Discourse Driven V-to-C in Early Modern Romanian
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Abstract The Moldavian *Chronicles* of the 17th and 18th centuries are the first literary texts written directly in Romanian. In these Early Modern Romanian (EMR) texts, declarative clauses display an alternation between clitic > V and V > clitic orders, which reflects low verb movement (V-to-T) or high verb movement (V-to-C), respectively. The analysis concentrates on V-to-C, and demonstrates that, within a cartographic approach to the left periphery of the clause, V-to-C is actually V-to-Focus. Hence, the paper argues for discourse driven (versus structure-preserving/formal) verb movement to C in EMR, and thus contributes to current studies that view V-to-C in Old Romance as an epiphenomenon of the information packaging at the left periphery of clauses.

Key words Early Modern Romanian, Focus, V2, LHM, Wackernagel's law

This paper aims to account for the alternation between V > clitic and clitic > V orders in Early Modern Romanian (EMR) clauses with finite verbs; only the clitic > V order is preserved in equivalent Modern Romanian (MR) constructions. Starting from the premise that the clitic > V order arises from V-to-T, we demonstrate that the V > clitic order in EMR arises from V-to-Focus, such that the trigger for V-movement is discourse related.

The argument is developed as follows: We show in Section 1 that a change in the position of clitics must be excluded as the explanation for the word order variation. In Section 2, we show that EMR/MR clitics occupy T on a systematic basis, and that, within a cartographic approach, variation in word order follows from verb movement, which targets either a T related position (yielding clitic > V) or a C related position (yielding V > clitic). On this basis, we establish that V > clitic means V-to-C. Data pointing to an interaction between V-to-C and focus operators lead us to discuss, in Section 3, the mapping of different types of semantic focus in EMR sentences. The conclusion is that V-to-C occurs in complementary distribution with constituent movement to a focus position in the CP. Further tests, in Section 4, indicate that V-to-C in EMR means V-to-Focus. Section 5 compares this conclusion with other approaches to V-to-C in old Romance languages, in particular, LHM and V2. We show that these analyses are not suitable to deal with the EMR data.

1 Introduction

In this section, we introduce the data and point out that V > clitic orders in EMR should be dissociated from the second position clitic requirement (i.e., Wackernagel's law). We argue that V > clitic does not arise from the movement of the clitic around the verb; on the contrary, it must be the case that the verb moves around the clitic cluster. We suggest an analysis which relates the V > clitic order to the presence of the focus operator.

1.1 Key data

The word order options between clitics and verbs has undergone a diachronic change from EMR (16th – 18th centuries))[1] to MR (19th century to present) (Chivu et al 1997; Densuşianu 1901; Frâncu 2009, a.o.). The class of *clitics* contains pronouns, auxiliaries and some short adverbs phonologically de-accented as defined in Wackernagel (1892). EMR declarative and interrogative clauses with verbs in the indicative mood display the clitics either after the verb, as shown in (1a-b), or before the verb, as seen in (1c, d).

(1)   a.   **apucatu-*s-***   ***au*** şi dumnealui de au scris[2]
                started- REFL-has and he   DE[3] has written
                începătura   şi   adaosul
                beginning.the and development.the
                'He also started to write about the beginning and the development…'
                      (Ureche 63, 2v)
    b.   **Afla-*vei***   de la   Dragoş-vodă, […] pănă la Aron-vodă.
                find.out.INF-will.2SG of from Dragos king   up   to Aron-king
                'You are going to find out what happened from the time of king Dragos to the time of king Aron.' (Costin 9)
    c.   ***S-au***   scornit o ciumă mare în toată ţara.
                REFL-has emerged a pest   big   in all   country.the
                'A big pest emerged in the country.'   (Neculce 146)
    d.   ***Să***   **vedea**   că după acest razboi fără   noroc, ce făcusă
                REFL saw.2SG   that after this war   without luck   that made
                leşii   cu Ştefan vodă, va   fi perirea   lor.
                Poles.the with Stefan king   will.3SG be destruction.the their
                'It was obvious that after this unlucky war the Poles fought against King Stefan, their destruction will follow.' (Ureche 115)

MR indicative clauses, on the other hand, show consistent clitic > V word order, as seen in (2a, b). Traces of the enclitic order can only occur in the colloquial register, (2c), or in the archaic register, (2d). The intonation contour for sentences with V > clitic order (as in 2c, d) is different from the clitic > V orders, as the verb carries emphasis when it precedes the clitics.

