chronicles* have about 22 examples of root gerunds compared to the hundreds of adjunct gerunds. Root gerunds are easier to find in earlier texts, which signals their phasing out from the language, a fact that has been completely achieved in Modern Romanian.

The formal analysis we developed capitalized on cartographic tests and on the semantic equivalence between root gerunds and root indicatives. Following Meinunger (2004), we proposed that an Assertion Operator is mapped to syntax in root gerunds (though not in root indicatives). The Assertion OP scopes over the proposition and binds Fin-T, ensuring a [+finite, +realis] valuation. We further argued that the null and marked nature of this feature-checking mechanism led to its eventual loss in Romanian.

Adjunct gerunds submitted to cartographic tests were also analyzed as full-fledged CPs. Although adjunct gerunds are CPs on a par with root gerunds, and equally have null operators, the nature of these operators is different (e.g., *wh* versus illocutionary force) so they fared differently in diachrony.

Chapter 6: *DE* – indicatives: A faithful replica of the Balkan subjunctive

1. **The underspecification of *de***
   Evidence for complete semantic bleaching of the complementizer *de*.

2. **Text search and history**
   - No information on the chronology of clausal complements
   - Inferences are drawn on the basis of syntactic patterns.

3. **The properties of *de*-indicative complements**
   3.1. Complementary distribution between *că* 'that' and *de* 'to'.
   3.2. Free alternation with infinitives and subjunctives
   3.3. Anaphoricity and modality

4. **Tests**
   Cartographic tests showing that *de* merges in Fin.

5. **Analysis**
   De-indicative complements replicate the pattern of the Balkan subjunctive; their loss is related to an exclusive truncated derivation.
   5.1. C-related features: *de* spells out [-finite] in Fin1 but not [modal] in Fin2
   5.2. The elimination of *de*-indicative complements: *de* is gradually and completely dissociated from the [clause typing] feature of Force.
   5.3. Diachronic change: only truncated *de*-indicative complements survive in informal varieties of Modern Romanian.
   5.4. Balkan subjunctives: *de*-indicatives arise more or less at the time when infinitives were replaced with subjunctives in the other Balkan languages.

6. **Conclusions**

This chapter focuses on an Old Romanian clausal complement, where the complementizer is *de,* and the verb is in the indicative mood, as shown in (1).

(1) *au scris   singur,   dintru a   sa   ştiinţă,   cât   s-au tâmplat*
     has=written alone   from   the his knowledge all   REFL=has=happened
     [de   au fost   în   viiaţa   sa.]
     DE   has=been   in   life.the his
     'he wrote unaided, drawing on his own knowledge, about all that happened to pass during his life time.' (Neculce 104)

De-indicatives may occur in free alternation with subjunctive and infinitive clauses, as in (2), where the matrix verb is the same but the type of clausal complement varies.[82]

(2) a. *s-au apucat   [să   întoarcă   banii   vistearnicului]*   **subjunctive**
         REFL=has=started SUBJ return.SUBJ.3 money.the   treasurer.the.DAT
         'he started to return the money to the treasurer'   (DRH 546)

    b. *de   atunce   s-au apucat   [de   să ţine   această*   **indicative**
        since then   REFL=has=started   DE   REFL=hold.3   this
        sărbătoare   a   svintei   cruci]
        feast   of saint.the.GEN   cross.GEN
        'And since then this feast of the holy cross started to be held.' (Dosoftei VS {18ʳ})

    c. *Ori   de ce   să apucă   cineva   [a   face],   începeri*   **infinitive**
        any   of what   REFL=starts someone   INF do   beginnings
        'Beginnings: whatever someone starts to do.' (Cantemir I.1705)

Furthermore, *de*-indicative complements can co-occur with a *să*-subjunctive complement under coordination, as in (3).

(3) *Şi   a   doa   dzî   învăţă   de   spândzurară   pre   dascăl*
     and   the   second day   instructed.3SG DE   hanged.3PL   DOM   teacher
     şi   să-l   biciuiască   cu   vine   crude;   şi   cuconii
     and   SUBJ=him   flog.SUBJ.3   with twigs   raw   and   pupils.the
     tot   câte   unul   i-au întrebat   leapădă-să   de Hristos
     also   each   one   them=has=asked   renounce.3=REFL   of Christ
     şi   de   dascalul   lor.
     and   of   teacher.the   their
     'And the following day he gave them instructions to hang the teacher and to flog him with raw twigs; and he asked the pupils one by one whether they renounce Christ and their teacher.' (Dosoftei VS {6r})

For configurations as in (1), we argue that: (i) *de*-indicatives have the same underlying structure

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[82] When selected, *de*-indicative clauses function either as subject clauses, as in (1), with the impersonal 'SE happen', or as complement clauses, as in in (2a, c). Since we are not concerned here with this distinction, we refer to all *de*-infinitives in argumental positions as *clausal complements*.

as Balkan subjunctives (see discussion in section 2 and analysis in section 5); (ii) they are structurally equivalent to *a*-infinitive and *să*-subjunctive complements (with which they can be coordinated); and (iii) in Modern Romanian, they have been replaced by the other clausal complements, concurrently with the elimination of *de* from complementizer positions.

1. The underspecification of *de*

The first point to clarify is the functional and semantic status of *de*, which is the element introducing the indicative complement. In a nutshell, *de* is completely desemanticized, and has no lexical or functional specialization for one type of clause or another (see also Chapter 4).

In Old Romanian, *de* is used both in nominal and in verb based constructions, as a P and as a non-finite C, respectively, which is unexceptional for a Romance language (e.g. Kayne 1994, 1999). What is peculiar to Old Romanian is the wide distribution of *de* as a complementizer, and more to the point of this chapter, the fact that it can be used as a complementizer for clauses with both finite and non-finite verb forms. This flexibility indicates that *de* is not an intrinsic marker for a certain feature or feature value. Basically, *de* is used as a wild card for the spell-out of any type of C. Thus, *de* occurs as: conditional complementizer, see (4b); relativizer, see (4c); preposition/complementizer in adverbial clauses, see in (4d)[83]; complementizer in selected declaratives or *yes-no* (indirect) interrogatives, see (4e) and (4f), respectively. Furthermore, as shown in (4a), *de* in Old Romanian is productively used in clause coordination (*de* is classified as a coordinating conjunction in Sava 2012; but as a complementizer preceded by a null coordinating conjunction in this book, see Chapter 4).

(4) a. *Pănă   până   când,   milostive,   nu-ţ   aduci   aminte,*
       until   when   merciful.the.VOC not=REFL   bring.2SG   to.mind
      [De   mă uiţ],   o,   Dumnezău   svinte?
      DE   me=forget.2SG   oh   God   saint.VOC
      'For how long will you, most Merciful one, not remember me, **and** keep forgetting me, o holy God?'   (Dosoftei PS {87})

   b. *şi   [de   nu   veţ întoarce   cătră   pocăinţă,]*
      and   DE   not   will.2PL=turn   towards   repentance
      Are   săgeţ   amână   scoase   din   tulbiţă
      has   arrows   at.hand   extracted   from   bag
      'and **if** you don't turn to repentance, he has the arrows ready at hand, out of his bag'
                    (Dosoftei PS {61})
   c. *Livanul   este   munte   unde   să face   tămâia   [de   cură*
      Livan.the   is   mountain   where   REFL=makes   incense   DE   heals
      ca   răşina   din   chedri.]
      like   resin.the   of   cedars
      'Lebanon is a mountain where they make the incense **that** heals like the resin of cedars.' (Dosoftei PS {195})

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[83] The status of *de* as P or C in adverbial clauses is unclear, since it occurs in complementary distribution with prepositions like *pentru* 'for' in these contexts. This distinction is not relevant for the foregoing discussion.

d. *Pănă i-am înfrântu-i*   *[de dederă dosul]*
until them=have.1=defeated=them DE gave.3PL back.the
'until I defeated them, **so that** they turned around' (Dosoftei PS{123})

e. *Pusără-ş ochii **de** mă omoară, şi cu pământul*
put.3PL=REFL eyes DE me=kill.3PL and with soil.the
mă împresoară
me=surround.3PL
'They planned **to** kill me and to bury me in soil.' (Dosoftei PS {107})

f. *şi noi să vedem [de ţi-i cu bine]*
and we SUBJ see.1PL DE to.you=is with well
'and we should see **whether** all is well for you' (Dosoftei PS {145})

All the examples in (4) come from the same 17th century text, so this wide range of distribution for *de* is not only synchronically available but also an intra-speaker variation fact. In these configurations, the reading on *de* (e.g., as 'if' or 'that' or 'so that' etc.) depends on the compositional meaning of the sentence, which is mainly contingent on the semantics of the matrix verb and its inflectional properties.[84]

Predictably, the compositional meaning may not always be helpful, and the clause typing value of the CP containing *de* can be ambiguous. There are many such examples, as sampled in (5), all from the same 17th century text.

(5) a. *Glasul Domnului împle pustia de frică,*
voice.the God.the.GEN fills wilderness.the with fear
[De să-ngrozeşte hiara şi carea-i mai mică]
DE REFL=takes.fright beast.the even which-is more small
'God's voice fills out the wilderness with fear, **and/so that** even the smallest beast takes fright.' (Dosoftei PS {189})

b. *Mare vârtute are svânta evanghelie, c-au străbătut*
great virtue has saint.the gospel that=has spread
[de-au biruit toată lumea]
DE=has conquered all world.the
'The gospel has great virtue, since it has spread **and** conquered the entire world//since it has managed **to** conquer the entire world' (Dosoftei PS {195})

c. *Ce te milostiveşte [de mă izbăveşte]*
but REFL=deign.IMP.2SG DE me=absolve.IMP.2SG

> *Cu   a   ta   bunătate   ce   ţî să vesteşte*
> with   the   your   goodness   that   to.you=REFL=proclaims
>
> 'But deign **and/to** absolve me with the goodness that is proclaimed of you.'
>   (Dosoftei PS {55})

d.   *şi   vei împărăţî-n   limbi   păgâne,*
      and   will.2SG=reign-in   tongues   pagans

      [De   li-i îmblânzi   cu   a   ta   pâne]
      DE   them=will.2SG=tame   with   the   your   bread

      'and will reign over pagan nations **which/so that/and** you will tame with your wafer'
                           (Dosoftei PS{155})

In (5a), the reading is ambiguous between a consecutive clause and a coordinated clause; in (5b), between clausal complementation and indicative coordination; in (5c) between imperative coordination and clausal complementation (see also Chapter 4 for *de*-imperatives); and in (5d), the *de* clause could be read as a relative, and adverbial (consecutive) or under coordination. Crucially, *de* itself is not helpful for sorting out the options.

On the basis of the examples in (1) to (5), we can now conclude that *de* has no semantic specification for a certain feature of C, but is completely bleached and used for spelling out any C feature, as needed for lexical visibility in any of these configurations. From an acquisition perspective, the semantic attrition of *de* is not a viable situation, as ambiguity triggers reanalysis, or recategorization, or elimination, the latter involving various forms of replacement (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 15). Thus, it is predictable that *de* will either be replaced (with a more specified item) or strongly specialized (resemanticized) towards Modern Romanian.

2. Text search and history

This section summarizes the information we gathered on the use of *de*-indicative complements in the Old Romanian texts. The highlights are as follows: (i) this construction is not productive in Old Romanian and is eliminated from standard Modern Romanian (though it still occurs in informal and archaic registers in some contexts); (ii) its use in deriving complex tenses indicates an advanced stage of reanalysis and grammaticalization; and (iii) its distribution indicates that it was phasing out from the language.

Insofar as *de*-indicative complements are concerned, the 16th century texts can be divided into two groups: those that do not show them at all versus those that have them. The first group contains religious incantations, psalms or biblical fragments produced by unknown translators.[85] The writing style of these texts is generally prone to root clauses, juxtaposition or coordination, with minimal use of subordination. When non-finite subordination occurs, subjunctives are preferred; *a*-infinitives also occur in some of these texts, but their use is not as productive as that of *să*-subjunctives, which occur not only in selected clauses, but often as imperatives and adjuncts (e.g., *Codicele Voroneţean*). In this group of texts, when *de*-indicatives occur, they are coordinated clauses or, sometimes, adjuncts, but we could not find them as complements.

The second group of texts, dating from the same period as the previous group, are those printed by Coresi (we searched Tetr.2; T.Ev; Ev.; PS SL; L), where *de*-indicatives are present in selected contexts as well as in coordinated constructions, relatives, conditionals, imperatives and

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[85] The texts we consulted are reproduced in *Crest* (Mareş 1994: 51-87).

a few adjunct clauses. In complement position, *de*-indicatives are selected by the following verbs: *cuteza* 'dare', *se lăsa* 'allow oneself to', *da* 'give (something) to be done', *face* 'make someone to do something', *apuca* 'manage to', *cădea* 'happen to', *sta* 'be on the point of'. However, the highest incidence of *de*-indicative complements in these texts is under selection by *fi* 'be', in modal/aspectual complex predicates as in (6).

(6) a. *Acela* **era** **de** **se duse** *în pustie* *şi* *se ruga.*
   that.one was DE REFL=went.3SG to wilderness and REFL=prayed
   'That one used to go into the wilderness and pray.' (Coresi Tetr.2 {123v})

  b. ***Fu*** ***de*** ***muri*** *mişelul*
    was DE died.3SG fiend.the
    'The fiend happened to die.' (Coresi Tetr.2 {157v})

  c. *Voi* **seţi** **de** **sânteţi** *cu* *mine* *în năpăştile* *meale*
    you.PL are.2PL DE are.2PL with me in blights.the my
    'Your lot in life is to be with me in my blights.' (Coresi Tetr.2 {171v})

In (6), the verb *fi* 'be' does not have an existential meaning but contributes grammatical information. Specifically, this 'be' is reanalyzed with the *de*-indicative as a modal/aspectual complex predicate, which, depending on the tense morphology on 'be', could indicate a habitual event (6a), a punctual event (6b), or deontic modality (6c). Crucially, the 'be'+ *de*-indicative predicate matches 'be'+ *a*-infinitives and 'be' + *să*-subjunctives, which also yield modal and aspectual readings (e.g., *era a-l crederea* 'was INF=it believe'/'it should be believed'; *era să vină* 'was SUBJ come.SUBJ.3'/'he was about to come'). The high productivity of this construction indicates that *de*-indicatives were, at the time, analyzed as reduced (truncated) configurations that underwent verb restructuring with *fi* 'be'(in terms of Roberts 1997). Typically, such restructuring occurs when a construction has been present in the language for a long time and its properties are "weakening" in a way we have yet to make precise.

   The other Romance Balkan languages do not seem to attest to the existence of *de*-indicative complements. In Old Romanian, however, this construction persists up to the end of the 18th century, so it is well represented in *Chronicles*. The important point is that although the construction is well represented, its distribution is drastically reduced. That is, in *Chronicles*, *de*-indicatives occur only with 'happen'-type raising verbs, aspectual and causative verbs, and in verb restructuring configurations, whereas in the texts of the 16th and 17th centuries, it could be found with a variety of verbs, in both restructured and non-restructured configurations, as we shall illustrate further in this chapter. Thus, we have to weigh the rare occurrence of *de*-indicative complements with a broad range of verbs in the 16th – 17th centuries against the higher occurrence of the same construction in the 18th century texts, but with a limited number of matrix verbs. Standard Modern Romanian has lost this construction, but it still appears in informal varieties and in the archaic language register, mostly after causatives, as in (6d).

(6) d. *A* *făcut-o* ***de**-a* *plâns.*
   has made-her DE-has cried.
   'He made her cry.'

In light of the philological studies that point to a pan-Balkan tendency of replacing the infinitives with the subjunctives (e.g., Sandfeld 1930/1968), especially in complement clauses, the data displayed in the 16th century texts seem to confuse the issue. More precisely, in the earliest texts, *să*-subjunctive complements are highly preferred over *a*-infinitives and *de*-indicatives even in texts where *de*-indicative complements occur. The *a*-infinitive and *de*-indicative complements are better represented in later texts, with the infinitives being preferred over *de*-indicatives. This situation may suggest that *să*-subjunctives were the oldest and the strongest option for clausal complementation in the language; *a*-infinitives occurred as their weak competition; while *de*-indicatives in selected contexts were recent innovations that failed to become entrenched in the grammar. The lack of *de*-indicative complements from other Romance Balkan languages may also support this view, the inference being that *de*-indicative complements appeared after the separation of these languages from the Common Romanian. Note that, along these lines, the hypothesis of infinitive replacement with subjunctive is problematic for Romanian: if *să*-subjunctive clauses are inherited directly from Latin[86], which is what this view implies (i.e., Lat. *si* + Lat.subjunctive)[87], then *a*-infinitive clauses are relatively more recent (i.e., arising from the Romanization process by which Lat. *ad* has been reanalyzed as an infinitive complementizer) and they succeeded in certain syntactic environments but not in others, where the subjunctives won the competition. Therefore, there is no replacement but rather a filtering out of a certain parametric setting, the latter involving a division of tasks in the grammar, instead of innovation and replacement of old constructions.

An alternative point of view, and the one we adopt in this book, is that the 16th century texts are too late to tell us anything about the chronology of the three types of clausal complements. That is, at the time of the earliest texts, the competition between the three options of clausal complements was very advanced, so the texts provide us with noisy data. In these texts, it is rather the case that the occurrence of one or another type of construction depends on the language register and the writing style. In particular, the subjunctive seems to be well established in the spoken language of the translators, and that is reflected in their writing. On the other hand, translations by a highly educated deacon, such as Coresi, display a more conservative and archaic language, in the same vein of the religious writings professionally practiced even today (who can find a *Bible* without archaic turns of phrases in it?). This is the language register in which *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives are well represented, alongside *să*-subjunctives. From this point of view, *de*-indicatives are old, to the point of having been lost from the grammar of the spoken language. Their complete absence from other Romance Balkan languages can also be motivated along the same lines: texts from these languages are dated later, and attest to a grammar from which *de*-indicatives have been long lost.

How plausible is the hypothesis that *de*-indicatives are older than *să*-subjunctives?

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[86] Ion Giurgea (personal communication).

[87] The current hypothesis is that Lat. *si* turns into Rom. *să*, which is first used as a conditional complementizer, with further reanalysis as a subjunctive complementizer, and that this reanalysis took place during the Old Romanian timeline (Frâncu 1969). The hypothesis sketched above counters this view, by implying that Lat. *si* has been reanalyzed as a subjunctive complementizer since Latin, in connection to the Latin subjunctive verb forms that have been partially inherited in Old Romanian; this development for *si* subjunctives is independent of and concurrent to the inheritance of the conditional complementizer *să*. Thus, the construction has continuity from Latin and may have preceded the emergence of the *a*-infinitives (e.g., there are relics of infinitive complements without *a* in texts, as shown in Chapter 7, but there are no relics of subjunctive complements without *să*). In this chapter, we point to evidence supporting Frâncu's approach.

One supporting argument concerns the structure: *de* is used as a particle that disables the tense property of the indicative, making it anaphoric; and the form of the verb is invariably indicative. This is a faithful replica of *da*-indicatives in Bulgarian, which are labeled as *subjunctive clauses*, on par with Greek *na*-indicatives (Terzi 1992). The identical pattern of clause organization signals a language contact induced change, as initially noticed in Procopovici (1948).[88] A formal analysis of the Balkan subjunctive is proposed at the end of this chapter.

This takes us to the second argument: a language contact induced change along these lines is possible only in a bilingual situation, which existed in the Danubian area between the 6th-10th centuries (during and shortly after the waves of Slavic invasions), but not later.[89] There is strong evidence for language contact induced changes in Romanian resulting from this bilingual situation, in the areas of vocabulary and phonology (Densuşianu 1901; Rossetti 1978). What we suggest here is that the impact was extended to syntax.[90]

The third argument relies on the distribution of *de*-indicatives: the low incidence of these constructions, and the remarkable shrinking of the class of verbs that selects them indicates a gradual elimination from the language, which is counterintuitive to a proposal of late emergence and immediate failure to spread: why would such innovation arise at all, when there was already a strong competition between subjunctives and infinitives in the language?

The point of view conveyed by these three arguments preserves the philological wisdom of the pan-Balkan replacement of infinitives (Joseph 1983; Hesseling 1892; MacRobert 1980; Tomić 2006): this process applied to Romanian as well, and on the same timeline as it applied to other Balkan languages. That is, *de*-indicatives emerged from borrowing a syntactic pattern that served to replace the weakening infinitive verbs (many of which are used as nouns in the 16th century texts). Crucially, the replaced infinitives were not the *a*-infinitives we see in the texts, but infinitives without complementizers, as inherited from Latin, and which, in Old Romanian, were recategorized as nouns (i.e., infinitives with the ending –*re*, such as *viiare* 'live', that occur directly under a matrix verb, such as is still the case in some Romance languages; e.g., It. *voglio vivere cosi* 'I want to live like this'). In fact, the emergence of *a*-infinitives may also be accounted for as a reaction to the generalized replacement process of –*re* infinitives, since the reanalysis of *a* as a complementizer allowed the structure to preserve a verbal categorization for the infinitive. This point will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. At this time, it suffices to say that the contrast between the productivity of *să*-subjunctives and the rarity of *de*-indicatives can

[88] Vrabie (2000) also argues for a language induced change, but he focuses on the use of *de* as a relativizer. Although we adopt the idea of a bilingual context with Bulgarian, we differ insofar as we do not think that the point is the actual borrowing of Bulg. *da* as *de* (the latter being freely available in Romanian from Latin inheritance) but the borrowing of the syntactic pattern in which *de* is merged. We also consider that the relevant bilingual context arose much earlier, chronologically, because syntactic borrowings occur under intensive and more generalized bilingualism, and that cannot be justified for Romania from the 11th century on.

[89] In the 6th century, the Slavs started to intensively invade the territories of the Roman Empire, in successive waves, for two centuries (Scheville 1971). Meantime, they settled to the North and the South of the Danube, practicing agriculture. While the highest concentration of settlements were to the South of the Danube, the sub-Carpathian settlements were also significant, the archeological sites indicating a population mix with the aboriginals; the aboriginal culture and language remained, however, dominant (e.g., unlike what happened to the South of the Danube; Fine 1991). This is the ideal setting for at least a couple of centuries of bilingualism.

[90] The replacement of infinitives with the subjunctive in Bulgarian was well on its way in the 9th century (MacRobert 1980), and that is the time when the bilingualism was active. Then, *de*-indicatives must have emerged from the borrowing of the replacement pattern from Old Bulgarian into Romanian, as early as 9th -10th centuries. After the separation into feudal states, the bilingualism is expected to have drastically decreased to the North of the Danube, except for some population pockets, which persist even today (Mladenova & Mladenova 2013).

be due to the fact that the former were more recent innovations that successfully replaced the latter, which, by the 16th century were very old and weakened.

Irrespective of the stand one takes with regard to the history of *de*-indicatives, the fact remains that these constructions have received no attention insofar as their clause structure is concerned. We try to fill this gap in the remainder of this chapter, by focusing on the underlying structure of these clauses.

3. The properties of *de*-indicative complements

In this section, we present data that shed more light on the way *de*-indicative clauses are used in selected contexts. In particular, we argue that: (i) *de* is a complementizer on a par with *că* 'that'; (ii) the construction can occur as a full-fledged or truncated clause selected by a wide variety of verbs; (iii) the feature cluster in C is the same as that found in infinitive and subjunctive complements; (iv) there is something special about C-*de* that interferes with negation in the matrix clause.

3.1. Complementary distribution between *că* and *de*

This section aims to demonstrate that *de* is a complementizer (C head), since the same *de* is concurrently used as a preposition, and there is some confusion in the literature as to its status in front of verbs. Evidence for the C-status of *de* in indicative complements comes from its complementary distribution in relation to *că* 'that', which is always a C head in Old (and Modern) Romanian. The choice between *de* and *că* depends on the semantics of the matrix verb: OC and (N)OC verbs select *de*-indicative complements, whereas non-control verbs select *că*-indicative complements. In non-selected contexts, *că* and *de* may freely alternate in the same semantic and syntactic environment.

Thus, mono-transitive non-control verbs select either a DP complement or a *că* 'that' indicative clause, as in (7): the verb *vedea* 'see' with the reading 'realize' (inference) selects a DP in (7a) but a *că*-indicative clause in (7b).

(7) a. *Şi   deaca   vădzu   împăratul   [stavărul   şi   tăriia*
    and   when   saw.3SG   king.the   stubbornness.the   and   strength.the
    gândului   ei],   i să feace   ruşine şi   o slobodzâ.
    opinion.the.GEN   her   to.him= REFL= makes   shame   and   her=freed.3SG
    'When the king saw her stubbornness and her strong will, he felt ashamed and freed her.' (Dosoftei VS {7r})

   b. *vădzu   [**că**   nu-i   răspund]*
    saw.3SG   that   not= to.him   answer.3PL
    'he saw that they were not answering him' (Dosoftei VS {6r})

There is no occurrence of 'see' with a *de*-indicative complement in any text.

On the other hand, (N)OC verbs generally avoid *că* 'that' indicatives, and opt, instead, for *de*-indicatives, *a*-infinitives or *să*-subjunctives. For example, the verb *lăsa* 'to stop/avoid', with subject control, disallows *că*-indicative complements, but may select any of the following: *de*-indicative (8a), *să*-subjunctive (8b), *a*-infinitive (8c).

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(8) a. *Iar   pentru Dumbrava   Roşie,   cum că   au arat-o   Bogdan-vodă*
but   for   Meadow.the Red   as   has=ploughed=it   Bogdan-King
cu   leşii,   Miron   logofătul   au lăsat   [de   n-au scris]
with   Poles.the Miron   chancellor.the has=stopped DE   not=has=written
'Chancellor Miron failed to write that, with respect to The Red Meadow, King
Bogdan would have had the Poles plough it.' (Neculce {4})

b. *Deci   o samă   de istorii   mai   alese   şi   noi   nu*
so   a few   of stories   more   selected also   we   not
le-am lăsat   [să   nu   le scriem.]
them=have.1=stopped   SUBJ   not   them=write.1PL
'Therefore, we also have not avoided writing a collection of selected stories.'
(Neculce {4})

c. *Acmu   să   lăsăm   [cele   streine   păn-aice   a   le scrie*
now   SUBJ   stop.1PL those   foreign   up-to.here INF   them=write
deodată,] pănă   iar   le-a veni   rândul,   şi   iar
at.once   until   again   to.them=will.3SG=come   turn.the   and   again
să   ne întoarcem   a   scrie   de unde   am lăsat   [a
SUBJ   REFL= turn.1PL   INF   write   from where have.1=stopped   INF
scrie   de   ţara   noastră.]
write   of   country.the   our
'Now let's stop writing about foreign events for the time being, until their turn will
come again, and let's go back to writing from where we had stopped writing about our
country.' (Neculce {264})

CP selection by nouns proceeds in the same way: those with (N)OC root disallow *că*-indicative
complements and vice-versa. Where *că* 'that' is expected, variation may occur insofar as other
complementizers equivalent to *că* may be present (e.g., *cum*, or *cum că*; see Chapter 2, section2),
but not *de*. Examples are shown in (9), with *că*-type complementizers, and in (10) with *de* as the
complementizer; the indicative mood is constant on the embedded verbs in both (9) and (10).

(9) a. *le-au făcut   ştire   [că   s-au făcut   pace]*
to.them=has=made   news   that   REFL=has=made   peace
'he brought them news that peace was made' (Neculce {373})

b. *i-au venitŭ   veste   [cum   Radul   vodă   au întratŭ   în*
to.him=has=arrived   news   that   Radu   King   has= entered   in
Ţara   Muntenească]
Country.the   Wallachian
'a report arrived to him that King Radu had invaded Wallachia' (Ureche {90})

(10) a. *Au   acestŭ   obicei   împăraţii   [de   dau   ştire   unul   altuia]*
have.3   this   practice kings.the   DE   give.3PL   news   one   to.other
cândŭ   vorŭ   să   facă   războaie   unul   asupra   altuia
when   want.3PL SUBJ   make.SUBJ.3   wars   one   upon   to.other

'The kings have this practice of informing each other when they want to make war on one another.' (Costin 50)

b. *le-au datŭ*   *vreme*   [*de*   *au ieşit.*]
to.them=has=given   time   DE   have.3PL=left
'he gave them time to leave' (Ureche 113)

The purpose of the data in (7)-(10) was to show that there is a complementary distribution between *că* 'that' and *de* as the C head of an indicative complement. The complementarity follows the pattern generally arising from contexts with finite versus non-finite complement clauses. *De*-indicatives, despite the finite morphology on the verb, behave on par with infinitive and subjunctive complements.

Crucially, the properties of the complement clause depend on the features of C, not on the type of inflectional form of the verb. The different spell-out of the C head (i.e., as *că* or *de*) reflects opposite values for a feature associated with this head, in the presence of the same inflectional verb form (i.e., indicative), so the clause derivation converges to different underlying configurations, despite the constant inflectional marking for grammatical mood.

One may object by arguing that the reason why *că* and *de* do not meet is semantic, not syntactic, since they cater to different verb classes, and the class of verbs that select *de* has this requirement in the lexicon, so *de* is a preposition (not a complementizer) that ensures the thematic mapping for verbs with prepositional sub-categorization.

In answer to that, we point out, first, that only reflexive verbs sub-categorize for PP-*de* in Romanian, when their direct object is a DP, but, crucially, not when it is a CP. For example, in a form such as *a se apuca* 'INF REFL start' the reflexive pronoun absorbs the Accusative Case of the verb, so a preposition is needed to license the direct object for structural Case (i.e., *s-a apucat *(de) lucru* 'REFL-has started of work'/'he started his work'). However, Case is not required for a CP complement, so *de* in a construction as in (2b) has no justification as a Case assigning preposition. Second, the matrix verb *lăsa* 'stop' in (8) does not come in its reflexive form, so *de* cannot be a preposition there; moreover, other CP options alternate with the *de*-indicative in (8), and those options are not introduced by *de*.

Finally, if *de* were a preposition, we would expect it to co-occur with *că* in adverbial adjunct clauses, which is not the case. Elsewhere than in complement contexts, *de* and *că* occur in free alternation, but do not co-occur. This is shown in (11), where *că* and *de* are both used as contrastive narrative transitional items (e.g., 'not only...but also'); and in (12), where either of them can introduce a 'since' adjunct anchored to the same matrix verb. The indicative mood is kept constant on the relevant verbs in all these constructions.

(11) a. *Aşa* *şi* *feciorul* *sutaşului* *într-acel* *ceas* *vindecă-l.* [*Că*
thus and son.the centurion.the.GEN in-that hour heals=him for
nu *numai]* *preaminunate* *făcea*   *Hristos,* [*ce* *şi]* *întru* *ceastă*
not only wonders made Christ but also in this
neşchită *vreame* *luminată* *a* *sa* *tărie* *şi* *de oameni* *iubire arată.*
little time lightened the his value and of men love shows
'In the same way, he heals the centurion's son at that moment. For, not only did Christ make wonders, but also, in these dark times, he showed his strength and love of men.' (Coresi EV {254})

b. *Iară   ei,   deaca   să strângea   să   între,   ba   unul   cu*
    and   they   when   REFL=gathered SUBJ enter.SUBJ.3 PRT   one   with
    altul   de   grăia: [De   nu   numai]   aceaea   nevoie   priimit-au   a
    other   DE   sayed   **DE**   not   only   that   need   got=have.3   the
    noastră   parte   întru   oblicire   a   veni,   [ce şi]   marea
    our   share   to   discovery INF come   but also great.the
    dumnezeiţa   casa   Artemida   întru   nemică   meneaşte-o.
    goddess.the   house.the Artemis   to   nothing   predestines=it
    'And when they gathered to enter, they talked to each other: For not only will our
    share come into the open, but it will also decide the destruction of the house of the
    great goddess Artemis.' (Coresi L {91})

(12) a. *Dară   saţâu   nu   veţ   mai   avea,   **că**   saţâul*
         but   satiety not   will.2PL= more=   have   since   satiety.the
         s-au luat   de   la   voi
         REFL=has=taken   from   at   you.PL
         'But satiety you will not have any longer, since satiety has been taken from you'
                                    (Dosoftei VS {135r})
     b. *Duh   de prorocestvie   de-agiuns   avea,   **de**   ştiia   de pre*
         gift   of prediction   of-enough   had.3   since   knew.3   of from
         departe   lucruri   ce   să fãcea
         far   things   that REFL=did.3
         'He had the gift of prediction, since he knew of things that were done afar'
                                    (Dosoftei VS {35r})

The free alternation between *că* and *de* in (11) and (12), in the same syntactic environment, and
with the same interpretive effects, clearly indicates that the two elements are equivalent
complementizers in root and adjunct contexts, and the fact that they are not selected by the same
verbs has to do with the grammatical properties of the matrix verbs for c-selecting a [+finite] or
[-finite] CP (which, furthermore, may be full-fledged or truncated).

As a consequence, by the same token, data as in (11) and (12) make us question the
characterization of *de* as a clause coordinator in constructions like (4a). We have shown in
Chapter 4 (configuration (18)) that coordination with *de*-imperatives involves a null Coordinator
head that selects the imperative *de*-CP; the non-lexical nature of this Coordinator head gives the
false impression that *de* is the clause coordinator. We extend this analysis to the coordination of
indicative clauses. Namely, we take the presence of *de*-indicatives in coordinated contexts as in
(4a) to signal a null Coord head, equivalent to *şi* 'and' in other coordinated contexts. Empirical
support in this direction comes from the ambiguous reading of the *de*-indicative, as either a
conjunct or an adjunct clause, as explicitly noted in (5a). No such ambiguity arises in the
presence of *şi* 'and'.

The generalization of the coordination structure with C-*de* over imperative and indicative
clauses points out, again, the semantic underspecification of *de*, which spells out a [-finite] C in
imperatives, but a [+finite] C in indicative adjunct clauses. Consequently, we expect *de* to either:
(i) be eventually eliminated by C items that have specific values for [finite], or (ii) specialize.

3.2. Frequency issues

In principle, *de*-indicatives freely alternate with infinitive and subjunctive complements under raising and control verbs, as shown in (8). In practice, the corpora search revealed that *de*-indicatives are absent with a significant number of such verbs. The bulk of our examples display *de*-indicative complements after the non-thematic *întâmpla* 'happen' and after aspectual and causative verbs, but seldom after other semantic classes of verbs.

It is not the case that *de*-indicatives are not compatible with other verb classes. The problem is mainly one of frequency, not of grammaticality. For example, these constructions occur with: verbs of knowledge (13a); verbs of command (13b, c); 'want' (13d); frozen expressions (13e); 'dare' verb class (13f); 'tempt' verb class (13g); 'strive' verb class (13h). This list is not exhaustive (see also (6) above); for more examples see Sava (2012).

(13) a. *Că   întăi   au fostŭ învăţatŭ   de   au pârjolitŭ   iarba   pretitindinea,   de*
for   first   has=been=learned   DE   has=burnt   grass.the   everywhere   DE
au slăbitŭ   caii   turcilor   cei   gingaşi.
has=weakened   horses.the   Turks.the.GEN   the   delicate
'For, first of all, he learned to burn the grass everywhere, so he'd weaken the Turks'
delicate horses' (Ureche 1958: 100)

   b. *au   poruncitŭ   de   au făcut   un   sicreiu*
has=   ordered   DE   have=made   a   coffin
'he ordered (them) to make a coffin' (Ureche 178)

   c. *iară   pre   aceialalţi   au zis   de   i-au spânzurat.*
but   DOM   others   has=said   DE   them=have=hanged
'but for the others, he told them to hang them' (Ureche 111)

   d. *păn'   au vrut   Dumnedzău   de   s-au tocmit   aşea*
until   has=wanted   God   DE   REFL=have=negotiated   thus
'until God wanted them to come to terms in this way' (Ureche 101)

   e. *Îş găsisă vreme   de   au spăriiat   pre   doamna   Ducăi-vodă*
REFL=found=time   DE   has=scared   DOM   lady.the   Duca.GEN-King
'He had nothing better to do than scare King Duca's wife.' (Neculce 159)

   f. *Iară   cazacii   tot   nu   s-au răbdatŭ   şi   pe ploaie,   la o   aripă*
but   Cossacks.the   still   not   REFL=has=bore   and   in rain   at a   wing
de   corturi   au îndrăznit   de   i-au lovit,   tot   într-aceia   noapte.
of   tents   have=dared   DE   them=have=hit   still   in-that   night
'But the Cossacks could no longer be patient and, in the rain, they dared to attack a
wing of their tents, that same night.' (Costin 54)

   g. *s-au mai ispitit   Iliaş   vodă   al   treilea   rândŭ   [de*
REFL=has= more=tempted   Ilias   King   the   third   time   DE
au mai intrat   în   ţară   cu   oaste   leşască]

has=more=entered   in   country   with   army   Polish
'King Ilias has attempted for the third time to enter the country with Polish army'
(Ureche 81)

h.   *Mulţi*   *scriitori*   *au nevoit*   *[de*   *au scris*   *rândul*   *şi*
many   writers   have=strived   DE   have=written   chronology.the   and
povestea   *ţărilor]*
story.the   countries.the.GEN
'Many writers strove to write the chronology and the story of various countries'
(Ureche 63)

The varied semantics of the selecting verbs in (13) indicates that *de*-indicative complements are compatible with any verb that would otherwise select an infinitive or subjunctive complement. The fact that they are rarely selected, unlike their counterparts, signals that *de*-indicative complements were on their way out of the language.

Thus, the most frequent environments for *de*-indicative complements in texts involve: (i) non-thematic/raising verbs, with the general meaning 'happen', such as *tâmpla* in (1) and *prileji* in (14a); and with the general meaning 'turn out', such as *fi* in (14b), *ajunge* in (14c); *sosi* in (14d);[91] (ii) causatives such as *face* 'make someone do something' or *pune* 'push someone to do something' in (15a); (iii) aspectuals such as *lăsa* 'stop'in (8) or *apuca* 'start' in (15b).

(14) a.   *Perit-au*   *şi*   *boierii*   *toţi,*   *câţi*   *s-au prilejit*   *de*
died=have   also   boyars.the   all   those.who   REFL=have=happened   DE
venise   *cu*   *oastea,*   *tot oameni*   *de casa*   *lui*   *Ieremiei-vodă*
came.3   with   army.the   all men   of house.the   of   Ieremia.GEN-King
'All the boyars who happened to have come with the army, all of them men from Ieremia King's house, have also died.' (Costin 32)

b.   *Începerea*   *lui*   *Despot-vodă*   *cum*   *au fost*   *de*   *au agiunsŭ*
beginning.the   of   Despot-King   how   has=happened   DE   has=turned.out
de   *au fost*   *domnŭ*
DE   has=been   king
'King Despot's beginnings, how he happened to turn out to become king'
(Neculce {14})

c.   *Iablanovschii,*   *a*   *căruie*   *un ficior,*   *pre*   *anume*   *Stanislav*   *Liscinschii,*
Iablanovsky   of   whose   a son   on   name   Stanislav   Lischinsky
au agiunsŭ   *de*   *au fostŭ*   *crai*   *în Ţara*   *Leşască…,*
has=turned   DE   has=been   prince   in Country.the   Polish
'Iablonovsky, a son of whom, namely Stanislav Lischinsky, turned out to become prince in Poland' (Neculce 214)

d.   *Avândŭ*   *ţară,*   *şi*   *ţara*   *altuia*   *a*   *cuprinde*   *cată*   *şi*
having   country   also   country.the   other   INF   take   try.3   and

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[91] These verbs have different meanings according to their thematic grid. E.g., *ajunge* means 'arrive' when intransitive, but when it lacks thematic roles (i.e. it simply selects an event), its meaning switches to indicate a change in state, of the 'turn out' type. This correlation applies to other verbs listed in the subject raising class, all of which select events and are unaccusative.

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aşea	*lăcomindŭ*	*la*	*altuia,*	*sosescŭ*	*de*	*pierdŭ*	*şi*	*al său.*
thus	coveting	to	other.GEN	turn.3	DE	lose	also	of his

'Although they have a country, they try to take the country of others, and being greedy for another's goods like that, it turns out they lose what is theirs as well' (Costin 89)

(15) a.

au pus	*pre*	*Şeremet*	*de*	*au scris*	*o carte*	*de la dânsul*	*la veziriul*
has=put	DOM	Seremet	DE	has=written	a letter	by at him	to Vizir

'he had Seremet write a letter to the Vizir on his behalf' (Neculce 287)

b.

s-au apucat	*Urechi*	*vornicul*	*de*	*au scris*	*istoriile*
REFL=has=started	Ureche	governor.the	DE	has=written	histories.the

a	*doi*	*istorici*	*leşeşti*
of	two	historians	Polish

'Governor Ureche started to write the stories according to two Polish historians'
(Neculce 103)

The constructions with DP-movement in (14a, c, d), with object control in (15b) and with subject control in (15c) share an important property: they can all be classified as constructions with clause union, in the sense of Roberts (1997 and references therein). That is, the matrix and the embedded clause share thematic roles and/or syntactic relationships. For example, in the constructions with DP-movement in (14a, c, d) the subject of the embedded clause triggers subject-verb agreement with the matrix verb, although the matrix verb has no thematic role to assign to it. Similarly, in (15b) and (15c), the embedded subject is obligatorily co-referent with an argument in the matrix clause, indicating a sharing of DPs for thematic roles. The possibility of such sharing means that the clausal border is transparent to syntactic operations involving the arguments of the embedded verb (i.e., A-movement).[92] In particular, the clausal complement is not a full-fledged clause, but a defective structure, since it cannot ensure the syntactic conditions for subjects without involving the features associated with the matrix clause. This is particularly pertinent for Romanian, where at least subject control and raising have been argued to involve truncated CP domains (see Chapter 1).

While OC and raising verbs are the default selectors of *de*-indicative complements, there is also evidence that these clauses could occur in NOC contexts. Again, the difference in distribution is due to frequency, not to structural incompatibility. We present examples of NOC constructions in (16).

(16) a.

păn'	*au vrut*	*Dumnedzău*	*de*	*s-au tocmit*	*(ei)*	*aşea*
until	has=wanted	God	DE	REFL=have.3PL=negotiated	they	thus

'until God wanted them to come to terms in this way' (Ureche 101)

b.

Dat-au	*Dumnedzău*	*[de*	*s-au*	*fãcut*	*iarna*	*aceia*	*uşoară]*
given=has	God	DE	RELF-has=	made	winter.the	that	light

'God decided that winter to be light' (Amiras {277})

c.

Şi	*aceste*	*toate*	*apoi*	*au*	*fãcut*	*[de*	*au*	*venit*

---

[92] This assumes a Hornstein (1999 et seq.) analysis of obligatory control, since the shared argument can occur in either the matrix or the embedded clause in Old and Modern Romanian (for Modern Romanian, see Alboiu 2007).

and	these	all	then	have=	made	DE	has=	come

soltan   ***Osman***   *la Hotin].*
sultan   Osman   at Hotin
'and then all these amounted to Soltan Osman coming at Hotin' (Costin 34/29-31)

These indicative complements are full-fledged clauses (hence, ForcePs) that license their own subjects in Nominative. For example, in (16a), the optional strong pronoun comes in Nominative and displays person/number agreement with the verb, on a par with the other lexical subjects in the complement clauses in (16b, c).[93]

       The overview in this section indicates that *de*-indicative complements may be either truncated, in OC contexts, or full-fledged, in NOC contexts. This is a property of Balkan subjunctives (see Dobrovie-Sorin 2001; Krapova 2001; Roussou 2001 a.o.), to which this construction belongs typologically, as further argued in this chapter. The fact that their full-fledged version is rare in texts, while the truncated version is more available, indicates a "weakening" of this construction which, together with the underspecification of *de*, ultimately resulted in its elimination/ replacement.

3.3. Anaphoricity and modality

       This section looks at the properties of C in *de*-indicative complements. In particular, given that *de*-indicatives compete with *a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives for selection by the same verbs, the question is whether there is any difference in reading that would (dis)favour the *de*-indicative option. Thus, we look at the values for modality, tense and aspectual features (TAM) and argue that *de*-indicative complements can license all the TAM feature values as with the other two options, plus an additional one, which is intrinsic to the indicative inflection; namely, past tense forms that yield an *actualized* reading. We first argue that earlier texts (16th century) allow non-actualized/hypothetical readings alongside the actualized reading, while later texts (18th century) require the latter (on par with Modern Romanian). We then conclude that *actualisation* is the reason why the construction shows a surge in productivity in the 18th century under aspectual and causative verbs.

       For clarification, in philological terms (e.g., Frâncu 2010), *actualization* means that the outcome of the embedded event is known, irrespective of the modal semantics of the matrix verb. For example, the clausal complement of the verb 'to order to' gives information not only about what is being ordered but also about the outcome of that order. A subjunctive complement would convey an unknown outcome in this context, whereas a *de*-indicative complement indicates that the order has been fulfilled (it is perfective). It is important to note that 'actualization' involves not only *realis* modality, but also aspectual *perfectivity*.

3.3.1. Anaphoricity
       Anaphoricity arises when T lacks independent anchoring to the deictic Speech Time (Bianchi 2007 a.o.), and is thus confined to selected clauses.[94] As mentioned in Chapter 1, section 2.2, Romanian/Balkan languages contrast with English insofar as there is no one-to-one relation between anaphoricity and verb morphology: finite verb forms are compatible with

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[93] The English counterpart of these constructions would have infinitive complements with Accusative subjects (Exceptional Case Marking - ECM). ECM does not apply in Balkan language, where the embedded verb is finite. In (16), the subjects are post-verbal (VSO), so they are not in the local domain of matrix v for Case licensing.

anaphoric T, as generally discussed for subjunctive complements (e.g., Rivero & Ralli 2001). Here, we show that this mismatch extends to selected *de*-indicatives.