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[1] Traditional Romanian historical linguistics refers to the language of the16[th]-18th centuries as 'Old Romanian'. Since our study involves comparative paradigms with other Old Romance languages, where the qualification of *old* is confined to pre-medieval texts up to roughly the 13th century, we adjust the labeling, from 'Old Romanian' to 'Early Modern Romanian', in order to avoid confusions on the timeline. Details on texts and corpus are found in the Appendix to this paper.

[2] In order to make the data easier to follow, we italicize clitics, underline verbs (and non-clitic AUX) and bold elements immediately relevant to the discussion. In glosses, we use the following notations: AUX = auxiliary, which is generally a clitic in EMR/MR; DAT = Dative Case; DOM = Differential Object Marker *p(r)e*; GEN = Genitive Case, or Genitive pre-nominal marker; INTJ = interjection; ORD = determiner for ordinal numeral; PL = plural; PRES = present tense; PRTC = participle form; PST = past tense; REFL = the clitic reflexive marker *se*; SG = singular; SUBJ = subjunctive mood marker.

[3] *De* is used as an indicative complementizer in EMR.

(2) a. ***s-a*** **apucat**(*-*s-a*)　şi　dumnealui să　　scrie….
REFL-has started　REFL-has and he　　　SUBJ write
'He also started to write…'

b. ***Le*** **este** (*-*le*)　　pe　voie tuturor　să　le　　　fie domn?
them.DAT is　them.DAT with will all.DAT SUBJ them.DAT be king
'Is it to everybody's agreement that he be their king?'

c. **Dusu-*s-a***　　　Băsescu Piază　　Rea!　　　(colloquial)
gone-REFL-has Basescu wickedness bad
'Gone is Basescu, utter wickedness!' (www.jurnalul.ro (20-11-2009))

d. **Plecat**-*au* nouă din　Vaslui…　　　　　　　(archaic)
left-have　nine　from Vaslui
'Nine (soldiers) left from Vaslui' (Alecsandri/19th c.)

Conditional verb forms also display the same alternation in EMR, as shown in (3a) versus (3b). MR allows for the proclitic order only, with traces of the enclitic order in the archaic register and folk literature, in a similar vein to what was seen in (2).

(3) a. Acesta de-ară　fi fost proroc　**ştir-*ară***　　cum şi　ce
this　　if-would be been soothsayer know-would.3 how and what
muiare atinse　el că　păcătoasă iaste.
woman touched he that sinner　　is
'Had this man been a soothsayer, he would have known whether the
woman he touched was a sinner.' (Coresi {131r})

b. Şi să　hie fostu şi　tabăra　　cazacilor odată, alăturea cu focul
and SUBJ be　been　and camp.the Kazacks　once　beside with fire.the
asupra mijlocului şi　aripii　　cei den-a-stînga　a　　lui Matei-vodă,
against middle.the and wing.the the from-the-left　GEN the Matei-king
s-ar　　　***hi*** **ales**　　　　lucrul.
REFL-would have come.through thing.the
'And if the Kazacks' camp would have been, at the same time, near the
fire in middle, and on the left wing of King Matei, the maneuver would
have come through.' (Costin 133-34)

1.2 Problems with a phonological approach to V > clitic orders

Historical linguists (e.g., Frâncu 2009, following Meyer-Lübke 1890, Sandfeld 1930) account for the apparent free alternation of the ordering between clitics and verbs seen in (1) and (3) as an effect of Wackernagel's law. Specifically, EMR is taken to represent a transitional stage from a grammar that obeyed Wackernagel's law to a grammar that is free of the second position clitic requirement [4]. On this view, it follows that what has changed is the location of the clitic in relation to the lexical verb – a conclusion drawn on phonological grounds only.

However, a phonological account cannot explain the word order variations

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[4] Wackernagel's law is a generalization whereby clitics occupy the second position in the clause by encliticizing on a host which is clause-initial. The law is a consequence of the fact that clitics are ruled out in clause-initial position due to their phonological properties.

attested in EMR. For instance, Wackernagel's law should rule out clitics in clause initial position, yet that is what is seen in (1c, d). Furthermore, it predicts that embedded clauses with a free morpheme complementizer, by virtue of having the potential of fulfilling the function of phonological host for clitics, should constrain the word order to clitic > V. However, the EMR data show that, while the location of the clitic cluster after the verb is not required, see (4a, b), it is, nonetheless, a viable option, as in (4c, d), which illustrate V > clitic order. Given that embedded clauses display the same alternation seen in root/matrix clauses, it follows that V > clitic in EMR cannot be due to a second position requirement on clitics.[5]

(4)   a.   spuse   lui   naintea tuturor oamenilor
                said.3SG him.DAT   before all.DAT men.the.DAT
                și **că** *se* <u>**vindecă**</u>   aciia
                and that REFL heals   here
                '[…] he said to him in front of everybody that he heals himself here'
                      (Coresi {134v})
    b.   fiiul   să   te   proslăvească **că** *ai*   <u>**dat**</u> lui   puteare
                son.the SUBJ you.ACC praise   that have.2SG given to.him power
                '[…] the Son praise you that you have given him power' (Coresi {224v})
    c.   Nu ştiţi   **că** într-aceastea ce   sînt Părintele
                not know.2PL that in-these   which are parent.the
                mieu <u>**cade**</u>-*se*   a-m fi?
                 my befits-REFL INF-me be
                'Don't you know that, my Parent befits to be among those that exist?'(Coresi {117v})
    d.   Scrisă amu iaste **că** îngerilor   tăi   <u>**zis**</u>-*ai*
                written now is   that angels.the.DAT your told-have.2SG
                de   tine să   te   păzească.
                DOM you SUBJ you protect.3
                'It is written now that you told your angels to protect you.' (Coresi{120v})

Note that the clitic pronoun is the same in (4a) and (4c), so there is no property intrinsic to the clitic itself that would determine its position with respect to the verb. The same is true of the clitic auxiliary in (4b) and (4d). Furthermore, in (4c, d), the complementizer *că* 'that' is followed by constituents with topic readings, and the V > clitic string is clause final in (4d). It is well-known that topicalization blocks verb movement in languages with second position clitics (Roberts 2001). Crucially, this is not what we get here.

      Having ruled out Wackernagel's law as the trigger for V > clitic, the question is what other mechanism would justify the clitic-verb word order alternations noted for EMR clauses. A related and equally significant question is whether V > clitic word orders

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[5] An anonymous reviewer wonders whether the V > clitic order in subordinate clauses is always preceded by a constituent. The answer is no: the V > clitic order may also immediately follow the complementizer, as shown in (i), taken from the same text searched for (4).

    (i)   Adevăr, adevăr <u>grăiesc</u> voao   că <u>plînge</u>-*veţi* şi   <u>suspina</u>-*veţi*   voi
            truth   truth tell.1SG you.DAT   that cry-will.2PL and sigh-will.2PL you.NOM
            'What I tell you is the truth, that you will be crying and sighing' (Coresi {51v})

have predictable occurrences. We suggest that a syntactic approach driven by discourse features can offer a systematic account for the two competing linearization options in the EMR data. To this purpose, we turn to the *Chronicles*, to see how encliticization is used in these texts.

1.3 A syntactic approach to V > clitic orders

In the *Chronicles*, we notice that the V > clitic order follows a systematic pattern whereby enclitics are obligatory in *yes-no* questions, as in (5), whereas proclitics are obligatory in *wh*-questions, see (6a), and in clauses with contrastive Focus, see (6b).