Consider the examples in (17), where the tense form in the embedded clause matches the past tense of the matrix.

(17) a.   *Şi*   <u>*au dzis*</u>   *armaşului*   ***de***   <u>*i-au luat*</u>   *gârbaciul*   *şi*
    and   has=said   invigilator.the.DAT   DE   to.him=has=taken   whip.the   and
    au pus   ***de***   *i-au dat*   *300 de toiege.*
    has=ordered   DE   to.him=has=given   300 of slashes
    'And he told the invigilator to take his switch and whip him with 300 slashes'
           (Costin 65)

   b.   *Şi*   *ei*   <u>*puseră*</u>   *lui*   ***de***   <u>*usebi*</u>
     and   they   put.PAST.3PL   to.him   DE   distinguish.PAST.3SG
     'And they made him discriminate' (PO {154})

   c.   <u>*Cutez*</u>   ***de***   <u>*scriu*</u>   *voao,*   *fraţi*
     dare.1SG   DE   write.1SG   to.you   brothers
     'I dare write to you, my brothers' (Coresi L {273})

The examples in (17) show that the tense inflection on the embedded indicative is identical to the inflection of the matrix verb: present perfect in (17a); simple past in (17b); present in (17c). The morphological identity concurs with the underspecification of the embedded T for the time of the event in relation to the speech time.

A-infinitives or *să*-subjunctives could replace the *de*-indicative in any construction in (17). The only interpretive difference in this context would be that the *de*-indicative involves an aspectual value (i.e., it indicates an accomplished event), whereas the infinitive and subjunctive alternatives would not. Crucially, tense is anaphoric in all three clausal complements, so the formal analysis (in Section 4 below) must explain what happens in these contexts to block the inherent tense values of the embedded indicative verbs.

3.3.2. Modality and aspect

With regard to modality and aspect, caution is advised, as today's speakers may have different judgments in that respect. For example, while replacement of a *de*-indicative complement with a *să*-subjunctive is unproblematic for the modern speaker, clause coordination between these two constructions is unthinkable. However, this is what we find in texts, as shown in (3), and again in (18).

(18)   *că*   <u>*lasă*</u>   *oile*   *lor*   ***de***   *le*   *mănâncă*   *lupii*
    for   allow.3   sheep.the   their   DE   them=   eat.3   wolves
    şi   ***să***   *junghe*   *şi*   ***să***   *piarză.*
    and   SUBJ   slaughter.SUBJ.3   and   SUBJ   lose.SUBJ.3
    'for they allow for their sheep to be eaten by wolves, and to be slaughtered and to be lost' (Antim {135})

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[94] Anaphoric tense is different from 'sequence of tense' requirements, the latter involving Ts anchored to the deictic Speech Time (e.g., in adverbial or conditional clauses) but semantically constrained by the Principle of Compositionality (e.g., as discussed in Cruse 2004).

Replacement indicates that both types of clausal complements are analyzed as having anaphoric T, thus being compatible with selection by a control or raising verb. Availability of coordination, on the other hand, means that *all* TAM features (and not just anaphoric T) have the same values in the relevant complements, since the same time frame/temporal operator in the matrix binds all of these features in the embedded CP. This is possible in Old but not in Modern Romanian. Thus, in (18), the coordination between the *de*-indicative and the two subjunctive complements signals hypothetical (non-actualized) events for all three constructions.

Further examples of *de*-indicative complements with non-actualized readings are shown in (19), independently of configurations with clause coordination.

(19) a. *Pusără-ş*   *ochii*   ***de*** *mă omoară,* *şi*   *cu*   *pământul*
          put.PAST.3PL=REFL   eyes.the   DE   me=kill.3   and   with earth.the
          mă împresoară
          me=surround.3
          'They decided to kill me and to surround me with earth' (Dosoftei PS {107})

     b. *Că*   *eu*   *te văz*   *în tot ceasul*   ***gata*** ***de*** *mă sprejineşti,*
          for   I   you=see.1SG   in all time.the   ready   DE   me=support.2SG
          Doamne
          God.VOC
          'For I see you, God, ready to support me at any time' (Dosoftei PS {101})

In (19a), the intended victim is writing the utterance, so the crime has not yet taken place. In (19b), God's support is theoretically available but with no immediate application mentioned.

An *irrealis* reading of *de*-indicative complements, as in (18) and (19), is hard to grasp for the Modern Romanian speaker, who is biased for actualization in these contexts. Accordingly, Modern Romanian registers that preserved *de*-indicative complements, do not display them under 'to instruct/to order' verbs, but only under aspectuals and causatives, most of which intrinsically contribute *realis* modality to which the indicative past tense inflection adds perfectivity.

The affinity between *de*-indicative complements and aspectual and causative verbs appears as early as the 16th century, as seen in (20a) and (20b), respectively, but it becomes privileged in the 18th century.

(20) a. ***fu***   ***de***   ***muri***   *mişelul.*
          was   DE   died   crook.the
          'the crook happened to die' (Cod Tod {97r})

     b. *jăluii*   *şi*   ***ded***   ***de le tipării***   *în lauda*   *tatălui*
          applied.1SG   and   gave.1SG   DE   them=printed   in praise.the   father.the.GEN
          şi   *fiiului*   *şi*   *duhului*   *sfânt*
          and   son.the.GEN   and   spirit.the.GEN   holy
          'I applied and had them printed for the praise of the Holy Father, His Son and the Holy Spirit' (Coresi EV {I})

In (20), both the matrix and the embedded verbs are in the past tense, and the event is clearly resolved one way or another (i.e. perfective aspect). One might infer that *de*-indicatives alone could convey an actualized reading due the availability of past inflection, which is absent in infinitive and subjunctive complements.

However, the data deny such an approach, since subjunctives and infinitives are also compatible with actualized readings when selected, for example, by aspectual or causative verbs, as shown in (21).

(21) a. *De dese   ori   s-au pus   **să**   mă lupte,*
       of many   times   REFL=has=put SUBJ   me=fight.SUBJ.3
       Din   tinere   zâle,   cu   oşti   multe;
       from   young   days   with armies   many
       'They made themselves fight me many time, since the young days, with many armies'
                                    (Dosoftei PS {941})
   b. *Şi   dacă   au mărsu   Manolachi   la doamna,   n-au   pus **să***
      and   when   has=gone   Manolache   to lady.the   not=has=   put SUBJ
      strâge   în lefi   nescai   slujitori
      call   in pay   some   servants
      'And when Manolachi went to the queen, she did not make him hire servants'
                                    (Neculce {79})

The events in (21a, b) are actualized, since the interpretation indicates the outcome of the causation. In this respect, the replacement of the subjunctive with a *de*-indicative in (21) would not affect the aspectual reading, as it is the causative nature of the matrix predicate that triggers the actualization of the embedded domain, and not the type of CP complement involved. The difference between *de*-indicatives and *să*-subjunctives is that the former but not the latter may yield the actualized reading irrespective of the semantics of the matrix verb, that is, just by the presence of the present perfect or past perfect morphology on the embedded verb.

Therefore, a change occurred in the option for *de*-indicative complements, whereby they became preferred in the actualized contexts in the 18th century. This change concerns the options available in the language (i.e., the specialization of *să*-subjunctives for *irrealis* contexts) rather than changes in the featural make up or valuation of C-*de*. In other words, there is no particular 'actualization' feature added to Fin containing *de*-indicative, the interpretation arising from semantic compositionality. For further support in this respect, consider the examples in (22).

(22) a. *Ca un   mire   când   stă   **de**   purcede*
       as a   groom   when   stands   DE   proceeds
       Dintr-a   sa   cămară   unde   şede
       from-the   his   room   where   sits
       'Like a groom who is ready to proceed out of the room where he's sitting.'
                                    (Dosoftei PS {129})
   b. *Pune-voiŭ   teamerea   mea   înaintea   ta   şi   voiŭ   îngrodzi   tot*
      put=will.1SG   fear.the   my   before   you   and   will.1SG= scare   all
      nărodul   acela   la   carele   vei   sosi   şi   toţi
      people.the   that   to   whom   will.2SG= arrive and   all
      *aleanişii   face-i-voi   **de   vor   fugi   înaintea   ta***

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non.believers   make=them=will.1SG   DE   will.3PL=   run   before   you
'I will send fear in all the people that you meet and I will make all the non-believers run in fear from you.' (PO {257})

   c.   *nedejduind*   *că*   *va nemeri*   ***de***   ***va tăia***   *şi*   *pre*   *Hristos*
       hoping   that   will.3SG=get   DE   will.3SG=cut   also   DOM   Christ
       'hoping that he will also get to kill Christ together with them' (Varlaam C {111r})

   d.   *Deci,*   *de-atunce*   *nevoia*   *cuconul*   ***de-mvăţa***   *svânta*   *carte.*
       so   from-then   strived.3   boy.the   DE-studied.3   saint.the   book
       'So, since then, the boy strived to study the holy book.' (Dosoftei {58v})

   e.   *atunci*   *vor câuta*   ***de-l***   ***vorŭ vedea***   *toţi*   *oamenii*
       then   will.3PL=try   DE=him   will.3PL=see   all   people.the
       'then all the people will try to see him' (Cod Tod {78v})

In (22a), the light verb *stă* 'stands' indicates that the event of the matrix clause has not taken place. In (22b, c, e), the future tense forces a non-actualized reading. Furthermore, in (22c), the verb is in the simple past and the event is ongoing, the actualization being uncertain (i.e. there is no possible perfective reading). The point is: If C-*de* had a tense/aspectual feature set for an actualization value, the future forms should have been ruled out in (22) as incompatible with c-selection in these contexts, contrary to the data. Thus, we have to conclude that the actualization does not follow from an intrinsic feature value setting on C-*de*, but rather from the compositional meaning of the entire sentence. We formalize the actualization reading in section 5.

       Finally, the actualized reading that is found with *de*-indicatives in *Chronicles* and as early as the 16th century, as shown in (20), and that becomes generalized in later texts (i.e. 18th century to Modern Romanian) must be reconsidered in light of the overall data. More precisely, the texts indicate the following two changes regarding *de*-indicatives: (i) a switch in the distribution of *de*-indicative complements from an unproductive usage under a wide range of verb classes (16th – 17th centuries) to a productive usage under only three verb classes (18th c. onward): aspectuals, causatives, and subject raising verbs; (ii) a switch from a (non)actualized reading to the default actualized reading in Modern Romanian. So, while *de*-indicatives were not very productive in the 16th century, their use, though much more specialized, becomes quite productive in the 18th century, at least in the written language. This is summarized in Table 1, where the 17th century is not included as it showed a system in transition.

Table 1: Diachronic change of selected *de*-indicatives in Romanian

Selected *de*-indicative	Non-actualized reading	Actualized reading under TAM anaphoricity	Actualized reading under lexical selection	Productivity
16th c	√	√	√	Low
18th c	-	-	√	High

Crucially, the frequency of use cannot be a sufficient criterion to establish the development of this construction. Rather, we take the plurifunctional nature of the *de*-indicative construction in the earlier stages of Old Romanian to indicate that this construction was present in the language

much earlier and that the 18th century just saw a specialization of its morpho-syntactic properties.[95]

3.4. The problem of negation

This section draws attention to the obligatory omission of negation from the matrix clause whose verb selects a *de*-indicative complement. We show that this is not the case with the use of *de*-indicatives elsewhere (i.e. in unselected contexts). This, then, is a restriction related to the syntactic configuration, not to verb semantics.

A puzzling property of *de*-indicative complements is that they somehow block the use of negation in the matrix. That is, in constructions as in (23), negation may occur in the embedded clause, but not in the matrix (see also Sava 2012 for this observation).

(23) a. *că*   *să tâmplasă*   ***de***   <u>*nu*</u>   *ştiea*   *nemic*   *şi*   *dormiea*
         for   REFL=happened.3   DE   not   knew.3   nothing   and   slept.3
         'for it happened that he was not aware of anything and was sleeping'
                                          (Neculce {183})

 b. *Bine*   *ai nemerit,*   *măria*   *ta,*   ***de***   <u>*nu*</u>   *te-ai*   *grăbit*
         well   have.2SG=got   majesty.the   your   DE   not   REFL=have.2SG=   rushed
         să-l   *mazileşti*   *pre*   *acel*   *domnă*   *harnic*
         SUBJ=him=   remove.2SG   DOM   that   king   diligent
         'You did well, your majesty, to not rush and remove that diligent king'
                                          (Neculce {19})

There is no such restriction with infinitive and subjunctive complements, where negation is free to occur either in the matrix or in the embedded clause, or even both, as in (24).

(24) a. ***Nu***   *vom putea*   *într-alt*   *chip*   ***să***   *ne deşteptăm*   *sufletele*
         not   will.1PL=can   in-other   way   SUBJ   REFL=wake.up.1PL   souls.the
         'We won't be able to wake up our souls in any other way' (BB {PrefaţăXXI})

 b. *ne luminează*   ***să***   ***nu***   *ne poticnim*
         us=enlighten.SUBJ.3SG   SUBJ   not   REFL=stumble.1PL
         'enlighten us so that we don't stumble' (BB {PrefaţăXXIII})

 c. *om*   ***nu***   *era*   ***a***   *lucra*   *pre*   *dânsul.*
         man   not   was   INF   work   on   it
         'there was no man to work on it' (BB {FacereaCAPII})

 d. *iară*   *doo*   *părţi*   *a*   *legiei*   *iaste*   ***a***   ***nu***   *viia*   *noi*   *cu*   *iale*
         but   two   parts   of   law.GEN   is   INF   not   live   we   with   them
         'but two parts of the law consists in us not living with them' (PO {6})

 e. ***nu***   *să cade*   *omului*   *grec*   ***a***   ***nu***   *şti*   *legile*   *grecilor*

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[95] In this sense, see also Frâncu (2010:145-150), who suggests that *de*-indicatives might have actually preceded the *a*-infinitives.

not REFL=fits man.the.DAT Greek INF not know laws Greeks'
'it does not befit a Greek man to not know the laws of the Greeks'
(BB {Prefață XXXI})

Also, there is no such restriction with *de*-indicatives in other contexts, as shown in (25a), where the *de*-indicative clause is ambiguous as to its relative or adverbial adjunct status. Furthermore, we found an example where the restriction is lifted even in the presence of a *de*-indicative complement, as in (5), but in this case the matrix clause is interrogative.[96]

(25) a. *Să* **nu** *se bucure* *vrăjbitorii-mi* *fără* *dereptate* **de**
SUBJ not REFL=rejoice.SUBJ.3 enemies.the=my without cause DE
urăsc *mine* *în deşert*
hate.3PL me in vain
'Let my enemies, who hate me in vain, not rejoice themselves without cause'
(Coresi PS SL {61v})

   b. **Nu** *inimile* *noastre* *era* **de** *ardea* *întru* *noi*
not hearts.the our were.3 DE burned.3 in us
când *grăiia* *noao* *pre* *cale* *şi* *că* *spuse* *noao* *scriptura?*
when spoke.3 to.us On way and that said.3 to.us scripture.the
'Weren't our hearts burning in us when he was speaking well to us and because he told us about the scripture?' (Coresi Tetr.2 {179r})

   In view of the data in (23), it looks like *de*-indicatives resist the scope of negation whenever they are selected in declarative clauses, behaving as positive polarity items (i.e. items that need to be situated in a veridical context; Giannakidou 2011). In this respect, caution is required for the 16th-17th century texts, where these constructions do not occur in a big enough number, so we cannot know whether the absence of matrix negation in selected contexts is perhaps a matter of chance. In fact, the example in (25b) indicates that matrix negation did occur at that time, but, crucially, in contexts that were necessarily in the *irrealis* domain, such as questions.

   On the other hand, for the type of construction available in the 18th century, as well as in Modern Romanian, we have sufficient examples alongside native speaker judgments, and so can definitely rule out matrix negation in the presence of selected *de*-indicatives, thus generalizing the restriction in (23) (i.e., negation only in the embedded clause). Crucially, at this stage, the only interpretation possible for this construction is the actualized one (i.e. *realis* and *perfective*), which we take to be the blocking factor for negation. This is in line with Levinson (2007, 2008), who argues that, cross-linguistically, *realis* mood coupled with perfective aspect, is expected to behave as a positive polarity item (see also Ernst 2009). Therefore, we attribute the incompatibility of *de*-indicative complements and the matrix negation to semantic factors that arise in the compositional meaning of the sentence.

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[96] In (25b), the analysis of *nu* 'not' seems ambiguous between constituent or clausal negation. However, the interpretation makes sense only with clausal negation, where the subject 'our hearts' is raised from the *de*-indicative complement. In 16th century translations (and especially at Coresi), there are other instances where *nu* is separated from the verb by constituents (Zamfir 2007).

4. Tests

The discussion so far capitalized on the finding that the main difference between *că*-indicatives and *de*-indicatives in selected contexts concerns not the inflectional morphology, which is identical, but the feature values on C (i.e., the interaction between finiteness and clausal modality). In order to understand the peculiarities of *de*-indicative complements, we have to sort out, first, the merging sites for *că* and *de* respectively, as well as the extent of the CP projection for each of these two types of clausal complements. We show that *de* is directly merged in Fin while *că* is directly merged in Force.

Let us start with *că*-indicatives (see also Chapter 2, section 2). In a typical complement clause, *că* merges in Force, because it is higher than constituents fronted to Topic and Focus, as shown in (26).[97]

(26) *s-au gânditŭ   Hotchevici   hatmanulŭ   şi   alte   capete   leşaşti*
      REFL=has=thought   Hotchevitch   commander.the   and   other   chiefs   Polish
      ***că**   [amu]_{TOP}   [şi   împărăţiia   singură]_{FOC}   este   sosită*
      that   Now   even   empire.the   itself   is   arrived
      'Commander Hotchevitch and other Polish officers thought that, now, even the
      Sublime Porte itself had arrived' (Costin 51)

The CP generated through the merging of *că* in (26) has the possibility of systematically accommodating the word order *că* > TopP > FocP > FinP > TP. A consequence of this configuration is that *că*-indicative complements allow for V-to-C, which was discussed in Chapter 3, and is further illustrated in (27).

(27) *Adevăr,   adevăr   <u>grăiesc</u>   voao   **că**   <u>plânge-**veţi**</u>   şi   <u>suspina-**veţi**</u>   voi*
      truth   truth   tell.1SG   to.you   that   cry=will.2PL   and   sigh=will.2PL   you
      'I tell you truthfully that you will be crying and sighing' (Coresi EV {51v})

The V > clitic order in (27) would not be possible if *că* were merged low in the CP field, because the lexical complementizer would interfere with the head-to-head movement of the verb.

Returning now to *de*-indicative complements, we see that they occur in two configurations, as has already been mentioned in this chapter: one in which they license their own subject, for example the null 2PL pronominal in (28a), and one in which their subject is co-referential with (controlled by) an argument in the matrix, as in (28b) where the underlined matrix subject controls the embedded subject.

(28) a. *Cumu-i   **de**   nu   înţeleageţi?*
         how=is   DE   not   understand.2PL
         'How come you don't understand?' (NT {189})

     b. <u>*Măriia*</u>   <u>*ta*</u>   *încă*   *te-ai milostivit*   ***de***   *ne-ai adus*
         majesty   your   also   REFL=have.2SG=deigned   DE   to.us=have.2SG=brought
         meşteri   *streini* *de*   *ne-au făcut*   *şi*   *tipografie*

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[97] We showed in Chapter 2 that sometimes a second *că* 'that' merges in Fin (e.g. recomplementation), in which case it follows Topic and Focus constituents.

experts   foreign   DE   to.us=have.3=made   even   printing.house
'Your Majesty also deigned to bring us foreign experts who founded a printing house for us' (NT {113})

When it comes to testing the position of *de*, both configurations in (28) yield the same results. Let us consider, first, the test with the negation *nu* 'not', which is a free morpheme in Old Romanian (see Chapter 2). According to the cartographic hierarchy for Old Romanian clauses (see Chapter 1, section 2), negation (NegP) is at the border between the TP and the CP field. Thus, the word order in (29), where *de* is higher than *nu*, indicates that *de* is merged in the CP field. This is valid for both types of *de*-indicative complements, as shown in (29a), with a null 3PL subject, and (29b), with the subject controlled by the underlined DP *turcii* 'the Turks', respectively. This is unsurprising given that we established the complementizer status of *de* in section 3 above on the basis of its complementary distribution with *că* 'that'.

(29) a.   *Iară*   *în zioa*   *cea*   *de apoi,*   *de multe*   *ori*   *s-a tâmpla*   ***de***
           and   in day   the   of judgment of many   times   REFL=will.3SG=happen   DE
           nu   *vor putea*   *lesne*   *să*   *tocmască*   *zuoa,*   *toată*   *zioa,*
           not   will.3PL=can   easily   SUBJ   decide.SUBJ.3   day.the   all   day.the
           uneori   *adaogă*   *şi*   *noaptea*
           sometimes   add.3   also   night.the
           'And on the day of the last judgment, many times it may happen that they won't be able to decide during one day, even an entire day, so sometimes they also continue through the night.' (Ureche 122)

      b.   *Iară*   *de*   *odată*   *au socotit*   *craiul*   *să*   *să audză*   *de*
           but   of   suddenly   has=decided   prince.the SUBJ   REFL=hear.SUBJ.3   of
           pogorârea   *sa*   *cu*   *oşti*   *la*   *marginea*   *Ţărâi*
           arrival.the   his   with   armies   at   border.the   Country.the.GEN
           Moldovei,   *pentru*   *că*   *şi*   *turcii*   *atunce*   *ar avia*
           Moldova.GEN   because   that   also   Turks.the   then   would.3= have
           grijă   ***de***   ***nu***   *ar supăra*   *ţara*   *ades.*
           care   DE   not   would.3= bother   country.the   often
           'But all of a sudden, the prince decided to make it known about his coming with the army at the border of Moldova, because in this way the Turks would also take care not to attack the country too often.' (Axinte 76)

Since *de* is in the CP field, we must identify the C head it merges in. One indication in this respect is that *de*-indicatives, in any positions they may be (i.e., complements or adjuncts), do not allow for the V > clitic order that we saw in (26) with *că*-indicatives. Crucially, *de* clauses are clitic > V throughout (this includes imperatives, as discussed in Chapter 4). There is strong negative evidence in this respect, with no exception to be found. Hence, *de* in C blocks V-to-C at any level (i.e., V-to-Fin in translations; V-to-Focus in genuine Old Romanian), which establishes *de* as a Fin head.

If *de* is in Fin, we expect Topic and Focus constituents to precede it, and thus yield a contrastive word order with *că*-indicative complements such as in (30).

(30) a. *că* *apucă* *[[patul* *mortului]*TOP*CONTR* *de-l* *timpină* *Domnul]*
for got bed.the dead.the.GEN DE=it met.3 Lord.the
'for the Lord got to see the dead man's bed' (Coresi EV {385})

b. *Ghica-vodă,* *întrând* *în Ţarigrad,* *au nemerit* *[[la* *capichihăile*
Ghica-King entering in Istanbul has=got at headquarters.the
*moldoveneşti]*TOP*CONTR* ***de*** *au slujit.]*
Moldavian DE has=worked
'When King Ghica arrived in Istanbul, he got to work at the Moldavian headquarters.'
(Neculce {25}))

c. *Când* *voiaşte* *omul* *[[gândului]*FOC* ***de*-*i*** *dă* *loc]*
when wants man.the thought.the.DAT DE=to.it gives room
'When the man wants to make room for his thought…'
(CV 201 apud Sava 2012: 130)

The examples in (30) show that constituents can be fronted above *de* in the CP field, which confirms that *de* is in Fin, namely, the lowest level in C.[98]

The conclusion of this section is that although both *de* and *că* are C-heads, they merge at different levels within the CP field in selected contexts. The consequence is that *că* in Force is constantly associated with clause typing and full-fledged CPs, whereas *de* in Fin is neutral for clause typing, and is, in principle, compatible with both full-fledged and truncated CPs. The claim that selected *de*-indicatives allowed for full-fledged CP (i.e. ForceP domain), at least in earlier stages of Old Romanian, is forced by their presence as subject clauses (which are full-fledged, by definition; Chomsky 1998 et seq), as exemplified in (28a), and by the availability of lexical subjects, as in (16).

5. Analysis

In this section, we argue that: (i) selected *de*-indicative complements are always non-finite, which contrasts with *de*-adjuncts and *că*-indicatives throughout; (ii) *de* cannot check or spell out the [modal] feature -- it simply spells out (non)finite. In particular, with *de*-indicatives, selected Fin is always split, having its features (i.e., [-finite], [modal]) mapped and spelled out separately (i.e. by both *de* and the inflection on the indicative verb). In full-fledged clauses, *de* checks the clause typing feature of Force via long distance Agree.

5.1. Preliminaries

In the previous section we used the cartographic hierarchy to establish that *de* merges in Fin. This finding is not surprising, since *de* merges in Fin in the non-finite clauses of all Romance languages (Rizzi 1997). The peculiarity of Old Romanian is that *de* is associated with the indicative instead of the infinitive (this is a Balkan Sprachbund property), so we must capture

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[98] (30) shows OC constructions with fronting to TopP and FocusP. OC involves truncated CP, so ForceP is missing here, despite the presence of TopP and FocusP, which are optional and orthogonal to (i.e., not visible to) s/c-selection by the matrix verb, since they map features relevant to the discourse not to the matrix verb's semantics.

this variation within the featural make-up of C. The premise is that this variation comes out of using the Romance *de* to spell out the Balkan Fin.

As stated previously, for Rizzi (1997, 2004), Fin is the locus for the mapping of finiteness and modality, where finiteness is the umbrella term for phi-features and tense specifications, which are decisive for the selection of a compatible T (i.e., [+/-tense]). Modality has to do with the *realis* or *irrealis* interpretation (the latter involving epistemicity, deonticity etc.), and not with grammatical mood, which is a property of T (D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010), not of Fin; see Chapter 1, section 2 for a definition of these concepts, as well as discussion in Chapter 4. Thus, at first sight, when *de* merges in Fin, it spells out both [finite] and [modal].

While this reasoning may capture the function of *de* in Romance infinitives, it fails to do so for Romanian, where *de* occurs not only with infinitives, but also with indicatives and elsewhere. Most importantly, although it is shown to be constantly in Fin, *de* does not discriminate between *realis* (i.e.,with selected *de*-indicatives) and *irrealis* (with imperatives, in Chapter 4) modality, which means that *de* cannot itself check off and value the [modal] feature of Fin. This suggests that *de* merges in Fin to check [finite] but not [modal], a line of analysis we shall pursue in the remainder of this chapter.

5.2. C-related features
5.2.1. The temporal operator
The first issue we address in this section is the fact that, despite its inflection for tense, the indicative verb is compatible with anaphoric tense, but only in selected contexts.

In (31), we see *de*-indicatives as relatives or adverbial adjuncts. In these contexts, they have other time frames than the matrix in relation to the deictic Speech Time.

(31) a. *au   adus   și   capul   Sfântului   Grigorie Bogoslav,   **de**
        have.3PL=   brought   also   head.the   Saint.the.GEN   Grigorie Bogoslav   that
        stă   până   astădzi
        stays   until   today
        'they also brought Saint Bogoslav's head, which remains until today' (Neculce {111})
    b. *ce   scrie   poticala   ce   au petrecut   Ștefan   vodă   cu*
        but   writes   hurdle.the   that   has=passed   Stefan   King   with
        *ajutoriul   lor,   **de**   au perit   cu   toți*
        help.the   their   DE   have.3=died   with   all
        'but he writes about the hurdles King Stefan overcame with their help, when they all died' (Ureche 74)

The independent tense values in (31a, b) are predictable from the finite morphology of the verb, and the presence of *de* does not affect the tense valuation, which is unsurprising given its complete loss of semantic features. In these contexts, *de* freely alternates with *care* 'which' and *că*, respectively – for the latter see (12) in the previous section.

In light of this fact, we must assume that the anaphoricity in selected *de*-indicatives arises from the value setting of the feature cluster in C, under s/c-selection, which overrides the morphological information. For similar s/c-selection configurations in English, where the embedded verb is in the infinitive, Stowell (1982) proposes that the infinitive CP has a temporal operator in C, whose value is determined by the matrix verb. The predictions this analysis makes

for English also apply to Old Romanian infinitives, where anaphoricity is obligatory under selection, irrespective of whether the infinitive CP is full-fledged or truncated (see Chapter 7).

We showed that *de*-indicative complements freely alternate with *a*-infinitive complements, as further confirmed in (32); hence, Stowell's temporal operator must be extended to *de*-indicative complements.

(32) a. *carăle   au   nevoit   **de**   i-au   împlinit*
   carts.the has=   striven DE   them=has=   filled
   'he strove to fill the carts' (CM II {161})
  b. *să   nevoia   **a**   se   preface*
   REFL=   strove.3 INF   REFL   pretend
   'he was striving to pretend' (CM II {179})

The functional equivalence between infinitive and indicative complements indicates that the matrix verb's semantic features selects a [-finite] Fin, which in turn may only select [-tense] T. The tense/agreement inflection on the verb is irrelevant, since the verb merges in a configuration set for anaphoric T. The grammatical mood of the embedded verb is also irrelevant, since grammatical [mood] is in T (versus Fin) and, being indicative (i.e. default), does not involve valuation from [modal] Fin.[99]

Confirmation for this analysis comes from the constraint on clause fronting. There is strong negative evidence against the fronting of *de*-indicative complements in the Old Romanian texts, and we can confirm this constraint on the basis of Modern Romanian, as in (33a). In sum, while infinitives can be fronted, as in (33b), their *de*-indicative counterpart cannot, as in (33a).

(33) a. **[De-a   spălat   vasele]   abia   a apucat.*
   DE=has=   washed   dishes.the barely   has=managed
   'Intended: 'As for washing dishes, he has barely managed it.'

  b. *Şoimul   înaintea   Corbului   lucrurile   Bâtlanului   [[a   aşedza]ᵢ*
   eagle.the before   raven.the.GEN things   hern.the.GEN INF   arrange
   să apucă tᵢ]
   REFL=started.3
   'The Eagle started to arrange the Hern's things in front of the Raven'
          (Cantemir I.I)

The constraint on fronting in (33) reflects on the interaction between the marked setting on C for anaphoricity and the verbal inflection in the embedded clause. Following up on Stowell's (1982) analysis, the temporal operator can bind its variable in the selected CP even when fronting takes place, as in (33b). We point out, however, that this is contingent on the verbal inflection: an infinitive verb form values embedded T as [-tense], which, by default, involves [-finite] Fin. On the other hand, in the fronted indicative CP in (33a), the tense endings on the embedded verb may be analyzed as valuing T for [+tense], and thus, disquafying it as a variable to the matrix temporal operator. The only way T obtains a [-finite] value in indicatives is

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[99] One may reasonably wonder why, then, English infinitives do not alternate with non-finite indicatives, as seen in Romanian. We assume that this follows from major parametric contrasts concerning the null subject and VSO word order, as opposed to differences in the C feature sets or selection mechanisms.

when it remains in the c-command domain of its matrix selector, or else *de* is computed as Force (instead of Fin), which by default entails a [+finite] Fin, as in unselected clauses.

From this perspective, the contrast between selected *că*- and *de*-indicatives arises not from the composition of the feature cluster in C or the intrinsic properties of the complementizers, but from the values of [finite] in Fin, such as set under s/c-selection. That is, the default [+finite] value of Fin needs not be spelled out, so *că* is constantly merged in Force versus Fin (except in recomplementation structures, where a second *că* optionally merges in Fin and spells out [+finite]). On the other hand, [-finite] is the marked value of Fin, and needs not only lexical visibility (hence the obligatory merge of *de* in Fin) but also hierarchical visibility (i.e. c-command), hence, the constraint on fronting.

5.2.2. *De* fails to check [modal]

A complementizer merged in Fin to check [finite] must be semantically compatible with the [modal] feature, which is also in Fin. Semantic bleaching allows *de* to comply with this requirement. However, as we argue in this section, semantic bleaching is also the reason why *de* fails to check [modal].

The first indication in this respect comes from its distribution: as pointed out in the previous sections, *de* may equally occur in indicatives where [modal] is *realis*, and in imperatives, where [modal] is *irrealis*. Hence, it is orthogonal to clausal modality.

Another indication comes from the compatibility of *de* with any type of T[mood]. For example, in (34), *de* combines with indicatives, infinitives, subjunctives and supine complements, all of which have anaphoric T.

(34) a.   *s-au*   *prilejit*   ***de***   *veniia*   *atuncea*   **indicative**
       REFL=have.3   happened   DE   came.3   then
       'they happened to come at that time' (Costin 34)

      b.   *văzu*   *Lia*   *cum*   *au stătut*   ***de***   *a*   *mai*   *naşte*   **infinitive**
          saw.3   Lia   that   has=stopped   DE   INF   more=   deliver
          'And he saw that Lia stopped bearing children' (BB {21})

      c.   *cel*   *tânar*   *nu*   *vru*   ***de***   *să*   *treacă*   *acest lucru*   **subjunct.**
          the   young   not   wanted.3   DE   SUBJ   pass.SUBJ.3   this   matter
          'And the young one did not want this matter to be passed over' (PO {111})

      d.   *Şi*   *astădzi*   *ieste*   ***de***   *pomenit*   *acel*   *loc*   **supine**
          even   today   is   DE   remembered   that   place
          'And even today we should remember that place' (Ureche 102/42)

Other complementizers merged in Fin restrict the type of mood the embedded T may have. For example, *a* requires infinitive mood. The contrast between *de* and *a* can be attributed to the presence of modal features on the latter but not on the former; therefore, only *a* needs to c-select for a compatible T [mood].

Most importantly, (34b, c) attests to the co-occurrence of *de* with other complementizers, in *de+a* and *de+să* sequences. Theoretically, there can only be one free morpheme per terminal node, so two separate heads must be involved in these structures. We argued in Chapter 4 that

Fin in these situations is further split into two heads: Fin 1 encoding finiteness, and Fin2 encoding modality, following Hill (2013c). Consequently, in (34b, c) *a* and *să*, respectively, spell out Fin2 and check modality, while *de* spells out Fin1. This is a clear piece of evidence that *de* does not check modality, since it needs *a* or *să* to supply the needed operation. Thus, although *de* is compatible with the variety of verbal moods listed in (34), it cannot head an infinitive or a subjunctive clause by itself; hence, the ungrammaticality of *de naşte 'DE deliver.INF' or *de treacă 'DE pass.SUBJ.3'.

This line of analysis raises a question for *de*-indicatives and *de*-supines, as seen in (34): since there is no other complementizer in these CPs, how is the [modal] feature checked? For supines, we argue for V-to-Fin2 in Chapter 9. For indicatives, we point out here that high verb movement is not a possibility, since the word order is clitic > V, as already discussed and illustrated again in (35).

(35) a.　*au apucatŭ*　***de***　*au scos*　　　*o samă*　*de pedestraşi*　*ce*　*era*　　*în baştă*
　　　　has=managed　DE　has=extracted　a group　of infantry　　that　were　in trench
　　　　'he managed to save a group of infantry that was in the trench' (Costin 44)

　　b.　*va căuta*　　***de***　***va vedea***　　*acel*　　*şarpe*
　　　　will.3SG=try　DE　will.3SG=see　that　　snake
　　　　'he'll try to see that snake' (Coresi EV {518})

In (35), the [modal] feature of Fin is checked via Agree by the embedded indicative verb. However, while the indicative inflection has an inherent value for TAM features, T is uninterpretable and checking can only occur via the features on the matrix verb. Thus, although *de* appears by itself in Fin, its checking function and spell out is restricted to Fin1 [-finite], while [modal] is processed and spelled out by other means (i.e., the verb, *a* or *să*).

For *de*-indicative complements, this analysis leads us to the representation in (36). In this formula, '-□' stands for grammatical mood marking, which is indicative in *de*-indicatives, but imperative in *de*-imperatives (see Chapter 4).

(36)　　([$_{ForceP}$ Force) [$_{FinP1}$ Fin-***de*** [$_{FinP2}$ Fin-**Ø** [$_{TP}$ …V-□…]]]]

This analysis indicates that *de* is used only for the spell out of [finite], and whenever it occurs in selected clauses, it signals the presence of a split Fin.

5.3. Diachronic change: structure and interpretation

The Old Romanian texts indicate a sharp change in the structure and distribution of *de*-indicative complements between the 17th and the 18th centuries. The two factors interact: the reduction in the classes of verbs that select *de*-indicative clauses coincides with a reduction in the size of the CP field of these constructions. More precisely, the three classes of verbs that remained relatively productive with *de*-indicative clauses are those of non-thematic verbs or verbs with obligatory control, which necessarily select for a CP field without ForceP (i.e., raising, aspectuals, implicatives, causatives). Furthermore, TopP and FocP are also systematically absent from these constructions in the *Chronicles*. Hence, *de*-indicative complements, which could project either to ForceP (i.e., full-fledged) or to FinP (i.e., truncated)

in the texts of the 16th -17th centuries, as further shown in (37), are reduced to strictly FinP in the *Chronicles* (18th century).

(37) a.   *că*   *<u>feace</u>*   *[de*   *să miră*   *toţi*   *de stradaniia*   *ei]*   **full-fledged**
         for   makes   DE   REFL=wonder.3   all   of effort.the   her
         'for it makes it that they all wonder at her effort' (Dosoftei VS {27r})

     b.   *<u>Face-te-voiu</u>*   *[de*   *ti-i*   *mira*   *şi*   **truncated**
         make=you=will.1SG   DE   REFL=will.2SG=   wonder   and
         dzâlele   *încă-ţ*   *voiŭ lua*   *curund]*
         days.the   still=to.you=   will.1SG= take   soon
         'I'll make you wonder and will still take your life soon' (Dosoftei VS {31r})

For (37a), we surmise that *de* in Fin checks the clause typing feature of Force through long distance Agree. [100] In (37b), the *de*-indicative is truncated to allow for OC. In informal Modern Romanian, only the truncated CP is preserved, and mostly with causatives, indicating a further restriction in the semantic classes of the matrix verb. Furthermore, this construction is no longer productive.

     Accordingly, we can relate the diachronic evolution of this construction to the loss of its full-fledged CP, which arguably triggered a reduction and specialization in its distribution. We suggest this happened as a result of competition from other complementizers that were more specificialized than *de*; basically, *de* not only could not spell out modality but also surfaced in both finite (e.g., examples (11) and (12) above) and non-finite clauses. In Modern Romanian, this construction is deemed archaic and is relegated to sub-standard registers, the *să*-subjunctive option being preferred.

     Now we can summarize the evolution of *de*-indicative complements, such as attested in Old Romanian texts: *De*-indicatives see a diachronic change from a (non)actualized reading in the 16th century to actualized readings in the 18th century onward (with subsequent loss in selected contexts in Modern Romanian). Matrix verbs requiring actualization readings are readily compatible with *de*-indicatives (since the inflection yields *realis* modality and aspectual perfectivity), and eventually prefer these to subjunctive and infinitive complements.

     While the above discussion explains why *de*-indicative complements specialized the way they did and saw a surge in use in the 18th century, it does not explain why they were eventually eliminated in favour of *a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives. We show in the following two chapters that *să* and *a* reach a stage where each of them can check both [finite] and [modal] features, which leads to the remerging of the split Fin structure we attributed to *de* in (36). A remerged Fin is preferable to a split Fin on economy grounds and it makes sense that if a particular vocabulary item can check both features of Fin, it will be preferred over *de* which cannot.

5.4. Balkan subjunctives

     Section 2 above mentioned that *de*-indicative complements are a replica of the Bulgarian subjunctive complement. In this section, we formalize this similarity by showing that the

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[100] This is unproblematic as it is often the case that in split left peripheries, either Force or Fin remains null (Rizzi 1997, Roberts 2001, inter alia).

organization of the CP and the alternation between its full-fledged and its truncated size under the same verb in Old Romanian conform to the general pattern of Balkan subjunctives.

      Consider the alternation of the Bulgarian *da*-subjunctive complements in (38), and of the Greek *na*-subjunctives in (39).

(38) a.   *Iskam   na   moreto   s   Marija **da**   otide.*[101]
        want.1SG on   sea.the with Maria SUBJ goes.PF
        'I want him/her to go to the sea with Maria.'

    b.   *Iskam   **da**   dojde.*
        want.1SG SUBJ leave.1SG
        'I want to leave.'

(39) a.   *Thelo   sti   thalasa   me   ti   Maria **na**   pai   aftos.*[102]
        want.1SG to.the sea   with the Maria SUBJ goes he
        'I want him to go to the sea with Maria.'

    b.   *Thelo   **na**   se   do.*
        want.1SG SUBJ you=   see.1SG
        'I want to see you.'

The particles *da* and *na* head an indicative clause, on a par with *de* in Old Romanian. This clause is selected by a verb with optional control, and, under the same verb, it may display either a full-fledged CP, as in (38a) and (39a), where the subjects are different for the matrix and the embedded verb; or a truncated CP, as in (38b) and (39b), where the matrix and the embedded verbs share the same subject. This alternation is identical to the one illustrated in (37). Hence, when it comes to the syntactic strategy for subject obviation, Old Romanian follows the Balkan pattern, by switching between full-fledged and truncated CPs while maintaining the same verb form, instead of the Romance pattern, where the full-fledged/truncated CP switch also involves the switch in verbal morphology (i.e., subjunctive or infinitive).

      Furthermore, the internal organization of the CP field is similar for the Balkan languages. Thus, both *da* and *na* are merged above the clausal negation, as in (40a)/(41a). In that position, they can be preceded by constituents fronted to Topic and Focus, as in (40b)/(41b), in the same way *de* is in Old Romanian. Hence, all these particles are in Fin.

(40) a.   *Iskam   toj   **da**   <u>ne</u>   hodi.*
        want.1SG he   SUBJ not goes.IMPF
        'I want him to not go.'

    b.   *Iskam   na   moreto   s   Marija **da**   otide,   ne   s   Ana.*
        want.1SG on   sea.the with Maria SUBJ goes.PF not with Ana
        'I want him/her to go to the sea with Maria, not with Ana.'

(41) a.   *Thelo   aftos **na**   <u>min</u>   pai.*

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[101] Data from Olga Mladenova (p.c.)
[102] Data from Melita Stavrou (p.c.)

| want.1SG | | he | SUBJ | not | goes |

'I want him to not go.'

b.   *Thelo*   *sti*   *thalasa*   *me*   *ti*   *Maria*   **na**   *pai*   *aftos,*
      want.1SG   to.the   sea   with   the   Maria   SUBJ   goes   he
      oxi   *me*   *tin*   *Ana.*
      not   with   the   Ana
      'I want him to go to the sea with Maria, not with Ana.'

The word order in (40)/(41) indicates the underlying structure in (42).

(42)   (ForceP) > (TopP) > (FocusP) > Fin-**da/na** > (NegP) > TP$_{(indicative)}$

As shown in the cartographic tests of this chapter, *de*-indicative complements replicate the structure in (42) insofar as they have *de* merged in Fin, and the verb in T is invariably in indicative, unlike the other clausal complements, which display infinitive or subjunctive verb forms. Hence, **de-indicative complements are Balkan subjunctives.**

     The peculiarity of *de*-indicative complements in Old Romanian consists in the splitting of Fin, in a way that does not apply to the Bulgarian and Greek counterparts, where *da* and *na*, respectively, are specialized to just these constructions, unlike *de* in Old Romanian, which can appear not only with indicatives, but also with *a*-infinitives or *să*-subjunctives and, later, with supines, as shown in (34) and in the remainder of this book.

     It is difficult to predict whether the splitting of Fin was in place since the emergence of this construction or whether it arose at a later date (though, if Romance is any indication, it is possible that Fin-*de* was not split from the very beginning). What we see is that the splitting remained in the grammar and can be seen in the other clausal complements, although on an optional basis. Thus, although *de* merges in Fin according to a Balkan derivational pattern, its intrinsic properties do not exactly match the properties of *na* or *da*, and the relevant variation has to do with the reanalysis and semantic bleaching of this element (loss of modality) during the Romanization process; split Fin is a consequences of this typological mix between the Balkan syntactic configuration and the Romance morphological means for spell out.

6. Conclusions

     This chapter focused on *de*-indicative clauses in selected contexts. We showed that *de* is functionally equivalent to *că* 'that', which qualifies it as a complementizer. While both *de* and *că* 'that' appear in the CP of selected indicative clauses, *de*-indicatives are specialized as non-finite clauses, whereas *că* 'that'-indicatives are finite. Thus, only *de*-indicatives may occur in free alternation with *a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives under the same matrix verbs.

     Formally, we derive this distribution from the features of the indicative CP field: verbs may select either a [+finite] CP, in which case C is spelled-out as *că* 'that' (in Force), and the embedded verb has obligatory inflection for tense; or they may select a [- finite] CP, in which case C is spelled-out as *de* 'to' (in Fin), and the embedded verb is unrestricted as to its inflection. This derivational pattern equally underlies *de*-indicative, *a*-infinitive and *să*-subjunctive complements, differences arising only in the mechanism of feature checking, but not in the hierarchy and the distribution of features within the CP field. More precisely, at the time of the

Old Romanian texts, the complementizer *de* is able to spell out the [-finite] feature but not the [modal] feature of Fin in selected contexts, while in non-selected contexts it spells out Force. In selected *de*-indicatives, the [modal] feature is spelled out on the inflected verb, via licensing from the c-commanding selector. In effect, we argued for a Fin split over two heads, where *de* lexicalizes Fin1, containing [-finite], whereas Fin2 containing [modal] is spell out through T.