(5)   a.   **<u>Cunoşti-*mă*</u>**   pre mine,   au ba?
               know.2SG-me   DOM me   or not
               'Do you know me or not?'   (Neculce 120)
    b.   **<u>Grijit-*au*</u>**   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)

(6)   a.   Şi **ce**   ***i-***   ***ar***   **<u>lipsi</u>**, fiindu ca şi un domnu în ţara   lor, ….?
               and what him.DAT-would lack being as if a   king   in country.the their
               'And what could he be lacking, when he's like a king in their country?'
                                 (Costin 76)
    b.   [Numai capete cîteva de tătari] ***au***   **adus**   la Jolcovschii…
               only   heads few   of Tatars have.3 brought   to Jolcovschii
               'They brought only a FEW Tatar HEADS to Jolcovoschii' (Ureche 43)

The systematic dichotomy in (5) versus (6) indicates that encliticization is sensitive to the properties of the *operators* involved in question formation and in the mapping of *contrast* in the syntax. A pattern emerges whereby a complementary distribution arises between constituent/XP-movement and verb/head-movement under the impact of these operators.

      Another environment for encliticization is that of declarative and conditional clauses illustrated in (1a, b), (3a). These contexts allow for *optional* encliticization (as shown in 1c, d, 3b), which is different from the distinct but *obligatory* V-clitic orders in (5) and (6). At a closer look, however, a pattern arises here as well, at least in the *Chronicles*, where encliticization prevails when the *comment* is introduced as new information, without a *topic* (i.e. with a null presupposition) [6], [7]. This is the case, for example, at the beginning of new paragraphs which start with a verb introducing new

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[6] Fronting is very productive in EMR, clauses being generally organized according to a *topic-comment* scheme, see (i).
        (i)   iar   **de Antohi-vodă**   nu   <u>fug</u>   nime.
               but   [_{TOP} from Antohi-king]   [not   run   nobody]_{comment}
               '[…] but nobody runs from King Antohi.'   (Neculce 235)
[7] In contrast to the *Chronicles*, in translated texts, encliticization is unpredictable in declarative and conditional contexts. The unpredictability is related to the tendency of keeping the word order of the Church Slavonic translated text unchanged, coupled with the fact that Wackernagel's law applies in that language. In this respect, Zafiu (2014) discusses the difference between translated documents and texts written directly in Romanian.

information in the narration. In these contexts, the new piece of information gets the spotlight. Thus, in (7), encliticization occurs with the first verb, but not with consecutive verbs.

(7)   **Rămas-*au*** acelui   Cîrnu ficiori şi   nepoţi, şi   ***au***   **agiunsu** unii
left-have.3   that.DAT Cîrnu sons   and nephews and have.3 turned   some
de ***au***   **fost** polcovnici spre slujba   oştirii.   Că ***să***   **însurasă***
DE have.3 been officers   in duty.the army.the.GEN   that REFL married.3
el acolo, de luasă moscalcă   şi ***s-au***   **mai dus** după dînsul de   aice
he there DE took Russian.FEM and REFL-have more went after him   from here
din   Moldova trii   nepoţi   de frate,   de ***să***   **aşedzase** şi ei   pe lîngă
from Moldova three nephews of brother DE REFL settled   and they on around
unchiu-său. Şi aceie avè   milă   de   la împărăţie, şi acolo ***au*** **murit**.
uncle-their and they had.3 protection from at Court   and there have died
'That Cîrnu was survived by sons and nephews, and some of them turned to be officers in the army. For he had married a Russian woman; and also, three nephews (sons of his brother) went from Moldova and settled by their uncle. They also had protection from the Russian Court, and there they died.' (Neculce 122).

The page preceding the example (7) provides a short biography of boyar Cîrnu. In this respect, the paragraphs on that page list the set of events up to his death. The paragraph in (7) changes the type of information, which is now an obituary. Hence, while the topic of the discourse – i.e., Cîrnu – has been previously introduced, the obituary changes the perspective, focusing on the consequences of his death (a different set of events). For Latin contexts similar to (7), Devine & Stephens (2006: 145 et seq.) consider the possibility that the event itself is presented as the topic, being foregrounded (via V-movement) in the absence of an entity topic. 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 (5) and (6), where encliticization is shown to be sensitive to question formation and the mapping of focus. Insofar as narrative foregrounding creates topic contrast, it too involves an operator[8]. A more detailed discussion of foci operators in these constructions will be developed in Section 3.

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 is no contrastive focus on clitics), V > clitic linearizations must be due to verb movement across the clitic cluster. (ii) Verb movement is discourse driven. That is, a declarative clause is grammatical with or without encliticization; however, encliticization triggers a difference in reading.

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[8] 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 (similar distinctions are proposed in Krifka 1991).

Therefore, this paper will argue for encliticization as discourse driven V-to-C movement in EMR declarative and interrogative clauses. We identify the operator-like features that trigger this high V-movement, and show that they are associated with a contrastive (Focus/Topic) head.

2 Background

In this section we introduce the reader to some properties of Romanian grammar that are relevant to our data. Clitics are the center of attention, and their position in T allows us to conclude that there is V-to-C in EMR declaratives. Given the discourse driven account we ultimately adopt for V-to-C movement, we also lay out the mapping of interpretive domains proposed in cartography (Rizzi 1997, 2004).

2.1 EMR Clitics

We first present the EMR clitic paradigms and the theoretical assumptions for clitic placement based on existing literature. For MR clitic paradigms we refer the reader to Alboiu & Motapanyane (2000: 9-18). EMR clitics (like MR clitics) cover auxiliary verbs, pronouns and some short adverbs.

2.1.1 Clitic pronouns
Clitic pronouns, be they proclitic or enclitic, cannot be separated from the verb (or auxiliary) at any time. There are two series of clitic pronouns in EMR/MR: non-syllabic and syllabic[9]. None of these items can stand by themselves in answer to a question. Non-syllabic clitics, such as *-l-* 'him', *-i-* 'them', must always lean on a phonological host, whereas syllabic clitics (e.g., *ne* 'us', *te* 'you') do not need a phonological host. The latter include the series of non-syllabic clitics after their reinforcement with the prothetic vowel *î* [[ɨ]] (high, central, unrounded); for example: *-l-* 'him' > *îl* 'him'. This reinforcement arises at the beginning of the 17th century (Frâncu 2009: 277). Both clitic series are Case marked for Accusative and Dative.

Syllabic clitics obtain adjacency in pre- or post-verbal positions, as in (8), and this is reflected in texts from any period, including those that precede the emergence of the prothetic vowel (e.g., *Palia de la Oraştie*, dated 1582).

(8)   **rogu**-*te*   **slobodzeaşte**-*mă* den mîna   fratelui
        beseech-you free-me   from hand.the brother.the.GEN
        mieu Isav, că *mă* **tem**   de el
        my Isav   for me fear   of him
        'I beseech you, free me from my brother Isav, for I fear him'
                (Palia de la Oraştie {111}, 11)

Non-syllabic clitics may also be pre- and post-verbal (9b), or lean on other constituents (9c). The reinforced version is, however, only preverbal (9a).

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[9] Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:70) grasps the contrast between the two classes of clitics by labeling the non-syllabic ones as phonological/syntactic clitics, and the syllabic ones as syntactic clitics only.

(9) a. în saptamîna rusaliilor ***îl*** slăveşte toată ţara
          in week.the Easter.GEN him praises entire country.the
          'in the Easter week, the entire country praises him'
                    (Ureche 75)
     b. **şi-*l*** voiu face ploditoriu// Iosif **iară-*l*** duseră
          and-him will.1SG make stag // Iosif and-him brought.3PL
          'and I'll make him a stag' // 'and they brought Joseph'
          (Palia de la Oraştie {55}, 20) // (Palia de la Oraştie {134}, 39)
     c. întru ce aşedzătură ***l*-au <u>rodit</u>**, ***l*-au <u>rodit</u>** în curăţie
          in what circumstance him-has conceived him-has conceived in purity
          'in whatever circumstances she begot him, she begot him in purity'
                    (Palia de la Oraştie {4})

Clitic pronouns can be separated from the verb only by other clitics; non-syllabic clitics have no restriction in terms of the category of their host to the left: for example, this can be a conjunction as in (9b), or a verb as in *vede-l* 'sees.him'.