Cross-linguistic comparison with Bulgarian and Greek indicates that *de*-indicative complements replicate subjunctive complements in these languages. We infer that *de*-indicative complements emerged in Old Romanian as a language contact induced change, within the Balkan Sprachbund, for the replacement of the original *–re* (versus the *a* marked) infinitive from the Danubian Latin. Selected *de*-indicatives would then be the first/earliest type of Romanian subjunctive clause, or at least they emerged concurrently with the *a*-infinitive (i.e., by assuming co-occurring Balkan and Romance attempts to replace the infinitive).

Observations on the frequency of *de*-indicative complements in the texts indicated the following: (i) a switch in the distribution of *de*-indicative complements from an unproductive usage under a wide range of verb classes (16th – 17th centuries) to a productive usage under only three verb classes (18th c. onward): aspectuals, causatives, and subject raising verbs; (ii) a switch from a (non)actualized reading to an actualized reading (i.e. *realis* and perfective). Point (i) suggests that full-fledged *de*-indicatives were on their way out in the 16th century, presumably being replaced by CPs with more specific FinPs, while point (ii) explains the positive polarity nature of *de*-indicative complements, at least, from the 18th century onward. Configurations that need a full-fledged CP complement display mostly *să*-subjunctives in the 18th century. Crucially, *a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives replace the *de*-indicatives within the same syntactic configuration, that is, the typical underlying structure for a Balkan subjunctive clause.

Chapter 7:   *A*-infinitives: A version of the Balkan subjunctive

1. **Infinitive inflection**
   The introduction of *long* and *short* infinitives.

2. **Distribution**
   The occurrence of infinitive clauses in selected and unselected positions.

3. **Grammatical category**
   The underspecification of long infinitives for [N] or [V] categories.

4. **Infinitive *a***
   - which *ad* is infinitive *a*? The distinction between the preposition *a* and the complementizer *a*.
   - *a* is a complementizer, not an inflectional marker for grammatical mood.

5. **Tests and analysis**
   Selected *a*-infinitives have the underlying structure of the Balkan subjunctive.

6. **Cross- and intra-linguistic variation**
   Traces of Romance options for infinitive complementation; bare infinitives; the replacement of infinitives by subjunctives.

7. **Conclusions**

This chapter is dedicated to infinitive clauses in Old Romanian, with special focus on *a*-infinitives in selected contexts, as in (1). The pre-verbal element *a* is glossed as INF to signal its exclusive association with the infinitive clause.

(1) a.　　*iară　doo　părţi　a　legiei　　　iaste　[a　nu　viia noi　cu　iale]*
　　　　　but　two　parts　of　law.the.GEN　is　　INF　not　live　we　with　them
　　　　　'and two parts of the law is that we should not live with them' (PO {6})

　　b.　　*începură　　　oamenii　　[a　se înmulţi　　pre　pământ]　şi*
　　　　　began.3PL　　　men.the　　INF　REFL=multiply　on　earth　　　and
　　　　　[a　naşte　feate]
　　　　　INF　bear　　girls
　　　　　'people began to multiply on Earth and to produce girls' (PO {24})

　　c.　　*Dar　şi　turcii　încă　au stătut　şi　s-au*
　　　　　but　also　Turks.the　also　have.3=ceased　and　REFL-have.3=
　　　　　lăsat　de　a　mai　face　năvală.
　　　　　stopped.3　DE　INF　more=　make　inrush
　　　　　'But the Turks also halted and stopped making inrush pressure' (Neculce 293)

Infinitive complements introduced by *a* commonly occur in Romance languages (e.g., French: *prêt à partir* 'ready to leave'). However, the Old Romanian construction has three outstanding peculiarities:

(i)　　*A* is the only complementizer that may head an infinitive (e.g., in French either *à* or *de* may fulfil this function).

(ii)　　*A*-infinitives may have lexical subjects in Nominative Case, as in (1a), as well as null controlled subjects, as in (1b, c). In (1a), the subject of the infinitive clause is the Nominative strong pronoun *noi* 'we'; whereas in (1b) the subject of the infinitive is null and co-referential with the matrix subject. In most Romance languages, infinitive complements do not allow for lexical subjects (Sitaridou 2002), although there are some notable exceptions in personal infinitives, as discussed in Ledgeway (1998).

(iii)　　In addition to *a*, the clause may also have the complementizer *de*, as in (1c). The two elements form a syllable *de-a* or occur in separation as *de a*, in free variation. Free variation also applies to the use of single *a* in alternation with *de-a/de a.*

We argue that (i) is the result of the general reanalysis of prepositional complementizers that took place during the Romanization process, while (ii) arises from the derivation of selected infinitives according to the pattern of the Balkan subjunctive. From this perspective, (iii) is the outcome of merging Romance morphology into a Balkan subjunctive configuration, which optionally ends up with a split Fin in Old Romanian, on a par with the CP of selected *de*-indicatives, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Infinitive clauses are attested in Old Romanian from the first available texts. However, when it comes to frequency, there is wide variation not only with respect to the type of syntactic contexts they may occur in, but also to their use compared to other competing options, that is, *de*-indicatives and *să*-subjunctives. In the earliest documents (see the first 18 texts in *Crestomaţia* edited by Mareş 1994), there is a clear preference for *să*-subjunctive clauses and *că*-indicatives,

whereas *a*-infinitives are rare and become better represented in longer translations by the end of the 16th century. We also noticed a frequency difference according to the language of the original source (in translations) and the regional variety of Romanian they are written in: Church Slavonic originals tend to generate more *să*-subjunctives and *de*-indicatives in the Romanian of Wallachia or Moldova (e.g., *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki*, approx. 1500; *Psaltirea Voroneţeană* 1551-58), whereas Hungarian originals tend to generate more *a*-infinitives in the Romanian of Transylvania (e.g., *Palia de la Orăştie*, 1582). Furthermore, the language register is another factor: the more intellectual the writing is intended to be, the more *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives we find, no matter at what point the writing is on the timeline. For example, a religious incantation meant to be easily memorized, from around 1535, has *să*-subjunctives but no *de*-indicatives or *a*-infinitives (Mareş 1994: 52-53), whereas Neculce's *Chronicle* from the 18th century has them all. We conclude that the writing style is important, the more conservative and archaic language providing more examples of *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives, especially where long infinitives are concerned.

The discussion in this chapter is organized as follows: In sections 1, 2, 3, 4 we provide morphological, etymological and lexical information on the infinitive form and the infinitive complementizer *a*, as well as an overview of the syntactic distribution of infinitive clauses. Some of the conclusions we reach in these sections are different from those put forth in the current literature, with consequences for the formal analysis (e.g., the origin and status of *a*; the account for the nominalization of infinitives). We then continue with cartographic tests and a formal analysis of infinitive complements, in section 5, where we show that both *de* and *a* are Fin complementizers, and that *a*-infinitives are derived through a Balkan subjunctive pattern. In section 6, we present relics of competition between *–re*, *de* and *a* as markers for infinitive C, and discuss cases of bare infinitives. This section also discusses the replacement of infinitives by subjunctives from the perspective of the formal analysis proposed in the chapter.

1. Infinitive inflection

Romanian inherits from Latin the infinitive form that qualified as the active present infinitive (the other forms have been lost; Fischer 1985 a.o.). This is in line with what was transmitted to other Romance languages. Hence, in its oldest version, the Old Romanian infinitive displays the ending *–re* that is generally assumed to indicate the grammatical mood (e.g., *venire* 'come' < stem *veni* + mood marker *–re*). This form is traditionally labeled as the **long infinitive**.

Eventually (i.e., after the establishment of *a* as an infinitive complementizer), the mood marking ending is dropped, and the infinitive form consists only of the infinitive stem (e.g., *veni* 'come').[103] This form is traditionally labeled as the **short infinitive**.

In addition, the texts also display variation in long infinitives, where the ending is *–re* or -*rea* (e.g., *venirea* 'come'), with the segment [a] attached. There is some debate in the literature as to whether this *–a* is a pure phonological insertion (e.g., by analogy with the adverbial endings, as in Diaconescu 1977), or whether it represents the feminine singular definite article *a*, which is enclitic on Romanian nouns (e.g., Frîncu 1969; see also Nedelcu 2013 and references therein). We remain agnostic to this issue, since the presence of *–re* versus *-rea*, or the absence of any

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[103] The dropping of the ending *–re* is dated around the 13th century, that is, before the Istro-Romanian dialect split from (proto)-Romanian (Diaconescu 1977).

ending, makes no difference for the underlying syntactic configuration of infinitive clauses (see also Pană-Dindelegan 2008). As we show later in this chapter, the deciding factor for the grammatical category and distribution of infinitives consists in the presence or the absence of a complementizer or an equivalent clausal indicator (e.g., *wh*-phrases). In the absence of such an element, the infinitive is embedded either under an auxiliary, forming a complex tense (e.g., the analytic future ***va veni*** 'will.3SG come.INF'), or under a nominal determiner, forming a nominal phrase (e.g., *veni**rile*** 'comings.the'/'the comings').

2. Distribution

In Old Romanian, infinitive clauses occur in both selected and unselected contexts. In selected contexts, *a*-infinitives occur in complement clauses under verbs (2a), nouns (2b), and adjectives (2c), or as subject clauses with adjective predicates in *tough* constructions (2d) or non-verbal predicates elsewhere (2e), and predicates with existential 'be'(3e).[104] The selecting category is underlined in (2).

(2) a. *însă   muiarea   să   n-<u>ară</u>   <u>vrea</u>   [a   **veni**   cu   tine]*
      but   woman.the   if   not=would.3   want   INF   come   with   you
      mântuit   very   fi   de   giurământ
      absolved   will.2SG= be   of   engagement
      'but if the woman will not want to come with you, you will be absolved of your engagement' (PO {76})

    b. *iaste   <u>obiceaiu</u>   [a   **ieşi**   a   scoate   apă]*
      is   habit   INF go.out   INF   take.out   water
      'there is the habit to go out and bring water (from the fountains)' (PO {76})

    c. *<u>iubitor</u>   [a   **vărsa**   sângele   oamenilor]*
      keen   INF spill   blood.the   men.the.GEN
      'keen to spill men's blood' (CM I {188})

    d. *C-am   fost   cugetat   şi   aceasta   ca   să   fie   mai   <u>lesne</u>*
      for=have.1   been   thought   also   this   CA   SUBJ   be   more   readily
      *şi   mai   <u>iuşor</u>   [a   **ceti**   şi   **a**   **înţeleage**   pentru   oamenii*
      and   more   easy   INF read   and   INF   understand   for   men.the
      ceia   proştii]
      those   simple
      'For I have also thought about this, that it is easier and more accessible for the simple folk to read and understand' (Coresi EV {VIII})

    e. *lu Moisi   <u>fu-i</u>   iară   <u>de iznoavă</u>   [a   **proceti**   fiilor   acelora]*
      to Moisis   was=to.him   again   likely   INF read   to.sons.the   those
      'It was again likely that Moses will read to those sons.' (PO {5})

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[104] As in Chapter 6, from now on we treat both subject and complement clauses together, under complementation.

In the same contexts, *de* may co-occur with *a*, as in (3), with the selecting category underlined.

(3) a.   *iară   vicleanul   diavol   nu   mai   <u>părăsiia</u>   [**de-a**   o   supărarea]*
          but   sly.the   devil   not   more=   stopped.3   DE-INF   her=   bother.INF
          'but the sly devil did not stop bothering her' (Varlaam C {13v})

     b.   *pierduse   şi   Schinder-paşea   <u>nedejde</u>   [**de** a-i   dobândire]*
          lost.3   also   Schinder-Pasha   hope   DE   INF=them   obtain.INF
          'And Pasha Schinder had also lost hope of obtaining them' (Costin 48)

     c.   <u>*destoinic*</u>   [**de   a**   *fi*   *binecuvântat*]
          worthy   DE   INF   be   blessed
          'worthy to be blessed' (CM II {7})

     d.   *mult   <u>greu</u>   era   [**de**   **a**   să   rădica   den   scaun]*
          much   hard   was   DE   INF   REFL=   lift   from   chair
          'it was very hard for him to get out of his chair' (CM II {107})

     e.   *nu   <u>era</u>   [**de-a**   şuguire   cu   dânsul]*
          not   was   DE-INF   joke.INF   with   him
          'there was no joking with him' (Costin 90)

There are also short infinitives without *a*, which are selected by verbs, as in (4), either with no further evidence of a CP, as in (4a), or in the presence of a *wh*-phrase, as in (4b). These forms are traditionally labelled as **bare infinitives**.

(4) a.   *Şi   aceastea   eu   le   spuş   vrăjitorilor,   ce   nime*
          and   these   I   them=   told.1SG   witches.the.DAT   but   nobody
          *nu   le   <u>ştiu</u>   [**dezlega**].*
          not   them=   knew.3   solve
          'I told these (riddles) to the witches but nobody could solve them.' (PO {141})

     b.   *iară   să   nu   va   <u>avea</u>   [de   unde   **plăti**],   el   să-l*
          but   if   not   will.3SG=   have   from   where   pay   he   SUBJ=him
          vândză   derept   acea   marhă   furată.
          sell.SUBJ.3   for   that   good   stolen
          'but if he doesn't have what to pay with, he should sell him on the account of the stolen goods' (PO {250})

There are other rare variations in the composition of selected infinitives (e.g., relics of *de* without *a*) which will be presented and discussed in the general analysis.

       When unselected, *a*-infinitives occur in a variety of contexts, including in root clauses, as in (5a, b), where the infinitive is coordinated with an indicative clause (akin to what we saw for gerunds in Chapter 5). We also found a root infinitive without *a*, shown in (5c). [105]

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[105] Emanuela Timotin (p.c.) points out that this form is translated or edited differently in BB (1688: 150, col. II), i.e., *Greşit-au; nu Lui, fii huliţi!* 'They have sinned; not to Him, guilty sons!'. This translation is not consistent with the

(5) a. *Preaîmblă   Machiedonia   şi   Ahaiia   **şi   a   mearrge**   în Rusalim*
        wander.3   Macedonia   and Ahaia   and INF go   to Jerusalim
        'Macedonia and Ahaia are on their way and going to Jerusalim'
                                (CV apud Nedelcu 2013: 21)

   b. *Pre   el   nici   întru   un   chip   să   nu-l   vătămăm,   nece*
       DOM   him   not   in   a   way   SUBJ not=him offend.1PL nor
       muiarea-i,   nece   feciorii,   nece   fãmeaia,   nece   în cinstea
       wife.the=his   nor   sons.the   nor   woman.the nor   in pride.the
       *lui,   nece   în avuţia   lui,   **ce   a   păzi**   grija   lui*
       his   nor   in wealth.the   his   but   INF guard   care.the   his
       ca   şi   a   noastră.
       as   also of ours
       'By no means should we offend him, in regard to his wife, sons, woman, his pride or
       his wealth, but we should guard his concerns as if they were ours.' (Coresi T.EV {89})

   c. *Dereptŭ   e   şi   preapodobnic   Domnul.   **Greşire**   nu   a   lui*
       just   is   and   merciful   God.the   sin.INF   not   to   him
       feciori   vinovaţi.
       sons   guilty
       'God is just and merciful. To sin is not in Him, you blameworthy sons.'
                                (*Crest*, PV 1551-86, 60)

Root infinitives are very rare, non-productive, and found only in translations, so for these reasons
we only signal their presence here but will not dwell on them, because we do not have sufficient
material for tests. From what we see, the *a*-infinitive root clause is the second term of a
coordinated construction, and does not seem to be able to occur by itself, in out-of-the blue
contexts (unlike gerund clauses; see Chapter 5).

        Relative clauses, as in (6), are another non-selected context for *a*-infinitives. *De* is
generally present in these constructions (6b), but not obligatory (6a).

(6) a. *doamne,   bine   ştii   cum că   feciori   nătari   am   cu   mine,*
        god.VOC   well   know.2SG   that   sons   disabled   have.1SG   with   me
        *dobitoc   şi   **vaci   [a   făta]**   şi   să   le   vor   prea*
        animal   and cows   INF deliver   and if   them= will.3PL   too
        mâna,   muri-vor   într-o   dzi   toate   ciurdele.
        chase   die=will.3PL   in-one   day   all   herds.the
        'God, you know only too well that I have with me disabled sons, animals and cows
        that will give birth and if they chase them too much, all the herds will die in one day.'
                                (PO {114})

   b. **loc   [de   a   să   zăbovi   nu   era]**
       place   DE   INF REFL= linger   not was
       'there was no place to linger in' (Ureche 155)

Finally, adverbial adjuncts also display *a*-infinitives, as in (7), especially for conveying a purpose reading. Adverbial adjuncts tend to appear without prepositions, as in (7a), the prepositional versions as in (7b) being confined to a reduced set of time related prepositions (e.g., *înainte* 'before' and *până* 'until').

(7) a. *Dup-aceia   şedzu   gios   nărodul   a   mânca   şi   a   bea*
         after-that   sat.3   down   people.the   INF   eat   and   INF   drink
         şi   se   sculă   a   giuca
         and   REFL=   got.up   INF   dance
         'After that, the people sat down to eat and to drink and got up to dance'
                                    (PO {287})
   b. *mai   înainte   decât   a   răsări   pre   pământ*
       more   before   than   INF   rise   on   earth
       'before rising on Earth' BB ({FacereaCAPII})

Standard Modern Romanian lost the infinitive complement to most verbs and in *tough* constructions, where it has been replaced with the *să*-subjunctive clause or with the supine. Infinitive complements are still preserved under adjectives, in competition with *să*-subjunctives, and are very productive under selection by nouns, where they are preferred over *să*-subjunctives. Infinitive clauses are also productive as adverbial adjuncts, where their embedding under prepositions has increased. On the other hand, the supine has completely replaced the infinitive in non-finite relatives.

3. Grammatical category

The Latin infinitive has always been categorially ambiguous, having both nominal and verbal properties. That is why, even when the Latin infinitive generated a clause, this clause could be used in the subject position of a verb (Miller 2000). This is not surprising, considering that, historically, the infinitive is a denominal verb form. In this respect, Wackernagel argued that the infinitive endings vary so much cross-linguistically or even intra-linguistically because the forms are derived from Proto-Indo-European nouns, mostly but not always from Dative nouns (Wackernagel apud Langslow 2009: 325).

The infinitive inherited in Old Romanian (i.e., the long infinitive) is not different in this respect, being productive in two directions: for the nominal paradigm and for the verbal paradigm, as amply attested since the earliest texts. Thus, the long infinitive projects either a nominal phrase (with articles and/or adjectives), as in (8a), or a clausal construct, as in (8b), in which case the complementizer *a* is present.

(8) a. **naşterea   ta**   **infinitive noun**
         birth.INF.the   your
         'your birth' (PO {84})

   b. *văzu   Liia   cum că   era   stătută   [de-a   naşterea]*   **infinitive verb**
       saw.3   Liia   that   was   stopped   DE-INF   deliver.INF
       'he saw that Liia had stopped giving birth' (PO {100})

Nominal infinitives are very productive in the early texts; some of these forms have disappeared in Modern Romanian (see also Pană-Dindelegan 2013).

Recent studies relate the existence of the nominal infinitive in Modern Romanian to a **nominalization** process, consisting of the gradual recategorization of the Old Romanian verbal infinitive (e.g., Stan 2012; Nedelcu 2013). In particular, the hypothesis is that the complementizer *a* is eliminated, and the long infinitive is recategorized as a noun. Especially sensitive to this change would be constructions with *de-a* + long infinitive, as in (8b), where the infinitive ending *–rea* would give clues for a reanalysis in terms of enclitic definite article, while *de* has always been a preposition.

There is no empirical support for this hypothesis: (i) *A* is strongly maintained with infinitives in Modern Romanian, wherever the infinitive clause has been preserved. There is no loss of *a* but loss of the *a*-infinitive as a clause structure in certain contexts. (ii) The analysis cannot discriminate between long and short infinitives, since both occur unde *a/de-a*, but short infinitives do not nominalize. (iii) The analysis predicts that the number of infinitive based nouns must be higher after the elimination of *a*. In other words, we should be able to see more nominal infinitives in the 18th century texts than in the 16th century text, which is not proven.[106] (iv) *De* is a complementizer, not a preposition in the relevant contexts, as argued later in this chapter; (v) Constructions as in (9) are supposed to provide clues for nominalization, but such constructions have clitics, sentence negation and complementizers, all of which counter a nominal analysis of the infinitive. Furthermore, the incidence of *de-a*+infinitive *–rea* constructions is negligible (e.g., (9) is the only example in the respective text, containing over 2,760 sentences), whereas the number of nominal infinitives already existing in the earliest texts is high (see also the Appendix in Dragomirescu 2013).

(9)   *de-a   nu   le   putearea   spune*
        DE-INF not   to.them=   can.INF   tell
        'to not be able to tell them' (Cod Tod {102r})

To conclude, there is no corelation between the loss of *a*-infinitive clauses in a certain context and the nominal status of long infinitives: the trigger for the loss of *a*-infinitives is not the nominal recategorization of the infinitive verb but the syntactic distribution of the infinitive clause (see also Pană-Dindelegan 2013). Long infinitives had been underspecified for their category since Latin, and they became gradually streamed in Romanian after the emergence of short infinitives: long infinitives specialized for D selection, while short infinitives specialized for C/T selection.

This conclusion is an echo of older philological studies, such as Byck (1967), arguing that a categorial distinction emerged between nominal and verbal infinitives, long infinitives becoming confined to the former, whereas the more recent short infinitives became the spell-out for the exclusive [V] category. Along these lines, we are better off talking about the

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[106] As an example, we surveyed two texts: *Codicele Todorescu*, dated 1601, and Neculce's *Chronicle*, from the end of the 18th century. In *Codicele Todorescu*, we found 55 nominal infinitives out of a total word count of 16,585. In Neculce's *Chronicle* we found 97 nominal infinitives (a good number of them being repetitions of the same item) out of a total word count of 127, 327. Therefore, proportionally, there are less infinitive based nouns in the 18th century text than in the 1601 text. This result may vary if we compare other texts, but the point is that there is no predictability factor where these statistics are concerned.

verbalisation of the infinitive in Old Romanian, not its nominalization, since these forms had been inherently nominal since Latin, hence, before the reanalysis of *a* as a complementizer.

The above discussion was necessary because the nominalization hypothesis would predict that the infinitive is submitted to an indiscriminating elimination from the language, which is incorrect: the replacement of the infinitive can be traced to well-defined syntactic environments (i.e., clausal complements selected by verbs, and non-finite relatives), not by the absence of *a* (e.g., bare infinitives do not display *a*, yet they are clearly verbal, irrespective of their long or short form). Basically, our point is that the replacement of the infinitive in Romanian is triggered on syntactic grounds, at the level of clause structure, not by the elimination of a lexical item like *a*; so it is syntactically, not morphologically driven, as in Greek.

4. Infinitive *a*

It is important to determine the status of the element *a* before proceeding to an analysis of infinitive clauses. *A* precedes the infinitive form, regardless of the verb stem ending, as shown in (10a), for *–rea* endings (i.e., *ţipa**rea*** 'cry'), and in (10b) for *–re* endings (i.e., *da**re*** 'give') and short infinitives (i.e., *feri* 'protect').

(10) a. *începură*   ***a***   ***ţiparea***   *creştinii*   *de*   *nevoia*   *turcilor*
   started.3PL   INF   cry.INF   Cristians.the   from   pressure.the   Turks.the.GEN
   'And the Christians started crying because of the Turks' oppression'
                      (CM I {120})

     b. *Deci,*   *fraţilor*   *cetitorilor,*   *cu*   *cât*   *veţi*
   so   brothers.the.VOC   readers.the.VOC   with   as.much   will.2PL=
   îndemna   ***a***   ***ceti***   *pre*   *acest*   *letopisaţŭ*   *mai*   *mult,*   *cu*   *atâta*
   strive   INF   read   DOM   this   chronicle   more   much   as   so.much
   veţi   *şti*   ***a***   ***vă***   ***feri***   *de*   *primejdii*   *şi*   *veţi*   *fi*
   will.2PL=   know   INF   REFL=   protect   from   dangers   and   will.2PL   be
   mai   *învăţaţi*   ***a***   ***dare***   *răspunsuri*   *la stature…*
   more=   taught   INF   give.INF   answers   to governments
   'Thus, my fellow readers, the more you will strive to read this chronicle the more you will be able to protect yourselves from dangers and the more you will be equipped for giving answers in matters of government…' (Neculce 104)

Traditional linguistic studies consider the Old Romanian *a* to have its origin in the Latin *ad*, and to have been used as a preposition up to the time of the first written documents (Jordan 2009 and references therein). This theory is based on the fact that a preposition *a* can still be seen in the early translations, as in (11), but then disappeared. The idea is that the disappearance of the preposition *a* is due to its complete reanalysis as the infinitive mood marker *a*.

(11) *toiagulu-ţi*   *carele*   *ţi-e*   ***a mână***
   cane.the=your   that.the   to.you=is   in hand
   'the cane that is in your hand' (PO {132})

The main problem for this hypothesis is the inference that the reanalysis of *a* as an infinitive marker is relatively recent, which would mean that the emergence of the infinitive and

subjunctive clauses is concurrent on the timeline, a fact countered by other philological findings. The next two sections argue, instead, that there is no evidence for a correlation between the loss of the preposition *a* and the emergence of infinitive *a* in Old Romanian, and that the two homophonous categories arise from distinct Latin categories.

4.1. Which *ad* is infinitive *a*?

4.1.1. Latin *ad*
        In order to understand the status of infinitive *a*, we must properly understand its origin. Philological studies indicate that Old Romanian *a* originates from Latin *ad*, but do not clarify which *ad*, since in Latin *ad* had an ambiguous lexical (i.e., preposition) and functional status (i.e., prepositional-complementizer). For example, in (12a) *ad* has a meaning indicating direction, whereas in (12b) *ad* has no meaning but just the function of licensing the Accusative form of a verb.

(12) a.   *discurrunt*   ***ad***   *arma*   *// **ad***   *Carthagĭnem*   *contendit*
          run.3PL   to   weapons.ACC   towards   Carthagina.ACC   went.3SG
          'they run for their weapons'// 'he went towards Carthagina'
                                        (from Bujor & Chiriac 1971: 141)
     b.   *Aliquando*   *leges*   *ipsae*   *nobis*   *gladium*   ***ad***   *hominem*
          sometimes   laws.NOM   themselves.NOM   to.us   sword.ACC   so.that   man.ACC
          occidendum   *porrigunt*
          kill.GER.ACC   hold.forth.3PL
          'Sometimes the laws themselves extend us the sword so that we kill a man.'
                    (Cicero, Pro Mil. apud Bujor & Chiriac 1971: 283)

In (12b), *ad* has a mixed status between a Case licensing preposition and a complementizer for an adverbial adjunct clause. The functional ambiguity indicates that *ad* has been grammaticalized and stripped of semantic features. The interpretation of the gerund clause is that of purpose, and this comes from its Accusative Case, not necessarily from the semantics of *ad*. Wackernagel pointed out that the Accusative has always had the function of indicating direction and purpose, being used, in this respect, by itself, on names of towns, while *ad* in configurations as in (12b) is equivalent to the complementizer *ut* 'so that' with finite verbs (Wackernagel apud Langslow 2009: 348). Therefore, in this context, *ad* underwent a grammaticalization process involving its reanalysis from P to C.
        These are examples from Classical Latin. The grammaticalization of *ad* as a complementizer is expected to have progressed in the later stages of Latin. Indeed, the version of *ad* in (12b) appears to be useful in the preservation of infinitive forms in Romance languages. Fischer (1985) points out that when the Latin active present infinitive was preserved in all the Romance languages to the detriment of the gerund, future passive participle, supines, and even personal forms, *ad* was part of the non-finite paradigm at all times and remained as such at the time of the infinitive spread; e.g., *dare **ad** bibendum* 'to give for drinking' becomes *dare **ad** bibere* 'to give to drink' or *dare bibere* 'to give to drink' (from Fischer 1985: 118), the two infinitive constructions being equivalent. In other words, *ad* loses its association with Accusative Case (the Case ending being generally lost) and becomes an optional complementizer in infinitive clauses. Crucially, the pairing between *a* and infinitive forms is fixed on diachronic

grounds, since the Romanization period, in the sense that Romance languages use *a* only with such verb forms, and not, for example, with gerunds or participles (i.e., the complementizer *a* has a modal feature that restricts the grammatical mood on verbs). Romanian makes no exception.

4.1.2. Old Romanian *a*

Accordingly, the straightforward hypothesis for the origin of *a*-infinitive in Old Romanian is that infinitive verb forms were passed down from Latin, with or without a preceding *a(d)*. If we follow this path of reasoning, we must conclude that Latin *ad* has been inherited in two grammatical categories: as a full-fledged preposition with nouns; and as a complementizer with infinitive verbs. Notably, it is predictable that the functional *a*, which could no longer be associated with the Accusative Case of the verb during the Romanization, triggered various functional reanalyses in learners, or even its elimination.

However, at this time, the most prevalent assumption in the literature is that only the full-fledged preposition *ad* was inherited in Old Romanian, and that infinitive *a* originates from the grammaticalization of this preposition. For example, Jordan (2009: 37) argues that *a*-infinitive clauses emerged as adverbial adjuncts after verbs of motion, because of the purpose semantics of the preposition *a*, and then spread to the clausal complement positions.

There are empirical and theoretical problems with this assumption. First, *a*-infinitives existed in the language long before the 16th century (i.e., first written texts), following Diaconescu's (1977) argument that the short infinitive with *a* was already fixed by the 13th century when the dialectal split occurred between North and South Danubian dialects of Common Romanian. This means that the long infinitive with *a* had predated the short *a*-infinitive by centuries. Hence, although there is evidence that the grammaticalization of the preposition *ad* took place in adjunct clauses in Latin, as in (12b), there is no evidence for a repeated process in Romanian, definitely not around the 16th century, when infinitive clauses start to decline.

Early 16th century texts (e.g., *PO*) display well established *a*-infinitives complements, under a variety of verb classes, whereas *a*-infinitives in adjunct position do not seem very productive at this time, *de*-indicatives or *ca să* subjunctives being preferred in these contexts.[107] Furthermore, the bulk of adverbial *a*-infinitives we found display short infinitives, (13a), whereas a significant number of *a*-infinitive complements, (13b), and relatives, (13c), display long infinitives.

(13) a. *Ei*   *căuta*   *muieri*   *curate* ***a*** ***lăcui*** *cu*   *iale*
          they   looked.for.3 women   clean   INF   live   with   them
          'They looked for clean women in order to live with them' (PO {8})

     b. *începură* ***a*** ***ţiparea*** *creştinii*   *de*   *nevoia*   *turcilor*
          started.3PL INF   scream.INF   Christians.the from opression.the Turks.GEN
          'And the Christians started to scream because of the Turks' opression' (CM I 120)

     c. *apă* ***de-a*** ***spălarea*** *picioarele* *aceluia*
          water DE-INF   wash.INF   feet.the   that.one

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[107] We searched for adverbial *a*-infinitives and came up with only a couple of examples for the texts from 1521 to 1580, although there are infinitive complements in the range of tens. Furthermore, the first text in which we found them in any significant number, that is, *Palia de la Orăştie* (1582), displays clausal complements at a high rate, whereas the incidence of adverbial infinitives is minimal by comparison.

'water with which to wash that one's feet' (PO {78})

There are only a couple of examples of adverbial clauses with long infinitives, preceded by *de-a*, instead of single *a*, as in (14). Nedelcu (2013: 29) also remarks on the paucity of *a*-long infinitives in adverbial position.

(14) a.   *vădzură*   *că*   *le*   *bate*   *vânt*   *bun*   ***de-a***   ***meargerea***
          saw.3PL   that   to.them=   beats   wind   good   DE-INF   lauch.INF
          'they saw that a good wind was blowing for them to launch' (Varlaam C {31v})

     b.   *să*   *ne*   *oprim*   *ochii* ***de-a***   ***prâvirea***   *lucruri*   *de curvie*
          SUBJ   to.us   stop.1PL   eyes   DE-INF   watch.INF   things   of debauchery
          'let us block our eyes from watching debauchery' (Varlaam C {45r})

Considering that long infinitives are more ancient than short infinitives, and that they occur as a matter of routine in *a*-infinitive complements but not in adverbial *a*-infinitives, it means that the complement clauses predate the adverbial ones (at least the adverbials with short infinitives). Crucially, there is no compelling empirical evidence for a timeline in the emergence of *a*-infinitives.

       In the end, any plausible argument must rely on theoretical assumptions. In particular, it is hard to understand how a preposition could be grammaticalized as a complementizer in front of a long infinitive form, since long infinitives were underspecified for grammatical category, so under P selection they would automatically be analyzed as nouns. The texts abound in preposition+infinitive noun phrases, on the pattern in (15), so why would the preposition *a* (or for that matter, *de*) be different and trigger a verbal analysis of the infinitive or vice-versa? Notice that (15e) has a long infinitive under the preposition *de*, and its category is clearly nominal because of the indefinite article.

(15)   a.   *spre*   ***udarea***   *raiului*
          towards   watering.INF.the   heaven.the.GEN
          'towards the watering of the heaven' (PO {16})

     b.   *în* ***luptare***
          in fight.INF
          'in the fight' (PO {112})

     c.   *după*   ***întrebarea***   *lui*
          after   question.INF.the   his
          'after his question' (PO {151})

     d.   *fără*   ***descumpărare***
          without   redeeming.INF
          'without redemption' (PO {247})

     e.   *loc*   *de*   *o*   ***săgetare***
          distance   of   an   arrow.darting.INF

'distance of a thrown arrow' (PO {68})

Interestingly, there is no example equivalent to (15e) that we can provide for the preposition *a*. In other words, there is no example of P_a > DP, where the DP would be a long infinitive form. All we see is P_a > NP, without D elements, and without infinitive stem for the noun. This is unexpected, since grammaticalization always involves a transitional stage, in this case, a stage where *a* and the long infinitive should meet in the nominal paradigm before being reanalysed as C > TP. Instead, what we see, is that the preposition *a* occurs with nouns based on stems other than the infinitive one, and that it then disappeared from the language by the 17th century.[108]

The evidence, such as is, does not support a cause-and-effect relation between the loss of the preposition *a* and the emergence of infinitive *a* in Old Romanian. There were many changes in the class of prepositions during this period, not only in the lexicon, but also in their use in the syntax (e.g., the choice of a preposition for 'by phrases'), so the elimination of P-*a* can be a consequence of these changes, independently of the old *a*-infinitive formation.

In sum, there is no empirical evidence that the preposition *a* produced the infinitive *a* in Old Romanian, by repeating the grammaticalization process of Latin from scratch. In light of the objections listed in this section, it is more plausible that Latin *ad* was inherited separately in two different areas: in the nominal paradigm, as a preposition, and in the verbal paradigm, as a complementizer in infinitive clauses. As a complementizer, *a* has received slightly different analyses in different Romance languages, but it has persisted in its association with the infinitive verb all over the Romance area. It is unlikely that the same preposition has been singled out for reanalysis as an infinitive complementizer, from scratch, in every Romance language that has it. It is more likely that the *a*-infinitive string was in place, independently of the preposition *ad*, since the time of the Romanization, and consequently spread uniformly to all the languages concerned.

Basically, what we see in texts cannot straightforwardly reflect on the direction of infinitival spread, since by the 16th century these constructions are beyond their peak (in a way to be made precise), and show directions for elimination rather than directions for expansion. The only relevant observation we can make in this respect is that adverbial *a*-infinitives start to gradually be embedded under prepositions (e.g., *pentru* 'for', *spre* 'toward'). This may account for their preservation in Modern Romanian, since the addition of a preposition forces the full-fledged CP analysis for these infinitives (versus their truncated versions in complement clauses) and, therefore, ensures their survival as viable options for the adjunct syntactic context.

4.2. Against an inflectional status for infinitive *a*

Infinitive *a* is classified as a complementizer in all Romance languages that have it, except in Romanian, where it is typically considered an inflectional mood marker. In formal grammar, this amounts to the decision of locating *a* in the CP versus the TP (IP) field. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) argues that *a* has an ambiguous inflectional/complementizer status, and locates it in C/I. Subsequent studies disagree with the C status for *a*, and locate it exclusively in the inflectional field, in a special mood projection at the periphery of this field (e.g., MoodP in

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[108] We could not find the preposition *a* in Old Romanian co-occurring with elements associated with a DP field (i.e., no articles or possessive adjectives); i.e., *a* selects NPs directly. An analysis of this restriction is beyond the scope of this chapter, so we only point out that there must have been a deficiency in the status of *a* as a preposition in Old Romanian, which led to its elimination independently of the *a*-infinitive constructions.

Motapanyane 1991/95, Rivero 1994); the argument is that *a* is associated with the grammatical mood feature, which is analytic (i.e., a preverbal unbound morpheme) instead of being synthetic (i.e., the ending *–re*). This became the analysis of choice that has been further developed up to current times (e.g., Alboiu 2002; Cornilescu 2000; Jordan 2009; Pană-Dindelegan 2013; Nedelcu 2013 a.o.). Here, we propose to revisit and reverse this classification.

For long infinitives, historical linguistic studies consider *–re* to be the infinitive mood marker. However, the infinitive mood is marked in Old and Modern Romanian directly on the verb stem; thus, short infinitives (i.e., without the ending *–re*) are still recognized as exclusively infinitive in the absence of *a*. We refer the reader to Pană-Dindelegan (2013) for a detailed presentation of infinitive 'thematic' endings on the verb root (e.g., *pleca* 'go' versus *veni* 'arrive'). Accordingly, under the present view, there is redundancy in mood marking, by thematic vowel and the ending *–re*. This has not changed after the loss of *–re*, it was only transferred to the replacing *a*. For the transitional stages where *a* co-occurred with long infinitives, mood was marked three times (by the stem, *-re* and *a*). Having three spellings for the same feature in the same domain is theoretically unlikely.

A more promising approach is to reconsider the function of *–re*, and thus, the function of *a* that replaces it in Romanian, by relating these items to the C domain. In this sense, the fact that *–re* follows the thematic infinitive ending in linear order may also be taken as an indication that *–re* checks a feature that is higher in the hierarchy than the location of [mood] in T, where the infinitive verb is located, and triggers head movement (see Baker's 1985 Mirror Principle). From this perspective, the traditionally stipulated correlation between the generalization of *a* with infinitives and the drop of *–re* in Old Romanian is valid, but for different reasons. More precisely, considering that C is associated with three features (i.e., clause typing, finiteness, modality), the C related approach makes the transitional co-occurrence of *a* and *–re* more plausible, if *a* gradually takes over each C feature of *–re*. Thus, *–re* is eliminated only when *a* takes over all its features. Conversely, a mood marker approach entails a switch in the spelling of [mood], hence the above transitional co-occurrence on the same form is unjustified. Therefore, just by looking at the morphology of the infinitive verb, one may accept the functional equivalence between *a* and *–re*, but doubt their classification as mood markers in T. Syntactic testing supports this skepticism, as shown below.

The following is the list of arguments for the definition of infinitive *a* as an inflectional mood marker, such as compiled in Pană-Dindelegan (2013: 211-222) on the basis of many previous studies (see references therein, including the authors of this book). For each argument, we show how the assumption is problematic and worth re-evaluating. All the Old Romanian examples below are provided by us, because the examples in the referenced work are only from Modern Romanian.

- <u>Argument 1</u>: *A* is obligatory even when the infinitive clause appears in subject position, as in (16). Hence, the verb cannot be recognized as an infinitive in the absence of *a*.

(16) *[a   să   împlini   acea   poruncă]*   **iaste**   *peste   putinţă*
         INF   REFL= fulfil   that   order   is   over   possibility
      'to fulfil that order is not possible' (CM II {196})

- ✓ <u>Counter-argument</u>: It is true that in the absence of *a* the infinitive in subject position is classified as a DP, as in (17a), but only if it displays the long form, not the short form in

(16). Furthermore, clausal subjects necessarily involve the entire CP, not the TP field only, irrespective of their grammatical mood. This is visible in Romanian when the subject clause has an indicative verb, as in (17b), where *că* 'that' is undoubtedly a C element.

(17) a. **ardere**-*de-tot*   **iaste**, *întru miros de bună mirosire,*
      burning.INF-of-all is   for   smell of good smelling.INF
      aducere   **iaste** *Domnului,*
      offering.INF   is   God.the.DAT
      'it is a burning of various things, for scenting of good aroma, an offering made for God' (BB {75})

   b. *[C-ar   fi   venit   prea   devreme] nu* **este** *adevărat.*
      that=would.3 be   arrived too   early   not is   true
      'That he would have arrived too early is not true.'

Therefore, the example in (16) necessarily displays a CP infinitive. As a result, *a* can be anywhere within that CP > TP structure.

- Argument 2: *A* cannot be absent from a verbal infinitive, therefore it indicates the classification for grammatical mood. The literature acknowledges, however, two exceptions: (i) constructions with a light verb (e.g. ability *know,* modals, etc.); and (ii) constructions with short *wh*-movement. These are illustrated in (18).

(18) a. *cu   nemică nu-i   poate* **ajuta**
      with   nothing not=them can.3   help
      'they can't help them with anything' (Coresi EV {79})

   b. *Nu   avea   [de ce   se   apuca.]*
      not   had.3   on what REFL= lean
      'He had nothing to lean on.' (Costin 105)

The argument is that, in the presence of a light verb, some kind of clause union/restructuring configuration obtains, so the bare infinitive is uninflected for mood. This explains clitic climbing, as in (18a). No adequate account has been proposed so far for (18b).

✓ Counter-argument: The fact that (18a, b) are possible shows that the infinitive verb does not need *a* to indicate its grammatical mood. No native speaker has any doubt about the classification of the embedded verb in (18) as an infinitive, which means that *a* cannot be an inflectional mood marker; grammatical mood is indicated on the verb stem. The problem in (18) is to decide whether this infinitive is clausal or non-clausal. In (18a), the infinitive is selected by a grammaticalized modal, and the construction counts as mono-clausal; hence the infinitive does not project a TP and the clitic is obligatorily procliticized on the modal in matrix T. In (18b), the embedded infinitive is clearly clausal, since there is short *wh*-movement to its CP. In this environment, *a* is absent because the CP field is spelled out by the *wh*-phrase. This is an indication that *a* is

functionally equivalent to CP elements, like the *wh*-phrase, not to inflectional elements (see section 6 for an analysis of these constructions). In conclusion, Argument 2 does not hold, and it is, in effect, evidence for the C status of *a*.

- Argument 3: Adjacency is obligatory between *a* and the infinitive verb, except for the cases when pronominal clitics, negative markers, adverbial clitics, or different types of clitics may separate them, as in (19).

(19) *să   se   leapede   a   nu   se   chinui*
       SUBJ   REFL= stop   INF   not   REFL= torture
       'to stop not torturing himself' (Coresi EV {86})

    ✓ Counter-argument: Obligatory adjacency also applies to *de* and the indicative verb, with the same provision for negation and clitics, as shown in (20). [109]

(20) *de   multe   ori   s-a   tâmpla   de   nu   vor   putea*
       of   many   times REFL-will.3SG=happen   DE   not   will.3PL=   can
       'it will happen many times that they will not be able to…' (Ureche 122)

There is no difference between *a* and *de* with respect to their adjacency requirement to the embedded verb or with respect to the provision for negation and clitics. Since *de* is acknowledged as a complementizer, there is no evidence that *a* is any different.

- Argument 4: *A* can co-occur with the complementizer *de*, as in (21a), therefore it is lower than *de* in C, hence in TP. In the same vein, *a* is lower than prepositions in adverbial adjuncts, as in (21b).

(21) a. *Şi   aşè   au   încetat   turcii   de   a   fugi*
        and   thus   have.3= stopped   Turks.the DE   INF   run
        'And thus, the Turks have stopped running' (Neculce 284)

    b. *Acolea   pănă   a   clăti   de   la Hotin,   au   sositŭ*
        there   before   INF   move   from   at Hotin   have.3=   arrived
        toate   deplin   la Vasilie-vodă.
        all   completely   at Vasilie-King
        'There, before they moved from Hotin, everything had arrived for King Vasilie'
                    (Costin 122)

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[109] The adjacency requirement is a general rule that appears to be broken sometimes for both *a*-infinitive and *de*-indicatives, e.g., (i) and (ii) respectively. In both (i) and (ii) the word order is untypical, signalling artifacts in translations for maintaining the word order of the original.
   (i)   *Şi   aşa   fu   a   se   [toţi]   mântui   spre   pământŭ.*
       and   thus   was   INF   REFL   all   absolve on   earth
       'And thus it was for all to be absolved on Earth.' (Crest, CV 47v, 83)
   (ii)   *se   nevoiaşte   de   [el   singur] au   venit   la   voi.*
       REFL=   strives   DE   he   himself has=   come   to   you
       'but from where he strides towards you, so that he himself has come to you'(Crest, CPr 16v)

✓ Counter-argument: Complementizer clusters are a matter of routine in Old Romanian, as mentioned in Chapter 2 for *cum că* 'that', and further shown in (22a). (22b) shows that *cum că* 'that' can alternate with *că* 'that' under selection by the same verb, and at the same author, in the same way *de a* can alternate with *a*.