2.1.2 Clitic auxiliaries
EMR clitic auxiliaries are all involved in forming complex tenses and these are: *avea* 'have'/'would', *fi* 'be', and *vrea* 'will'. In both EMR and MR, some auxiliaries have different forms compared to their lexical cognates (e.g., *a* 'has' versus *are* 'has'; *voi* 'will.PL' versus *vreau* 'want.1SG'). Clitic auxiliaries do not support V-ellipsis and Aux-to-C (Avram & Hill 2006; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). For EMR, we assume that the negative evidence for the same type of tests means an identical clitic status for these auxiliaries; see (10) showing failure of *avea* 'have' and *vrea* 'will' to undergo Aux-to-C: the movement is undertaken by the verb, not by the auxiliary.

(10) a. **<u>Chiematu</u>-*o*-*au*** unii şi Flachia…
          called-her-have some and Wallachia
          'Some have called her Wallachia' (Ureche 66)
     b. **<u>închina</u>-*va*** ţara la turci, au ba?
          submit-will.3SG country.the to Turks or not
          'will he submit the country to the Turks or not?' (Neculce 107)

EMR also has the non-clitic, free morpheme, *fost* 'been' in EMR, a perfective auxiliary lost towards the MR period (Densuşianu 1901, Frâncu 2009). This auxiliary need not be verb adjacent and can precede clitics in Aux-to-C, as in (11a). Passive *fi* 'be' is also a free morpheme in both EMR and MR, and it may not be adjacent to the verb, as shown in (11b). Both items can stand by themselves in answer to a question, and they allow for V-ellipsis and Aux-to-C.

(11) a. **Fost-*au* <u>datu</u>** pi taină agiutor împărăteasa Moscului
          been-has given in secret help Empress.the Moscow.the.GEN
          'The Empress of Moscow provided help in secret…'
     b. de care s-*au* pomenit c-*au* **fostŭ** până la Hotin **<u>legatŭ</u>**

of whom REFL-has said that-has been up to Hotin tied
'of whom it has been said to have been tied up to Hotin' (Costin 123)

Historical linguistics studies argue that all the auxiliary verbs were free morphemes in the older stages of the language, and that their re-analysis as clitics was almost completed by the end of the 16th century (see Zamfir 2007: 158-163 and references therein). In the *Chronicles*, we found only one example, shown in (12), where the auxiliary is treated both as a proclitic and as a free morpheme in the same sentence.

(12)   aşa s-au   adaos   şi Moldova, care [mai apoi de alte ţări]
         thus REFL-has increased and Moldova which more after of other countries
         s-au   **descalecat**, de ***s-au***   [**de sîrgu**] **lăţit**   şi
         REFL-has settled   DE REFL-has of fastly widened and
         fără   zăbavă au îndireptatu.
         without delay   has straightened
         'in this way, Moldova, which has been settled later than other countries, has increased as well, so that it has widened at a fast pace and has straightened itself.'
                 (Ureche 63)

In (12), an adverbial prepositional phrase precedes the AUX > V sequence, but intervenes between AUX and V in the second occurrence of *au* 'has'. Except for this example, *au* 'have' is systematically used as a clitic in our corpus, where it is adjacent to the verb and forms a clitic cluster with clitic pronouns and clitic adverbs.

Thus, with the exception of perfective *fost* 'been', EMR/MR auxiliaries contrast with auxiliaries in other Romance languages, the latter being free morphemes and allowing for constituents to separate them from the lexical verb, as in (13) versus (14).

(13)   a.   Je   l'ai   déjà   lu.   (French)
            I   it-have.1SG   already   read
            'I have already read it.'
       b.   L'ho   già   fatto io.   (Italian)
            it-have.1SG   already   done   I
            'I have already done it myself.'

(14)   Mi-a   (*deja)   dat   (deja)   cartea   (deja). (MR)
       me.DAT-has   already   given already   book-the   already
       'S/he has already given me the book.'

2.1.3 Clitic adverbs
Some short adverbs behave as clitics as well (Cornilescu 2000), for example the intensifier *mai* 'more' in (15a). Clitic adverbs are always proclitic, even in the presence of enclitics (see (15b)), suggesting that they are carried along in head movement (an issue we return to in Section 2.1.4).