(22) a. *dzicându* **cum că** *ar fi rămas* *mulţi* *bani* *de la* *tatul*
saying that would=be=left much money from at father.the
lor *Chiriac* *Sturdze*
their Chiriac Sturdza
'saying that a lot of money would have been left from their father, Chiriac Sturza'
(Neculce 167)

b. *Dzic* **că** *la* *acel* *Războiŭ* *să* *fie fostu* *mai*
say.3PL that at that War SUBJ be.3=been more
mult *izbânda* *despre* *Partea* *Căzacilor*
much victory.the from side.the Cosacks.the.GEN
'They say that in this war the victory would have been on the Cosacks' side'
(Neculce 181)

As for prepositions, they select CPs but do not merge in the CP field. For visibility, in (23) the CP contains *că* 'that' in C.

(23) **pentru** **că** *să* *cade* *a* *creade* *scripturile*
for that REFL= befits INF believe gospels.the
'because it befits to believe the gospels' (Varlaam C {330r})

If any relevant observation can be made in this respect, it is that adverbial adjuncts with *a*-infinitive are very difficult to find under prepositions in Old Romanian, which would be hard to reconcile with the analysis of *a* as an inflectional item. In conclusion, the co-occurrence of *a* with a complementizer or its distribution under prepositions in adverbial adjuncts do not entail an inflectional status for *a*, they only entail that *a*-infinitives have a CP field.

- Argument 5: *A* must be in the inflectional field because it can occur with raising verbs, as in (24), and it is known that complementizers block DP-movement. In particular, there is no DP-movement attested across *de a* (Jordan 2009).

(24) *iar* *Batâr* *Andreiaş* *rămase* *a* *fi* *craiu Ardealului*
but Batir Andreias remained INF be prince Ardeal.the.GEN
'but Batir Andreias turned out to be the prince of Ardeal' (CM I {132})

✓ Counter-argument: While it is true that DP-movement is not attested across *de a*, there is DP-movement across *de*-indicatives, as in (25a) (see also Chapter 6), or even across *că* 'that', when the latter is in Fin versus Force (see Chapter 2, section 4), as in (25b). In fact, argumental DP-movement across *de*-indicatives is much easier to find in texts than across *a*.

(25) a. *Iablanovschii,* *a* *căruie* *un* *ficior,* *pre* *anume* **Stanislav** **Liscinschii,**

| Iablanovsky | of | whose | a | son | on | name | Stanislav | Lischinsky |

au agiunsŭ   ***de***   *au fostŭ*   *crai*   *în Ţara*   *Leşască…*
has=turned.out   DE   has=been   prince   in Country.the   Polish
'Iablonovsky, a son of whom, namely Stanislav Lischinsky, has turned out to be prince in Poland' (Neculce 214)

b.   ***Multe   lucruri***   *ne*   <u>*par*</u>   <u>*că*</u>   *sânt*   *găcite*
      many   things   to.us=   seem.3PL   that   are   guessed
      'Many things seem to us to be guess work' (Costin {122})

Consequently, DP-movement in (24) does not provide clear indication on the status of *a*, since such A-movement is allowed across truncated CP domains (i.e., FinP versus ForceP).[110] More specifically, *a* could be either a T element (which we argue against) or a low C element (i.e. Fin), which we argue for in the next section. Hence, the fact that DP-movement is not attested across *de a* must be accounted for differently, in relation to the CP size.

- Argument 6: *A* is different than *de* (hence, not a complementizer), because *a*-infinitives can be fronted, as in (16), whereas *de a*-infinitives cannot. This observation is based on Modern Romanian and captures the contrast between (26a) and (26c). Accordingly, we should be able to acknowledge that Romanian is different than other languages insofar as it allows fronting of TPs instead of CPs.

(26) a.   *Iar   [a   zugrăvi],   el   n-au   apucat.*
         but   INF   paint   he   not=has   managed
         'But he has not managed to paint' (CM I {92})

     b.   *??s-a   apucat   [de   a   o   face]*
         REFL=has   started   DE   INF   it   do
         'He started to do it.'

     c.   **[de   a   o   face]   s-a   apucat*
         DE   INF   it   do   REFL=has   started

- ✓ Counter-argument: Old Romanian is different from Modern Romanian, insofar as there are examples in texts where *de a*-infinitives are fronted, as in (27), although they are not frequent. The possibility of (27) is predictable from the constraint on clause fronting at the CP level (not at the TP level). The ungrammaticality of fronting with *de a*-infinitive in Modern Romanian, as in (26c) comes from the fact that *de* is practically eliminated from selected C positions (note the '??' on the non-fronted version in (26b)), which affects the speaker's grammatical judgments. The question marks on (26b) indicate that speakers barely accept *de a* infinitives in their base position to begin with, so fronting them is predictably harder.

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[110] Note that A-movement across CP domains is cross-linguistically available beyond the Balkan Sprachbund (e.g. Chichewa *kuti* 'that'; Nguni *ukuthi* 'that' in Zeller 2006). The crucial property throughout though is the non-phasal/deficient status of these CP domains (Alboiu 2006, 2007).

(27) a.   *Ci   [de a   facerea   legea   marginii],   au   făgăduit*
           but   DE   INF   make.INF   law.the   border.the.GEN   have.3=   promised
           'But they have promised to write the border law' (Ureche 146)

      b.   ***[De-a***   *ne   izbăvirea   noi   de toată   scârba,   mâniia   şi*
           DE-INF   REFL=   deliver.INF   we   of all   sin.the   anger.the   and
           nevoia],   Domnului   să   ne   rugăm.
           need.the   God.the.DAT   SUBJ   REFL=   pray.1PL
           'Let us pray to God that we be delivered from all abomination, anger and need.'
                                 (Crest 99, 27v)

        These six arguments are used as justification in the literature for classifying infinitive *a* as an inflectional versus complementizer item, and, as we have seen, they are all flawed. Therefore, we have to revisit the status of infinitive *a* on a different basis. We do this in section 5, where we submit the infinitive clauses to cartographic tests, and show beyond any doubt that *a* is merged in the Fin head of the CP field.

5. Tests and analysis

        In this section, we apply cartographic tests to infinitive clauses, in order to identify the location of *a* and the structural configuration of these clauses. The formal analysis will rely on the results of these tests. As a reminder, we work on the basis of the cartographic hierarchy in Chapter 1, section 2, (17), where NegP marks the border between TP and CP.

5.1. *A* is a Fin complementizer

        Section 4 above concluded that *a* must be treated as a C element, not as a T element. This conclusion is now tested through word order: C elements merge above the negation *nu* 'not', wheres T elements are lower. *Nu* is a free morpheme, not a clitic (see Chapter 2, section 3) but may serve as phonological host for pronominal/verbal clitics. (28) shows *a* above *nu*, hence in C.

(28) a.   *începură   **a**   **nu**-l   băgarea   în seamă   nicicât*
          started.3PL   INF   not=him   take.INF   in account   at.all
          'they started not to take him into account at all' (CM I {161})

      b.   *iară   de altul   va   înceape   **a**   **nu**   gândi*
           but   of other   will.3SG=   start   INF   not   think
           'but he will start not to think about the other' (Varlaam C {224v})

      c.   *că   nu-l   opri   priînsu   avuţiia   **de-a**   **nu**   să*
           for   not=him   stopped.3   DOM.him   wealth.the   DE-INF   not   REFL=
           rugarea   lui   Dumnedzău
           pray.INF   to   God
          'for wealth did not stop him from praying to God' (Varlaam C {277})

      d.   *toată   era   adăpată,   până   **a**   **nu**   surpa   Dumnezeu   Sodomul*

all was watered before INF not destroy God Sodom.the
'and the entire (country) was fertile before God destroyed Sodom' (BB {9})

In (28), *a* is to the left of *nu* 'not', hence, in the CP field, higher than the negation, irrespective of the position of the infinitive clause (i.e., complement (28a, b, c) or adjunct (28d)), and irrespective of the inflectional ending (i.e., short infinitive in (28b, d) but long infinitive in (28a, c)), or of the presence of *de* in (28c).

Within CP, *a* is low in the hierarchy, since it allows for fronted constituents to precede it, as in (29). Note that the constituents preceding *a* may trigger resumptive pronouns, as in (29a), so they surface in Topic or Focus versus being in situ (there is no genuine V final in Old Romanian). Thus, the variation in linear order does not follow from a PF change in the directionality of the head containing *a* (e.g., à la Pancheva 2007), but from the change in the position of the constituents in relation to this head.

(29) a. *nu vrea putea nimea [carnea trupului său]*$_{TOP}$ *[crudă]*$_{FOC}$
not will.3SG= be.able nobody flesh.the body.the.GEN his raw
a mânca, sau [aşa]$_{TOP}$ *[sângele lui]*$_{kTOP}$ *a-l*$_k$ *bea*
INF eat or this.way blood.the his INF=it drink
'for nobody will be able to eat the flesh of his body raw or to drink his blood'
(Coresi EV {118})

b. *şi-ş va slobodzi dobitocul său [în holdele altuia]*$_{FOC}$
and=REFL will.3SG= free animal.the his in cornfields.the other.GEN
a face pagubă
INF make damage
'and he will free his animal so that it causes damage in someone else's cornfields'
(PO {250})

c. *Iar turcii, cum au vădzut poarta cetăţii deschisă,*
and Turks.the as have.3PL= seen gate.the fort.the.GEN opened
au lăsat [pre moscali]$_{kTOP}$ **de-a-i**$_k$ *mai gonire,*
have.3 stopped DOM Russians DE-INF=them more= chase.INF
ş-au început a intra în cetate.
and=have.3 started INF enter in fort
'And the Turks, once they saw that the gate to the fort was opened, stopped from chasing the Russians and entered the fort.' (Neculce 380)

Constituent fronting takes place in both complement and adjunct infinitives, as in (29a)-(29b), respectively. The presence of *de* makes no difference to this word order, as shown in (29c). [111]

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[111] As with *de*-indicatives, in (29) we see fronting to TopP/FocusP in OC constructions, which are truncated (i.e., no ForceP level). TopP/FocusPs do not interfere with the cross-clausal A-relationship needed for control. This is also attested in MR: e.g., in (ib) *numai Mariei* 'only to Mary' has fronted to FocusP across subjunctive *să*, while raising applies to the shared DP subject (spelled in the lower position). This is unproblematic as Topic and Focus are inert for selection by matrix predicates.
(i) a. *A reuşit [*$_{FinP}$ *să-i dea* **Gelu** *flori numai Mioarei].*
has.3SG=managed SUBJ=to.her give.SUBJ.3 Gelu flowers only Mioara.DAT
'Gelu managed to give flowers only to Mioara.'
 b. *A reuşit [*$_{FocP}$ *numai Mioarei [*$_{FinP}$ *să-i dea* **Gelu** *flori]].*

Thus, the tests in (28) and (29) indicate that *a* is in Fin, which corroborates the theoretical prediction based on availability of cross-clausal A-movement seen in (24). The fact that *de* also follows Topic and Focus when it co-occurs with *a* needs further elaboration.

5.2. The features of Fin in *a*-infinitive complements

In Chapter 6, we established, on the basis of *de*-indicative complements, that, in selected contexts, the non-finiteness of C is set under the s/c-selection of the verb, as is the size of the clausal complement (e.g., OC verbs select truncated CPs/FinPs, whereas NOC verbs select full-fledged CPs/ForcePs). This is a typical property of subjunctive complementation in the Balkan Sprachbund (see Mišeska –Tomić 2006 and references therein). Since *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives occur in free alternation in OC and NOC contexts, this analysis is extended here to the infinitive complements.

As we have seen, tests show that both indicative *de* and infinitive *a* merge in Fin. However, their similarity stops here, as their intrinsic properties are slightly different: (i) while *de* does not constrain the type of grammatical mood in T (i.e., mood can be indicative, infinitive, subjunctive or supine), *a* does (i.e., only infinitives qualify); (ii) while *de* can also occur in imperative clauses, *a* cannot, despite the fact that the infinitive stem serves as a surrogate in negative imperatives. These contrasts indicate that, unlike *de*, *a* has some intrinsic features that discriminate modality (e.g., incompatibility with imperatives) and mood (i.e., restriction to infinitive verbs in T). Accordingly, although they both merge in Fin, their checking operations are different.

In particular, considering that, under complementation, (N)OC Fin has the feature cluster [-finite], [modal], *de* and *a* fare differently upon merge: We saw that indicative *de* can license [-finite] but not [modal], the latter being checked via long distance Agree by the verb in T. On the other hand, the modal feature of *a* checks and values [modal] in Fin and c-selects T with interpretable [mood]. The single occurrence of *a* in Fin in (29a) indicates that it is also able to check [-finite]. Thus, unlike *de*, *a* is able to check and value all the features of Fin. This analysis accounts for the OC constructions in (29a, c), where the CP field lacks the ForceP level, so control may take place over the subject of the embedded clause.

However, *a*-infinitives also appear in NOC contexts, as further shown in (30).

(30) *După   aceaia lăsă   el   [a   zbura   un   porumb   după el]*
      after   that   allowed.3   he   INF   fly   a   pigeon   after it
      'After that, he allowed that a pigeon fly after it' (PO {32})

In (30), the infinitive complement displays a lexical subject in the default VSO/X order. For these contexts, we must assume that the infinitive clause projects to ForceP, since only Force (i.e., the phasal head) may ensure the licensing of a lexical subject (see Chapter 1, section 2.2. for discussion and references). There is no dedicated complementizer for this Force head, so its clause typing features are checked by long distance Agree by *a* in Fin.

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has.3SG=managed   only Mioara.DAT   SUBJ=to.her   give.SUBJ.3   Gelu   flowers
'It's only Mioara that Gelu managed to give flowers to.'
In (i) the shared subject argument lexicalizes in the embedded clause but a matrix position is also available (see Chapter 1, section 2.3).

Crucially, the alternation between truncated infinitive CP in OC contexts, as in (29a, c), and full-fledged CP in NOC contexts, as in (30), indicates that selected infinitives follow the derivational pattern of the Balkan subjunctive, as also pointed out for selected *de*-indicatives. Thus, despite the inflection for infinitive mood, the verb generates the configuration in (31), which is a replica of the Balkan subjunctive represented in Chapter 6, (42).

(31)   ([$_{ForceP}$ Force) ([$_{TopP}$ Top) ([$_{FocP}$ Foc) [$_{FinP}$ Fin-*a* ([$_{NegP}$ Neg) [$_{TP}$ T$_{infinitive}$....]]()]]])

A Balkan subjunctive pattern entails that infinitives selected by NOC verbs can license lexical subjects, despite the anaphoricity of T. This property follows from the projection of ForceP in these contexts, as Force seals the phasal domain of the clause.[112] This is further shown in (32).

(32) a. *Şi   aşea   fu   şeaptedzeci   şi   mai   bine   de ai,   şi   de-aciia*
         and   thus   was   seventy   and   more well   of years and   in.here
         *nu   mai   părăsiia   **de-a**   să   arătarea   adease   arătări*
         not   more   ceased.3   DE-INF   REFL= show.INF   often   ghosts
         dumnedzăeşti,   de multe   ori,   noaptea   şi   dzua
         divine   of many   times   night.the and   day.the
         'And that's how it has been for more than 70 years, and there was no stopping the divine ghosts show themselves, many times, night and day.' (Varlaam C {84v})

   b. *Omul   acesta   nu   părăseaşte   **de-a**   grăi   cuvinte   de hula*
       man.the   this   not   stops   DE-INF   say   words   of blasphemy
       spre   acest   sfânt   loc   şi   spre   leage
       towards this   saint   place and   towards   law
       'This man does not stop swearing at this holy place and at the law' (NT {321})

In (32), the same verb selects a ForceP infinitive when there is no control (32a) but a truncated infinitive when control applies (32b). This is the main typological contrast between Old Romanian and other Romance languages, where the infinitive complement is always compatible with obligatory control, whereas the subjunctive clause is the only candidate for obviation.

5.3. The equivalence with *-re*

Historical linguistic studies have often pointed out that *a* led to the loss of the ending *–re* in infinitives (e.g., Densuşianu 1961 a.o.), but the reason why this would have happened in Romanian remained unclear. In this respect, the formal analysis we proposed in (31) is instrumental in providing some clues.

Previous formal analyses that classify *a* as an inflectional mood marker suggest that the change occurred only at the morphological level, exchanging *–re* for *a* (e.g., Jordan 2009 and references therein) as a spell out for Mood (i.e., MoodP as part of the inflectional field). Such an analysis allows the infinitive verb to generate the same configurations that *–re* forms do in Romance languages. This leads to empirical inadequacy, since Romance *–re* infinitives project

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[112] The grammatical mood, such as provided by verbal morphology, is thus irrelevant for the syntactic properties of T responsible for licensing lexical subjects – a conclusion reached from a different perspective in Sitaridou (2002).

clauses that are compatible only with OC contexts, whereas Romanian *a* infinitives are also compatible with NOC contexts. Hence, the change from *–re* to *a* involves more than a change in inflectional morphology, it involves the CP level, as also argued in section 4.

Therefore, the definition of *a* as a C head, as we propose here, can better capture the difference between *a* and *–re*: *a* qualifies not only for checking and spelling out the features of Fin (which is what *–re* can do), as needed in OC contexts, but also the feature of Force, as needed in NOC contexts (which *–re* cannot do). Thus, the emergence of infinitive *a* in Romanian must be related to the computation of infinitives according to the Balkan subjunctive pattern, instead of the Romance pattern.

This perspective also supports the earlier suggestion that *–re* has never been an inflectional mood marker, so the fact that it co-occurs with infinitive mood marking through thematic vowels on the verb stem is not a functional redundancy. In fact, the distribution of infinitives in Latin clearly indicates that the *–re* infinitive can check C features, since they appear in subject clauses, as in (33).

(33)   *Difficile   est   [amicitiam   mane**re**].*
       difficult   is   friendship.ACC   last.INF
       'It's difficult for friendship to last.'   (Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 37)

Subject clauses as in (33) are necessarily full-fledged CPs, and in this particular case, there is no complementizer to perform the feature checking operation, so this is done by the infinitive.[113]

The gradual loss of infinitive *–re* in the presence of *a* must, thus, be seen as a gradual resemantization of *a*, in which *a* takes over the function of *–re*, feature by feature. Judging by the distribution of clausal *ad* in Latin, its initial C function was that of a clause typer for adverbial adjuncts (see also Wackernagel on infinitives, apud Langslow 2009). So the intuition that the reanalysis of the preposition *a* as a complementizer took place in adjunct clauses and then spread to other contexts has support for Latin (but not for Old Romanian, which inherited it as such).

5.4. The features of Fin in *de a* infinitive complements

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, a peculiarity of the Romanian infinitive is that *de* and *a* may co-occur in selected contexts, as shown in (29c). Since the analysis so far defined both *de* and *a* as Fin complementizers, this co-occurrence needs explaining.

We start from the premise that *de* has the same syntactic properties every time it occurs in similar syntactic configurations. Accordingly, every time *de* occurs in (N)OC constructions, it has the function established for selected *de*-indicatives; that is, it checks [-finite], but not [modal], which triggers a separate mapping of these features to Fin1[-finite] and Fin2[modal], as already discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. This line of reasoning extends split Fin to (29c).

Before proceeding with a split Fin analysis of *de a* sequences, we must address the alternative proposal put forth in historical linguistic studies whereby *de* is treated semantically as the result of prepositional sub-categorization (e.g., Stan 2013 and references within). As mentioned in Chapter 6, the active (N)OC verbs we use in our tests do not sub-categorize for

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[113] Subject clauses are fully configured ForceP domains (i.e. phases), as evidenced by the presence of the subject *amicitiam* in (33), but structurally different from ForcePs in NOC domains with PRO. The latter but not the former require an operator in Spec,CP (Landau 2013), so the fact that *–re* licenses the subject ForceP but not a ForceP with NOC in Romance is unproblematic.

prepositional complements. For example, the aspectual in (34) selects its direct object DP in Accusative, as in (34a), with no need for the linker *de*. Thus, when the direct object is a CP, it is also directly embedded, as in (33b). Hence, when *de* also surfaces in the CP selected by the same verb, as in (34c), this can only follow from free variation between Fin-*a* and Fin-*de-a*, not from the prepositional sub-categorization of the matrix verb.

(34) a. *au*   *încetatŭ*   *(*de)*   *vrajba*   *între*   *craiul*   *ungurescŭ*   *şi*
         have.3=   stopped   DE   quarrel.the   between   prince.the   Hungarian   and
         între   *Ştefan*   *vodă*
         between   Stefan   king
         'they stopped the quarrel between the Hungarian prince and King Stefan'
                                                                 (Ureche {86})

      b. *încetă*   ***a***   *naşte*
          stopped.3   INF   give.birth
          'she stopped giving birth' BB {FacereaCapXXIX}

      c. *au*   *vrut*   *înceta*   ***de-a***   *le*   *aducerea*
          have.3=   wanted   stop   DE-INF   them=   bring.INF
          'he wanted to stop bringing them' (NT {547})

Another point to clarify is the fact that the sequence of *de* and *a* has the same syntactic properties irrespective of whether it is mono-syllabic (*de-a*) or bi-syllabic (*de a*), as this variation is free and generally unpredictable.

Now we can return to the treatment of *de* as a complementizer (see also Chapter 6), and of *de a* sequences as the spell out of a split Fin: *de* merges in Fin1, *a* merges in Fin2. This analysis matches the result of cartographic tests indicating that the *de a* sequence precedes negation, as in (28c), but follows constituents in Topic and Focus, as in (29c). Thus, the underlying structure of selected infinitives with *de a* sequences is identical to the underlying structure of selected *de*-indicatives, which amounts to a Balkan subjunctive pattern with split Fin, as in (35).

(35)   ([$_{ForceP}$ Force) ([$_{TopP}$ Top) ([$_{FocP}$ Foc) [$_{FinP1}$ Fin1-***de*** [$_{FinP2}$ Fin2-***a*** [$_{TP}$ T$_{infinitive}$….]]]()[]])

The difference between (35) and the *de*-indicative counterpart in Chapter 6, (36), is that Fin2 is checked by the direct merge of *a* in (35) here, but by Agree with T in Chapter 6/(36).

5.5. Remerged Fin

The immediate question arising from the analysis in sections 5.2 and 5.4 concerns the speaker's choice between infinitive complements with single *a* or with *de a* (*de-a*). The alternation in (34b, c) indicates that they occur in free variation, under selection by the same verb. It follows that the speaker may freely opt, synchronically, for derivations with split or unsplit Fin in infinitive complements, which is a puzzling situation. We cannot attribute the choice of options to the choice of language register because they occur with the same author, under the same verb, as well as under coordination, as further shown in (36).

(36) Şi   aşea   au   încetat   turcii   *[de a   fugi]*
      and   thus   have.3= ceased   Turks.the   DE INF   run.away
      şi   *[[vârtos]_{FOC}   a   trece   Prutul]*
      and   eagerly   INF   cross   Prut.the
      'And thus, the Turks ceased running away and crossing the river Prut eagerly'
                              (Neculce {236})

In (36), the second infinitive clause displays a constituent fronted to FocusP, hence it projects to (truncated) CP. Thus, the coordination involves the CP levels in both infinitives, but the spell out of Fin is different, indicating a split Fin in the first conjunct but an unsplit Fin in the second conjunct.

Despite this free alternation, Old Romanian texts clearly indicate, through the frequency of use, that unsplit Fin is preferred over the split version in (N)OC contexts. Predictably, standard Modern Romanian eliminated *de* from these contexts, which means that only unsplit Fin is preserved. Therefore, split Fin tends to remerge in Old Romanian and, diachronically, only the remerged version remained productive. This is unsurprising given economy considerations.

The question is then why a split Fin would emerge at all. We suggest that, diachronically, *de* mediated the analysis of *a* as a Fin complementizer. More precisely, we pointed out in section 5.4 that the Latin complementizer *ad* started as a clause typer for non-finite purpose clauses (equivalent to *ut* in final adverbial clauses), and was transmitted as such to Romance languages. Thus, in the case of Romanian, the spread of *a*-infinitives from purpose to selected contexts entailed the reanalysis of Force *a* as Fin *a*, that is, downward the clausal hierarchy. Hence, this reanalysis does not involve grammaticalization (which arises from semantic bleaching and direct merge higher up in clausal hierarchy; Roberts & Roussou 2003) but resemantization, whereby *a* gains functional features. Since grammaticalization is "easier" than resemantization, it should be unsurprising that the latter process involves some marking, and *de* fulfilled this role.

As argued in Chapter 6, *de*-indicative complements either preceded or were chronologically con-current with *a*-infinitives. So *de* was already present in the grammar, and, in selected clauses, it systematically involved a split Fin. Reanalysis of *a* consisted in its direct merge in Fin2, as indicated by the cartographic tests that supported the representation in (35).

Downward reanalysis of *a* brought this element to Fin2, but once fixed as a Fin complementizer, *a* was later reanalysed upwards, in Fin1 (i.e. it could check [-finite]). Stabilization of *a* as both [-finite] and [modal] triggered the remerge of Fin. As an adverbial Force element, *a* checks the clause typing feature, but not the features of Fin, since unselected Force automatically triggers the default [+finite] Fin, while clausal modality may be either *realis* or *irrealis*, depending on the compositional meaning. The fact that the verb is in infinitive has no bearing on the CP setting, because adverbial clauses are independently anchored to speech time. It is, however, obvious that *a* occurs only when the verb is in infinitive; so it must have had some modal feature that c-selected T with interpretable [mood] (and thus disabled the modal feature of −*re*). Its direct merge in Fin2 exploited its modal feature; then further reanalysis in Fin1 (and elimination of *de*) entailed the loss of its underspecification for finiteness and the specialization for [-finite] under selection.

According to this approach, the selected *de a* infinitives we see in Old Romanian texts represent an old derivational pattern that was disappearing from the language. The net preference for single *a* infinitives in these contexts signals that the remerging of Fin was very productive.

If this analysis is on the right track, it means that instances where *a* is single and co-occurs with a long infinitive (e.g., *a venire* 'INF come.INF') must also be seen as involving a split Fin: *a* merges in Fin2 to check [modal], whereas [-finite] in Fin1 is still checked by *–re* through long distance Agree. Elimination of *–re* (i.e., the replacement of long infinitives with short infinitives) occurs when the relation between Fin1 and *–re* is lost, and *a* takes over this function. This also results in a remerged Fin.

The analysis we proposed here relies on theoretical inferences. The actual data is noisy, because the earliest preserved texts are too late to show a clear picture of how the different types of selected clausal complements succeed each other in time. However, we point out that our inferences match the diachronic information available, as follows:

(i)   *De-a/ de a* tend to head long infinitives, whereas *a* tends to head short infinitives. Since long infinitives precede the short infinitives on the timeline, it means that *de-a* is older than single *a*-short infinitives. In *de a*-long infinitive constructions, *a* and *–re* share the checking of [modal] and the c-selection of interpretable T, and thus can be seen as a discontinuous morpheme.

(ii)   The generalization of the short infinitive seems to go hand in hand with the elimination of *de*. For example, Neculce (i.e., 18th century) has few *de a* infinitives, and they tend to occur with short infinitives. By comparison, there are no examples of *de-a+* short infinitives in the 16th century texts.

(iii) The predicted elimination of *de* has been accomplished in Modern Romanian, where *de* appears with infinitives only where these are thematically selected (e.g., complements to adjectives) or prepositions (e.g., in adverbial clauses introduced by complex prepositions such as *înainte de* 'before').

(iv)   In adverbial clauses, the elimination of *–re* occurs before the recorded language, and completely, signaling incompatibility between *–re* and the intrinsic [+finite] in adverbial C. This seems to support our hypothesis that *–re* had a [-finite] feature.

6. Intra- and cross-linguistic variation in infinitive complements

This section looks at the possible variations attested in the structure of infinitive complements in Old Romanian. In the first part of this section, the discussion focuses on infinitive clauses that lack a Fin complementizer (i.e., bare infinitives) or that have a different Fin complementizer (i.e., *de*). In the second part, we approach the issue of replacement of *a*-infinitives by *să*-subjunctives. The main point is that the formal representations in (31) and (35) are instrumental for providing a unified account for these variations.

6.1. The Romance perspective

From a Romance perspective, Romanian is peculiar in having only *a* as a complementizer in infinitive clauses, since Romance languages show three options in these contexts: (i) a null C, where the infinitive verb must check the features of C; (ii) C spelled out as *de/di*; (iii) C spelled out as *a*. For example, Modern French has all three options.

The data so far have indicated that Old Romanian generalized (iii) and established an association of infinitive *a* with the features of C according to the Balkan subjunctive pattern. However, there are rare examples in texts that seem to attest to transitional stages, suggesting that the three Romance options for infinitive C have been explored in pre-attested Romanian as

well, and that the exclusive adoption of *a* as C in infinitives is the result of an eliminatory process. Consider the examples in (37).

(37) a. *De care   lucru   s-au   cutremurat   leşii,   de vremile   acele,*
         of which   thing   REFL=have.3=   shaken   Poles.the   of times.the   those
         vădzându-şi   răsipa   oştilor   cu   amândoi   hatmanii
         seeing=REFL   destruction.the   armies.the.GEN   with   both   commanders
         *şi   a   vederea   **venire**   asupra   sa   puterii   ca aceia*
         and   at   sight.INF   come.INF   above   them   power.the.GEN   as that
         'For which reason, the Poles shook from fear at that time, seeing the destruction of their armies together with the two commanders, and the sight of such a power descending upon them' (Costin 50)

   b.   *aşa   stătu   nărodul   **de** *aducere*   darure*
         thus   stopped.3   people.the   DE bring.INF   presents
         'thus, the people stopped bringing presents' (PO {301})

In (37a), the infinitive is ambiguous between [N] or [V] categorization. If it is a noun, then it is irrelevant to the discussion. If it is a verb, then it signals a non-lexical C, that is, the Romance option (i). In (37b), the infinitive is definitely verbal, since it takes a direct object DP in Accusative (versus Genitive, which is the Case marking for the objects selected by nouns). In this example, *de* may head the infinitive clause unaided, as expected under the Romance option (ii). Hence, *de* in (37b) is not completely desemanticized.

      These rare examples can be considered traces of an earlier possibility of deriving an infinitive complement by other means than C-*a*. In light of the analyses we proposed in (31) and (35), it follows that both –*re* infinitive and *de* lost their intrinsic specification for modality and finiteness, and this led to the exclusive adoption of the Romance option (iii) in Romanian.

6.2. *Wh*-infinitives

      This section looks at *wh*-infinitives, where *a* is absent, as in (38a). These constructions are productive in 16th century texts, and remain so in standard Modern Romanian.

(38) a. *Ce   voiŭ   face,   că   n-am   **cu**   **ce**   (*a)   mă   **hrăni***
         what   will.1SG=   do   for   not=have.1   with   what   INF   REFL=   feed
         şi   cum   mă   voiŭ   îmbrăca?
         and   how   REFL=   will.1SG=   cloth
         'What am I to do, for I have nothing to feed myself with and how will I clothe myself?' (Coresi EV {447})

   b.   *A   răspunde   n-am   vreame,   [CP a   fugi]i   n-am   [CP unde ei]*
         INF   answer   not=have   time   INF   run   not=have   where
         'I have no time to answer, I have nowhere to run' (Varlaam C {6r})

In (38a), *a* is obligatorily absent after the *wh*-phrase. However, constructions as in (38b) show that *a*-infinitives can occur with *wh*-contexts if the infinitive is a Hanging Topic, as a base-generated CP (Benincà 2001), and separate from (but coindexed with) the interrogative CP. We attribute the lack of *a* in (38a) to its intrinsic clause typing and modal properties preserved from its function as a Force complementizer in adverbial adjunct clauses. These properties disallow co-occurrence with interrogative operators. As long as *a* is not part of the interrogative CP, as in (38b), it may co-occur with it. [114]

6.3. Clause union

The infinitive can also be used in its bare form in mono-clausal structures, as in (39).

(39) a.　*ce*　*nime*　*nu*　**_le_**　*ştiu*　*dezlega*.
　　　but　nobody　not　them=　knew.3　solve
　　　'but nobody was able to solve them' (PO {141})

　　b.　*Au*　*nu*　*ştiţi*　*cum*　*om*　*ca*　*acesta*　*cum*　*eu*　*sânt*
　　　PRT　not　know.2PL　that　man　like　this　how　I　am.1
　　　_va_　**_şti_**　**_înţeleage_**?
　　　will.3SG=　know　understand
　　　'Don't you know that a man like me will be able to understand?' (PO {156})

　　c.　*că*　**_se_**-*au*　*vrut*　**_putea_**　**_tâmpla_**
　　　for　REFL=has　wanted　be.able　happen
　　　'for it was meant to be able to happen' (PO {86})

In (39), the matrix verbs *ştiu* 'know' and *putea* 'can' have a root modal ability interpretation.[115] Typically, such verbs occur in restructuring/reduced contexts (Wurmbrand 2001, 2004). This pattern has been maintained in Modern Romanian, especially with *putea* 'can'.

　　Crucially, in these configurations, there is also clitic climbing, shown in italics in (39a, c), which indicates that the infinitive verb does not project toTP (where clitics are located), and by extension, to CP. Therefore, we do not expect lexicalization of C by *a* or any other morpheme.

6.4. The loss of infinitives

　　Infinitives are completely lost in standard Modern Romanian in two contexts[116]: as complements to verbs, where they are replaced by subjunctives; and in non-finite relatives,

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[114] Since *a* and *să* can substitute for each other elsewhere, one may wonder why this does not apply to interrogatives. See (i) for subjunctives. In Chapter 8 we show that *să* can also co-occur with interrogative operators in root clauses.
(i)　*că*　*n-avea*　*unde*　**_să_**　*scapi*
　　for　not.had.3　where　SUBJ　escape.3
　　'for had nowhere to escape' (Neculce {165})
[115] We take *vrut* in (39c) to be a light verb, rather than the desiderative which subcategorizes for clauses. Note that in Romanian, the periphrastic future marker derives from this verb.
[116] Infinitive complements to verbs are still used regionally, in the West and North-West (Pană Dindelegan 2013)

where they are replaced by supines. The latter context will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9. In this section we focus on the former: replacement of infinitive complements to verbs.

Philological studies (e.g., Sandfeld 1930; Rohlf 1933) treat the loss of the infinitive in Romanian as a morphological operation. That is, wherever an infinitive verb occurs it is expected to be replaced by a subjunctive one. This led to the conclusion that clause union configurations as in (39), where bare infinitives are still productive, are an exception to the rule and reflect an incomplete process. The analysis proposed in this chapter allows us to revisit this issue and point out that in Romanian the replacement involved primarily the syntactic configuration (e.g., FinP in complement clauses), not the inflectional morphology. From this perspective, the clause union configurations do not qualify for the replacement, so their continued productivity is predictable, not exceptional.

The syntactic approach we propose relies on the "weakening" of the CP field in *a*-infinitive complements. More precisely, the *a*-infinitive ceases to project to ForceP and thus cannot fully function as a Balkan subjunctive (i.e., alternation between full-fledged and truncated CP for the same verb form). This deterioration is attested in our corpus: Nominative subjects in infinitive complements are routine in 16th century texts, but become very rare in the *Chronicles*. As Nominative subjects need a ForceP for licensing, this change signals that infinitive CPs in complement position were analyzed mostly as truncated by the 18th century.[117]

The absence of Nominative subjects is then followed by the impossibility of fronting above *a*-infinitive, which marks a further stage in the deterioration of the CP. More precisely, in the 16th -17th century texts, both Nominative subjects and fronting to Topic and Focus were easily found in infinitive complements. In the 18th century, the Nominative subjects are almost lost, but the fronting to Topic and Focus is still available. In standard Modern Romanian, none of the above is possible in the few archaic constructions that survive. Loss of fronting to Topic and Focus denotes loss of the expanded left-periphery, while loss of Nominative subjects denotes loss of the Force head. Consequently, selected *a*-infinitives became exclusively truncated. This is expected under the analysis proposed in this chapter: specifically, since *a* is reanalyzed in Fin, it has to check the clause typing feature in Force via long distance Agree, which gradually leads to a complete dissociation between *a* and Force.

From this perspective, the replacement of *a*-infinitive with the *să*-subjunctive was triggered by the stripping of the clause typing feature from *a* as Force. As to why *să* qualified for this change will be discussed in the next chapter. It is important to understand that, since what is affected in the reanalysis of *a* is the C domain, we only expect to see this change (i.e. replacement with subjunctives) in contexts where C is present (either as Force or Fin). This explains why the replacement extended to *wh*-infinitives as in (38), which qualify as a C domain although *a* is absent; whereas clause union configurations in (39) are disqualified, since the infinitive is not clausal. Complement clauses were the first configurations to be affected by the replacement (see the statistics in Frîncu 1969), since these were the first configurations to lose the full-fledged infinitive CP. The subjunctive option spread to other configurations, but only as a competing option, since the *a*-infinitive can still project to ForceP in Modern Romanian (e.g., in adverbial clauses).

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[117] Nominative subjects in infinitive adjuncts continue to be attested in MR (Alboiu 2009).

7. Conclusions

This chapter focused on infinitive clauses in Old Romanian, especially those occurring in selected contexts, where more variation and diachronic changes can be observed at their left periphery. We related this variation to the fluctuation in the spell out of the C features as well as to a gradual reduction of the C field, in which ForceP ceased to be projected and so the clause became systematically truncated.

The historical perspective we argued for is that Romanian must have had a stage where the infinitive with the ending *–re* (i.e., the long infinitive) has been analyzed as generating three types of clauses: (i) with a null CP; (ii) with *de* as C; (iii) with *a* as C. This is in line with what can be seen in other Romance languages. There are scarce relics for such variation (which we illustrated), but option (iii) has been stabilized in the language long before the first preserved documents. This perspective entails that *a* in *a*-infinitive clauses is a complementizer not an inflectional marker for mood, and we bring evidence for its C status from its complementary distribution with other C elements (i.e., *wh*-phrases) and it position in relation to NegP.

Philological studies point out that the infinitive ending *–re* is gradually dropped (i.e., the short infinitive emerges) from *a*-infinitives. We argue that the function of *–re* (i.e., to check the features of Fin) is taken over by *a*, so it becomes redundant. However, *a* has a more complex function as a C head than *–re* did; in particular, it initially comes with a clause typing feature. Cartographic tests indicated that the analysis of adverbial *a* as C in selected infinitives was mediated by structures with a split Fin. *A* has been merged in Fin2 [modal] under downward reanalysis from Force. Eventually, in selected infinitives, *a* loses its underspecification for finiteness and becomes reanalyzed as [-finite] in Fin1, thus eliminating the need for *de* or *–re*, and leading to the remerging of Fin. The location of *a* in Fin versus Force leads, in time, to the loss of the clause typing feature of *a*, which entails the loss of full-fledged infinitives, and triggers their replacement with subjunctives. Table (1) sums up this development.

Table (1): The reanalysis of the complementizer *a*

	Force-*a*	→	Fin2-*a*	→	Fin-*a*	→	Fin-*a*
[clause typing]	√		√		√		*
[-finite]	*		*		√		√
[modal]	√		√		√		√

The crucial observation is that the underlying structure that supports the reanalysis in (1) is a replica of a Balkan subjunctive structure, which we have also identified in *de*-indicative complements. That is, the infinitive CP can be used under selection either as full-fledged (i.e., with ForceP) or truncated (i.e., without ForceP), and so it can serve as a clausal complement to a verb with non-obligatory control, irrespective of whether control applies or not.

Accordingly, the Latin heritage in infinitive clauses has to fit in a Balkan structure that constrains the subsequent changes in these constructions. The replacement of *a*-infinitives with *să*-subjunctives is a case in order, since these two structures compete for the same position, instead of being in complementary distribution, as in Romance. Furthermore, an analysis of *a*-infinitives as an instantiation of the Balkan subjunctive is instrumental for understanding its place in the more general development of clausal complementation in Romanian. More precisely, *a*-infinitives are structurally similar to *de*-indicatives, to which they are preferred in the earlier

texts. Hence, one can infer that *a*-infinitives replaced *de*-indicatives, within the same syntactic pattern, at least in selected contexts.

Chapter 8: *Să* subjunctives: Another version of the Balkan subjunctive

1. **Origin and morphology**
   The inheritance of subjunctive inflection and the etymology of *să* < Lat. *si*

2. **The distribution of subjunctive clauses**
   Subjunctive clauses occur in root (as imperative) and subordinated contexts (adverbial adjuncts, relatives, subjects, complements).

3. **Tests: the status of *să***
   Cartographic tests indicate the complementizer (versus inflectional) status of *să.*

4. **Analysis**
   - Reanalysis of conditional *să* as subjunctive *să* by leaving it in situ.
   - Intermediate stages of reanalysis involve split Fin and recomplementation.

5. **Modern Romanian**
   - *Să* changes from an *irrealis* marker to a generic Fin complementizer.
   - *Ca* is reanalyzed from Fin to Force.

6. **Conclusions**

This chapter discusses *să*-subjunctive clauses and pays special attention to their spread to selected contexts. The analysis follows the lead of philological studies, which argue that *să*-subjunctives are relatively more recent than *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives, which they ended up replacing (e.g., Sandfeld 1930; Frâncu 2010); and that the subjunctive marker *să* emerges from the Old Romanian conditional complementizer *să* (Frîncu 1969). The cartographic tests support these proposals while further expanding on them.

More precisely, the formal analysis we propose argues that conditional *să* became reanalyzed as an exclusive *irrealis* (modal) complementizer when it stopped to move from its direct merge position. The reanalysis was gradual and involved recomplementation and co-occurrence with non-finite complementizers. Crucially, the reanalysis of *să* involved the spreading of this complementizer to selected (subject and object) clauses that are derived according to the pattern of Balkan subjunctives. The replacement of *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives with *să*-subjunctives is thus reduced to a replacement in feature spell out within the same syntactic pattern.

Possible alternative views are mentioned at each relevant point, and we discuss their merits with regard to the data at hand. Thus, we do not indiscriminately adopt the philological proposals but end up agreeing with them on the basis of empirical observations and formal tests.

1. Origin and morphology

The Latin verbal inflection had four types of syncretic subjunctives (i.e., present, imperfect, present perfect and past perfect) out of which only one (i.e., the present) became the Romanian subjunctive.[118] For a detailed discussion of the transition from Latin to Romanian subjunctives, we refer the reader to Frâncu (2010) and references therein.

Briefly, the Latin present subjunctive forms made it only partially into Romanian: generally, they have been preserved only in the 3rd person, which is homophonous for singular and plural.[119] The 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural, are parasitic on the indicative (see also Pîrvulescu 2002).[120] This situation is still valid for Modern Romanian. The Romanian varieties spoken at the South of the Danube have lost the subjunctive forms, having generalized the indicative to what is called a 'subjunctive clause'.

On the inherited (3rd person) form, grammatical mood is sometimes marked twice: once on the root, and once on the inflectional ending. For example: the present indicative *vede* 'sees' differs from the present subjunctive *vază* 'see.3' both through the ablaut in the root (*ved-* versus *vaz-*) and through the ending (*-e* versus *-ă*). The default contrast, however, involves only the ending (e.g., present indicative *cântă* 'sing.IND.3' versus present subjunctive *cânte* 'sing.SUBJ.3'). This ending encodes phi-features as well as grammatical mood features. There are also verbs for which the 3rd person is identical for indicative and subjunctive paradigms (e.g., *ia* 'takes'/'he takes' and *ia* 'take.3'/'he take').

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[118] The other Latin subjunctive forms generated new inflectional paradigms (Frâncu 2010: 64): Latin past perfect subjunctive became Romanian past perfect indicative (e.g., Lat. *cantavisset* > Rom. *cântase* 'he had sung'); Latin present perfect subjunctive became a present conditional, lost in Modern Romanian (e.g., Lat. *cantaverim* > Old Rom. *cântarem* 'we would sing').

[119] The verbs *fi* 'be' and *avea* 'have' display the subjunctive inflection for other personal forms in Old Romanian. Only *fi* 'be' preserved these in Modern Romanian.

[120] It is not surprising that 1st/2nd person forms are different from the 3rd person, since 1st/2nd persons are deictic, and therefore unmarked, whereas the 3rd person needs marking for referential interpretation (see Harley & Ritter 2002).

In addition to the marking of grammatical mood on the verb form, the language also uses the preverbal morpheme *să* (glossed SUBJ), of Latin origin. *Să* heads clauses that contain either indicative forms (for 1st and 2nd person) or subjunctive forms (for 3rd person).

Etymologically, the Latin adverb *sic* 'thus', 'in this case', 'under these circumstances' was reanalyzed, in Classical Latin, as the complementizer *si*, used in indirect interrogatives, as 'whether'/'if', and in conditionals, as 'if'. The Latin complementizer is compatible with both indicative and subjunctive verbs, depending on whether *realis* or *irrealis* modality is needed (Bujor & Chiriac 1971: 418). Standard Romanian inherited both the adverb (reanalyzed as the coordinating conjunction *şi* 'and') and the complementizer, which became *să*. The latter has the variants *se* and *şi* (North-West).

In Old Romanian, *să* also occurs as a conditional complementizer, as shown later in this chapter. However, its use as a complementizer for indirect interrogatives has been lost. The texts indicate a different specialization of *să*, for *irrealis* modality in selected and non-selected clauses. In the South Danubian dialects, a version of the subjunctive *să* exists as well, and it precedes verbs in the indicative imperfect and the conditional (Frâncu 2010).

Forms of the analytic perfect subjunctive emerged in Old Romanian, around the 17th century; they do not appear in the South Danubian dialects. Old Romanian had two such forms, and both involved the auxiliary *fi* 'be': a present perfect (e.g., *să fie făcut* 'SUBJ.be.3.do.PASTPRT'/ 'to have done'); and a past perfect (e.g., *să fie fost făcut* 'SUBJ.be.3.be.PASTPRT.do.PASTPRT'/ 'to have had done'). Only the present perfect is preserved in Modern Romanian, and only with an invariable *fi* 'be', as this auxiliary lost its phi-feature endings (e.g., *să fi cântat* 'SUBJ.be.sung'/''to have sung').[121]

2. The distribution of subjunctive clauses

As mentioned in the previous section, subjunctive clauses are recognizable not only by their verbal inflection but mainly because of the preverbal *să*, as in the adverbial clause in (1a). Although this particle is exclusive to subjunctive clauses in Modern Romanian, it was not so in Old Romanian, where *să* was also a conditional complementizer, equivalent to 'if' (1b), or a concessive complementizer, equivalent to 'even if', 'although' (1c).

(1) a. *stringă-se*   *apele*   *de*   *supt*   *ceriu*   *într-un*   *loc,*
        gather.SUBJ.3=REFL   waters.the   from   under   sky   in-one   place

---

[121] The analytic perfect subjunctive is considered "late", in the sense that it emerged after the separation of Common Romanian into dialects at the North and the South of the Danube. These forms occur only at the North of the Danube (Frâncu 2010: 99 and references therein).

să	**se**		**vadză**	**uscatul**
SUBJ	REFL=		see.SUBJ.3	land.the

'let the waters gather in one place under the sky, so that the land can be seen'

(PO {13})

b.

să	**nu**	**vei**	**ceti,**	**nu**	**poţi**	**şti**	**cum**	**dzice**	**Hristos**
if	not	will.2SG=	read	not	can.2SG	know	what	says	Christ

'and if you won't read, you can't know what Christ says' (PO {7})

c.

Cine	**va**	**creade**	**întru**	**mine,**	**să**	**ară**	**şi**
who	will.3SG=	believe	in	me	even.if	would.3=	even=

muri,	*învie-va*
die	resurrect=will.3

'The one who believes in me, even if he dies, he will resurrect.' (Coresi EV {99})

In this section, we focus on the distribution of *să* clauses as in (1a), and leave the constructions in (1b, c) for later discussions (in section 4).

2.1. Subjunctives without *să*

Subjunctive forms (i.e., 3rd person) without *să* appear in root clauses with hortative or injunctive reading, which syntactically translate to imperative clauses, as in (2).

(2)

ce-i	*e*	*voia*	**facă,**	*nu*	*greşaşte;*	**mărită-se**
what=to.her	is	will.the	do.SUBJ.3	not	errs	marry.SUBJ.3=REFL

'what she wants she should do, she does not err; she should get married' (NT {444})

In the same environment, we also find 2nd person subjunctive forms with *fi* 'be', as in (3a, b).

(3) a.

blăstemat	**fii**		*tu*	*între*	*toate*	*jigăniile*	*şi*	*fierile*
cursed	be.SUBJ/IMP.2SG		you	among	all	beasts.the	and	creatures.the

'among all the beasts and the creatures, you be cursed' (PO {20})

b.

Fiţi		*în pace*	*şi*	*iertaţi*	*de greşalile*	*voastre*
be.SUBJ/IMP.2PL		in peace	and	forgiven	of sins.the	your

'(May you) be in peace and absolved of your sins' (Ureche 161)

Another context that displays subjunctives without *să* appears in adjunct clauses expressing concession, when these are headed by *măcar* 'although', as in (4). Such constructions are rare and unproductive, and occur only in 18th century texts.

(4)

Arătare	*voi*	*să*	*fac*	*măcar*	*nu*	**fie**	*pe plac.*
appearance	will.1SG=	SUBJ	do.1SG	although	not	be.SUBJ.3	on pleasure

'I'll make an appearance although it may not please (him)'

(Cr.V 204 apud Frâncu 2010: 223)

2.2. Subjunctives with *să*: root clauses

The constructions in (2) and (3) have counterparts with *să*, and they show no restriction for personal endings, as in (5). These are very productive in Old and Modern Romanian as imperative surrogates.

(5) a. **Să   nu   fim**   *pohtitori   slavei   deşarte   şi   învrăjbitori*
       SUBJ   not be.SUBJ.1PL   greedy   glory.GEN   vain   and   loathing
       unul   pre   altul   şi   urând   unul   pre   altul.
       one.the   DOM other.the and   hating one.the   DOM   other.the
       'We should not be greedy of vain glory and loathe and hate each other'
                                               (NT {481})

   b. **să   fiţi**   *pilde   turmeei*
       SUBJ be.SUBJ.2PL   examples   flock.GEN
       'You should be an example for your flock.' (NT {382})

   c. **Să   nu   fie**   *ca   cei   făcători   de leage   strâmbi.*
       SUBJ   not be.SUBJ.3 like those   makers   of law   corrupt
       'He/they should not be like those corrupt makers of laws.' (NT {481})

2.3. Subjunctives with *să*: adjunct clauses

Most subjunctive clauses in adjunct contexts convey purpose or consequence. These clauses may or may not be headed by complementizers such as *cum* or *ca* 'that', or the prepositions *pentru* 'for', *derept* 'for', *(în)cât* 'so that'; see (6).

(6) a. *după   darul   ce   mi   s-au   dat   den   mila   lui Dumnezău,*
       after   gift.the that to.me=   REFL= has given from   pity.the of God
       să   neguţitoresc *duhovniceasca   neguţitorie*
       SUBJ   trade.1SG   blessed.the   trading
       'according to the gift given to me by the grace of God, to trade in blessed trading'
                                               (BB {PrefaţăXXIII})

   b. *am   dat   voao   toată   iarba   ce   face   sămânţă   spre*
       have.1= given   to.you   all   grass.the   that   makes seed   on
       pământ   şi   toţi   pomii   ce   au   în sine   sămânţă   de fealul
       earth   and   all   trees.the   that   have.3   in them   seed   of kind.the
       *lui,   **cum   să   fie**   voao   spre mâncare*
       their   that   SUBJ   be.SUBJ.3   to.you   for food
       'I gave you all the grass that makes seed on Earth and all the trees that have in them seeds of their own kind, so that there be food for you'(PO {15})

   c. *Iară   ei   toate   faptele   lor   le   fac   **pentru   să   să***
       but   they   all   deeds.the   their   them= do.3PL for   SUBJ REFL
       arate   *oamenilor*
       show.3   men.the.DAT
       'But they do all their deeds in order to have them shown to people' (NT {160})

Comparatives are well represented after the preposition *decât* 'than', as in (7).

(7)   *mai*   *bine*   *iaste*   *a*   *să*   *căsători,*   **decât**   *să*   *arză*
           more   well   is   INF   REFL=   marry   than   SUBJ   burn.SUBJ.3
           'it is better (for them) to marry than to burn' (NT {442})

Other types of adjunct clauses (i.e., those conveying time, manner, condition, accumulation, relation, exception) are scarce in the early texts, most of them starting to become productive after mid18th century (Avram 1960). The same can be said about relatives, which display the subjunctive only when purpose is also implied and when they are headed by a relative phrase.

2.4. Subjunctives with *să*: clausal complements

      From the earliest texts, we find subjunctive clauses selected by non-thematic/impersonal verbs (e.g., 'seem', 'happen', etc.), and copula BE-predicates (e.g., 'it is good/bad to'), as in (8a), where they compete with other options, e.g., the infinitive in (8b) or the conditional in (8c).[122]

(8) a.   *dzise*   *Domnul*   *Domnedzeu*   *nu*   *e*   **bine**   *omului*   *să*   *fie*   *singur*
          said   Lord.the   God   not   is   good   man.the.DAT   SUBJ   be.3   alone
          'And God said: it is not good for man to be alone' (PO {17})

   b.   *cu*   *mult*   *mai*   **bine**   *era*   *a*   **sluji**   *lor,*   *decât*   **a**   **muri**
          with   much   more   good   was   INF   slave   to.them   than   INF   die
          'it was much better to slave for them than to die in the desert' (PO {225})

   c.   *ară*   **fi**   **bine**   *de-***ară**   **fi**   *ca*   *eu*
          would.3=   be   good   if-would.3   be   like   I
          'It would be good if he were like me.' (Coresi L {301})

      Transitive verbs that take subjunctive complements in (Old/Modern) Romanian belong to the classes of *verba voluntatis, affectuum* and *cogitandi*. Diachronic changes affect the individual members, which may have switched their selectional properties from subjunctive to indicative or vice-versa.
      Verba voluntatis favor subjunctive complements and show optional subject control, yielding either coreference (9a) or disjoint reference (9b) between the matrix and the embedded subject.

(9) a.   *am$_k$*   *vrut*   *[să*   *o*   *iau$_k$*   *pre*   *ea*   *mie*   *muiare]*
          have.1=   wanted   SUBJ   her=   take.1   DOM   her   to.me   wife
          'I wanted to take her as my wife' (PO {45})

   b.   *Că*   <u>***ei***</u>   *numai*   *vrea$_k$*   <u>***[Hristos***</u>   *să*   *ştie*   *ce*   *vrea$_j$*   *să*
          for   they   only   want.3   Christ   SUBJ   know.3   what   will.3   SUBJ
          se   *tâmple*   *lui]*

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[122] BE-predicates are less varied in Old Romanian than in standard Modern Romanian, the latter having heavily copied them from French in the 19th century.

REFL=   happen.3   to.him

'For they only want Christ to know what will happen to him' (Coresi EV {85})

At the other extreme, aspectual verbs disfavour subjunctive complements in Old Romanian and prefer *de*-indicatives or *a*-infinitives. Table 1, compiled from Frîncu (1969), sums up the frequency of subjunctive selection with various verb classes. The data apply to the entire Old Romanian period.

Table 1: Subjunctive complements – rate of occurrence (Frîncu 1969)

Verb class	desire: *vrea* 'want' etc.	injunction: *porunci* 'order', etc.	modal:[123] *trebui* 'must'	attempt: *încerca* 'try' etc.	BE+INF(LG) *este a ucidere* 'is to kill',etc.	aspectuals: *începe* 'start' etc.
Rate	91,8%	90%	69,2%	31%	29,9%	2.4%

Modern Romanian generalized the subjunctive for all the environments shown in Table 1.

Beyond verbs, lexical categories such as deverbal nouns and adjectives also select subjunctive complements. For deverbal nouns and adjectives, the frequency of subjunctive complements is comparable to those in Table 1 for the same semantic classes. The examples in (10) come from 16th century texts.

(10) a.   *nu   sânt   **destoinic**   să   mă   chem   fiiul   tău*
       not   am.1SG   worthy   SUBJ   REFL=   call.1SG   son.the   your
       'I am not worthy of calling myself your son.' (Coresi EV {11})

    b.   *Iaste   **obiceai**   voao   că   unul   să   las   voao   la Paşti.*
       is   custom   to.you   that   one   SUBJ   leave.1SG   to.you   at Easter
       'It is your custom that I should leave you one (egg) at Easter.' (Coresi Tetr 2 {228v})

The complement position is also the context in which the perfect subjunctive, shown in (11), occurs by default in the 18th century. Frâncu (2010: 113) reports that 70% of perfect subjunctives appear as complements in the texts.

(11)   *Iar un copil din casă dzic **să** **fie** **întrecut** pe Ştefan-vodă*
       but a child from house says SUBJ be.3 passed DOM Stefan-King
       *şi **să-i** **fie** **cădzut** săgeata într-un deluşel*
       and SUBJ=to.him be.3 fallen arrow.the in-a hill
       'But a squire says that the arrow passed beyond King Stefan and fell on a little hill'
                                        (Neculce {8})

2.5. Subjunctives with complementizers

All embedded subjunctives display complementizers that precede *să* on an optional basis, as shown in (12), for adjuncts, and in (13), for complements.

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[123] Table 1 does not include the modal *putea* 'can', for which Frîncu (1969: 84/16) claims a rate of 22,6% subjunctives versus 78,4% infinitives. The reason for exclusion is that Frîncu's calculations amalgamate *a*-infinitives and bare infinitives, although the replacement affected only *a*-infinitives. We also excluded causative verbs, because they trigger verb restructuring and vP incorporation (Folli & Harley 2007) so they are not equal to the regular (optional) control V constructions.

(12) a. *luo   Domnul   Dumnedzeu   omul   şi   puse   el   în raiul*
took.3 Lord.the   God   man.the and put.3 him in heaven.the
*dulceţiei,   **cum**   să   lucre   şi   să   păzească   el.*
sweetness.the.GEN that   SUBJ work.SUBJ.3   and SUBJ watch.SUBJ.3 him
'And God took man and put him in the sweetness of Heaven, so that man can work and God can keep an eye on him.' (PO {17})

    b. *cine iaste,   Doamne, **de**   să   crez   întru el?*
who is   God.VOC   DE   SUBJ believe.1SG in   him
'God, who is he, so that I should believe in him?' (Coresi EV {181})

    c. *Tremease-l şi   în fântâna   Siluamului, **ca**   să   arate*
sent.3=him also   to fountain.the Siloam's   CA   SUBJ show.SUBJ.3
prostiia   şi   bună mintea   orbului
humility.the   and good mind.the   blind.the.GEN
'He also sent him to Siloam's fountain, in order to show the blind's man humility and good mindedness.' (Coresi EV {184})

(13) a. *acesta face-i   [**de** să   se   pocăiască]*
this   makes=them DE   SUBJ REFL= repent.SUBJ.3
'and this makes them repent' (Coresi EV {57})

    b. *ş-au   învăţat   pre   noi [**cum**   să   lăsăm   noi greşalele*
and=has taught   DOM us   that   SUBJ pardon.1PL we errors.the
fraţilor   noştri   carei greşesc   noao]
brothers.the.GEN our   who   err   to.us
'and he taught us to pardon the errors of our brothers who err towards us'
(Coresi EV {41})

    c. *ne   învaţă   [**ca**   să   ne   izbăvim   de păcate]*
us= taught CA   SUBJ REFL= absolve.1PL of sins
'and he taught us to absolve ourselves of sins' (Coresi EV {57})

(12) and (13) show a variety of complementizers co-occurring with *să* in Old Romanian: *de, cum, ca*. Modern Romanian only preserved *ca* 'that', and its behavior in relation to *să* is slightly different.

3. Tests: the status of *să*

In this section, we revisit the arguments for classifying *să* as a mood marker and, on the basis of new data and tests, argue against them. Then we redefine *să* as a complementizer in both Old and Modern Romanian.

3.1. Modern Romanian

Both formal and traditional studies define *să* as a pre-verbal mood marker for the subjunctive inflection in Modern Romanian (e.g., Motapanyane 1991/95; Cornilescu 2000; Alboiu 2002; Pană Dindelegan 2013). This definition needs to be challenged in view of: (i) synthetic marking of the subjunctive grammatical mood (see section 2 above), which raises the question of morphosyntactic redundancy; (ii) the absence of *să* in root subjunctives (see (2) and (3) above), which should not be possible if *să* were the mood marker (see also Dobrovie-Sorin 1994); and (iii) theoretical inconsistencies arising in the cartographic framework, where grammatical mood is a feature of T (D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010); any further projection for grammatical mood must be justified on the basis of the inability of T to subsume this function.

Below, we list (following Pirvulescu 2002: 184-187) the three arguments proposed in the literature to support the definition of *să* as a mood marker. For each argument, we pinpoint the flaws and need for reconsideration. For this discussion, we continue to assume the clausal hierarchy CP > (NegP) > TP > vP.

- Argument 1: *Să* is always adjacent to the clitics-V cluster, which indicates both its IP and clitic status. Thus, sequences as in (14) are ungrammatical because a constituent intervenes between the clitic *să* and the verb on which it procliticizes. The subject can either precede or follow the entire clitic-verb string, but it cannot interrupt it.

(14) *(Ion) să (*Ion) mănânce (Ion)*
       Ion SUBJ Ion eat.SUBJ.3 Ion
       Intended: 'Ion should eat.'

- ✓ Counter-argument: (i) The clitic status of *să*, if valid, does not prevent it from being in C; (ii) If *să* belongs to the clitic cluster, then the clausal negation *nu* 'not' must also be part of that cluster, because the word order is *să > nu*. However, we showed in Chapter 1 that *nu* is a free morpheme, not a clitic (see also Isac & Jakab 2004); (iii) The ungrammaticality of (14) does not necessarily follow from the clitic status of *să* and is not restricted to *să*; for example, it also holds for *de*-indicatives, as in (15), where *de* is neither a clitic, nor a mood marker, but a free morpheme in C (see Chapter 6).

(15) *S-a nimerit **de** (*Ion) l-a văzut Ion.*
       REFL=has happened DE Ion him=has seen Ion
       'It happened that Ion saw him.'

- Argument 2: Under clause coordination, *să* must be repeated, its omission yielding ungrammaticality, as in (16a). By contrast, in (16b), the complementizer *că* 'that' is not repeated. Hence, *să* belongs to the inflectional field, whereas *că* 'that' does not.

(16) a. *Să plece mama şi *(să) rămână Ion.*
         SUBJ leave.SUBJ.3 mother.the and SUBJ stay.SUBJ.3 Ion
         'Mother should go and Ion should stay.'

   b. *Că pleacă mama şi rămâne Ion nu e o surpriză.*
       that leaves mother.the and stays Ion not is a surprise

'It is not surprising that mother is leaving and Ion is staying.'

   ✓ Counter-argument: At first sight, (16) shows that *că* can select a coordination phrase containing two clauses, whereas *să* cannot. However, this observation is irrelevant to the status of *să* because the coordinated clauses are not identical under *că* and *să*, respectively, so we are not comparing similar structures. That is, in (16a) the two clauses involve non-finiteness, which is a marked setting in the C/T system requiring lexical marking, in addition to the presence of an operator feature (for imperative). On the other hand, in (16b) there is no operator, and the coordination involves two finite clauses; finiteness is the default setting on C/T, with no need for specific marking. Therefore, the obligatory presence of *să* is relevant to non-finiteness/operator features, not to the grammatical mood or the clitic versus non-clitic status of this item.What seems to be more relevant but so far unnoticed in the literature is the fact that *să* needs not be repeated when negation is present, as in (17).

(17)   *Să*   *nu-mi*   *cânte*   *sau*   *plângă*   *pe*   *la*   *uşă.*
       SUBJ   not=to.me   sing.SUBJ.3   or   cry.SUBJ.3   by   at   door
       'I don't want him singing or crying at my door.'

       Since Romanian has the hierarchy NegP > TP (see Chapter 2), (17) shows that coordination under imperative *să* is successful if it involves two NegP domains. That indicates *să* in C, and this C selects a coordinated structure of two NegP > TP domains. Hence, there is only one C head, whose features are checked by *să*. This contrasts with (16a), where the coordination involves two CP structures, and each C needs *să* for feature checking.

    • Argument 3: *Wh*-phrases can precede *să* (18); hence, *să* is not in the CP domain.

(18)   *Caut*   *o fată*   **_cu_**   **_care_**   *să*   *plec*   *la munte.*
       seek.1SG a girl   with   whom   SUBJ   go.1SG   to mountain
       'I'm looking for a girl with whom to go to the mountains.'

   ✓ Counter-argument: In cartography, (18) does not justify the exclusion of *să* from the CP field, since the CP is articulated in further phrases, and allows for the co-occurrence of *wh*-phrases (in Spec,FocP) and lower complementizers (in Fin), (Rizzi 1997).

To conclude, the three arguments for the inflectional status of *să* can all be challenged. Hence, this issue needs revisiting, and the possibility of having *ca/de* in co-occurrence with *să* also needs to be factored in.

3.2. Old Romanian

    Old Romanian *să*-subjunctives show all the properties of Modern Romanian listed in (14) to (18): there is adjacency between *să* and the verb, as in (19a); *să* is repeated under coordination, as in (19b); and *wh*-phrases may locally precede *să*, as in (19c).

(19) a. *Cum   poate   om   păcătos   aceaste   ciudese   **să**   facă?*
how   can.3   man   sinful   these   wonders   SUBJ   do.SUBJ.3
'How can a sinner do such wonders?' (Coresi EV {186})

b. *nederept   iaste   unii   **să**   greşască,   <u>iară</u>   alţii   **să**   ia osânda*
unjust   is   some   SUBJ   err.SUBJ.3   but   others   SUBJ   take.3 pay.the
'It is not fair that some make errors and others pay for them.'(Coresi EV {182})

c. *loc   voiŭ   orândi   ţie   <u>**unde**</u>   **să**   fugă*
place   will.1SG=   arrange   for.you   where   SUBJ   run.SUBJ.3
'I will arrange you a place where he can run to' (PO {247})

Nevertheless, Old Romanian texts display further variation in the word order that provides better clues for the status of *să*. To begin with, clausal coordination may occur lower than *să*, as in (20), even in the absence of NegP.

(20)   *În zilele   lu Irod   împărat   grăiaşte, [ca **să**   [înţeleagem]   şi*
in days.the   of Herod   emperor   speaks   CA SUBJ   understand.1PL   and
[ne   învăţăm]]   că...
REFL=   teach.1PL   that
'He speaks during Kind Herod's time, so that we understand and teach ourselves that...' (Coresi EV {560})

The second conjunct in (20) does not contain *să,* and the word order is clitic > V, hence a TP. Therefore, *să* is higher than TP, and that allows the coordination of the TP domains in the same way we have noticed in (17) for NegPs. Crucially, *să* does not check the grammatical [mood] in T, which would have required the repetition of *să* under TP coordination.

Furthermore, 3rd person forms with indicative inflection may occur after *să*, as shown in (21), in verbs that also have a specific subjunctive stem in the same texts (i.e., subjunctive *pună* 'put' and *răsarî/răsară* 'rise', as opposed to the indicative forms in the examples in (21)). This shows dissociation between *să* and the grammatical mood in T, where the verb is located.

(21) a. *prinse   mâna   tătâni-său,   cum   **să**   o   <u>**pune**</u>   despre*
took.3SG   hand.the   father=his   that   SUBJ   it=   put.3SG   from
capul   lu Efrem   pre   capul   lu Manasei
head.the   of Ephraim   on   head.the   of Manasseh
'and he took his father's hand, in order to move it from Ephraim's head to Manasseh's head' (PO {172})

b. *să   nu   şadzî   soa[rele]   în mâniia   ta   nice   **să**   <u>**răsae**</u>.*
SUBJ   not   sit. SUBJ.3SG   sun.the   in anger.the   your   nor   SUBJ   rise.3SG
'that the sun neither stay nor rise in your anger' (Cod Tod {92r})

Finally, recomplementation – a phenomenon that can only affect complementizers – occurs both in Old and Modern Romanian *să*-subjunctives, as in (22a) and (22b), respectively. In cartographic terms, recomplementation means that both Force and Fin are realized through

identical complementizers within the same CP. In (22c), we also illustrate recomplementation with *că* 'that' (see also Chapter 2), in Old Romanian (it was lost in Modern Romanian).

(22) a. *se   temea   **să**   [nu   cumva]   **să**-i   împute   de aceaia*
      REFL= feared   SUBJ   not   somehow   SUBJ=to.her accuse.SUBJ.3 of that
      Hristos   şi   să   se   mânie   spr-însa
      Christ   and   SUBJ REFL= get.angry   toward-her
      'she feared that Christ might accuse her of that and get angry with her'
                                  (Coresi EV {430})

  b. *Se   temea   (**ca**)/(**să**)   nu   cumva   *(**să**)   piardă   ocazia.*
      REFL= feared   CA/ SUBJ   not   somehow   SUBJ   lose.SUBJ.3   occasion.the
      'S/he was worried that s/he might lose that opportunity.'

  c. *Gândindu-să   **că**   întru   acele   amestecături   **că**   va   putea*
      thinking=REFL   that   in   those   shufflings   that   will.3SG   can
      să-şi   facă   şi   el   loc.
      SUBJ=REFL   make.SUBJ.3   also   he   room
      'Thinking that during those shufflings he could also make room for himself.'
                            (Ureche {41r})

The word order in (22a,b) involves the fronting of the negative constituent *nu cumva* 'NEG.somehow' to FocusP.[124] Recomplementation around this item is optional, entailing an optional high *ca* or *să* in Modern Romanian (whereas the low *să* is obligatory), or an optional low *să* in Old Romanian (whereas the high *să* is obligatory; Zamfir 2007). We remind the reader that subjunctive *ca* is in Force in Modern Romanian (but not in Old Romanian).

3.3. *Să* as a Fin complementizer

     The discussion on (21) and (22) allowed us to conclude that *să* is in the CP, and not in the TP. Cartographic assessments of the left periphery of *să*-subjunctive clauses support this conclusion.
     First, considering that NegP marks the border between the CP field and the TP field (see the hierarchy in (17), Chapter 1), *să* is in the CP field since it precedes *nu* 'not', as in (23).

(23) *Bine   iaste   amu   [să   **nu**   greşască   omul]*
     good   is   now   SUBJ   not   err.SUBJ.3   man.the
     'Now it would be good if a man didn't err' (Coresi EV {16})

     Second, within the CP field, *să* can be preceded by constituents fronted to TopP and FocusP, as shown in (24).

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[124] In *nu cumva* 'NEG.somehow', *nu* instantiates constituent negation as this expression is compatible with both positive and negative clauses, the latter requiring clausal negation, as in (i).
  (i) *Nu   cumva   (**n**)-a   venit?*
     not   somehow   not=has   come
     'Isn't it the case that **he has(n't) come**?'

(24) a. *şi   aşa   tocmi   şi   învăţă,   să   postească,   [[de acel   pom]*
     and   thus   strived.3   and   learned.3   SUBJ   fast.SUBJ.3   of that   tree
     să   nu   mănânce]
     SUBJ   not   eat.SUBJ.3
     'and so they strived and learned to fast and not to eat from that tree'
                                                        (Coresi EV {46})

   b. *Scrisă   amu   iaste   că   îngerilor   tăi   zis-ai   [de tine]*
       written   now   is   that   angels.the.DAT   your   told=have.2SG   from you
       să   te   păzească   şi   [pre   mâni]   să   te   ia
       SUBJ   you=   guard.SUBJ.3PL   and   by   hands   SUBJ   you=   take.3
       'It is written now that you told your angels to guard you from yourself and to take you
       by the hand' (CT, 120v apud Dimitrescu 1963)

In (24a, b), *să* follows constituents with contrastive focus and contrastive topic readings,
respectively, which are in FocusP. Since *să* is lower than FocusP, it must be in Fin (FocusP
cannot be doubly filled; see Chapter 3). Further confirmation comes from (25), where *să* may co-
occur with *wh*-phrases, which also target FocusP.

 (25)   *Doamne,   n-ai   [cu   ce   să   scoţi],   şi*
        Lord.VOC   not-have.2SG   with   what   SUBJ   take.out.2SG   and
        puţul   iaste   adânc.
        well.the   is   deep
        'Lord, you have nothing to get it out with, and the well is deep.' (Coresi EV {164})

     The Fin location of *să* predicts that it may alternate with V-to-C for feature checking.
This prediction is born out in imperative clauses: *să* in (26a) alternates with V-to-Fin in (26b). V-
to-Fin in imperatives is argued for in Isac & Jakab (2004); see also Chapter 4 in this book.

(26) a. *lepădat   să   fie   de besearecă*
         cast.away   SUBJ   be.SUBJ.3   by church
         'let him be cast away by the church' (Coresi EV {181})

   b. *Pasă,   şi   că   crezi,   fie   ţie!*
       mind.IMP.2SG   and   that   believe.2SG   be.SUBJ.3   to.you
       'Mind it, and because you have faith, be blessed!' (Coresi EV {245})

     To conclude, empirical observations and cartographic tests indicate that *să* is a Fin
complementizer. The arguments are valid for both Old and Modern Romanian, since most
properties of subjunctive *să* discussed above have been preserved. Mainly, Modern Romanian
still has recomplementation, as seen in (22b) and alternation between *să* and V-to-Fin in
imperatives, as in (26).

4. Analysis

In this section, we show that the complementizer versus mood marker status of *să* is relevant to the inquiry into the underlying structure of the subjunctive clause. In particular, the location of *să* in Fin indicates functional equivalence with *de* in *de*-indicatives and with *a* in *a*-infinitives, and thus typological identity of *să*–subjunctive complements with the Balkan subjunctive pattern.

4.1. Heritage

A diachronic analysis of the subjunctive clause supports an account of the emergence of *să* as a subjunctive complementizer. There are two ways of approaching this issue: either (i) by considering that *să* was inherited as a subjunctive complementizer directly from Latin, independently of the homophonous conditional complementizer, which was also inherited from Latin;[125] or (ii), by considering that only one complementizer has been passed to Romanian, namely, the conditional *si* 'if', and that the subjunctive *să* emerged from the reanalysis of this conditional item. The reanalysis of the conditional to the subjunctive *să* happened in Romanian but not in other Romance languages, because only Romanian adopted the Balkan pattern of complementation.

Hypothesis (i) has the advantage of explaining why *să* was well established by the 16th century, on both sides of the Danube (i.e., it emerged very early, before the split of Common Romanian). The disadvantage is that it entails the use of *să*-subjunctives during the Romanization period, which raises the question of why these do not appear in other Romance languages. Finally, for the purpose of Old Romanian grammar, this hypothesis would fail to grasp the distributional pattern summarized in Table 1 (i.e., by the 16th century *să* was well established only with certain classes of matrix verbs), as well as its co-occurrence with the other types of clausal complements (i.e., *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives). That is, if *să*-subjunctive complements were so old and well established, why were they restricted in their distribution up to the 16th century, and why would other competing constructions emerge for the same contexts? This last point becomes especially poignant when one considers that *să*-subjunctives, rather than being on their way out, actually replaced *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives in the relevant contexts. If anything, this behaviour suggests a later innovation.

Hypothesis (ii) has major advantages over hypothesis (i): First, it accounts for the emergence of the subjunctive *să* only in Romanian, and further conforms to the typological contrast between the subjunctive structures in Romanian versus other Romance languages. Second, hypothesis (ii) has been explored in the philological literature (Frîncu 1969 et seq), where compelling arguments have been made for relating the gradual loss of the conditional *să* 'if' to the increasing spread of the subjunctive *să*. The data discussed in philological studies show that the rate of the subjunctive spread coincides with the decline of *a*-infinitives in the language, which were older than the *să*-subjunctives (see also the discussion on the replacement of infinitives with the subjunctive in Sandfeld 1930 and Rohlfs 1933). We adopt this hypothesis as our starting point and show that the formal framework we use yields results that, on the one hand, bring further support to this diachronic view, and, on the other hand, can provide a uniform

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[125] Note that the Romanian coordinating conjunction *şi* 'and' emerges from the reanalysis of the adverb *sic*, not of the complementizer *si*.

account for diachronic changes in the structure of *să*-subjunctives for contexts that have so far been seen as separate matters (e.g., the properties of *să* and the fluctuation in the location of *ca*).

4.2. Conditional *să* 'if'

We start by analysing conditional clauses introduced by *să* in Old Romanian. The main point is that this item underwent semantic attrition and grammaticalization in a way that led to its reanalysis into subjunctive *să*.

Să is routinely used as a conditional complementizer in the 16th century texts, in free alternation with *de*, as in (27).

(27)　　*E*　**_să_**　*văm*　　*da*　　*vas*　*mic,*　*puţinea*　*bunătate*　*priimi-văm.*
　　　　and　if　will.1PL=　give　pot　small　little　favor　receive=will.1PL
　　　　Iară　**_de_**　*văm*　　*da*　　*vas*　*mare,*　*multă*　　*văm*　　*priimi.*
　　　　but　if　will.1PL=　give　pot　big　much　will.1PL=　receive
　　　　'And if we'll give a small pot, we'll receive a small favor. But if we'll give a big pot, we'll receive a big favor.' (Crest, Evanghelia 361, 110)

By the 18th century, *de* is the default option for the conditional function (Todi 2001: 178).[126] Modern Romanian speakers have lost the intuition for conditional *să*.

Conditional *să* precedes the Topic > Focus sequence, as in (28a, b), even when V-to-C occurs and yields V > clitic order as in (28c).[127] Hence, *să* is in Force, which is generally the rule for conditional complementizers.

(28)　a.　**_să_**　*inimile*　　*noastre*　**_nu_　_se_**　**_întăritare_**　*noao,*　*îndrăznire*
　　　　　if　hearts.the　our　not　REFL=　agitate.COND　to.us　courage
　　　　　avea-vrem　　*cătră*　*Dumnezeu*
　　　　　have=will.1PL　towards　God
　　　　　'if our hearts will not get angered, we shall have courage towards God'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(CPr 73 apud Densuşianu 1997/1901: 711)
　　　b.　*Deci*　**_se_**　*legiea*　**_osindeşti_**,　*nu*　*eşti*　*făcătoriu*　*legiei*
　　　　　so　if　law.the　condemn.2SG　not　are.2SG　provider　law.the.GEN
　　　　　ce　　*giudeţŭ*
　　　　　but　judge
　　　　　'So, if it is the law you condemn, then you are not the provider of the law but its judge.'　　(CV, 129, 12-14 apud Frîncu 1969: 76/8)

　　　c.　**_să_**　*cu*　*mulţemită*　**_răbda-le-văm_**
　　　　　if　with　content　bear=them=will.1PL
　　　　　'if we bear them with content' (Coresi EV {415})

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[126] Conditional *de* has been replaced with *dacă* in standard Modern Romanian.
[127] V-to-C is V-to-Focus in Old Romanian, which is unproblematic in the presence of a constituent in TopP, as in (28c). However, this example comes from a translation, so it probably copies the word order from the original Church Slavonic text, as shown in Chapter 3, section 6.

However, fluctuation in the location of conditional *să* is also attested. For example, the complementizer may stay low in the CP field, as in (29), where it follows the constituent with contrastive Topic reading. Hence, in (29a), conditional *să* is in Fin and it selects a subjunctive. In (29b), there is recomplementation, indicating separate analysis of *să* for clause typing (in Force) and for irrealis (in Fin).

(29) a. *ci*   *lucrul*   *în cumpănă*   *sta*   *şi*   *[punţintea*   *jalbă*   *cât*   *de*
but   process.the   in balance   was   and   little   complaint   as   of
mica] TOPcontr *şi*   *[cât*   *de puţini*   *oameni*   *de ţară*   **să**
small   and   as   of few   men   of country]TOPcontr   if
fie   *fost*,   *n-ar*   *fi*   *luat*   *domniia.*
be.SUBJ.3   been   not=would.3   be   taken   throne
'but the decision could go either way, and if there was any small written complaint or there were people from the country present, he would not have been granted the throne.' (AB, 279 apud Todi 2001: 178)

   b. *Că*   **să**   *şi*   *pre*   *niminea*   **să**   *nu*   *nevoiaşte*   *Dumnezeu,*
for   if   also   DOM   nobody   if   not   punishes   God
nici-l   *sileaşte.*
nor=him   urges
'For if God does not punish a person, neither will he urge him.' (Coresi EV {468})

In terms of feature checking, conditional Force involves an operator that types the clause. The conditional clause typing feature is intrinsically *irrealis*, so the selected Fin needs to be checked for *irrealis* modality. In turn, Fin selects a T with a compatible grammatical mood. The feature set of a conditional CP involves the hierarchy in (30a), for which we adapted Haegeman's (2010a) analysis to Rizzi's (1997) CP hierarchy.

(30)   Force [conditional OP] → Fin [irrealis] → T[mood]

Within the hierarchy in (30), the examples in (28) display a conditional CP with the complementizer *să*, followed by TopP and the default word order clitic > V. It means that conditional *să* is in Force. The fluctuation between the high location in (28) and the low location in (29a) indicates that *să* merges initially in Fin, in order to check and value [modal] as *irrealis*; then it moves to Force, being probed by the conditional operator, as in (31a). Alternatively, as (29a) indicates, conditional *să* may remain in Fin, as in (31b), which means that it checks the feature of Force via long distance Agree.

Conditional clauses:
(31)   a.   Force- ***să*** → Fin-< *să*>   →   T-verb
   b.   Force → Fin-***să***   →   T-verb

The fluctuation in the location of conditional *să* in (31a, b) indicates that speakers could use *să* either in Fin or in Force. Thus, we infer that conditional *să* was gradually left in Fin, satisfying the conditional operator under c-command only, instead of moving to Force, and that

this eventually led to its reanalysis as an exclusive *irrealis* marker, and to its complete dissociation from the conditional operator.

The change from (31a) to (31b) does not entail a downward reanalysis of *să*, but leaves *să* in situ, a situation that ends up with semantic attrition, since the conditional feature is stripped off this particle. Predictably, the dissociation between *să* and the conditional operator occurred gradually: First, *să* lost its semantic specification as a licenser of the conditional operator, and became compatible with various clause typing features related to other operators (imperative, interrogative). Eventually, the operator licensing feature of *să* becomes optional and then lost, such that *să* can no longer associate with features in Force. This gradual process is supported by distribution frequencies of *să*-subjunctive in the texts (discussed in the following sub-sections), which differ on the timeline.

The grammatical moods compatible with T are the indicative or the subjunctive (in the same way conditional *si* is seen to be in Latin), and also the syncretic conditional, which is a mood form that emerged during the Romanization period (and disappeared in Modern Romanian). The three possibilities are illustrated in (32).

(32) a. ***Să*** <u>*veţi*</u> <u>*fi*</u> <u>*îmblându*</u> *în tocmelele* *mele* *şi* *veţi* **INDIC**
   if will.2PL= be following in plans.the my and will.2PL=
   fi *socotindă* *şi* *ţiindă* *porăncile mele,* *da-voiă* *voao* *ploaie*
   be considering and holding orders.the my give=will.1SG to.you rain
   'If you will be going along with my plans, and will consider and respect my orders, I will give you rain.' (CB, I, 13 apud Frîncu 1969: 76/8)

   b. ***să*** <u>*fie*</u> *fost* *ca* *noi,* *creştin* *şi* *drept* *în credinţă* **SUBJ**
   if be.subj.3 been like us Christian and just in faith
   mi *se* *pare* *că-l* *văz* *mai* *mort* *de* *rane*
   to.me= REFL= seems that=him see.1SG more dead from wounds
   'if he were like us, Christian and of just faith, it seems to me that I would see him really dead from the wounds' (Antim {167})

   c. ***să*** <u>*greşire*</u> *ţie* *fratele* *tău,* *pasă* *şi* *obliceşte el* **COND**
   if wrong.COND to.you brother.the your try.IMP and get.IMP him
   'And if your brother wrongs you, try to understand him.'
                          (CT, 28, v.8-11 apud Frîncu 1969: 76/8)

The variation in the grammatical mood of the verbs in (32) indicates that *să* was not intrinsically specified for the subjunctive. Therefore, if a preferential association arises between *să* and the subjunctive mood, it is, initially, on an arbitrary basis, and then favoured by the spread of *să* to imperative surrogates, where verb inflection is often subjunctive.

4.3. Imperative *să*

The most prolific contexts with *să* in the 16th century texts are those of imperative clauses. Philological studies point out that, in out-of-the-blue contexts, such constructions show ambiguity between a conditional and an imperative reading, as in (33).

(33) Să   aveţi   pismă amarî şi   zavistie întru inimile   voastre,
      COND/IMP have.2PL hate   bitter and   quarrel   in   hearts.the your
      nu   vă   lăudareţi   nece   fireţi   mincinoşi
      not   REFL= boast.IMP.2PL nor   be.IMP.2PL   liars
      'If you have bitter hate and quarrel in your hearts, don't boast nor be liars.'// 'Have
      bitter hate and quarrel in your hearts - don't boast nor be liars.' (Frîncu 1969:76/8)

Notably, conditional and imperative CPs have the same featural make-up shown in (30) (see Han 1998), the only difference residing in the class of the clause operator (i.e., injunction versus condition).[128] Thus, the loss of specialization for the conditional operator and the reanalysis as an *irrealis* [modal] marker allowed for the spread of *să* to imperatives, which also need checking for *irrealis* [modal] and for the Force operator. Both checking needs are met by merging *să*, as in (34b), where *să* is in complementary distribution and, therefore, functionally equivalent to V-to-C in (34a).

(34) a. **Fiţi**   în pace   şi   iertaţi   de greşalile voastre
         be.IMP/SUBJ.2PL in peace and   forgiven   of sins.the   your
         '(May you) be in peace and absolved of your sins' (Ureche 161)

     b. **să** **fiţi**   pilde   turmeei
         IMP   be.SUBJ.2PL   examples flock.the.GEN
         'You should be an example for your flock.' (NT {382})

      The fact that imperative clauses were the first environment to which the reanalyzed conditional *să* spread is attested by the fluctuation in its location in this environment, either in Force or in Fin, as in (35). [129] Such fluctuation does not appear in non-finite selected clauses, but may be seen in the rare finite selected *să* clauses, as in (40) below.

(35) a. *se   de   totu   slăvească-se*   **Force**
         IMP   of   everything bless.SUBJ.3=REFL
         'let it be blessed for everything' (CV 80v apud Zamfir 2007:400)

     b. *se   se   sfinţească   şi   se   smintească-se*   **Fin & Force**
         IMP   REFL= sanctify.SUBJ.3 and   IMP   convert.SUBJ=REFL
         toţi   vrăjmaşii
         all   enemies.the
         'let all my enemies return to God and convert their minds'
                         (PH, 4v/8 apud Frîncu 2009: 120)
     c. *aşea   nice   la voi   să   nu   hie*   **Fin**
         thus   neither at you   IMP   not   be.SUBJ.3

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[128] Other studies propose different types of operator in imperatives (see Zanuttini et al. 2012), as mentioned in Chapter 4. The exact nature of the operator is orthogonal to the discussion at hand.
[129] There are rare exceptions, as in (i), where a complement clause shows high *să*, in a translation with a high calquing factor. See Chapter 3 for comments on the Church Slavonic syntax of this particular text.
      *(i) Că   ziş   **să** [nu cândvă] **bucure-mi-se**   dracii   miei*
           for said.2SG SUBJ not sometime rejoice.SUBJ.3=to.me=REFL   devils.the my
           'For you said not to have my devils ever rejoicing.' (Coresi PS.SL {70r})

'let it not be like this not even for you' (Varlaam C [25v])

According to the cartographic hierarchy, *se/să* is in Force in (35a), where it precedes the fronted constituent *de totu* 'of everything', but in Fin in (35c), where it follows fronted constituents. The former example comes from a 16th century text, the latter from a 17th century text. Another 16th century text shows fluctuation for the location of *să*, in the same sentence, in (35b): the first occurrence of *să* precedes the clitic > V string, whereas the second occurrence precedes the V > clitic string. Considering that the V > clitic order arises from V-to-Fin in imperative clauses (see Chapter 4), it means that the second occurrence of *să* is in Force.[130] For the first occurrence of *să*, the location is ambiguous (i.e., it can be either Force or Fin). The data indicate that this fluctuation in the location of *să* gets sorted out by the 17th century, when *să* is systematically found in Fin. Notably, (35) presents surrogate imperatives, which were very frequently used with a subjunctive verb in the 3rd person (with or without *să*). Since the initial non-conditional use of *să* occurred in these surrogate imperatives, we may infer that the reanalysis of *să* as a subjunctive complementizer (versus conditional in (31)) was first fixed in these contexts.

　　　The fluctuation in the feature checking operations of imperative CPs, as discussed above, supports the hypothesis that *să* was gradually stripped of some of its functional features, and that although it was dissociated from the conditional operator, it continued to have some generic operator-like feature. This hypothesis finds support in philological observations pointing to the high productivity of *să*-subjunctives as imperatives, shortly before the fast decline of *să* as a conditional complementizer and the aggressive spread of *să*-subjunctive clauses to adjunct and selected contexts, where they replaced the *de*-indicative and *a*-infinitive clauses at a speedy pace after mid17[th] century (see Frîncu 1969).

4.4. Complementizers

　　　There are several complementizers that co-occur with *să* in Old Romanian, as seen in (13) above; their function in relation to *să* is discussed in this section.
　　　At this point, it is necessary to remind the reader that subjunctive verb forms may occur by themselves (without *să*) in imperative clauses, as in (36a), but not in embedded clauses, the latter having an obligatory *să*, as in (36b).

(36) a.　　***Plece***　　　　　　*unde-o*　　　　*vrea.*　　　　　　**Root**
　　　　　　leave.IMP/SUBJ.3　where=would.3　want
　　　　　　'Let him leave for wherever he wants.'

　　　b.　*A*　　　*vrut*　　**(să)*　　***plece*.**　　　　　　　　**Embedded**
　　　　　　has=　wanted　SUBJ　leave.SUBJ.3
　　　　　　'He wanted to leave.'

In (36a), the operator in Force selects a [modal] Fin with a certain value (i.e., deontic; see Isac 2013), and this [modal] feature probes the verb, so V-to-Fin takes place. The [-finite] feature of Fin is checked through free ride, and the clause typing feature of Force through distance Agree from Fin. This derivational mechanism does not extend to (36b), because there is no operator in the selected CP; in fact, a ForceP level does not project, as this is an OC context. Lack of a

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[130] Recall that split Fin in imperatives does not allow V > clitic, so that option is ruled out.

clause typing or modal operator means lack of V-to-C, so [-finite] and [modal] in Fin are checked through the obligatory direct merge of a complementizer. Hence, although the embedded verb is inflected for the subjunctive mood, it cannot support the derivation of a subjunctive complement in the absence of *să*.