(15)   a.   Însă mult ***l-au***   ***mai*** **împodobit**
              but much it-have.3PL more adorned

'But they have adorned it so much' (Neculce 103)

    b.   Aşijdere ***mai* <u>adus</u>-*au***   opt soli
            also   more brought-has eight envoys
            'Furthermore, he also brought eight envoys.' (Neculce 153)

Clitic adverbs behave like clitic pronouns and clitic auxiliaries insofar as they are obligatorily adjacent to the lexical verb. This is evidence that the Romanian clitics are "V-oriented", following the distinction between "C-oriented" and "V-oriented" clitics (see Roberts 2010: 65 and references therein)[10]. This is further indication that Wackernagel's law – operative in some Slavic languages (Pancheva 2005) and Old Romance languages that have C-oriented clitics – is not at stake in EMR.

2.1.4 Clitic positions
Hierarchically, EMR/MR clitics always follow the sentential negation morpheme *nu* 'not' and the word order, in this case, is exclusively clitic > V, as in (16).

(16)   a.   **nu** *le*   <u>**arată**</u> toate
             not them shows all
             'he does not show them all' (Ureche 65)
      b.   **n**-*au* <u>**ştiut**</u>   de toate
             not-has known of all
             'he did not know about all this' (Ureche 65)
      c.   că **nu** *mai* <u>**potu**</u>   suferi
             for not more can.1SG stand…
             'for I can't stand anymore…' (Ureche 153)

In the presence of negation, which is a free morpheme, the order within the proclitic cluster is as in (17a) and as illustrated in (17b)[11].

(17)   a.   pronoun(s) > AUX > adv > V
      b.   şi **nu** *i*-*au*   *mai* <u>**dat**</u> oaste
             and not to.him-has more given army
             'he gave him army no more' (Neculce 118)

---

[10] Obligatory adjacency to the verb, as mentioned for EMR, is a property of "V-oriented" proclitics and enclitics in general, and is seen as such in other Romance languages. One may want to derive this property configurationally (e.g., by arguing for the absence of Specifier positions between the site of clitic merge and the site where V is located). To our knowledge, this has not been done so far (cf. Roberts 2010), and such a discussion is beyond the scope of this paper. The point is that clitic-verb adjacency is typical of "V-oriented" clitics and EMR is no exception.

[11] Negation immediately precedes the clitic cluster. For this reason, some linguists consider it a clitic(e.g., Barbu 1999 versus Isac & Jakab 2004). Isac and Jakab (2004) show that although *nu* belongs to the verb sequence, it is not a clitic. We adopt the non-clitic analysis since *nu* can stand by itself in answer to a question and may also occur in verb ellipsis (see (i)), two standard properties of non-clitics.
(i)   Pe   Maria a   invitat-o dar pe   Elena **nu**.
         DOM Maria has invited-her but DOM Elena not
         'He invited Maria but not Elena.'

Since NegP selects TP in Romance (Zanuttini 1997), and that includes Romanian (Alboiu 2002), it means that the linear order in (17) indicates that clitics merge in the TP field in EMR and not in the CP field. This is unexceptional from a cross-linguistic perspective, and it matches claims made more generally for Romance, where clitics have been argued to reside in I(nflection) (Kayne 1991) or high in the IP field (Sportiche 1995).

For simplification, we consider the clitic auxiliaries merged directly in T. In GB accounts, where the inflectional phrase could be split over several heads, Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) argued that the auxiliary clitic is merged directly in an inflectional head with [agr] features that selects the IP containing [tense], and that [agr] and [tense] form a fused projection in finite clauses. Her analysis was based on the fact that, unlike in other Romance languages, the MR auxiliary displays agreement but no tense features; for example, 'have' derives only present perfect in MR, not past perfect. An IP hierarchy mapping Agr and T separately is not relevant to our paper, where we adopt the clustering of φ-features under the T-head – as presently assumed in both Minimalism and Cartography (since Chomsky 1995). Thus, we show both auxiliaries and pronominal clitics merged in T, the locus of φ-feature checking.[12] This is a crucial point as it means that, within our framework, V > clitic linearization indicates verb movement above T, into the C domain.[13]