The contrast in (36) comes from Modern Romanian. In Old Romanian, however, the association of *să* with [-finite] was not straightforward, since conditional *să* occurred in a [+finite] Fin (e.g. (12a) and (38) below). The stabilization of *să* in Fin hinged on its modal (i.e. *irrealis*) feature, not on its finiteness. Thus, [-finite] was added to the checking tasks of *să* after its stabilization in Fin, and this was a gradual process, mediated through other complementizers that were already used for checking this feature in other types of clauses. This is a *déjà vu* operation, which we pointed out for the structure of the infinitives in Chapter 7 (i.e., *de a* in alternation with *a* in Fin). Below, we discuss the complementizers that co-occured with *să* and helped its reanalysis as a non-finite complementizer.

4.4.1. *Cum* 'that'.   *Cum* 'that' is a complementizer of subordination, as it never occurs by itself in root clauses (unlike *că* 'that'). This complementizer was introduced in Chapter 2 as an alternative to the embedded *că* 'that' or as part of the complex complementizer *cum că* 'that'. Thus, it is associated with [+finite] CPs and with indicative verb forms, as shown again in (37).

(37) | *mă* | *tem* | ***cum că*** | *va* | *părea* | *lui* | ***cum că*** | *am* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| REFL= | fear.1SG | that that | will.3SG | seem | to.him | that that | have.1SG= |
| *vrut* | *să* | *celuiesc* | *el* | | | | |
| wanted | SUBJ | cheat.1SG | him | | | | |

'I'm afraid that it will seem to him that I wanted to cheat him' (PO {89})

Cum 'that' in conjunction with *să* appears only in the 16th century texts. In line with the properties of *cum că* 'that', *cum să* CPs are also finite and compatible with indicative inflection, and the complex complementizer heads adjunct and selected clauses. Unlike *cum că*, *cum să* allows for the embedded verb in the 3rd person to take either indicative or subjunctive inflection. This variation is shown for adjunct clauses in (38a), with a subjunctive, and (38b) with an indicative (see also example (21)). Note that *veni* 'come' in (38b) is not a reflexive verb, and the inflection is personal, so *să* cannot be the homophonous reflexive pronoun.

(38) a. | *luo* | *toate* | *dobitoacele* | *şi* | *toată* | *marha* | *carea* | *în Mesopotamie* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| took.3 | all | animals.the | and | all | wares.the | which | in Mesopotamia |
| *au* | *făcut,* | ***cum să*** | *meargă* | *la tată-său* | | *Isac* | |
| has= | made | that SUBJ | go.SUBJ.3 | to father=his | | Isac | |

'And he took all the animals and all the wares he amassed in Mesopotamia, in order to go to his father, Isac' (PO {106})

b. | *Cu* | *aceasta* | *vă* | *voiŭ* | *ispiti,* | *aşa* | *viiadze* | *Faraon,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| with | this | you= | will.1SG | tempt | thus | live.SUBJ.3 | Pharaoh |
| *cum* | *de-aicea* | *nu* | *veţi* | *mearge,* | *aşa* | ***cum să*** | *va* |
| as | from-here | not | will.2PL | leave | so | that SUBJ | will.3SG |
| ***veni*** | *frăţiorul* | *vostru* | *cel* | *mai* | *mic.* | | |
| come | brother.the | your | the | more | young | | |

'With this I will tempt you, on the Pharao's life, to not leave here, so that your younger brother will have to come.' (PO {147})

In selected clauses, *cum să* occurs only with subjunctive inflection for the 3rd person on the embedded verb, as in (39).

(39) *Domnedzeu n-au   îngăduit cum să-m   facă   pagubă*
      God   not=has   allowed   that SUBJ=to.me do.SUBJ.3 damage
      'but God did not allow for them to do me any harm' (PO {104})

However, an indicative verb may also occur if the selected CP has an operator feature, as in the indirect interrogative in (40).
     When it comes to the location of *să*, we notice fluctuation between Force and Fin in these constructions. For example, in (40) *să* precedes TopP > FocusP, therefore it is in Force. Hence, Force is split, between [subordination] *cum* and [clause typing] *să*, in the same way it is when the sequence *cum că* occurs (see Chapter 2).[131]

(40) *Acel   bărbat tare   să   miră   de acest   lucru   şi   tăcè*
      that   man   much   REFL=   wondered   of this   thing   and   kept.quiet
      mulcom până   atunce până   ară   cunoaşte   [cum   să
      nicely until   then   until   would.3=   know   whether   SUBJ
      [Domnul] [calea   lui] au   vrut   norăci   au ba].
      God   way.the his   has=   wanted   give.luck or not
      'That man wondered a lot about this, and kept quiet until he got to know whether God wanted to send any luck his way or not' (PO {77})

On the other hand, in (41) and (42), fronted constituents separate *cum* and *să*, signalling that *să* is in Fin. In (41b) and (42b) negation is present, hence the preceding *să* is in C.

(41) a. *Ni,   să   pogorâm gios   şi   să   turburăm   limba   lor,*
         VOC   SUBJ   go.1PL   down   and   SUBJ   confuse.1PL language.the their
         cum   [nice   unul]   să   înţeleagă   Beseada   altuia.
         that   not   one   SUBJ   understand.SUBJ.3 talk.the   other.the.GEN
         'Hey, let's go down and let's confuse their language, so that not one of them will understand the tongue of the other.' (PO {41})

    b. *puse   Domnul   pre   Cain   un   semn   cum   [nimea] să   nu-l*
        put.3 God   on   Cain   a   sign   that   nobody   SUBJ   not=him
        ucigă   cine   va   ăfla   pre   el
        kill.SUBJ.3 who   will.3SG find   DOM   him
        'And God put a sign on Cain so that no one who found him would kill him' (PO {23})

(42) a. *când   mie   Dumnezeu   lăsă   cum   [den   casa   mea]*
         when   to.me God   let.3SG that   from   house.the my
         să   proidesc   zişi   eu   ei
         SUBJ   proidesc   zişi   eu   ei

---

[131] Coniglio & Zegrean (2012) argue for split Force in Romanian on different grounds.

SUBJ　　strive.1SG　　said.1SG　　I　　　to.her

'when God decided that I should strive in my own house, I said to her…' (PO {66})

b. *Zise*　　*Avraam*　　*lui:*　　*caută*　　***cum***　　*[feciorul*　　*mieu]*　　*[iarăşi]*
said.3　　Avram　　to.him　make.IMP.2SG　that　　son.the　　my　　again

[acolo]　　***să***　　*nu*　　*duci.*
there　　　SUBJ　　not　　take.2SG

'Avram said to him: make sure that you do not take my son there again.'(PO {75})

In sum, the data in (38) to (40) allow us to infer that the subordinating *cum* helped the spreading of *să* from root imperatives and conditionals to adjunct and complement clauses. This transition is gradual, and involves the same fluctuation in the merge location of *să* that we have seen in imperative and conditional clauses. The fluctuation is, again, resolved by leaving *să* in Fin and relating it to the subjunctive mood in the 3rd person, rather than to the indicative.

Cum să complements disappear in the 17th century from selected clauses, and we attribute their elimination to the fact that they can only head full-fledged CP/ForcePs, which are awkward for complementation under OC verbs. For example, (43) is meant as an OC context, but the ForceP *cum să* blocks the control or raising, so the relevant DP argument is spelled out twice and licensed separately in the matrix and in the embedded clause.

(43)　　*ş-au*　　*învăţat*　　*pre*　　*noi_k*　　*[**cum să**　*lăsăm*　　*noi_k*　　*greşalele*
　　　and=has　taught　　DOM　us　　that SUBJ　pardon.1PL　we　　errors.the

　　fraţilor　　　　*noştri*　*carei*　*greşesc*　*noao]*
　　brothers.the.GEN　our　　who　　err.3PL　　to.us

　　'and he taught us to pardon the errors of our brothers who err towards us'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Coresi EV {41})

For such contexts, it is predictable that *cum* is either reanalysed in Fin – and thus allows for OC to take place – or is eliminated. The balance tipped towards its elimination.

To sum up, the constructions with *cum să* consist of a CP field where Force is either split into two heads (Force1-*cum*, Force2-*să*) or *cum* is in Force and *să* is in Fin. *Cum* is a marker of [subordination] and mediates the spread of *să* clauses to embedded contexts (selected or unselected). Once the *să* clauses become established for embedded contexts, *cum* is eliminated. Crucially, in these constructions *să* is orthogonal to finiteness: it occurs in adjuncts with [+finite] Fin or in complements with [-finite] Fin, and selects T with verbs in indicative (i.e., inflected for tense and phi-features) or subjunctive (i.e., inflected for phi-feature but no tense).

4.4.2. *De să*.　Like *cum să*, *de să* is productive in 16th century texts in selected and adjunct clauses, as shown in (44a, b), respectively.

(44) a. *rugară*　　*el*　　*[de să*　*fie*　　　*într-înşii]*
　　　　asked.3PL　him　　DE SUBJ　be.SUBJ.3　in-them

　　　　'they asked him to be with them' (Coresi T.EV {22v})

b. *Aceasta*　*boală*　*nu*　*e*　*cătră*　*moarte,*　*ce*　*de*　*slava*　　*lu Dumnezeu,*
　　this　　　illness　not　is　for　　death　　but　for　glory.the　of God

[de să	*se*	*proslăvească*	*fiiul*	*lu Dumnezeu*	*derept*	*ea]*
DE SUBJ	REFL=	praise.SUBJ.3	son.the	of God	through	it

'This illness is not leading to death but to God's glory, so that God's son be praised through it' (Coresi EV {98})

In the 16th century texts, *de să* may also be found in conditional/concessive clauses, as in (45).

(45)	*De să*	*aş*		*mearge*	*pre*	*mijloc*	*de umbra*	*morţiei,*
	de if	would.1SG=		walk	in	middle	of shadow.the	death.the.GEN
	nu	*mă*	*tem*		*de rău,*	*că*	*tu*	*cu*	*mine*	*eşti.*
	not	REFL=	fear.1SG		of evil	for	you	with	me	are.2SG

'Even if I were to walk in the middle of death's shadow, I am not afraid of the evil, for you are with me.' (Coresi EV {542})

In contexts as in (45), Force is split, and *de* eventually takes over the function of *să*, whereas in (44), Fin is split, and *să* takes over the function of *de*.

How do we know that *de să* in (44) spells out a split Fin? A first indication comes from the merging of *de să* in clausal complements where control applies, as in (44a) and further in (46). Knowing that in Balkan languages obligatory control triggers a truncated CP (see also Old Romanian *de*-indicatives, and *a*-infinitives in the preceding chapters), it follows that the *de să* clause lacks ForceP, so the complex complementizer is in Fin.

(46)	*cene*	*va*	*vrea*	**de să**	*străce*	*şi*	*să*	*întoarcă*
	who	will.3SG	want	DE SUBJ	ruin.SUBJ.3	and	SUBJ	undo.SUBJ.3
	aceasta		*vănzare*					
	this		sale					

'who will want to ruin and undo this sale…' (DIR {513}, 1620)

The word order confirms the location of *de să* in Fin: in (47a), Topic and Focus constituents precede the entire *de să* sequence; whereas in (47b), *de să* precedes the clausal negation.

(47) a.	*să*	*fie*	*volnic*	*[cu*	*cartea*	*domnii*	*meale*	**de să-şi**
	IMP	be.SUBJ.3	able	with	letter.the	lordship.GEN	my	DE SUBJ=REFL
	ţie		*a*	*lui*	*parte]*			
	keep.SUBJ.3		of	his	part			

'he should be able to keep his part due to the letter from me (my lordship)'
(BB, 45, 50 apud Frîncu 1969: 80/12)

b.	*aciia*	*spuse*	**de să**	<u>*nu*</u>	*osîndească*	*spre*	*mişei*	*bogaţii*
	those	said.3	DE SUBJ	not	punish.SUBJ.3	DOM	thugs	rich.the

'they said the rich should not punish the thugs' (Coresi L {142})

Thus, the *de să* sequence in Fin matches the *de a* sequence in Fin discussed for infinitive clauses in Chapter 7. Hence, we extend the same analysis to the subjunctive complement: Fin is split, with *de* in Fin1 [-finite], and *să* in Fin2 [modal], as in (48).

(48)   ([TopP) ([FocP) [FinP1 **de** [FinP2 **să** ([NegP **nu**) [TP V$_{subjunctive}$ …]]([)]]([])

We also justify this configuration in relation to the structure of the CP in *de*-indicatives (see Chapter 6): Fin is constantly split in *de*-indicative complements, having *de* in Fin1 [-finite], but no lexical item in Fin2 [modal], the latter being checked by the verb in the embedded T through long distance Agree. Functional equivalence between *de*-indicative complements and any other type of clause compatible with (N)OC contexts led to variation in the spell out of Fin2, through direct merge of a lexical item instead of long distance Agree or V-to-C. Infinitive *a* and subjunctive *să* are cases in order: in particular, due to its specialization for *irrealis* [modal], *să* is merged in Fin2, irrespective of its finiteness specification. Extending the similarity between *de a* and *de să* even further, once established in Fin2, *să* is reanalyzed upwards, as Fin1[-finite], thus, eliminating the underspecified *de* and leading to the remerging of Fin. Most occurrences of selected *să*-subjunctives in texts display remerged Fin, indicating that this process was well advanced at the time of the Old Romanian texts.

4.4.3. *Ca să*.   There is a competition, noticeable since the earliest texts, between the spell out of Fin1 in (48) as *de* or as *ca*, as shown in (49).[132]

(49) *rugăciune   fac   **ca să**   înveațe   pre   toți   trufiia   să   urască*
       prayer   do.1SG CASUBJ   teach.SUBJ.3 DOM   all   pride.the SUBJ   hate.SUBJ.3
       'they bring prayers to teach everybody to hate pride' (Coresi EV {4})

In the 16th century texts, this complementizer is very productive in adjunct clauses of purpose, as in (49), but eventually it becomes productive in complement clauses as well, as *de* was gradually eliminated. For example, we found 303 occurrences of *ca să* subjunctive clauses in *Coresi EV* (late 16th century), out of which only 11 were in complement position (approx. 3%). On the other hand, Ureche's chronicle (late 17th century) has 170 occurrences of *ca să* subjunctive clauses, out of which 58 are in complement position (approx. 30%).

        The way *ca să* is used in *Coresi EV* suggests that the transition from adjunct to complement was done in appositional contexts, as in (50), or in contexts where the reading is ambiguous between purpose and complementation, as in (51).

(50) a. *C-am   fost   cugetat și   aceasta, **ca să**   fie   mai   lesne*
         for=have.1   been   thought also   this   that SUBJ be.SUBJ.3   more   easy
         și   mai   iușor   a   ceti   și   a   înțeleage   pentru   oamenii
         and   more   light   INF   read   and   INF   understand for   men.the
         ceia   proștii.
         the   uneducated.the
         'For I have thought this, namely, that it (Mass) would be easier to read and understand for the uneducated people.' (Coresi EV {VIII})

     b. *aceasta   grăiesc   în lume,   **ca să**   aibă   bucuriia   mea*
         this   say.1SG   in world   that SUBJ have.SUBJ.3 joy.the   my
         împlută   întru   eiș
         poured   in   them

'and this is what I keep saying, namely, that they should feed on my joy'
(Coresi EV {198})

(51)   *Ce*   *te*   *roagă*   *tu*   *lu Dumnezeu*   **ca să**   *ia*   *şerpii*
      but   REFL=   pray.IMP.2SG   you   to God   that SUBJ   take.3   snakes.the
      despre   *noi*
      from   *us*
      'but you pray to God, so he will take the snakes from us' OR 'but you pray to God to take the snakes from us' (Coresi EV {518})

The functional equivalence between *ca* and *de* (versus *ca* and *cum*) is supported by data showing that *ca să* occurs in truncated clauses in OC contexts, as in (52a), with subject control, and (52b), with object control. Also, constituents fronted to TopP and FocP precede *ca*, as in (53).

(52) a.   *Hristos*   *vru*   **ca să**   *mângâie*   *pre*   *cela*   *ce*   *era*
         Christ   wanted   that SUBJ   comfort.SUBJ.3   DOM   the.one   that   was
         muncit   *de duhul*   *necurat*
         tortured   by spirit.the   evil
         'but Christ wanted to comfort the one who was tortured by the evil spirit'
                      (Coresi EV {420})

    b.   *ne*   *învaţă*   **ca să**   *ne*   *izbăvim*   *de păcate*
         us=   taught   that SUBJ   REFL=   absolve.1PL   of sins
         'and he taught us to absolve ourselves of sins' (Coresi EV {57})

(53) a.   *nu*   *suferi,*   *ce*   *gândi*   *[strîmbătatea*   *sa]*   **ca să**   *o*
         not   accepted.3   but   thought.3   injustice.the   his   that SUBJ   it
         răscumpere   *mai*   *cu*   *asupră*
         repay.SUBJ.3   more   with   above
         'he could not accept it, but thought to repay his injustice with added measure'
                      (Ureche {59})
    b.   *să*   *se*   *roage*   *lui*   *şi*   *[cu*   *nusul]*   **ca să**   *fie*
         SUBJ   REFL=   pray.SUBJ.3   to.him   and   with   him   that SUBJ   be.SUBJ.3
         'to pray to Him and with Him to be' (Coresi EV {424})

The fact that *ca* follows the constituents in TopP (53a) and in FocusP (53b), and occurs in control complements, confirms that it merges in Fin, more precisely in Fin1, given its co-occurrence with *să*.

     By the 18th century, *ca* is the productive complementizer for co-occurrence with *să*, and this has been preserved in Modern Romanian. However, there are changes in the features *ca* spells out in Modern Romanian, as shown in the next sub-section. The main conclusion at this time for Old Romanian is that *ca* spells out [-finite] (on a par with *de*) and that it cannot license a subjunctive clause in the absence of *să* (i.e., it cannot check/value [modal] in Fin).

4.5. The clause pattern and the replacement of infinitives

The analysis of subjunctive clauses proposed above amounts to an underlying configuration that matches the configuration proposed for *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives, and thus, complies with the pattern of the Balkan subjunctive. Thus, *să*-subjunctives can occur with either of their counterparts under coordination, as shown in (54a) for *de*-indicatives and in (54b) for *a*-infinitives.

(54) a. *că*   <u>*lasă*</u>   *oile*   *lor*   *de*   *le*   *mănâncă*   *lupii*
          for   allow.3   sheep.the   their   DE   them=   eat.3   wolves
          şi   *să*   *junghe*   *şi*   *să*   *piarză.*
          and   SUBJ   slaughter.SUBJ.3   and   SUBJ   lose.SUBJ.3
          'for they allow for their sheep to be eaten by wolves, and to be slaughtered and to be lost' (Antim {135})

      b. *când*   *va*   *cineva*   *să*   *ştie*   *tocmi*   *şi*
          when   wants someone   SUBJ   know. SUBJ.3   negotiate   and
          a   *chema*   *oamenii*   *cătră*   *credinţă*
          INF   call   men.the   towards   faith
          'when someone wants to be able to negotiate and call people towards faith'
                                    (Coresi EV {426})

The structure underlying all the clausal complements in (54) obligatorily displays a Fin complementizer that spells out [-finite] and [modal]. Further projections above FinP are possible, according to the properties of the selecting verb (i.e., with or without obligatory control). If obligatory control applies, the subjunctive configuration lacks Force (it may project up to TopP, as needed); if control does not apply, the same configuration extends to ForceP.

For further illustration and clarification of the configurational similarity between selected *de*-indicatives, *a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives, we provide Table 2, which sums up the spell out of Force and Fin in the three types of complements. Notably, infinitive and subjunctive CPs tend to remerge the split Fin, whereas *de*-indicatives never do. This is another indication that *de*-indicatives were the oldest configurations of the Balkan subjunctive in Romanian, and provided the structural template in which the spell out replacements occurred.

Table 2: The spell-out of Force and Fin in Old Romanian clausal complements

C head	indicatives	infinitives		subjunctives	
Force	-	-		(cum)	
Fin1 [finite]	*de*	*de*	*a*	*de, ca*	*să*
Fin2 [modal]	Ø	*a*		*să*	

Casting the morphological manifestations listed in Table 2 within the pattern of the Balkan subjunctive allows us to formalize the replacement phenomenon discussed in philological studies, and to customize it for Romanian. More precisely, it has been argued (since Sandfeld 1930) that subjunctive complements became the default option in the language, whereas *a*-infinitives have been drastically reduced. We pointed out that it was not only *a*-infinitives that were replaced but also *de*-indicatives (see also remarks in Frâncu 2010). Crucially, as mentioned

in Chapter 7, *să*-subjunctives replaced *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives within the same underlying pattern (i.e., the Balkan subjunctive), the change consisting in the switch of the spell-out for Fin and for the grammatical [mood] on T. However, the clause hierarchy, the features associated with this hierarchy, as well as the conditions under which the clause merges under selection remain the same.

What is the benefit of this formalization for the historical study of Romanian grammar?

First, it indicates that complementizers wear out, in the sense that their association with a given functional feature may weaken, which triggers either their reanalysis in a different functional head or their elimination and replacement. This weakening, however, must be assessed in relation to a syntactic configuration: it is the maintenance of the structural template that allows the speaker to modify the lexical material whenever it becomes ambiguous for the purpose of feature valuation. In this respect, *de*, at the stage at which we see it in the earliest text, is dissociated from the clause typing feature of Force in most occurrences (i.e., the default is its occurrence under obligatory control, and only rarely under co-occurrence with ForceP, under non-thematic verbs). Since the Balkan subjunctive configuration must be compatible with both control and non-control contexts, *de* needs replacement with a complementizer that can still check the clause typing feature of Force, as needed. The same deterioration subsequently applies to *a*-infinitives, once *a* becomes dissociated from Force.

Second, this perspective allows us to understand why the subjunctive did not replace the infinitive in contexts as in (55a), which remained productive in Modern Romanian.

(55) a.　*ce*　*n-au*　　**putut**　　*oamenii*　**giudeca**
　　　but　not=have.3　could.3　　men.the　judge
　　　'but the men could not judge' (Varlaam C {25v})

　b.　*nu*　**putia**　*omul*　**să**　*o*　**bage**　　*în gură*　　*de amară*
　　　not　could.3　man.the　SUBJ　it=　put.SUBJ.3　in mouth　　of bitter
　　　'the man could not put it in his mouth on account of (it) being bitter'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Varlaam C {59v})

　c.　*aşa*　*văm*　**putea**　*a*　**ne**　**chema**　*oile*　*adeveritului păstoriu*
　　　thus　will.1PL　can　　INF　to.us=　call　　sheep　real.the.GEN shepherd
　　　'thus we will be able to call to us the sheep of the real shepherd' (Coresi EV {549})

In our approach, the clausal complements in (55b, c) are bi-clausal and have the underlying structure of a Balkan subjunctive, whereas (55a) does not, it being mono-clausal (see Hill 2011 for tests showing the mono-clausal structure of this construction). Hence, the variation in (55) concerns the status of the modal, as either a functional verb in (55a) or a lexical verb in (55c). The subjunctive replacement sees only the bi-clausal structures, so it yields (55b) for (55c), the latter being lost from Modern Romanianl, but has no effect on (55a).[133]

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[133] Other verbs received a double functional and lexical analysis in Old Romanian, as shown in (i), where *şti* 'know' and *vrea* 'want' generate mono-clausal structures, with clitic climbing. The functional analysis of these verbs did not fare well in standard Modern Romanian, where they are exclusively lexical.

(i) a.　*nime*　　*nu*　*le*　　**ştiu**　　*dezlega*.
　　　nobody　　not　them=　knew.3　　solve
　　　'but nobody knows how to solve them' (PO {141})

　b.　*s-au*　　**vrut**　　*trebui*　*a*　*fi*　*aşa*
　　　REFL=has　wanted　　need　　INF　be　thus

4.6. The perfective

A perfective form of the subjunctive, as in (56), can be seen mostly in 18th century texts.

(56) a. *dzic* **să** **fie** **rămas** *o fată* *creştină* *după* *moartea* *lui*
          say.3 SUBJ be.SUBJ.3 remained a girl Christian after death.the his
          'they say that a Christian daughter would have survived him' (Neculce {14})

      b. *cum* *nemică* *n-am* *lăsat* *înapoi* *de cealea* *ce* *voao*
          because nothing not=have.1 left behind of those that to.you
          de folos, *ca* **să** **nu** **vă** **fiu** **povestit** *şi* **să**
          of use that SUBJ not .to.you be.SUBJ.1SG told and SUBJ
          nu **vă** **fiu** **învăţat** *aiave* *şi* *prin* *case*
          not you= be.SUBJ.1SG taught same also in houses
          'For there is nothing I have left out when it comes to those that are useful to you, in terms of not having told you or not taught you the same at your houses' (NT {348})

      c. *Spun* *de Murat* *împărat* *că,* *mai* *înainte* *de acesta* *război,* **să**
          say.3 of Murat King that more before of this war SUBJ
          -şi **fie** **rădicat** *mânile* *însuşi* *spre* *ceri* *şi*
          =REFL be.SUBJ.3 raised arms.the himself to skys and
          să **fi** **dzis**
          SUBJ be said
          'They say about King Murat that, before this war started, he would have raised his arms to the sky and would have said…' (Costin {285})

The auxiliary *fi* 'be' is a morpheme with syncretic TAM features[134]: it occurs in contexts where the event time precedes the speech time (past tense) for an accomplished event (perfectivity) that is reported according to hearsay (evidentiality). In Old Romanian, this auxiliary appears either inflected for person features, as in (56a, b), or as an invariable item, as in the second occurrence in (56c). The variation may occur with the same author, as in (56c), and there is no evidence that one version would have preceded the other on the timeline; for example, the invariable form in (56c) occurs in Costin's chronicle which is almost a century older than Neculce's chronicle, from which (56a) is taken, with an inflected form. In Modern Romanian, the auxiliary *fi* 'be' is systematically invariable.

Two questions arise from this description of the perfect subjunctive: (i) Why did *fi* 'be' emerge in the subjunctives at this point in time? (ii) Why is it obligatorily invariable in Modern Romanian? We relate the answers to the underlying syntactic structure.

More precisely, Frâncu (2010) points out that 70% of perfective *să*-subjunctives in Old Romanian texts occur in clausal complements. This provides us with the following clue: since the complement position was the last context for the spread of *să*-subjunctives in the grammar,

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'it behoved necessary to be so' (PO {84})

[134] There is no decisive evidence for the free or the clitic status of the auxiliary *fi* 'be'. There is obligatory adjacency between *fi* 'be' and the verb, which may support a clitic classification. However, adjacency does not entail cliticization, as it could be derived from independent factors.

and in these contexts the subjunctive T (versus conditional) is systematic, it follows that the perfective emerged after the *să*-subjunctive was well fixed in the grammar; this corresponds to the end of the 17th century on the timeline. According to the interpretation of perfect subjunctives, two factors may have led to the emergence of a perfective structure (i.e., a structure whose inflectional field has an AspP with an uninterpretable feature):

(i) The transfer of phi-features to subjunctive T allows for an analysis of the inflectional field over a split T/Modal/Asp heads, by analogy with other finite domains (e.g., the indicative), in which case *fi* 'be' spells out T and Asp. As we saw in this chapter, the subjunctive mood was used in finite clauses (e.g., conditionals) and alternated with the indicative in adjuncts, so there was ambiguity in the primary linguistic data with respect to the finite or non-finite property of subjunctive CPs.

(ii) The tendency of mapping evidentiality in syntax extended to the subjunctive clause because *să* was unambiguously *irrealis*, which is a needed ingredient for conveying hearsay semantics; in this case, *fi* 'be' also spells out a low Mode head (in terms of Cinque's 1999 hierarchy), distinct from Fin.

Although this analysis is based only on semantics, it does cover the puzzling variation noticed in the examples above between inflected and invariable *fi* 'be'. That is, considering that the inflectional field is articulated over T > Mode > Asp (e.g., as in GB approaches; Avram 1999 for Romanian), if *fi* 'be' emerged due to factor (i), then it is merged in Asp and it moves to T, where it checks the phi-features, and it is inflected. On the other hand, if factor (ii) is predominant, *fi* 'be' may move only to Mode, but not all the way to T, and so, it is not inflected. Only the latter option has been preserved in Modern Romanian.

5. Modern Romanian

In Modern Romanian, the *să*-subjunctive appears in root clauses (imperative surrogates and interrogatives), adverbial ajuncts, relatives and complements, and it is lost in conditional clauses. The replacement of the *a*-infinitive is complete in complements to verbs, but not in other contexts.[135] In fact, *a*-infinitives are a strong option as complements to nouns, as in (57), and in adverbial adjuncts, after certain prepositions (e.g., *pentru* 'for'; *înainte* 'before'), as in (58).

(57) a. *Şi-a   exprimat   dorinţa   de **a**   studia   medicina.*
         REFL=has expressed desire.the DE INF   study   medicine.the
         'She/he expressed the desire to go to medical sschool.'

     b. *Şi-a   exprimat   dorinţa   **să**   studieze   medicina.*
         REFL=has expressed desire.the SUBJ   study.SUBJ.3 medicine.the
         'She/he expressed the desire to go to medical sschool'

(58) a. *Mi-a   telefonat înainte   **de a**   pleca.*
         to.me=has phoned   before   DE INF   leave
         'She/he phoned me before leaving.' or 'She/he phoned me before I left.'

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[135] By 'complete' replacement we mean that all the control and raising verbs can select subjunctive clauses. Subject to writing styles, *a*-infinitives may be preferred to the subjunctive for scholarship effects.

b. *Mi-a   telefonat   înainte   **să**   plec.*
   to.me=has   phoned   before   SUBJ   go.1SG
   'She/he phoned me before I left.'

For these contexts, infinitive and subjunctive clauses are in competition, as intra-linguistic variation, generally without restrictions with respect to interpretation or language register, as is the case for (57). The difference of reading that may occur concerns the person specification, in the sense that the subjunctive but not the infinitive has phi-feature morphology. For example, in (58a) there is ambiguity between subject and object control over the subject of the infinitive, whereas in (58b) the reference of the embedded subject is sorted out through the verb ending.

      Another diachronic change concerns the internal structure of the *să*-subjunctive clause. First, the variety of complementizers shown in Table 2 above has been reduced to *(ca) să* only. Second, the merge location of *ca* has changed; this, in turn, has consequences for the structure of the Modern Romanian subjunctive CP. More precisely, Modern Romanian disallows *ca* after raising verbs and in OC contexts, but displays it in NOC contexts, as in (59a). Furthermore, standard Modern Romanian requires that *ca* and *să* not be adjacent, although adjacency is still acceptable in colloquial register, as in (59b).

(59) a.   *Voiam   **ca**   Mihai   **să**   cumpere   flori.*
          wanted.1   CA   Mihai   SUBJ   buy.SUBJ.3   flowers
          'I wanted Mihai to buy flowers.'

    b.   *?Voiam   **ca să**   cumpăr/   cumpere   flori.*
          wanted.1   CA SUBJ   buy.1SG   buy.SUBJ.3   flowers
          Intended: 'I wanted to buy flowers'/ 'I wanted her/him to buy flowers.'

As in Old Romanian, *ca* is optional in subjunctive CPs. When it is absent, the subjunctive clause can equally occur in (N)OC environments, as in (60).

(60)   *Voiam   **să**   cumpăr/   cumpere   flori.*
        wanted.1   SUBJ   buy.1SG/   buy.SUBJ.3   flowers
        'I wanted to buy flowers.'/ 'I wanted him/her to buy flowers.'

According to the formal analysis proposed in this section, the linearization and the full-fledged CP behavior of *ca să*-subjunctives indicate a change in the location of *ca*, from Fin1 to Force. Thus, the word order in (59a) and further in (61) indicates that *ca* is higher than constituents fronted to TopP and FocusP, whereas *să* remains lower, in Fin, as it was in the Old Romanian complements.

(61)   *Speram   **ca**,   [la examen,]   [nimănui]   **să**   nu   i   se*
        hoped.1   CA   in exam   to.nobody   SUBJ   not   to.him=   REFL=
        ceară   legitimaţia.
        ask.SUBJ.3   ID
        'I was hoping that, at the exam, nobody would be asked for their ID.'

In (61), *ca* is in Force, according to its location above TopP. All the subjunctives with *ca* allow for this word order in Modern Romanian, which is a confirmation for their systematic ForceP structure. Accordingly, they are incompatible with OC.

At the same time, (60) indicated that ForceP subjunctives do not necessarily need *ca* insertion. All *ca să*-subjunctives can freely alternate with ForceP *să*-subjunctives without *ca* in NOC contexts, as further shown in (62).

(62)   *Speram*   *(?*Victor)*   ***să***   *sosească*   *(Victor)*   *mâine.*
       hoped.1   Victor   SUBJ   arrive.SUBJ.3   Victor   tomorrow
       'I was hoping for Victor to arrive tomorrow.'

For these structures, there is fluctuation in grammatical judgements, but, generally, speakers allow for the word order in (62) if the fronted constituent has a Focus versus a Topic reading (see also Farkas 1985; Kempchinsky 1986). Hence, it is either the case that *să* stays in Fin and checks the feature of Force through long distance Agree (so constituent fronting is allowed) or, that Force and Fin are collapsed (for those who reject (62)), and all the clustered features are spelled out as *să* (so there is no articulated CP field for fronting).

The options for subjunctive complements in Modern Romanian are summed up in (63).

(63)   a.   OC: [$_{FinP}$ Fin-***să*** …]
      b.   NOC:
          i.   [$_{Force/FinP}$ Force/Fin-***să*** …]
          ii.   [$_{ForceP}$ 0 > FocusP > Fin-***să*** …]
          iii.   [$_{ForceP}$ Force-***ca*** > TopP > FocusP > Fin-***să*** …]

Basically, this survey of subjunctives in Modern Romanian shows that *să* is in a continuous process of reanalysis. In Old Romanian, *să* spread to selected CPs as an exclusively *irrealis* marker, as attested by its choice of occurrence in Table 1 (i.e., mostly under 'desire' and 'order' verbs). Then, it added [-finite] to its feature set, which led to the elimination of *de* and the remerging of Fin, in parallel with the option for split Fin with *ca* instead of *de*. In Modern Romanian, *să* lost the *irrealis* value, and became underspecified for [modal], since it appears under verbs with either *realis* or *irrealis* semantics (i.e., aspectuals such as *apuca* 'start'). This points to the attrition of *să*. This, together with the preference for remerged over split Fin, led to the reanalysis of *ca* upwards, in Force. Alternatively, *să* takes over the function of *ca* and checks Force, either through long distance Agree from Fin, or within a collapsed C. There is no evidence of *să* movement from Fin to Force at this time.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter, we presented evidence that subjunctive *să* emerged from the Romanian conditional *să*, rather than being directly inherited from Latin as a subjunctive complementizer. We argued that the reanalysis of conditional *să* towards the complementizer *să* involved transitional stages in root contexts, before spreading to embedded contexts.

The evidence can be summed up as follows: (i) the loss of conditional *să* coincides with the aggressive spread of *să* to selected clauses; (ii) there is ambiguity concerning the values of clause typing operators *să* may check, and its spread to selected CP involved the attrition of this

feature; (iii) there is specialization of *să* for *irrealis* modality; (iv) there is a short lived use of embedded *să* preceded by *cum*, which is a subordinating complementizer; (v) there is a short lived use of *de să* sequences, while *să* acquires a [-finite] feature. If *să* were inherited as a complementizer directly from Latin, the correlations in (i) and (ii) would be unexpected, and, by the 16th century, the analysis of *să* would be well established as to its merge position, its non-finiteness and underspecification for modality, so the fluctuations we found in this respect would be unjustified.

Cartographic tests allowed us to establish that Fin containing *să* is either split or merged. This, together with the distribution of *să*-subjunctives in both NOC and OC contexts, indicates that these constructions are derived according to the Balkan subjunctive pattern, as is also the case with selected *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives. This similarity is the key for correctly understanding the process of replacement that took place within the Balkan subjunctive pattern, which, as we pointed out, concerns not only the replacement of infinitives by subjunctives, but also the replacement of *de*-indicatives, by both infinitive and subjunctive counterparts.

A major argument developed in this chapter concerns the redefinition of *să* as a complementizer, instead of an inflectional mood marker for subjunctives. This was not just a terminological exercise, but a necessary ingredient for explaining the fluctuations and combinatorial options noticed in the Old Romanian texts. For example, if *să* were an inflectional mood marker, we would not expect to see it in combination with indicative mood in adverbial adjuncts in the early texts, and we could not explain the reanalysis of *ca* from Fin to Force in Modern Romanian (i.e., in *ca să* strings), since there would be nothing to expel *ca* from Fin.

Another important point that came out from our analysis is that diachronically, there is a constant tendency in Romanian to remerge split heads (at least in the C domain). There seems to be evidence (from Fin *de*-indicative, *de a*-infinitive, *de să*-subjunctive) for a cyclic 'push-pull' tendency throughout the clausal/verbal paradigm, whereby Fin heads are split/pushed apart and then remerged/pulled together, the latter being the productive option in Modern Romanian.

Chapter 9:   Supine clauses: On the road to balkanization

1. **Origins and morphology**
   Nominal supines in the 16th century; verbal supines beginning with the 17th century.

2. **Nominal supines**
   Two classes of nominal supines: regular (unproductive) and defective (productive for verbalization).

3. **Distribution of verbal supines**
   The distribution attests the emergence and direction of spread:
   adjuncts > relatives > complements.

4. **Tests**
   - Supine clauses lack a TP field
   - Adverbial supines have V-to-C, where C is a collapsed Force/Fin
   - Relative supines have *de* as a relativizer in Force and V-to-Fin
   - Selected supines have a split Fin: *de* in Fin1 and V-to-Fin2

5. **Analysis**
   - Reanalysis of *de* from Force (in relatives) to truncated Fin (Fin1 in complements).
   - Remerged Fin and balkanization in northern varieties of Modern Romanian[136]

6. **Replacements**
   - *De*-supine clauses replaced *a*-infinitives in relative clauses
   - *De*-supines clauses failed as complements to N or in NOC contexts

7. **Conclusions**

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[136] *Balkanization* here has a linguistic denotation (i.e., a property of languages spoken in the Balkan peninsula), not a political denotation (i.e., fragmentation or division of a region or state into smaller regions).

This chapter focuses on the supine clause, which is a language specific construction. An example is offered in (1): the aspectual verb *isprăvi* 'finish' selects a clausal complement that contains a supine verb. We know that supine is a verb because its direct object is in unmarked Case (i.e., Accusative). Supine nouns, as any regular noun, have the direct object marked for Genitive Case.

(1)   *Și   până   va   isprăvi   preotul   **de**   **citit**   12 evanghelii*
            and   until   will.3SG   finish   priest.the   DE   read.SUP   12 gospels
            vor   fi   și   pe   ață   12 înnodături
            will.3PL   be   also   on   thread   12 knots
            'And by the time the priest will finish reading 12 gospels, there will also be 12 knots on the thread' (Descâtec, 310; 17th -19th c.; apud Dragomirescu 2013: 259)

The emergence and the spread of the supine clause is very well captured in the Old Romanian texts, a situation that contrasts with the incomplete information we have about other clausal complements. In line with very recent diachronic studies on supines (i.e., Dragomirescu 2013; Hill 2013d; Dragomirescu & Hill 2014), we show that these forms are exclusively nominal in the earliest Old Romanian texts, and undergo a gradual verbalization during the 17th century, when the CP supine emerges. The sequence of change we propose has the following progression, where the symbol '→' indicates that a particular construction branches into another construction: P > DP → P > CP → CP$_{relative}$ → CP$_{complement}$. All these constructions overlap on the timeline up to a certain degree.

Given that most of our book discusses non-finite clausal complementation, special attention will be paid in this chapter to the structure of supine complements. In particular, we try to understand how the supine complement relates to the underlying pattern that derives *de*-indicatives, *a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives, and which we have identified as instantiations of the *Balkan subjunctive* pattern of clausal complementation.

In this respect, our tests indicate that the supine clause has a different internal structure, insofar as it does not contain a TP domain, and feature checking operations involve V-to-C instead of V-to-T. These peculiarities have been preserved in standard Modern Romanian, which singles out this construction as language specific and independent of the Balkan pattern of complementation. However, a look at the developments in the northern varieties of Modern Romanian allows us to notice important changes: there, TP has been added, and feature checking is implemented as in the other clausal complements in equivalent context. We analyze this change as following from paradigmatic pressures and structural analogy with the competing clausal complements in the language; in other words, the supine clause is being balkanized.

1. Origins and morphology

In Proto-Indo-European, the supine is a prepositionless Case form considered the precursor of the infinitive (a proto-infinitive) with stems ending in –*t(u)*- (Wackernagel apud Langslow 2009: 348). The prototypical categorization is nominal, with subsequent verbalization, which yields the infinitive clauses (or their verbal supine equivalent). While the supine is quite common in ancient languages (e.g., Latin, Sanskrit, Old Church Slavonic), it is rare in their descendants, surfacing in Czech, Lithuanian, Slovenian, and Romanian (Joseph 1983).

In Romanian, the supine can be either a noun or a verb, and displays the PIE stem ending –*t*-, which is allomorphic between [t] and [s]; for example, *lucrat* 'worked' or *cules* 'gathered'. Thus, the supine is homophonous to an uninflected past participle (i.e., masculine singular).

We do not know whether supines and past participles have the same stem in Old Romanian, or whether the stems were kept distinct, since the stems are homophonous, with only one known exception, shown in (2).

(2)   *Fost-ai*   *la târg?*   *De* **_fiut_**   *am*   **_fost,_**   *dar*
        been=have.2SG   to market   DE been.SUP   have.1 been.PAST.PART but
        n-am   *cumpărat*   *nimic.*
        not=have.1   bought   nothing
        'Have you been to the market? As for going there, I went, but I did not buy anything'
        (Deda, apud Maiden 2012: 25; from Dragomirescu 2013: 253)

In (2), the supine for 'be' is regionally *fiut*, whereas the past participle is *fost*. Note, however, that the supine of 'be' does not occur in other contexts besides fronted constituents as in (2).

Irrespective of whether past participles and supines share the stem or not, they display different properties for the purpose of clause derivation. More precisely, the verbal supine is orthogonal to [voice] distinctions, being compatible with either an active or a passive reading, whereas the past participle, by itself, is always passive. Also, under a passive reading, the supine is dissociated from agreement with the subject or the object (3a), whereas the past participle is obligatorily inflected for object agreement (3b).

(3) a.   *I-au*   *trecut*   *pe*   *ei*   *fără*   *de*   **_udat_**.
         them=has   passed   DOM   them   without   DE   wetted.SUP
         'He passed them (across the sea) without them getting wet.'
                                      (Corbea, Ps 289 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 254)
    b.   *iaste*   **_însemnată_**   *de Ureche*
         is   recorded.PAST.PART.F.SG   by Ureche
         'it is recorded(FEM) by Ureche' (Ureche {59}

The null object Theme of the supine verb in (3a) is co-referential with the plural *ei* 'them' in the matrix, but there is no agreement morphology on the supine to reflect this (i.e., no masculine plural ending), despite its passive-like reading. On the other hand, in the passive construction in (3b), the past participle displays morphology for object agreement.

The earliest Old Romanian documents attest the supine as a productive noun category (Dragomirescu 2013). The use of the supine as a verb begins by the 17th century in adjunct clauses. For Modern Romanian (i.e., from the 19th century on), Brâncuş (1967) and Pană

Dindelegan (1992:128-129, 2013) identify three types of supines: (i) nominal (4a); (ii) mixed [N], [V] (4b); (iii) verbal (4c).

(4) a. ***sculatul***   *morţilor*
        risen.SUP.the   dead.PL.the.GEN
        'the rising of the dead' (Coresi, Cat. 1559-60, 104)

   b. *9 oameni*   *cu*   *cărţi*   *de*   ***iertat***
        men   with   letters   of/DE   forgiven.SUP
        'nine men with letters of forgiveness/by which we forgive them'
                        (Documents 1591, 170)
   c. *mescioară*   *de*   ***numărat***   *banii*
        small.table   DE   counted.SUP   money.the
        'small table on which to count the money' (Corbea 1691, 3)

Is the Romanian supine inherited from Latin? Historical linguists are divided on this issue. One side argues that Daco-Romanian (i.e., versus the Romanian dialects South of the Danube) is the only Romance language that preserved the Latin supine (Grandgent 1958, Diaconescu 1971, following Tiktin 1905 and Bourciez 1946). The other side argues that the supine is an Old Romanian innovation (Caragiu 1962, Brâncuş 1967, Frâncu 2009). Then, there are also the undecided linguists, who consider that the Romanian supine might have originated from the Latin supine, but that it has definitely expanded its morphosyntax beyond the available Latin patterns (Dumitrescu & al. 1978: 336). We refer the reader to Hill (2013d) for further discussion.

In our view, the supine is an option within the PIE family, and judging by Wackernagel's observations, it has been recycled back and forth between nominal and verbal paradigms. More precisely, this stem generated nouns in PIE, which went through verbalization (generating, in Wackernagel's view, the PIE infinitives and the Latin verbal stem labelled as *supine*). In Old Romanian, the supine appears as nominal, which is unexpected if the PIE supines were verbalized, and Latin uses them as verbs. Furthermore, they go through the process of verbalization in the 17th century, although they were considered to have done so in PIE, which means that this stem is permanently in a state of recategorization. From this perspective, the supine as a morphological stem is not a Romanian innovation, since it exists in the morphological inventory of PIE. The language specificity concerns only the exploitation of this possibility and the syntactic distribution of the verbal supine.

2. Nominal supines

There are two classes of supine based nouns that differ in their internal structure: one group, illustrated in (4a) above, has the regular properties of nouns irrespective of their stem type; the other group, illustrated in (4b) above, contains defective supines that constrain the aspectual feature of items they co-occur with. Only the defective supine stems have been re-categorized as verbs, as in (4c). This distinction has been maintained in Modern Romanian.

More precisely, regular nouns display number and gender distinctions, whereas defective supines do not. These settings have consequences for the aspectual interpretation of the DP/CP (i.e., for the values of the *outer Aspect* in terms of Wiltschko 2014); namely, regular supines are

compatible with either progressive or perfective interpretation, whereas the defective supines restrict the interpretation to progressive, as shown in (5) and (6), respectively. The examples in (5a, b, c) are taken from Dragomirescu (2013); the examples (5d) and (6b, c) are based on Modern Romanian judgments.

(5) a.   ***rrăsăritul***   *soarelui*
       risen.SUP. SG .the.MASC   sun.the.GEN
       'the sunrise'   (PH {129})

    b.   ***răsărita***   *soarelui*
       rise.SUP. SG.the.FEM   sun.the.GEN
       'the sunrise' (Ureche {139})

    c.   ***răsăriturile***
       rise.SUP.MASC.PL.the
       'the risings' (CC {35})

    d.   ***răsăritul***   *complet*   *al*   *soarelui*
       rise.SUP.SG.MASC.the   complete   of   sun.the.GEN
       'the complete sunrise'

(6) a.   *la **băgatul***   *drugilor*
       at inserted.SUP.SG.MASC.the   rods.the.GEN
       'at the insertion of the rods' (BB {66})

    b.   **la **băgaturile***   *drugilor*
       at inserted.SUP.PL.the   rods.the.GEN

    c.   **la **băgatul***   *complet*   *al*   *drugilor*
       at inserted.SUP.SG.the   complete   of   rods.the.GEN

The supine noun in (6) does not accept pluralization (6b) and is incompatible with an adjective that triggers a perfective reading (6c). Such restrictions do not apply to the supine noun in (5). Thus, the supine in (6) behaves like a mass (versus count) noun and involves a restriction on the value of the aspectual feature (i.e., the pluractional operator in Iordăchioaia & Soare 2011, redefined in Dragomirescu 2015 as an *inner* aspectual feature) that blocks the count noun reading.

      The groupings in Brâncuș (1967) and Pană Dindelegan (1992:128-129, 2013) illustrated in (4) can now be rephrased as follows: supine nouns of group (i) are regular, whereas supine nouns of group (ii) have the aspectual operator. We thus eliminate the mixed [N], [V] option since regular supines systematically generate DPs, whereas defective supines may generate either DPs or CPs, but there is no evidence of mixing nominal and verbal inflectional categories within their extended functional domain. Thus, we assume that the defective supine root is category neutral in the lexicon and specified as verbal or nominal based on whether the stem merges with 'little n' (i.e. *n*) or 'little v' (i.e. *v*) in the syntactic derivation, in the spirit of Marantz (2001), as in (7).

(7)   a. vP   b. nP

          v   √X   n   √X

So ambiguity arises in the reader's parsing of the construction, not in its generation: did the speaker opt for an *n*P (which projects to DP) or for a *v*P (which project to a CP derivation)?

3. Distribution of verbal supines

In this section, we list the constructions that arise from the verbal stream of the supine stem. The sequence of subsections below reflects the progression of supines clauses, from adjuncts to relatives and further to complements.

3.1. Adverbial adjuncts

Deficient supines are ambiguous regarding their nominal or verbal analysis in the 16th century texts when they appear without determiners or complements and are preceded by a preposition. Prepositions select either a DP or a CP, and examples as in (8) provide no clue for the reader as to which analysis should be adopted.

(8)   *Credinţa iaste dentru*   **auzit,**   *iară auzitul*   *iaste pren*
         faith.the is   from   heard.SUP   and   heard.SUP.the   is   through
         cuvântul lu   Dumnezeu
         word.the   of   God
         'The faith comes from hearing, and the hearing comes through God's word'
                        (Coresi T EV, 49 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 215)

The structural ambiguity in (8) is due to the fact that there is no spell out for either C and D under prepositions with deficient supines in Old and Modern Romanian.[137]
        However, the analysis is clear when the supine is modified by adjectives, as in (9a) or displays its complement in Genitive, since this is typical of a P (underlined) > DP configuration. Such constructions can be coordinated with P > DPs in which the noun is not supine based, as in (9b), where *râs* 'laugh' and *plâns* 'cry' are supine based, whereas the coordinated *scârbă* 'disgust' and *întristare* 'sadness' are not.

(9) a.   *după* **dusul**   *mieu întra-vorŭ*   *lupi*   *grei întru voi*
         after   left.SUP.the   my   enter=will.3PL wolves   big   in   you
         'after my leaving, bad wolves will enter in you'
                        (*CV* 1563–1583, 249 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 214)
    b.   *în* **râs**   *şi   în viaţă fără*   *de* **plâns**   *şi   fără*   **scârbă**
         in laughed.SUP   and   in life   without of cried.SUP   and without   disgust
         şi   fără   **întristare**

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[137] While the non-lexical C is idiosyncratic to this construction, the non-lexical D is not. Mardale (2009) points out a phenomenon in progress at that time by which D is dropped under selection by P across the board.

and   without   sadness
'in laugh and in life without crying and without disgust and without sadness'
(*Sicriul de aur,* 1683, 57 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 105)

Conversely, when the supine is followed by a DP complement in Accusative, we know that it has been analyzed as a verb, and the structure consists of P (underlined) > CP, as in (10).

(10)　　*când* <u>*pentru*</u> **făcut**　<u>*folosul*</u>　<u>*de obşte*</u>　*cineva*　*să*　*fericeşte*
　　　　when　for　done.SUP　deed.the　for community　someone　REFL=　is.happy
　　　　'when someone gets happy for having done a good deed for the community'
　　　　　　　(Cantermir I, 106 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 253)

There are also supine stems that became exclusively verbal. For examples, the supines in (11) are not available as nouns in texts (also Coteanu/DEX 1998: 734, 480).[138]

(11) a.　*învăţătură*　<u>*spre*</u>　**oştit**
　　　　knowledge　towards　military.training
　　　　'knowledge for (the purpose of) army training'
　　　　　　　　(Corbea, 224 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 236)
　　b.　*Eu*　*lui*　*i-aş*　　　*fi*　*răbdat/*　<u>*Fără*</u>　***de***　***împutat***
　　　　I　to.him　him=would.1SG=　be　suffered　without　DE　reproached.SUP
　　　　'I would have put up with him, without reproaching him'
　　　　　　　(Corbea, 243 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 237)

Since these P constructs are the earliest attestations of verbal supines, historical linguistic studies conclude (and we follow suit) that supines clauses emerged as adverbial adjuncts (Dragomirescu 2013 and references therein).

3.2. Relative clauses

The texts of the 17th century continue to provide supine based P > DP and P > CP. Constructions as in (12), where *de* precedes the unmodified supine, are doubly ambiguous: (i) *de* may be either P or C; (ii) the supine may be either [N] or [V] as discussed for (8).

(12)　　*loc*　*[de jărtvă]*　*// loc*　　*[de odihnit]]*
　　　　place　DE sacrifice　　place　DE rested.SUP
　　　　'a place for sacrifices' (Coresi EV {329})// 'a place for resting.' (BB {16})

Synchronically, *de* is productive in Old Romanian as either P or C. As P, it occurs in attributive constructions, as in (13), where the nouns have other stems than the supine.

(13) a.　*multe*　　*fealiuri*　***de*** *făgăduiale*
　　　　many　　kinds　　of promises
　　　　'many kinds of promises' (BB {PrefaţăXXI})

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[138] There is a noun *imputatul* 'the accused' in Modern Romanian, based on the passive interpretation of the supine, but there is no noun based on the active interpretation 'reproach' that appears in our example.

b. *fântâni   noauă   **de** spăsenie*
   fountains   to.us   of redemption
   'fountains of redemption for us' (Dosoftei VS {IIIr})

Predictably, supine based nouns occur in this construction, on par with other types of nouns.

As C, *de* occurs in relatives and clausal complements. The relative clauses are semantically equivalent to the attributive constructions in (13), and they involve finite verbs, as in (14a), or non-finite verbs, as in (14b).

(14) a. *Abiia   cu   mult   greu   am   scris   şi   această   svântă*
        barely   with   much   hardly   have.1   written   also   this   saint
        *carte   **de** o   am   tălmăcit   rumâneaşte   pre   limbă   proastă*
        book   DE   it   have.1   translated   Romanian   in   language   unworthy
        'With much difficulty have I written this holy book, **which** I have translated to Romanian, in unworthy language' (Dosoftei VS { IVv})

   b. *n-au   avut   loc   adevărat   **de**-a   lăcuirea*
      not=have.3   had   place   really   DE-INF   live.INF
      'they did not have a real land in **which** to live' (NT {390})

Thus, in the 17th century, when (14a, b) were productive, and a verbal analysis of the supine started to be available, supine relatives as in (15) also emerged.

(15)   *groapă   **de** îngropat   mortul*
         grave   DE   buried.SUP   dead.the
         'a grave to bury the dead' (Corbea 452 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 258)

In (15), the supine selects a DP object in Accusative, signalling a VP configuration. These supine relatives became very productive in late 17th century texts.

3.3. Supine nominals embedded under PP predicates

Another environment where the supine is productive in the 17th – 18th centuries appears under selection by copula 'be', as in (16), where the supine is also preceded by *de*.

(16)   *Care   lucru   <u>era</u>   **de**   **mirat,**   unde   au   isprăvit   Grigorie-vodă*
         which   thing   was   of   admired.SUP   where   has   succeeded   Grigorie-king
         de-au   întorsŭ   tătarii   pagubele   moldovenilor,   că
         DE=has   returned   Tatars.the   damages.the   Moldovans.the.GEN   because
         avè   mare   trecere   la   Poartă.
         had   great   esteem   at   Porte
         'This is a deed worth marveling at, namely that King Grigorie succeeded to have the Tatars pay damages to the Moldovans, because he was held in high esteem at the Sublime Porte.' (Neculce 341)

These 'be' predicates alternate the *de*-supine selection with *de*-infinitive selection, as in (17), where the infinitive is nominal, as indicated by the adjective.

(17)   *Cum   au   mai   rămas   om   trăitor   în tine,   **de mare mirare** <u>este</u>*
         how   has=   more= lasted man   dwelling in you   of   great wonder   is
         'It is of great wonder how living people still lasted in there (Moldova)' (Neculce 167)

In fact, these constructions involve P > DP by default, as further shown in (18a), so the supine in (16) is a subset of DPs in this context, as further shown in (18b).

(18) a.   *Acest   veac   <u>e</u>   **de   pocaianie**,   iară   cela   alalt   **de   plată***
          this   life   is   for   repentance   and   the   other   for   reward
          'This life is for repentance and the other one for rewards' (Coresi EV {537})

    b.   *cunoscu   că   <u>iaste</u>   **de   râs**   ficioarei*
         realized.3   that   is   of   laughed.SUP   girl.the.DAT
         'he realized that this was laughable for the girl' (Dosoftei VS {136r})

There are no examples in which the supine takes a DP Accusative object in these contexts. In light of the comparative paradigm, where the copula 'be' systematically selects P > DP, we consider the supine to be nominal here.

3.4. Clausal complements

3.4.1 *Tough*-constructions
         There is no timeline evidence for the emergence of *tough*-constructions, and they are rare in the texts. When they appear, the adjective agrees with the DP object of the supine verb, as shown in (19) for *bun* 'good' and *vreadnic* 'worthy'.

(19) a.   *avea   <u>viers</u>   **bun**   **de**   cântat*
          had   lyrics.M.SG   good. M.SG   DE   sung.SUP
          'he had some lyrics good to be sung' (Dosoftei VS {36r})

    b.   *S-au   îngrăşatŭ,   doamne,   <u>berbecii</u>,   **buni**   sântŭ*
         REFL=have.3   fattened   lord.VOC   rams.the. M.PL   good M.PL   are.3
         ***de**   giunghiat.*
         DE   stabbed.SUP
         'My lord, the rams have fattened, they are just right for stabbing.' (Costin 33)

    c.   *poveştile   lor   sânt   vreadnice   **de   ocărât***
         stories.the.F.PL   their   are   worth.F.PL   DE   reviled.SUP
         'their stories are worth reviling' (Dosoftei VS {165r})

These adjectives may also select a P$_{de}$ > DP, as in (20), so the supine appears again in an ambiguous configuration, where *de* is either a preposition or a complementizer, and the supine is either nominal or verbal.

(20) a. *Întru Hristos <u>Dumnezeul</u> cel bun credincios şi cel **<u>bun</u>** **de** **cinste***
for Christ God.the the good faithful and the good for glory
'For Christ the Lord, the faithful one and the one worthy of glory' (CM I {84})

    b. *ş-alte multe **<u>vreadnice</u>** **de** **cuvânt***
and-others many worthy of word
'and many others worthy of citation' (Dosoftei VS {28r})

       The supine clause became very productive for *tough*-constructions in Modern Romanian, but with an important difference: the adjective can no longer agree with the object of the supine, as in (21).

(21)   <u>*Problemele*</u>   *sunt*   **<u>*greu*</u>**   *de rezolvat.*
problems.the.**F.PL**   are   hard.**M.SG**   DE solved.SUP
'The problems are hard to solve.'

The construction with *bun* 'good'/*vrednic* 'worth' still occurs in standard Modern Romanian, with the same agreement configuration as in (19), but it is seen as an exception for the *tough*-construction paradigm, which, by default, involves an invariable adjective, as in (21). Loss of agreement on the predicative adjective and its exclusive occurrence on the copula is likely related to the structural configuration: it is possible that the *tough*-constructions in (19) instantiate clausal complementation to the adjective, while in Modern Romanian, the CP subject clause is adjoined to the entire predicate rather than merged as a complement to the adjective.[139] Notably, the pattern in (19) is typical for equivalent infinitives in Romance languages, whereas the pattern deriving *greu*-constructions, as in (21), is idiosyncratic to Romanian (however, English also displays it, insofar as the *tough* adjective is invariable).[140]

3.4.2. V-selected complements
       By the 18th century, *de*-supines appear as clausal complements. The spread started with fixed expressions of the type 'give to eat', as in (22) (Pană Dindelegan 1992; Hill 2013d).

(22) a. *nu-ntra nime la dânsul, fără cât numai bas-bulubaş,*
not=entered.3 nobody to him without that only employee
*cându-i ducè **de** mâncat.*
when=to.him brought.3 DE eaten.SUP
'Nobody was visiting him, except for the officer, when he brought him (**something**) to eat.' (Neculce 253)

    b. *era un omŭ rău, şi nici **de** mâncat nici **de** cheltuială*
was a man bad and nor DE eaten.SUP nor for spending

---

[139] See also Dye (2006) for a structural discrimination between the two constructions.
[140] Another possibility is that *tough*-construction started out as 'object-to-subject raising' constructions (as proposed in Rosenbmaum 1967) and later switched configurations and started showing A-bar rather than A-properties of movement, on par with English (Chomksy 1977). Since a more in-depth analysis of *tough*-constructions in Modern Romanian is beyond the scope of this book, we do not investigate this further.

>
> *nu   le   da.*
> not   to.them=   gave.3
> 'For he was a bad man, and he didn't give them (**anything**) either for food or for spending.'   (Neculce 300)

In (22b), *de* occurs as a P twice, heading distinct DPs; namely, the supine *mâncat* 'eaten.SUP' and the regular noun *cheltuială* 'spending'. Given their location, these PPs seem to be ambiguous between a selected and an adjunct analysis. However, the verbs *duce* 'take' in (22a) and *da* 'give' in (22b) are mono-transitive verbs that do not take PP complements. Hence, these verbs take something else as complements, that is, generic null DPs (i.e., 'something' or 'anything' bolded and bracketed in the translation). So the *de*-supines in (22a-b) cannot be complements to the matrix verbs, but PP modifiers to the generic null objects of these verbs.

Crucially, the null DP in contexts as in (22) yields ambiguity regarding the status of the supine phrase (as either P > DP or P > CP), since nominal modifiers can be PPs or CP relatives. When the complement reanalysis applies, the supine is unambiguously categorized as a CP (with C-*de*), since the sub-categorization of these verbs is incompatible with PPs. Thus, constructions as in (1), repeated as (23), start to appear in the 18th century texts (although not frequently). The matrix aspectual selector is underlined.

(23)   *Și   până   va   isprăvi   preotul   **de**   **citit**   12 evanghelii*
             and   until   will.3SG=   finish   priest.the   DE   read.SUP   12 gospels
             vor   fi   și   pe   ață   12   înnodături
             will.3PL=   be   also   on   thread   12   knots
             'And before the priest will finish reading 12 gospels, there will be 12 knots on the thread' (Descântece 310 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 260)

In Modern Romanian, supine complements as in (23) are productive with some aspectual verbs and with modals (see Soare 2002 for a more exhaustive list).

3.4.3. Exclusion of N selectors

As seen in the previous sub-sections, verbs and adjectival (*tough*) predicates could select a supine clause. However, this is not an option for nouns in Old or Modern Romanian, as shown in (24a). This is intriguing, since other types of clausal complements are possible in this context, as shown in (24b, c) with an infinitive and a subjunctive, respectively. The comparative paradigm in (24) is based on Modern Romanian, since we only have negative evidence for (24a) in Old Romanian.

(24) a.   **dorinţa   **de**   **plecat***
            desire.the   DE   left.SUP
            'the desire to leave'

     b.   *dorinţa   **de**   **a**   pleca*
            desire.the   DE   INF   leave
            'the desire to leave'

     c.   *dorinţa   **să**   plece*

desire.the   SUBJ   leave.SUBJ.3
'the desire to leave'

We mention this fact here, to point out that the supine clause cannot undergo the same distribution as the other non-finite clauses discussed so far. An analysis of this contrast will follow later, when we have more information from structural tests.

3.5. Lexical subjects

Dragomirescu (2011, 2013) points out specific contexts in which the supine clause may license a lexical subject. This is shown in (25a, b) for Old Romanian and in (25c) for Modern Romanian.

(25) a. *hexaclinum, g.n. loc*   *[de cinat*   *şase   înş]*
          hexaclinum, g.n. place   DE   dined.SUP   six   persons
          'hexaclinum, neuter genus = place where six persons can dine'(Corbea 1691-7, 232)

   b. *hyberna,-orum,   g.n.pl. locuri   [de   iernat*   *oştile]*
          hyberna,-orum,   g.n.pl. places   DE   hibernated.SUP   armies.the
          'hiberna,-orum, neuter genus, plural = places in which the armies pass the winter'
                                                         (Corbea 1691-7, 237)
   c. *măsuţe   [de   jucat*   *copii]*
          tables   DE   played.SUP
          'small tables on which children can play' (*idealbebe.ro*)

The common property of the constructions in (25) is that they are not integrated in a sentence, but appear as isolated fragments. Thus, (25a, b) are point form explanations for entries in a 17th century dictionary; whereas (25c) occurs as a caption under the pictures of objects for sale on the internet. The DP subject is post-verbal only (as in infinitives).

4. Tests

The tests proposed in this section aim to: (i) determine the status of *de* preceding the verbal supine; (ii); establish the internal structure of the supine clause in the various distributional contexts; and (iii) establish the level of verb movement in the supine clause. As assessment criteria, we use adverbs, the position of clitics, negation, and word order.

4.1. P > CP_{supine}

We differentiate a nominal and a verbal supine by looking at the inflection on the stem (i.e., is there an article or not?) and at the Case of the complement selected by the supine. When there is no nominal inflection and the supine selects a DP in Accusative (versus Genitive), we conclude that the supine stem projects to a *v*P (versus *n*P).[141] The question is whether this *v*P

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[141] Densuşianu (1961: 52) argues, on philological grounds, that all *de*-supines of the 16th – 17th century are exclusively nominal in the absence of Accusative objects. While we conform to this observation by using the

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further projects to a TP/CP. The main problem is that in adverbial clauses – that is, the context in which the supine is first reanalyzed as a verb -- there is no lexical material between P and the supine to indicate how far the extended functional domain of supine *v* may go. In our overview of the syntactic distribution, we assumed a CP structure for adverbial supines, because of their free alternation with infinitive clauses in these contexts. However, infinitives allow for clitics, auxiliaries and a complementizer that clearly indicate their CP/TP status, whereas supines lack such properties.

There is, however, evidence for structure beyond *v*P in adjunct supine clauses: these may contain an aspectual adverb, as in (26). The tests are applied to Modern Romanian, but they cover the Old Romanian counterpart, since there is no diachronic change in these constructions.

(26) a.   *Mergem*   **la vânat**   *căprioare.*
        go.1PL   to hunted.SUP   deer
        'We go to hunt deer.'

    b.   *Mergem*   **la vânat**   *de*   *căprioare.*
        go.1PL   to hunted.SUP   of   deer
        'We go to hunt deer.'

    c.   *Azi*   *mergem*   **la vânat**   **_iar_**   *căprioare.*
        today   go.1PL   to hunted.SUP   again   deer
        'Today we go to hunt again some deer.'

    d.   *Azi*   *mergem*   **la vânat**   *(*__iar__)*   *de*   *căprioare*   *(__iar__).*
        today   go.1PL   to hunted.SUP   again   of   deer   again
        'Today we go again to hunt deer.'

In (26a), the supine is verbal and takes its direct object DP in Accusative. In (26b), the supine is nominal and takes its complement as a PP (with P-*de*, which is equivalent to Genitive marking; Giurgea 2013). In this context, a repetitive adverb like *iar* 'again' is grammatical with the verbal but not with the nominal supine, as shown in (26c) versus (26d). The grammatical reading of (26d) has the clause final *iar* 'again' analyzed with the matrix verb, not with the supine. On the other hand, (26c) is grammatical with *iar* 'again' analyzed with the supine (versus matrix) verb.

The grammaticality contrasts are repeated in (27a-b), with the aspectual adverb *mereu* 'all the time'.

(27)   a.   *A*   *fost*   *fixată*   **pentru** **şters**   **_mereu_**   *praful*   *de pe parbriz*
        has=   been   fixed   for   wiped.SUP   all.the.time   dust.the   of on window
        'It has been fixed so as to **always** wipe the dust off the window-shield.'

    b.   *A*   *fost*   *fixată*   **pentru** *şters__ul__*   *(*__mereu__)*   *prafului*   *(*__mereu__)*
        has=   been   fixed   for   wiping.the   all.the.time   dust.the.GEN   all.the.time
        de   *pe*   *parbriz.*
        of   on   window

---

presence of Accusative objects as a formal test for verbalization, we also argue that the deficient supine became compatible with a [V] computation since the early texts.

'It has been fixed for the wiping of the dust off the window-shield.'

These examples show that a PP > DP with a supine stem, as in (26b, d)/(27b), supplements information for the event conveyed by the matrix verb. On the other hand, a P > verbal supine, as in (26a, c)/(27a), introduces a second event, with independent aspectual properties. Consequently, the verbal supine projects beyond *v*P to AspP. Since P (pentru 'for') can only select CP, not AspP, the clausal supine must project further than AspP, to a CP.

We must point out, however, that unlike aspectual adverbs, temporally deictic adverbs are ruled out in adjunct supines, as in (28).

(28)   *Buretele   ăsta   a   fost   cumpărat   **pentru șters**   (*<u>azi</u>)   praful*
   sponge.the   this   has   been   bought   for   wiped.SUP   today   dust
   'This sponge has been bought for wiping the dust (today).'

Hence, there is a functional projection for AspP, but not for TP.

Therefore, adjunct supine clauses provide evidence for a C > AspP > *v*P structure. With respect to the aim of this section, that is, to determine whether adjunct supines are nominal or verbal, we can now conclude that the supine stem projects all the way along the structural spine (e.g., in the spirit of Wiltschko 2014), either on the nominal side (i.e., up to DP) or on the verbal side (i.e., up to CP).

4.2. Lack of TP

The previous section established that supine clauses are CPs with the internal hierarchy CP > AsP > *v*P. The evidence for *v*P is that the supine has direct object DPs in Accusative Case; AspP is signalled by the possibility of the aspectual adverbs; and the CP level is inferred from the embedding under P. However, TP seems to be absent from supine clauses, as signalled in (28). This section brings further evidence that this is, indeed, the case.

Generally, a TP level is indicated by the presence of auxiliaries and/or clitic pronouns. None is available in supine clauses. This is surprising, considering that other non-finite clauses allow for clitics, including in relatives, which is the most productive supine environment in Old Romanian. (29a) shows clitics in infinitive relatives, whereas (29b) shows the supine relative strictly disallowing them.

(29) a.   *nu   era   nimeni   [de   a-**i**   ajuta]*
   not   was   nobody   DE   INF=them   help
   'there was nobody to help them out' (BB {LegeaIICapXXII})

  b.   *casă   [de   (*<u>le</u>)   **ținut**   răvașurile]*
   house   DE   to.them=   kept.SUP   letters.the
   'a house to keep the letters in (for them)' (Corbea 502 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 238)

Auxiliaries, which always merge directly in T, or target T (see Chapter 1), are also disallowed in supine clauses. The other non-finite clauses display a past/perfective *fi* 'be' and/or a passive *fi* 'be', none of which is possible in supines.

Finally, embedded supine clauses (versus the fragments in (24)) cannot license lexical subjects even when they project to ForceP (e.g., in relatives). Following Chomsky (2007, 2008), the licensing of subjects is a property of phasal C (see Chapter 1), but a proxy T is needed in order for C to discharge its A-related properties. In Romanian, lack of lexical subjects is a further indication that T is absent. Recall that all the other non-finite clauses (i.e., infinitives, gerunds, subjunctives) can license subjects with Nominative Case in Romanian.

In conclusion, the supine clause is a CP, but this CP lacks a TP projection. Thus, the internal structure of supine clauses is, indeed, limited to: CP > AspP > *v*P.

4.3. V-to-C

Within the supine CP, V moves to C. Evidence in this respect comes from the use of negation. The clausal negation in supine clauses is *ne-* instead of *nu*. We have seen *ne-* in the derivation of gerunds (e.g., *nevenind* 'not.coming') in Chapter 5, where its choice over *nu* was justified on grounds of obligatory verb movement to C (i.e., V-to-Fin). More precisely, *nu* is a free morpheme that blocks verb movement above Neg, which means that clauses displaying *nu* have V-to-T instead of V-to-C. We take negative *ne-* supines as in (30) to indicate V-to-C.

(30) a.   *Nevoi,*   *lucruri*   *aspre,*   *grele,*   ***de***   ***neputut***
          necessities   things   rough.PL   tough   DE   not.can.SUP
          'necessities, rough, difficult things, that one cannot do' (Cantemir, I 1705, 12)

    b.   *Iară*   *de cheltuială*   *cu*   *cât*   *s-au*   *făcut*   *iaste*   ***de***
          but   of spending   with   how.much   REFL=has   done   is   DE
          necrezut   *de*   *a*   *să*   *şi*   *spune*
          not.believed.SUP   DE   INF   REFL=   even   tell
          'As for spending, it is unbelievable to even say how much has been spent'
                                              (CC, 1678-1688, 15)

Romanian allows for *ne-* derivations of nouns or adjectives; for example, ***nebunul*** 'fool.the' < *ne* 'not' + *bun* 'good' + *l* DEF. This is also a productive rule for deriving verbal adjectives; for example, *nepomenite* 'unmentioned' < *ne* 'not' + *pomenit* 'mentioned.PASTPART' + *e* F.PL. Considering this background, the supine forms in (30) never occur as nouns in the lexicon (e.g., *nepututul 'impossibility.the'; *necrezutul 'not.belief.the') and cannot be predicative adjectives as adjectives cannot be preceded by *de* in such contexts. Thus, the supines in (30) can only be verbs, so *ne-* is a clausal negation and not a lexically inserted affix on the stem (see also Cornilescu & Cosma 2011).

The above is further confirmed by examples from Modern Romanian, where the negative supine can license items that require negative concord, as in (31).

(31)   *Iar*   *acum,*   *când*   *m-am*   *apucat*   *de*   *"şantier",*   *mi-am*
                and   now   when   REFL=have.1=   started   of   working   REFL=have.1=
                dat   *seama*   *de un*   *lucru*   *pe cât*   *de simplu*   *de*   *evitat,*
                given   realization.the   of a   thing   as how   of simple   DE   avoided.SUP
                pe atât   ***de***   ***nefăcut***   ***de nimeni***   *e:*   *dantura*
                as much   DE   not.done.SUP   by nobody   is   teeth.the

'And now, once I started working, I realized how a simple thing to avoid is not taken care of by anybody: the teeth.' (www.dentist.ro).

When *ne-* is lexically assigned to a stem, it cannot license negative words, as shown in (32b).

(32) a. *Nu   e   vrednic   de nimeni.*
         not   is   worthy   of nobody
         'S/he is not worthy of anybody.'

   b. **E   **nevrednic**   de nimeni.*
         is   unworthy   of anybody
         Intended: 'S/he is unworthy of anybody.'

The contrast between (30)-(31) and (32) indicates that the supine verb opts for the clausal negation *ne-*, which further entails that V-to-C takes place.

     Thus, the underlying structure of supine CPs is represented in (33), where NegP is optional.

(33)   [CP (ne-)V ([NegP <ne-V>)[AspP <V> [vP <V>]]]

This internal structure applies irrespective of the syntactic distribution or of the values for the clause typing in the CP field.

5. Analysis

     There are several questions that arise from the conclusions of the tests in section 4. An obvious issue follows from the inference that supine clauses involve V-to-C on a systematic basis, since negation *ne-* is optional with verbal supines across the board. This inference is compatible with the analysis we provided for adverbial supine clauses, where C is non-lexical, and V-to-C is unproblematic. However, relative and selected supine clauses always display *de* in C. Therefore, we need to account for the evidence of V-to-C in relation to *de*.

     Another issue concerns the absence of TP from these structures, which contrasts with any other subordinate clauses in the language. What is/are the factor(s) that lead to this restriction? Finally, the account for these two issues must also cover the fact that northern varieties of Modern Romanian display changes in the internal structure of the supine complement in a way that restores the TP. This section will address these problems in turn.

5.1. The CP field

     As discussed throughout the book, while the CP field is constantly associated with the same set of functional features (i.e., clause typing, finiteness and modality, in addition to topic and focus as needed), the values and the spell-out for these features varies, according to the syntactic distribution of the clause. In the particular case of supine clauses, adverbial CPs have no lexical complementizer, whereas relatives and complement clauses display *de* on an obligatory basis.

5.1.1. The C status of *de*

The first point to clarify is that *de* is not some kind of mood marker for the supine (Giurgea & Soare 2010b), since a verb/clause can be analyzed as a supine in the absence of *de*.

The main test in this respect is proposed in (34), on the basis of Modern Romanian. It shows that *de* is ungrammatical with adverbial supine clauses.

(34) a.　*Am*　　　　*plecat*　*la*　*(*de)*　*vânat*　　　*căprioare.*
　　　　have.1=　　gone　　at　DE　　hunted.SUP　deer
　　　　'I went to hunt deer.'

　　　　　　　　　*pentru de
　　b.　*maşină*　　**pentru**/***de***　　*cules*　　　　*porumbul*
　　　　contraption　for/　　DE　　　gathered.SUP　corn.the
　　　　'a contraption to gather corn'

　　c.　*ceva*　　　**pentru**　(***de***)　　*dimineaţa*
　　　　something　for　　　of　　　morning.the
　　　　'something for (in) the morning'

In (34a, b), the supine is verbal because it takes its DP complement in Accusative. A preposition can select the verbal supine in both (34a) and (34b), but is in complementary distribution with *de*. (34b) shows that either *pentru* 'for' or *de* may qualify to introduce the supine, but these cannot co-occur. The ban on co-occurrence does not follow from categorial competition or incompatibility between the two items, because they may appear together in front of nouns, as shown in (34c), where P-*pentru* may select either a DP or a PP headed by *de*.

The test in (34) indicates, beyond doubt, that:
　(i)　　The supine qualifies as verbal and generates a full-fledged adverbial clause in the absence of *de*. This invalidates the generalization in Giurgea & Soare (2010b), where *de* is defined as a supine mood marker merged in a Mood head at the top of the inflectional field. If *de* were a supine mood marker, its presence would be obligatory in adverbial clauses as well.
　(ii)　The function of *de* is such that it clashes with the feature checking requirements of a supine CP selected by a preposition. In fact, in (34b), the option for *pentru* 'for' or for *de* entails different clause typing, that is, an adverbial CP versus a relative CP, respectively. Hence, *de* in supine clauses checks the clause typing feature.

These observations match the data from Romance languages, where prepositions and complementizers clash in non-finite contexts. For example, the facts in (34) are reminiscent of French infinitive clauses, where *pour* 'for' occurs in complementary distribution with infinitive *de* or *à*, as in (35a), although co-occurrence is possible in non-clausal adverbials, as in (35).

(35)　a.　*Il*　　*est*　*venu*　***pour***　*(*de/*　**à)*　***resoudre***　*le*　　*problème.*
　　　　he　　is　　come　for　　DE/　　A　　solve.INF　　the　　problem
　　　　'He came to solve the problem.'

　　b.　*pour*　*de*　　*vrai*
　　　　for　　of　　true

'truly'

Again, (35) indicates that *de* has a different status in (35a) than in (35b), being involved with the features of the CP in (35a) but behaving as a preposition in (35b).

To the best of our knowledge, the incompatibility of prepositions and non-finite complementizers in non-finite adverbial clauses has not been discussed in the literature, and this issue is too complex to be addressed in this book. The point of interest to us is that the complementary distribution between *de* and prepositions selecting non-finite CPs indicates the C (versus the mood/inflectional) status of *de*. As such, supine *de* belongs to the class of the non-finite complementizers discussed so far, namely, indicative *de*, infinitive *a* and subjunctive *să*.

5.1.2. *De* in Fin in supine complements

Tests of word order provide evidence for the merging site of *de* in supine complements: it is lower than TopP/FocusP, as in (36). This word order, in conjunction with the previous indications that *de* is not in the inflectional field, amounts to establishing Fin as the merge site for supine *de*.

(36) a. *Iară [[de toate] [mai pre urmă]   de socotit]   la Camilă rămâne*
         but   of   all   more of end   DE judged.SUP   to camel   remains
         'But it remains for the Camel to judge everything in the end' (Cantemir I. 1705, 112)

     b. *când   vei   face   nodurile   la fieştecari   nod   vei   înnoda*
         when   will.2SG= make   knots.the at each   knot   will.2SG= tie
         să   zici   şi   isprăvind [[12   Evanghelii]   de   cetit,]
         SUBJ   say.2SG   and   finishing 12   gospels   DE   read.SUP
         vor   fi   şi   pre aţă   12   noduri
         will.3PL be   also   on thread 12   knots
         'when you make the knots, for each knot you are tying you must pray and when you finish reading 12 gospels there will also be 12 knots on your thread'
                        (Descântec 311 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 260)

This conclusion is in line with the general prediction that supine *de* must be the structural equivalent of the other non-finite complementizers in the languages, which were shown in this book to also be merged in Fin.

5.1.3. Feature checking within CP

So far, we have shown that the affixal negation signals V-to-C beyond NegP, which means at least V-to-Fin, while we also have the complementizer *de* in Fin, according to the evidence in (36). In order to reconcile these two results, we adopt the analysis of *de* proposed in this book for other clausal complements: *de* in Fin can only spell out the finiteness feature, instantiating [-finite] in supines, but it cannot spell out the [modal] feature.

In other clausal complements, the [modal] feature is checked via long-distance Agree with the verb in T (i.e., in *de*-indicatives and *de*-imperatives), or by direct merge of *să* in *să*-subjunctives or *a* in *a*-infinitives. In other words, we have argued for a Fin split over Fin1 [finite], and Fin2 [modal] whenever the complementizer *de* is present. Accordingly, in supine

clauses, *de* also checks [-finite] in Fin1, whereas the [modal] feature is checked by V-to-Fin2, and the structure of the CP field is as in (37).[142]

(37)   ([ForceP ([TopP ([FocP[**FinP1** *de* [**FinP2**-**V** [AspP<V> [*v*P <V>]]]]]()]]])

In (37), the ForceP level is bracketed as it only appears in relatives, but not with supine complements which are sub-categorized only under verbs with obligatory control, hence in truncated CPs. The Topic and Focus projections are possible but optional. Merging of *de* in Fin1 and verb movement to Fin2 also correctly derives the obligatory adjacency between these two items in supine clauses.

5.1.4. *De* in Force in supine relatives
        Supine clauses display *de* in relatives, where the data indicate an obligatory adjacency between the antecedent and *de*, and between *de* and the supine form, as in (38). This is in contrast with the supine complements in (36), where TopP and FocusP can precede *de*.

(38)   *mierărie,   [loc   [de   ținut   miiarea]]*
        honey.storage place   DE   kept.SUP   honey.the
        'Honey storage = the place in which you keep the honey'
                (Corbea 306 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 237)

The word order contrast between (36) and (38) could involve two analyses: One analysis would assume that *de* is merged in the same position (i.e., low) in both constructions, but the extent of the CP field differs, the relative being truncated further than the clausal complement (e.g., it has no CP level at all, but some other kind of functional field, as in Giurgea & Soare 2010a, b). The other analysis would assume that *de* has two different locations: *de* is in Force in supine relatives, but in Fin in selected supine clauses (e.g., Hill 2013d). The choice between these two analyses depends on how we account for the structure of the relative clause: is it a special type of relative, without a relative operator, as in Giurgea & Soare (2010a) (hence, no need for a ForceP) or is it a regular relative, with a relative operator in Spec, ForceP?

5.1.5. *De* checks the relative operator
        So far, we have treated relative clauses as adjuncts to the noun, in the spirit of Demirdache (1991). However, in this section, we need to adopt the analysis in Bhatt (1999), (2002) because it addresses the particular types of non-finite relatives we need for supine constructions, and because other analyses of these constructions have already been proposed in this framework. In particular, Bhatt makes a distinction between the configuration for *reduced relatives* and the configuration for *regular relatives*. Reduced relatives are constructions where the relativization applies to the subject of a non-finite clause, as in (39), in a way that allows this subject to undergo A-movement to an argumental position where Case is available (i.e., in an argumental Specifier that locally connects to matrix T). Crucially, the non-finite relative in (39) does not project a CP field, but a Predicative Phrase whose Specifier has argumental properties.

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[142] One might wonder why in *de*-supines the verb stem needs to move to Fin2 rather than check [modal] via the operation Agree, as in *de*-indicatives and *de*-imperatives. We surmise that this is related to the absence of T and/or the semantically and morphologically less specified nature of supines (note that gerunds also require V-to-C/Fin).

(39) a.   *[A man to ~~a man~~ fix the sink] has just arrived.*

b.   *This game is [~~this game~~ to ~~this game~~ amuse the children.]*

Conversely, the regular relative involves relativization from any other position but the subject, and triggers a gap in the *v*P and a relative operator in the CP field, because Case assignment takes place inside the non-finite clause, as in (40). In English, the relative operator can be either lexical (40a) or null (40b).

(40) a.   *I know [a place [**where** to store the tools ~~where~~.]]*

b.   *Find me [a place [**OPrel**ₖ to sit down **e**ₖ.]]*

The data from (Old and Modern) Romanian indicate that the reduced relative never occurs with supine clauses, although relativization is possible from any other position, as in (41).

(41) a.   *casa   [de   lucrat   meşterşugul]*   LOCATIVE
house.the   DE   performed.SUP   trade.the
'house in which to perform your trade' (Corbea 346 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 238)

b.   *cuţât   [de   tăiat   viia]*   INSTRUMENTAL
knife   DE   cut.SUP   vine.the
'knife with which to cut the vine' (Corbea 472 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 238)

c.   *rămurea   [de   sădit]*   DIRECT OBJECT
little.branch   DE   planted.SUP
'a little branch that you plant/for planting'(Corbea 107 apud Dragomirescu 2013: 238)

The examples in (41) contain regular relative clauses, with relativization from a variety of syntactic positions, which entails the presence of a relative operator. Hence, these supine clauses have a full-fledged CP, where the clause typing feature is valued by the merging of a null relative operator, on a par with (40b). In cartography, the relative operator is merged in Spec, ForceP (Rizzi 1997, 2004).

Accordingly, the adjacency between the antecedent noun and *de* in these constructions may only follow from the location of *de* in Force, where it checks the operator feature. If *de* were in Fin in (41) we would expect (i) the presence of relative pronouns that would check the relative operator, which is the option for non-finite relatives with *să*-subjunctives (e.g., *la care să lucrez* 'at which SA work.1SG'/ 'on which I should work' [143]; and (ii) relativization from the subject position, since raising is unproblematic from FinP. As both (i) and (ii) are excluded, we must

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[143] *Wh*-relatives with *să*-subjunctives clearly show that Force and Fin are projected separately versus collapsed: the spell out for Force is an overt operator (e.g. *care*), while for Fin it is *să*, as in (i), repeated from Ch. 8. This also shows that *de* can check a null operator, while *să* has lost this ability in Modern Romanian (Grosu & Horvath 1987).
(i)   *Caut   o fată   [*(cu   care)   să   plec   la   munte].*
seek.1SG   a girl   with   whom   SUBJ   go.1SG to   mountain
'I'm looking for a girl with whom to go to the mountains.'

conclude that *de* is the element that systematically checks the relative operator feature (this is similar to what the complementizer *that* achieves in English finite relative clauses).

Hence, the CP field of a non-finite relative as in (41) has the representation in (42).

(42)   [$_{ForceP}$ OP$_{rel}$ [$_{Force}$***de*** [$_{FinP1}$ *<de>* [$_{FinP2}$-**V** [$_{AspP}$....]]]]]

In (42), the non-finite relative is a full-fledged CP in which the clause typing feature of Force is valued by the relative operator and checked by *de*; *de* is initially merged in Fin1, to check [-finite], and moves to Force because this domain must be recoverable since it has a marked value (i.e. each syntactic unit with semantics must be lexicalized in order to be retrievable, à la Miyagawa 2010, Pesetsky 1998).[144] . V-to-Fin2 takes place, to check the [modal] feature, with the same justification as in (37). Evidence for V-to-Fin2 comes from examples as in (30a, b) where the relative supine displays the negation *ne-* and moves above NegP as in (33).

The use of *de* as a relative complementizer is not unique to supine clauses. In fact, the relativizer *de* occurs routinely in texts in finite relatives of the type shown in (43a), which are preserved in the western varieties of Modern Romanian, on the pattern in (43b) (Vulpe 1980). Finite *de*-relatives show the same properties as *de*-supine relatives, insofar as *de* is adjacent to the antecedent noun and blocks fronting to Topic and Focus. This is indicated in (43c), on the basis of regional Modern Romanian. In (43d), we show that these restrictions do not apply to *wh*-relatives.

(43) a.   *Şi   sora   ei   era   **de**   o   chema   Maria*
            and   sister.the her   was   DE   her=   called.3 Maria
            'And she was her sister, whom they called Maria.' (Coresi T.EV {234r})

     b.   *Era   unul   **de**-l   chema   Iulian.*
            was   one   DE= him   called.3 Iulian
            'There was someone they called Iulian.'

     c.   **Era   unul   **de**   [Iulian]$_{FOC}$ îl   chema.*
            was   one   DE   Iulian   him=   called.3

     d.   *Era   unul   **pe**   **care**   [Iulian]$_{FOC}$ îl   chema.*
            was   one   DOM   whom   Iulian   him=   called.3
            'There was one whom they called IULIAN (not otherwise).'

Therefore, the restrictions concern the way *de* functions for feature checking within the relative CP in general, as opposed to being restricted by the supine form of the verb.

An alternative analysis proposed in the literature, in Giurgea & Soare (2010a, b), focuses on Modern Romanian constructions as in (44).

(44)   *Cărţile   **de**   **citit**   sunt   pe masă.*
         books.the   DE   read.SUP   are   on table
         'The books to be read (by us) are on the table.'

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[144] This is similar to our rationale for V-to-Focus movement in the presence of null Focus Operators in indicative declaratives discussed in Chapter 3.

The authors consider that (44) has the derivation of a reduced relative, because the direct object *cărţile* 'books' moves cyclically to an argumental position, since the supine verb has a passive reading and cannot assign Case to the DP. Furthermore, they generalize this analysis to all supine relatives in the language, assuming a systematic passive reading for the supine verbs in this context. In order to achieve a left periphery without CP, the authors have to argue for a mood marker status of *de*, which entails V-to-Asp or no V movement.

There are several problems with this analysis. First, it is not clear why the reading on the supine in (44) must be passive, since it works as well with an active voice reading (e.g., 'The books that we must read are on the table.'). Second, it is empirically inaccurate to consider the supine relatives as passive and Caseless, since they routinely allow for direct objects DPs, as shown in (41) for Old Romanian and further in (45) for Modern Romanian.

(46) *Cuţitul*   **de**   **tăiat**   *pâine* *e*   *pe masă.*
      knife.the   DE   cut.SUP   bread   is   on table
      'The knife we cut the bread with is on the table.'

Finally, their analysis does not address relativization from other positions (i.e. adjuncts as in (41)). It also does not account for the negation option *ne-* instead of *nu* (which should be the choice in the presence of low verb movement) and for the absence of *de* in adverbial supine clauses, as pointed out above for (34).

Therefore, we adopt the analysis in (42) for the merging of *de* in relative supines. This analysis meets the observations in Grosu & Horvath (1987) that supine CPs are compatible with null operators only, whereas subjunctive clauses in similar subordinate contexts allow only for lexical operators (see 43d). Thus, in relative clauses supines only display the null operator, whereas subjunctives only display*wh*-phrases. Furthermore, in *tough*-constructions, which necessarily involve a null operator in standard analyses (Chomsky 1977), only supines are available, while subjunctives are ruled out (first noticed in Grosu & Horvath 1987).

5.2. Revisiting the absence of TP

An important property of supine clauses in general is the absence of TP from the inflectional field, as we have already argued. Presently, we point out that this property follows from the peculiarity of the supine stem that acquired a marked aspectual classification, whose consequences involve the blocking of phi-features.

The verbal supine emerged from the recategorization of the nominal supine, which was productive in the language at the time of the earliest texts (Dragomirescu 2013). However, as discussed for (4), there were two classes of nominal supines in Old Romanian: regular nouns, see also (46), and defective nouns, as in (47).

(46) a. *la început*   *seacirii*   *de orză*
         at begin.SUP.the   harvesting.the.GEN   of barley
         'at the beginning of the harvesting of the barley' (BB {192})

    b.   *neputând*   *povesti*   *alalte*   *a*   *lui*   *începuturi*
         not.being.able   tell   other   of   his   begin.SUP.PL

'not being able to tell about his other beginnings' (Dosoftei VS {240r})

(47) a.　*Şi　era　atuncea　**născutul**　*Domnului　*Hristos*
　　　　and　was　then　birth.the　Lord.the.GEN　Christ
　　　　'And then was the birth of our Lord Christ' (Dosoftei VS {39v})

　　b.　***născuturi***
　　　　births

Regular nouns, as in (46) can occur either in the singular or plural, can combine with determiners, agree with qualifying adjectives, and have discrete denotation. On the other hand, defective nouns, as in (47), have singular forms only, are uncountable, and never show gender distinctions, occurring only in the masculine form. These contrastive properties have been identified in Iordacheoaia & Soare (2011), with the main trait being the ban against pluralization, which the authors attribute to an Aspectual Phrase projected in the functional field of defective but not of regular nouns.

　　While agreeing with the empirical observations in Iordacheoaia & Soare (2011), here we adopt a slightly different approach to this issue. In particular, we start by pointing out that, in general, any type of noun stem is merged in the derivation with its number lexically specified (e.g., different stem selection for singular versus plural in *fată* 'girl' versus *fete* 'girls'). Hence, a ban against pluralization must concern the stem, not the functional field of the noun. Accordingly, the defective supines in (47) have a deficient stem that lacks a plural version.

　　Formally, this line of analysis means that, for us, the aspectual feature relevant to the blocking of pluralization in deficient supine nouns resides in the lexical classification of the stem, rather than in the way the stem projects a functional domain. Such distinction between the aspectual features of the stem versus aspectual features mapped to a functional domain has often been made in the literature (see Wiltschko 2014 for an overview), and it amounts to the distinction between *inner Aspect* (on the stem) versus *outer Aspect* (in the functional domain), as in Wiltschko (2014).

　　Along these lines, we relate the ban on pluralization to the value of the inner Aspect feature on the supine stem (see also Dragomirescu & Hill 2014), rather than to an outer Apect feature, as proposed in Iordacheoaia & Soare (2011). More precisely, in Wiltschko's (2014) system, Indo-European languages have the inner Aspect of the noun stems valued as [+/-bounded], which can account for the contrast between count nouns, with free alternation [+/-bounded], and mass nouns, where the value is only [-bounded]. For our case study, it means that the regular supine stem in (46) is [+/- bounded], whereas the defective supine stem in (47) are [-bounded]. The natural consequence is that the deficient supines block the mapping of phi-features in their functional domain, whereas the regular supines do not.

　　Beside the enhanced empirical accuracy, this analysis has the theoretical advantage of keeping the distinction between nominal and verbal domains, since the projection of an outer Aspect Phrase with a pluractional operator within the DP field, as proposed in Iordacheoaia & Soare (2011), entails that the DP can contain a functional projection that is intrinsically verbal. Our analysis shows that there is no need to assume mixed V/N functional projections for these constructions.

　　Crucially, the supine stem is neutral as to its [V] or [N] category, and can equally project to a DP or to a CP (either on the nominal or on the verbal Spine in Wiltchko 2014); both domains

will lack the manifestation of phi-features if the stem is exclusively [-bounded]. Accordingly, we can now derive the lack of the TP in supine CP from their aspectually deficient stem, and thus provide a uniform treatment of deficient supines as nouns and verbs. This analysis matches the conclusion we had drawn on the basis of empirical observations, namely, that supine clauses cannot host clitic pronouns, auxiliaries and lexical subjects, which are all related to the instantiation of T. This is crucially why clitics, which require phi-feature domains, are illicit in supines.

5.3. Dialectal variation: the balkanization

The structures in (33) and (37) showed that supine complements do not fit the general pattern of clausal complementation in the language (i.e., the underlying pattern of the Balkan subjunctive, as with *de*-indicatives, *a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives), insofar as they lack TP and display V-to-Fin. While this seems to be the situation in standard Romanian, the dialectal use of supine complements corrects this conclusion. In particular, Gabinschi (2010) signals that in the northern varieties of Romanian, and in particular, in Bessarabian Romanian (spoken in the Republic of Moldova), supine complement clauses display clitic pronouns, as in (48).[145]

(48) *Trebuie*   ***de***   **le**   ***făcut***   *observaţie*   *urgent*
      must   DE   to.them=   made.SUP   observation   right.away
      'They must be admonished right away' (inprofunzime.md)

There is no doubt that T has [phi] features in (48), since it attracts the object clitics. This is possible only if a resetting of parameters took place on the supine root; that is, the feature for the aspectual classification (i.e., inner Aspect) of the supine stem is now neutral (and regular) instead of valued as non-pluractional (i.e., deficient). Importantly, the stem does not become a past participle, as it still does not allow for agreement morphemes. Instead, the supine verb in (48) generates a clause in the same way as an infinitive would; that is, morphologically invariable, but with flexible inner Aspect values, which allows for the mapping of phi-features in the functional domain. What triggered this change?

Indications in this respect come from other changes that are not related to the substantiation of T: there is low verb movement instead of V-to-Fin (hence, the order clitic> V); and the clausal negation is *nu* instead of *ne*-, as in (49).

(49) *Aşa* *că,* *trebuie* ***de*** **le**   ***lăsat***   *poarta*   *deschisă* *spre*
      so   that   must.3   DE   to.them=   left.SUP   door.the   open   towards
      plecare *şi*   ***de*** **nu-i**   *mai*   ***netezit***   *pe băşcălie*
      leaving   and   DE   not=them   more=   protect.SUP   mockingly
      'One must leave the gate open for them to leave and not to protect them anymore against mocking' (m.publica.md)

Moreover, there are indications that the CP field becomes extended and available for the mapping of operators. In (50a), we see short *wh*-movement to FocusP.

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[145] Part of the Bessarabian dialectal data was compiled by Adina Dragomirescu.

(50) a.   *Să*   *vedem*   ***cum***   ***de***   *studiat*   *această*   *situaţie.*
         SUBJ   see.1PL   how   DE   studied.SUP   this   situation
         'Let's see how we can study this situation.' (Gabinschi 2010: 45)

b.   *Să*   *ştie*   *de-a* *fir*   *a*   *păr*   *ce*   *trebuie,* *cum*
         SUBJ   know.SUBJ.3   from tittle of hair what needs   how
         trebuie *de*   *făcut,*   ***de unde***   *de*   *luat*   *şi*   ***unde***   *de pus.*
         needs   DE   done.SUP   from where   DE   taken.SUP   and   where   DE put.SUP
         'He must know in details how to proceed, from where to take and where to add.'
                               (Gabinschi 2010: 45)

At the same time, the presence of manner adverbs as in (51) indicates that the supine verb is in the TP field (versus vP), since the adverb is lower than the verb.

(51)   *Se*   *poate* ***de***   *trecut*   ***repede***   *podul.*
       REFL   can   DE   crossed.SUP fast   bridge.the
       'It is possible to cross the bridge at a fast pace.' (Gabinschi 2010: 77)

     The constructions in (49)-(51) provide a complete configurational matching for the clausal complements in OC contexts, as discussed so far in this book. Indeed, a *să*-subjunctive option is available, in free alternation, for all the examples in (48-51).
     Furthermore, the new supine construction starts to appear in unselected contexts, where a *să*-subjunctive or an indicative is expected, as in (52). This signals a complete ForceP with finite properties.

(52)   *Întrebaţi-l* *pe*   *medicul*   *d.voastră:* ***de*** *mai* *făcut*   *proceduri* *ori nu?*
       ask=him   DOM doctor.the your   DE still done.SUP tests   or not
       'Ask your doctor: are we still going to do the lab tests or not?' (Gabinschi 2010: 45)

     What could bring these radical changes in the structure of the supine clause?
     The change from V-to-Fin2 to V-to-T is the most intriguing. More precisely, there was no reason why V-to-Fin had to be abandoned, since it occurs in other non-finite clauses, such as gerund clauses, which project a TP field and allow for enclitics. In other words, (48) could have had the instantiation #*de făcutu-le* instead of *de le făcut*. Accordingly, negation could have continued as *ne-*, with (49) instantiated as #*nemainetezitu-i* 'not.more.protected.SUP-them', as in the gerund *nemainetezindu-i* 'not.more.protecting.GER.them'; there was no apparent reason for the switch to *nu*. However, the supine expansion did not follow the gerund pattern, despite the similarity in V-to-C and *ne-* versus *nu*. Why this divergence in patterns?
     As shown in Chapter 5, gerund clauses are practically all adjuncts and never displayed a split Fin, while the supine expansion starts in clausal complements, where the supine had a split Fin, with *de* in Fin1 and verb movement to Fin2. Along these lines, the supine CP matches the pattern of the other non-finite complements, which further predicts that split Fin must also remerge in the selected supines.
     We consider that the remerging of Fin in supine complements arises from analogy with the remerging of Fin in *să*-subjunctive complements, which it replaces. Therefore, the supine complement in Bessarabian is reanalyzed according to the pattern of the Balkan subjunctive. The

process involves the resemanticization of *de*, through downwards reanalysis from [-finite] Fin1 in [modal] Fin2. This process is attested by constructions displaying *ca*, as in (53).

(53) *El   a   insistat   **ca**   **de**   schimbat,   **de**   modificat*
     he   has=   insisted   CA   DE   changed.SUP   DE   modified.SUP
     denumirea   acestei   instituţii.
     name.the   this.GEN   institution.the.GEN
     'He insisted to change, modify the name of this institution.' (Gabinschi 2010: 126)

The OC analysis of (53) entails a truncated supine CP, so both *ca* and *de* are in Fin. The merging of *ca* in Fin1 signals the lowering of *de* to Fin2, where it is able to check the [modal] feature. From this point of view, the single occurrence of *de* as in (48)-(51) indicates the remerging of Fin after *de* has been enriched with the [modal] feature. Confirmation in this respect also comes from the high frequency of this supine clause as complement to deontic modals ('must', 'can', 'have to'), as in (48)-(51).
     The balkanization of the supine clause, as presented in this section, is restricted to regional varieties of Modern Romanian. The question is why the standard variety escaped this reanalysis. The data indicate that it did not, at least in selected context. To illustrate, we submit an adverbial test. We know that adverbs merged in the outer Aspect projection must match the value of the inner Aspect of the verb stem. Accordingly, we notice that adverbs allowed in adjunct supines (adverbial or relative) have an obligatory progressive/repetitive aspect, as in (54a, b), whereas a punctual or perfective adverb is ruled out. This situation is different in selected supines, which are compatible with selection by verbs with apectual semantics, as in (55a, b). Crucially, any kind of adverb may merge in these clauses; for example, inceptive in (55a) or perfective in (55b). Therefore, the supine stem generating supine complements in (55) has the regular inner Aspect setting for boundedness, whereas the adverbial and relative supine stems in (54) have remained [-bounded] only.

(54) a.   *A   venit   **la**   **cules**   iar   /   *odată   porumbul.*
        has=   come   at   gathered.SUP   again   once   corn.the
        'He came to gather the corn again/*for once.'

    b.   *Am   cumpărat   o maşină   **de**   **cusut**   cămăşi   în fiecare*
        have.1=   bought   a machine   DE   sewed.SUP   shirts   in each
        *zi   /   *odată.*
        day   once
        'I bought a sewing machine to sew shirts every day/*once.'

(55) a.   *M-am   apucat   **de**   **spălat**   odată   podeaua.*
        REFL=have.1   started   DE   washed.SUP   once   floor.the
        'I started washing the floor once.'

    b.   *Am   terminat   **de**   **spălat**   odată   podeaua.*
        have.1=   finished   DE   washed.SUP   once   floor.the
        'I have finished washing the floor once.'

According to the data in (55), the parameter for the inner Aspect feature is also reset in the selected supine CPs in standard Romanian, which means that the remerging of the split Fin and the mapping phi-features to T is a potential option that has remained unexploited.

5.4.   Lexical subjects

When presenting the distribution of supine clauses in section 3, we mentioned that isolated fragments (but not clauses) may display lexical subjects, as in (25c) for instance, repeated below as (56).

(56)   *măsuţe*   *de*   *jucat*   ***copii***
        tables   DE   played.SUP   children
        'small tables for children to play at' (*idealbebe.ro*)

Here we propose an analysis of these constructions that capitalizes on the absence of a matrix clause. A matrix T would supply the temporal anchoring to the deictic speech time needed for the derivation of a full sentence. By itself, the supine, which also lacks a TP field, is unable to be temporally anchored.

According to syntactic theory (Chomsky 1995, 2001), any sentence starts as a small clause that develops to a full clause by the projection of a TP field. Progovac (2008) demonstrates that any structure that does not project a TP field qualifies as a small clause or as her "half clauses", involving infinitive or past participle verb forms. Subjects merged in such structures do not require Case checking -- they surface in default Case, in the Spec, vP position. This is exactly the situation in (56): Although the supine projects beyond the vP small clause to CP (since C-*de* is present), it does not have a TP, nor can it plug into a matrix TP. Hence, it remains a "half clause". The subject is always post-verbal, arguably, in situ and Nominative, which is the default Case in Romanian.

6. Replacement of infinitives

In this section we discuss a context where the supine completely replaced the infinitives (i.e., in non-finite relatives), and a context where it totally failed to compete with the infinitives (i.e., clausal complements to nouns). We relate both phenomena to the same property of the supine CP, namely, its size which depends on the presence or absence of a null operator (i.e., full-fledged ForceP with null operators or truncated FinP without null operators).

Old Romanian displays infinitive clauses as non-finite relatives, as in (57a). These are gradually replaced by supines, as in (57b). Standard Modern Romanian allows only the supine in this context.

(57) a.   *îndată*   *i-au*   *gătitŭ*   *leagănu*   *cu*   *6 cai,*   *că*   <u>*loc*</u>
           immediately   to.him=have.3   prepared   cart.the   with   6 horses   for   place
           de   ***a***   ***să***   ***zăbovi***   *nu*   *era*
           DE   INF   REFL=   stop   not   was
           'and they immediately prepared him the cart with six horses, since there was no time to waste' (Ureche 155)

b.   *Paie   şi   săturări   multe   sânt   la noi   şi   <u>loc</u>   **de**   **odihnit***
      straws   and   contentment   many   are   at us   and   place   DE   rested.SUP
      'We have much straw and contentment and a place to rest.' (BB {16})

In fact, the situation in Old Romanian is more complex if we also consider attributive PPs, which equally involve *de* (as P) and an infinitive or supine based noun. For example, in 16th century texts, the four options in (58) and (59) were available as noun modifiers.

- Infinitive stems

(58) a.   *au   fãcut   o medelniţă **de spălare***   **P > DP**   <u>Preserved</u>
      have.3=   made   a basin   **of** washing.INF
      'they made a washing basin' (Cheia In {78v})

   b.   *apă   **de-a**   **spălarea**   picioarele   aceluia*   **CP relative**   <u>Lost</u>
      water   DE-INF   washing.INF   feet.the   that.DAT
      'water with which to wash his feet' (PO {78})

- Supine stems

(59) a.   *vadră,   vas   **de spălat***   **P > DP**   <u>Lost</u>
      bucket   basin   **of** washed. SUP
      'bucket = washing basin' (Corbea {49})

   b.   *vas   **de spălat**   picioarele*   **CP relative**   <u>Preserved</u>
      basin   DE washed.SUP   feet.the
      'basin to wash feet in' (Corbea {365})

      Towards Modern Romanian, the redundance of (58) and (59) is reduced, by only keeping one construction for each type of stem. That is, the CP relative option is lost for infinitives, and so is the P_{de} > DP option for supines. In other words, the two types of stems become specialized, the infinitive being analysed as nominal only within P > DP, whereas the supine is analysed as verbal only within a CP-*de*. That is, there is no option on the pattern **vas de spălatul picioarelor* 'basin of washed.SUP feet.the.GEN'; for the attributive PP option with supines, *de* must be replaced with *pentru* 'for'.

      If the speaker's preference were the key to this categorial specialization, this preference must have been guided by structural factors, rather than by social registers, since there is no trace of attributive P > DP with *de*-supines in Modern Romanian, irrespective of regional or social variety. On the basis of our empirical observations, we suggest that the option depended on the conditions for generating the null operator in Spec, ForceP required in non-finite relatives. Infinitves gradually lost this operator and it was unavailable in *să*-subjunctives (as pointed out in Grosu & Horvath 1987). Only *de* (i.e., a complementizer) versus *pentru* (i.e., a preposition) can check the null operator, hence the specialization of *de* as C versus P in this context.

      Before extrapolating on the affinity of *de*-supines and null operators, we also point out data showing the reverse effect: full-fledged clauses where operators are disallowed also

disallow supines. This is the case of clausal complements to nouns, which may display infinitives or subjunctives, but not supines, as shown in (60).

(60) a.　　*dorinţa*　　***de***　　***plecat***
　　　　　desire.the　　DE　　left.SUP
　　　　　'the desire to leave'

　　　b.　　*dorinţa*　　***de***　　*a*　　*pleca*
　　　　　desire.the　　DE　　INF　　leave
　　　　　'the desire to leave'

　　　c.　　*dorinţa*　　***să***　　*plece*
　　　　　desire.the　　SUBJ　　leave.SUBJ.3
　　　　　'the desire to leave'

Complements to N are full-fledged clauses (ForceP), independently anchored to speech time and able to license subjects. However, there is no operator in Force, as they belong to declarative clauses.That this is the case can be seen from the asymmetrical behaviour of *that* clauses in English, where complement clauses to verbs (61a) but not nouns (61b) may allow for *that* complementizer deletion.

(61)　　a.　　*I fear [(that) he won't show up]*.

　　　　b.　　*[The fear [*(that) he won't show up]] is ridiculous.*

Without going into technical details, it suffices to say that a deverbal noun as in (61b) requires a full ForceP complement, while its verbal counterpart does not.

In sum, the complementarity of distribution between supines on the one hand, and infinitives and subjunctives on the other hand, stems from the fact that the former but not the latter always project a null operator in ForceP. For *de+a*-infinitives and *să*-subjunctives, we have seen in the previous chapters that they can both project an articulated full-fledged CP in complement position. In relative clauses, however, we showed that both clause types project a collapsed Force/FinP, which does not fare well insofar as it cannot license null operators in Force. Thus, although subjunctives survived in relative clauses, they require a lexical operator, which ensures a separate Force and Fin. That subjunctives require a lexical operator also explains why they are excluded in *tough*-constructions.

Lastly, *de*-supines are ruled out as adverbial adjuncts, which have also been argued to have null operators (Haegeman 2010a). One possible explanation is to claim that [$_{Force}$ *de*] with supines is specialized for WH-type null operators. This perspective can explain the occurrence of *de*-supines in both relative clauses and *tough*-constructions which, at least in Modern Romanian, are derived via a null operator analysis according to Dye (2006), and which are known to involve WH-type operators (Chomsky 1977).

To conclude, under selection, the supine clause in Old Romanian can only project to FinP, with *de* in Fin1 and V-to-Fin2, while in ForceP domains with null operators, *de* moves from Fin1 to Force to license the null operator. Consequently, since complement clauses to verbs and nouns do not have operators, *de* remains in Fin and cannot license a Force head in supines

7. Conclusions

In this chapter, we focused on what is considered a Romanian innovation in the paradigm of clausal complementation: *de*-supine clauses. First, we pointed out that the option of using the supine as functionally equivalent to infinitives is a property of Proto-Indo-European that has been preserved in some descendants, among which, Old Romanian. However, the supine was inherited in Old Romanian as a nominal category, while its verbal reanalysis arises only by mid16[th] century (see also Dragomirescu 2013).

Following the emergence of the verbal supine chronologically, we mentioned that supine clauses began to appear in adverbial contexts, under selection by prepositions, and then spread to other environments, first as relatives, then as clausal complements. In relatives, they emerge as the preferred option over the infinitive counterpart, which lost null operators in ForceP contexts, and occur in complementary distribution with *să*-subjunctives: the supines license a null WH/relative operator, whereas the subjunctives only license lexical operators (see also Grosu & Horvath 1987). *De*-supine relatives are the only derivational option for non-finite relatives in standard Modern Romanian. In clausal complements, *de*-supines occur only with truncated CPs, in OC contexts (see also Soare 2002). In these environments, they currently compete with *să*-subjunctives.

Formally, we argued that the supine stem undergoing recategorization is deficient, insofar as its inner Aspect feature has a marked setting for [-bounded], which blocks the merging of phi-features. As a result, the supine clause lacks a TP projection, but projects up to CP: CP > AspP > *v*P. The CP is full-fledged (up to ForceP) in *tough*-constructions, adverbial and relative supine clauses, but truncated (up to FinP) in clausal complements. Throughout, *de* is directly merged in Fin, with subsequent movement to Force if required. Fin is split, over Fin1 (*de* [-finite]) and Fin2 (V-to-C [modal]).

The spread of *de*-supines to complement position was related to the switch in the inner Aspect feature, which became flexible for [+/-bounded]. This switch is exploited in Bessarabian Romanian, but not (as yet?) in standard Modern Romanian. In our analysis, this switch in the supine stem from deficient to regular with respect to the aspectual features took place under parametric pressure within the paradigm of clausal complementation in the language. The paradigmatic pressure entails the development of the supine complement in a way that conforms to the Balkan subjunctive pattern, which equally underlies *de*-indicatives, *a*-infinitives, *să*-subjunctive complements.

In sum, the supine CP undergoes these changes:
- Adverbial CP supines have a collapsed Force/FinP and V-to-C for feature checking. Due to incompatibility of operator type, *de* is disallowed.
- Relative CP supines have a null WH/relative Operator in Spec,ForceP and a split Fin with Fin1 [-finite] and Fin2 [modal]. *De* merges in Fin1 and moves to Force; the verb moves to Fin2 (i.e. V-to-Fin2) as indicated by the occurrence of affixal negation.
- In Old Romanian, complement CP supines have a truncated structure (i.e., no ForceP) and a split Fin: Fin1 [-finite] spelled out as *de*, and V-to-Fin2.
- In regional Modern Romanian, complement CP supines have a truncated structure but Fin remerges as *de*. Consequence: the verb is blocked from moving to C and there is only V-

to-T; switch in negation choice (i.e. from affixal *ne-* to the free morpheme *nu*); and compatibility with modal verbs (i.e. *de* can now check [modal]).

Splitting Fin into Fin1 and Fin2, followed by its remerging in Modern Romanina (i.e., in Bessarabian Romanian) is a repeated pattern, which we have emphasized for each of the other non-finite clausal complements in Old Romanian. All of this points to a systematic diachronic shifting in the paradigm and status of Romanian complementizers.

Chapter 10: **Conclusions and remarks on the recycling of the Balkan subjunctive**

1. The highlights

This book aimed to account for the verb and clausal syntax in Old Romanian, from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, taking into consideration the changes that occurred towards Modern Romanian. As explained in Chapter 2, Old Romanian is a VSO language with V-oriented clitics (i.e., pronouns, auxiliaries, short adverbs), two parametric settings that equally apply to root and embedded clauses, irrespective of the verb inflection for grammatical mood. VSO is a pan-Balkan parametric setting, whereas V-oriented clitics is a Romance trait. Clausal negation occurs immediately above the TP delimiting the CP from the TP domain. This situates Romanian in the same typological group with languages like Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese (see Zanuttini 1997). Thus, one of the main tasks of the syntactic analysis was to show how typologically unrelated or contrastive properties are negotiated in one single grammar, since Old Romanian draws on both Balkan and Romance parametric settings.

The analysis, couched in the framework of the Minimalist Program, benefited from cartographic tests for diagnosing various clause structures. The framework and the key concepts are introduced in Chapter 1. In a nutshell, the cartographic tests helped us determine that VSO involves the subject in-situ (i.e., in Spec,vP), that clitics are constantly merged in the TP field, that there is verb-raising into the inflectional domain (V-to-T) across the board, and that NegP marks the border between complementizer (CP) field and the inflectional (TP) field. By using these results as assessment criteria, we uncovered syntactic patterns that had often challenged previous accounts of either philological or formal studies. Below, we itemize the highlights of our analysis.

- *Discourse driven high verb movement is V-to-Focus*

With respect to verb movement in root clauses, we had to account for the alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V orders in root indicatives and conditionals (see Chapter 3). The cartographic tests indicated a 17th-18th century rule by which a discourse focus feature could trigger high verb movement (V-to-Focus) when such a feature was mapped as a null operator. Thus, high verb movement occurs in complementary distribution with lexical focus operators (i.e., constituents fronted to contrastive Focus and *wh*-phrases) or with other heads competing for the checking of the null operator (i.e., negation). Modern Romanian lost the null operator, hence only clitic > V orders arise in this language (i.e., there is only V-to-T) in root indicatives or conditionals (apodosis). This analysis dispenses with the arbitrary (and unsupported) assumption that Wackernagel's Law was operative in Old Romanian, and with formal analyses relying on V2 or LHM mechanisms, for which non-trivial challenges arose from the data (e.g., LHM predicts verb movement of infinitive or past participle stems, but not of indicative forms, whereas Old Romanian displays high movement of all three inflectional forms). Cross-linguistically, this analysis supports current studies on Old Romance where V-to-C is argued to be part of the packaging of information structure at the left periphery of clauses (Fischer 2003; Martins 1993, 1994; Sitaridou 2011, 2012).

- *Grammatically driven high verb movement is V-to-Fin*

Imperatives (see Chapter 4) and gerunds (see Chapter 5) also generate root clauses that may display the alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V. Two sets of features need checking in these CPs: the clause typing feature, which involves an operator mapping the illocutionary force (i.e., directive OP in imperatives; assertion OP in gerunds); and the [modal] feature, whose

value is strictly *irrealis* in imperatives, but *realis* in root gerunds. Feature checking takes place either through V-to-C, which yields the V > clitic order, or through long distance Agree between C and the verb in T, which yields the clitic > V order. V-to-C is the default checking operation and it is implemented as V-to-Fin. Here, the triggers for verb movement are grammatical features, not a discourse feature. The clause typing feature of Force is checked by long distance Agree from Fin.

The imperatives are preserved as such in Modern Romanian, whereas the root gerunds are lost, since concurrent non-ambiguous syntactic structures (i.e., root declarative indicatives) that map the assertion reading were available to the learner. The case we make for the presence of an assertion operator in root gerunds is the first attempt, to our knowledge, to account for the possibility of having non-finite verb forms in root clauses, although the existence of such constructions has been signalled, at an empirically level, for other languages (e.g., root infinitives in Hungarian; see Bácskai-Atkári & Dékány 2014).

- *Allocutive agreement in imperatives*

Old Romanian imperatives provide empirical support for analyses that argue for the syntactic mapping of the addressee in imperative clauses. The comparison we proposed between similar constructions in Albanian and Old Romanian led us to conclude that, optionally, these languages may spell out the addressee through an allocutive agreement morpheme that is homophonous to the second person plural ending and may co-occur with it.

- *The Balkan subjunctive pattern*

Clauses selected by raising and control verbs in Old Romanian conform to what we have termed the *Balkan subjunctive* pattern. Morphologically, the formula for the subjunctive in all Balkan languages (e.g., Bulgarian *da*+indicative; Greek *na*+indicative; see Terzi 1992 for an overview) involves an indicative verb form embedded under a certain invariable particle that functions as a subjunctive marker. Syntactically, this inflectional formula may derive either a full-fledged clause (i.e., ForceP) or a truncated clause (e.g., FinP) under selection by the same verb (see representation (17) in Chapter 1). The choice depends on the semantics of the matrix verbs. More precisely, obligatory control requires the truncated structure, whereas non-obligatory control requires the full-fledged structure.

The Old Romanian data show that the Balkan subjunctive pattern underlies all the types of clausal complements selected by raising and control verbs. Despite the variety of inflectional forms and complementizers that appear within this pattern in Old Romanian, the feature distribution and valuation requirements are constant (i.e., the clause typing feature of Force, when present, is of the non-operator kind; Fin is constantly associated with [-finite] and [modal]). Variation in Old Romanian arises regarding the invariable particle and the inflectional verb form. Thus, the invariable particle can be *de*, *a* or *să*, whereas the inflectional verb form can be indicative, infinitive, subjunctive or supine. *De*-indicatives are the faithfull replica of the Balkan subjunctive pattern, whereas *a*-infinitives, *să*-subjunctives and, regionally, *de*-supines are variations within the same pattern that exploit the available Latin heritage: the reanalysis of the Latin complementizers and verbal inflection takes place within the hierarchy of the Balkan subjunctive clause.

- *The complementizer **de**: its elimination or specialization*

Old Romanian shows a productive use of the complementizer *de*, which was eliminated and/or specialized in Modern Romanian. We argued that *de* was completely desemanticized, and was thus used as a wild card for spelling out various functional relations, in both nominal and verbal derivations. Table 1 sums up our conclusions regarding the way *de* was used to spell out the features of C heads in Old Romanian. The symbol '√' indicates the features that *de* checks and spells out, whereas '< >' indicates that *de* has moved from its *in situ* location.

Table 1: The CP heads that *de* spells out in Old Romanian

Force		Fin		Clause class	Verb inflection
+ null OP	No OP	(Fin1)[-finite]	(Fin2)[modal]		
√ de		√ <de>		non-finite relatives;	infinitive; supine
				adverbial adjuncts	infinitive; subjunctive
				*tough-*constructions;	infinitive; supine
√		√ de		imperatives	true imperative; subjunctive
	√	√ de		NOC; subject clauses	indicative; infinitive; subjunctive
		√ de		OC; raising	indicative; infinitive; subjunctive; supine

Table 1 shows that *de* is merged in Fin1 at all times, from where it may also check the features of Force, when Force is present. According to the clausal typing values of Force, this head may contain a null Operator, in which case *de* may move to Force to check it; or it may have a non-operator clause feature, in which case *de* checks it via distance Agree from Fin1. Crucially, Table 1 indicates that whenever the complementizer *de* is present in Old Romanian, Fin is split over two heads, as *de* is not capable of checking and valuing [modal]. The items in Fin2 may vary under *de*: *a*, with infinitive mood; *să*, with subjunctive mood; Ø, with imperatives and indicatives (long distance Agree with T); or V-to-Fin2 , with supine mood.

The change towards Modern Romanian follows from the remerge of Fin1 and Fin2 as a syncretic Fin. This process eliminated *de* and promoted the complementizers of Fin2 as the only spell out of Fin (i.e., *a* or *să*). Supine *de*-clauses still maintain a split Fin in standard Modern Romanian, but display a remerged Fin in Bessarabian Romanian, where *de* has been re-semanticized and can check [modal] (i.e., it allows for a deontic reading of the supines). In *de*-indicatives, Fin did not remerge (no resemantization of *de*), so the construction was discontinued.

- *Splitting heads*

Table 1 indicates that Fin was split over two heads in Old Romanian: [finite] was mapped to Fin1, whereas [modal] was mapped to Fin2. This was not an exceptional phenomenon, since the Force head also displays split instances in Old Romanian (i.e., Force1 for [subordination], as *cum*; and Force2 for [clause type], as *că*). Splitting C heads containing a cluster of features is an

option exploited cross-linguistically (Haegeman 2004). In Old Romanian, Fin is split only in CPs with a marked [-finite] feature. Modern Romanian remerged split heads across the board. Since less structure is more economical, and we follow van Gelderen (2013) in assuming that change is triggered by Economy Principles, this cyclic move is not unexpected.

2. Cycles

Functional and generativist linguists working on diachronic morphosyntax have emphasized the tendency of change in language to involve **grammaticalization**, from more complex to simpler linguistic objects (e.g., Traugott & Heine 1991; Roberts & Roussou 2003). Eventually, the grammaticalized items need to be renewed, which entails a **linguistic cycle** taking place in a given syntactic context. Van Gelderen (2011) convincingly argues that Economy Principles (present in the initial cognitive system of the child), and in particular, Feature Economy, are responsible for the various stages of linguistic change. The analysis proposed in this book for the diachronic change in the structure of Old Romanian embedded clauses contributes to this discussion in two ways: it widens the empirical basis by including renewal at the level of the CP, and it points out some theoretical options the grammar has for implementing this renewal process (i.e., not only upwards grammaticalization but also downwards resemantization).

2.1. The Fin cycle

We identified a set pattern for the reanalysis of complementizers that leads to a cycle of CP renewal, from syncretic Fin to split Fin to syncretic Fin. More precisely, Old Romanian complementizers that are reanalyzed in Fin in unselected CPs trigger a split Fin when they spread to selected CPs; this is followed by a remerging of the selected Fin. In what follows, we sum up the steps that lead to a split/remerged Fin in all four types of clausal complements (i.e., *de*-indicatives; *a*-infinitives; *să*-subjunctives; *de*-supines) but illustrate them only with the reanalysis of the conditional *să* into the subjunctive *să*.

(i)   A complementizer that checks the features of **both Force** and **Fin** in a non-selected clause begins to fluctuate its location: while the default derivation has it merged in Fin then moved to Force, variation arises as it may be left in Fin (in which case Force is checked through long distance Agree).
Example: Word order tests indicated that conditional *să* merges in Fin and moves to Force, or remains in Fin. The same tests indicated that the alternative conditional complementizer *de* is directly merged in Force, so it is unambiguous as to its location and clause typing function, and becomes preferred instead of *să*.

(ii) Stabilization of **the complementizer in Fin** entails specialization for the [modal] value of Fin and the weakening of its checking function in relation to Force. Then, the complementizer spreads to other non-selected CPs with similar [modal] value in Fin.
Example: *Să* becomes specialized as an *irrealis* marker in Fin in conditional clauses, and gradually becomes disjoint from the conditional operator in Force. As it still retained an underspecified operator feature, it spread to imperatives and adverbial adjuncts, which have null operators, and require an *irrealis* value for Fin [modal].

(iii)   The complementizer ceases to check the feature of Force; in unselected contexts, it amounts to the inability of the complementizer to check clause typing operators. When that happens, the complementizer starts spreading to **selected clauses**. Notably, for Old Romanian, this embedding stage is mediated by other complementizers that signal either the embedding property or the specialization of the reanalyzed complementizer for the [modal] feature of Fin (or both). This involves the splitting of Fin over two functional heads: Fin1 [-finite]; Fin2 [modal].
Example: *Să* becomes reanalyzed as exclusively Fin2 [modal], since it was orthogonal to finiteness, and is embedded under control verbs with the help of *de* or of *ca* in Fin1 [-finite].

(iv)   **Split Fin remerges** either through grammaticalization or resemantization. The former involves upward reanalysis (the Fin2 complementizer moves to Fin1 and becomes underspecified for [modal] but specified for [-finite]; e.g., *a* in infinitives and *să* in subjunctives); whereas the latter involves a downward reanalysis (the Fin1 complementizer is pushed down and becomes enriched with the [modal] feature; *de* in supines, in regional varieties). When split Fin does not remerge, the respective CP becomes unproductive (e.g., *de*-indicatives).
Example: In Modern Romanian, *să* is exclusively a subjunctive (versus conditional) complementizer and spells out Fin syncretically; its reanalysis from Fin2 to Fin1 led to the elimination of *de* (the *de să* sequence was lost) and to the reanalysis of *ca* in Force (the *ca să* sequence lost the adjacency).

2.2 The CP downsizing cycle

A renewal cycle was also detected with regard to the **full-fledged/truncated** property of the selected CP. More precisely, taking into consideration that NOC verbs select ForceP whereas OC verbs select FinP (see Chapter 1, Section 2), recycling is noticed insofar as a certain clausal complement stops projecting beyond FinP. This arises when the complementizer in Fin stops checking (through long distance Agree) the clause typing feature of (non-operator) Force. Consequently, the respective construction may occur only under OC verbs, which creates a gap for NOC contexts. Thus, a renewal process is started, which involves a replacement of the defective complementizer. The identification of this cycle allowed us to point out not only that the replacement of the infinitive with the subjunctive in Old Romanian (amply discussed in historical linguistics) arises in response to such a renewal need, but also that that was not the first time such replacement took place.

In this respect, the data indicated that selected *de*-indicatives seldom project a ForceP in the 16th century and become exclusively truncated under OC verbs in the 18th century. In the 16th century, *a*-infinitives display ForceP structures under NOC verbs, in competition with *să*-subjunctives. However, by the 18th century, *a*-infinitives are also restricted to a truncated status throughout, so they are eliminated from NOC contexts, and can only occur in OC complements. At this time *să*-subjunctives become the default option for complementation. Importantly, as the split Fin is phasing out of the language, *a* loses its ability to spell out Force. As Fin remerges, *a* loses its specialization for [modal], while also being dissociated from the clause typing feature of Force.

Crucially, this progression from full-fledged to truncated CP takes place within the same derivational pattern (i.e., the Balkan subjunctive). The renewal arises at the level of

morphology (i.e., the complementizer, which triggers a certain verb inflection for mood) with the effect of maintaining this derivational pattern. Thus, Old Romanian CPs in selected contexts show the replacement stages in Table 2.

Table 2: Replacement cycle in Old Romanian clausal complements

Timeline	Exclusively truncated	Competing construction	Productivity
16th c. ↓ ↓ ↓ 18th c. ↓	*de*-indicative	full-fledged/truncated *a*-infinitive	high
		full-fledged/truncated *să*-subjunctive	low
	a-infinitive	full-fledged/truncated *să*-subjunctive	high
		truncated *de*-supine	low

Accordingly, a systematic pattern is at work, with predictive power, which allows us to apply it backward and forward on the timeline, and conclude that: (i) *de*-indicatives must have started as full-fledged under NOC verbs, for which there are only relics in the texts (see Chapter 6); (ii) *să*-subjunctives may eventually be restricted to a truncated derivation and trigger renewal for the full-fledged derivation; (iii) the balkanized *de*-supines may replace the *să*-subjunctive, as data indicate that *de* is resemanticized not only for clausal modality, but also, increasingly, for checking the clause typing of Force (Chapter 9, ex. 52).

3. Typology

One of the main tasks of this book was to show what happens in a grammar where the parametric settings are typologically mixed. In the case of the clause structure in Old Romanian, the morphological paradigms are inherited from Latin (and underwent changes that typically applied during the Romanization period) but the settings for the spell-out of the CP and for the clausal complementation follow the Balkan pattern.

In this respect, two outcomes come out of our investigation: (i) tension between the phi/T features mapping (Romance) and the requirements of Fin features (Balkan); and (ii) a contrastive setting for clausal complementation in OC contexts, insofar as the size of the CP and the inflectional options on verbs are systematically different for Romance and Balkan grammars.

Let us review point (i). The main observation is that Old Romanian opts for the Balkan subjunctive in (N)OC contexts, but, unlike other Balkan languages, it splits Fin. We attribute this peculiarity to the fact that *un*tensed Fin domains are never stable in Romanian, in the sense that they are always mixed. More specifically, the texts indicate a progression from *de*-indicative > to *a*-infinitive > to *să*-subjunctives > to *de*-supine occurrences in clauses that are obligatorily truncated (e.g. raising and obligatory control). Under Landau's (2004) feature system, this translates to a progression from [-T, +Agr] (indicatives) > to [-T, -Agr] (infinitives) > to [-T, +Agr] (subjunctives) > to [-T, -Agr] (supines).

Moreover, as illustrated throughout the book, no system ever occurs on its own, there being constant overlap of [-T, +/-Agr] at any point in the transition from one type of selected complement to another. This is different from the rest of Romance, where [-T,-Agr] (infinitives) is the norm in OC (recall that only obviation allows/requires the subjunctive), and from the rest of the Balkan Sprachbund, where OC requires [-T, +Agr] (indicative/subjunctive). We suggested that a Fin head which has to synchronically accommodate [-T, +/-Agr] is forced to split, so that

there are external factors (i.e. input related) in the language acquisition process that will re-trigger a split Fin from a merged one.

This is the situation in Old Romanian. In Modern Romanian, split Fin systematically remerges. Following van Gelderen (2011), we consider that UG Economy Principle always push for less structure, which in our case study triggers the remerging of a split Fin (i.e. internal factors of change).

With respect to point (ii) above, the splitting of Fin is in place in order to maintain constant the OC parameter setting for the Balkan subjunctive. Theoretically, in Romance, both NOC and OC verbs select full-fledged clauses, while raising verbs select truncated clauses (Rizzi 1982). On the other hand, in the Balkan languages, NOC verbs select full-fledged clauses, while OC and raising verbs select truncated clauses (i.e. ForceP versus FinP in Rizzi's (1997) cartographic system). Within this variable pattern, OC is forced in complement clauses when either semantic tense is missing (i.e. [-T]/anaphoric) or when morphological agreement is absent (i.e. [-Agr]), if we follow Landau (2013). In this framework, our analyses point out that Romance and Balkan languages display opposite parametric settings for OC: Romance OC involves a full-fledged ForceP infinitive complement, with [-Agr] and PRO subjects, whereas Balkan OC involves a FinP truncated subjunctive complement, with [+Agr] and A-movement of lexical subjects (as in Hornstein 1999). In Old Romanian, the OC parametric settings for the Balkan pattern in the presence of Romance morphology (e.g., the properties and distribution of *de*, *a*, *să* in Latin/Romance CP) creates a continuous pressure in the recycling of phi-features: Fin (Balkan paradigm) is forced to split under pressure to project to ForceP (Romance paradigm), and to accommodate [-T, +/-Agr].

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BB	Chiţimia, Ion C (ed). 1988. *Biblia, adecă Dumnezeiasca Scriptură (1688)*. Bucureşti: Editura Institutului Biblic. (www.sfantascriptura.com) - format pdf Re-edited in 1988. Bucureşti: Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune Ortodoxă.
CC	Dragomir, Otilia (ed). 2006. *Constantin Cantacuzino, Istoriia Ţărâi Rumâneşti*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
CM	Onu, Liviu (ed). 1970. *Cronicari munteni*. Bucureşti: Editura Stiintifica.
Cod Tod	Drăgan, Nicolae (ed). 1914. *Două manuscrise vechi: Codicele Todorescu şi Codicele Marţian*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei (Librăria Socec & Sfetea).
Cod Sturzan	Mareş, Alexandru et al (eds). 1994. *Crestomaţia limbii române vechi*, vol 1 (*Moartea lui Avram*). Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
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Coresi T.EV	Dimitrescu, Florica (ed). 1963. *Tetraevangelul tipărit de Coresi. Braşov 1560-1561*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
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Crest	Mareş, Alexandru et al (eds). 1994. *Crestomaţia limbii române vechi*, vol 1. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
CM I/CM II	Gregorian, Mihail (ed). 1961. *Cronicari munteni*. 2 vol. Bucureşti: Editura pentru literatură.
CV	Costinescu, Mariana (ed). 1981. *Codicele voroneţean*. Bucureşti: Editura Minerva.
DIR	Chivu, Gheorghe et al (eds). 1979. *Documente şi însemnări româneşti din secolul al XVI-lea*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
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IV   Ştrempel, Gabriel (ed). 2001. *Ienache Văcărescu, Istoria Othomănicească*. Bucureşti: Editura Biblioteca Bucureştilor.
LC   Gregorian, Mihail (ed). 1961. *Cronicari munteni (Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc)*. Bucureşti: Editura pentru literatură.
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NB   Moisil, Florica & Dan Zamfirescu (eds). 1970. *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*. Bucureşti: Editura Minerva.
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NT   ------------. 1988. *Ştefan, Simion, Noul Testament (1648).* Alba Iulia: Editura Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române.
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PrCond   ------------. 1957. *Pravilniceasca condică*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
PO   Pamfil, Viorica (ed). 1968**.** *Palia de la Orăştie 1581-1582.* Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
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PH   Gheţie, Ion & Mirela Teodorescu (ed). 2005. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki*. 2 vol. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
PS   Candrea, Aurel (ed). 1916. *Psaltirea Scheiană*. Bucureşti: Atelierele grafice Socec.
Ureche   Panaitescu, Petre P (ed). 1958. *Grigore Ureche, Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei.* Bucureşti: Editura de Stat.
TxR   Gheţie, Ion (ed). 1982. *Texte româneşti din secolul al XVI-lea*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.
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