Furthermore, in EMR/MR, T is always filled with a verbal element, be it the auxiliary (in complex tenses) or the lexical verb (in simple tenses). When the auxiliary is in T (e.g., 18), the lexical verb is in a lower aspectual head (for MR, see Avram 1999; Alboiu 2002). This latter point is supported by the lexical verb's interaction with clitic adverbs. Following Cinque (1999), short adverbs like *mai* 'more' are merged in aspectual heads, which are lower than T in a split representation of the inflectional field. The short adverb forms a complex head with the verb, and the complex head moves as in (19). This means that clitic > V linearizations indicate that the locus of the lexical verb is in the inflectional domain.[14] This is another point that is crucial to our analysis.
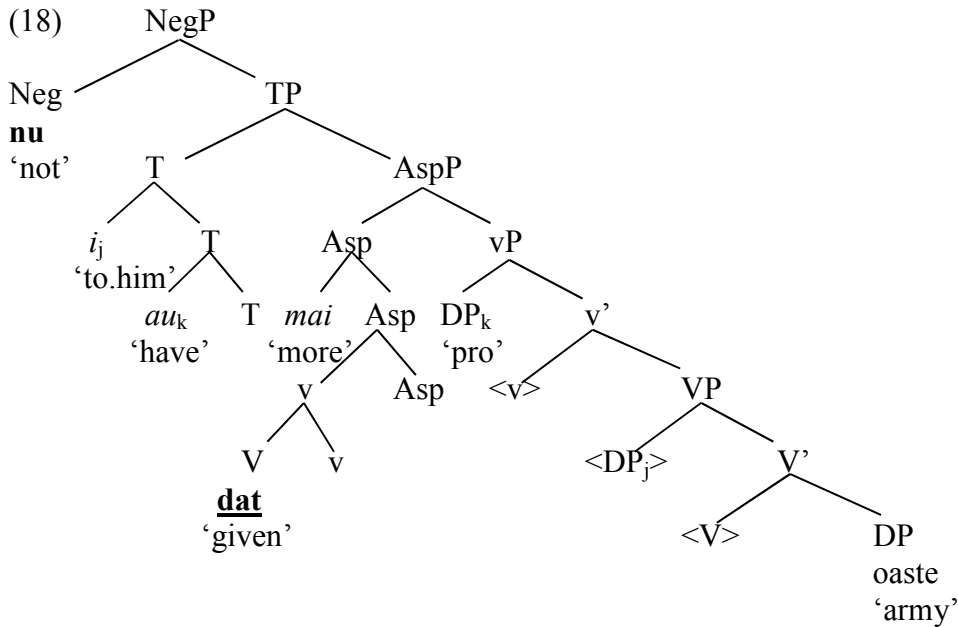
In light of the above discussion, a structural representation for (17) would be as in (18), where the angled brackets, < >, denote copies of moved constituents.

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[12] It is possible that EMR pronominal clitics merge above T(ense), in a PersonP (Ciucivara 2009) or a ClP (Sportiche 1995). Crucially, given interaction with Neg, their adjunction domain is in I not C, so, for simplification, we depict them as T-adjoined.

[13] We thank a reviewer for pointing out (and dismissing) approaches to word order variation which do not rely on syntactic head-movement. Such approaches consider that linearization reflects simple alternative realizations of a branching structure, head-initial or head-final, a mode of morpheme ordering that views hierarchical syntactic structure as merely the first step in a series of operations (as in Harley 2013 or Schoolermmer & Temmerman 2012). A non-syntactic analysis cannot be applied to our data since: (i) there is no evidence that changes in head linearization would have been present in other contexts in either EMR or MR; (ii) such an analysis could not explain why the optionality in linearization interacts with the movement of focused phrasal elements; (iii) Phillips (1996) presents tests for similar movements cross-linguistically showing that they involve syntactic operations.

[14] An anonymous reviewer also suggests that the position of the verb in relation to the lower adverbs, such as *bine* 'well', as in (i), would bring additional support for V-to-T. In (i), the subject in-situ is lower than the adverb, confirming that the verb moved out of the vP.

(i)   Cetatea Hotinului   **grijisă**   *bine* Ieremie-vodă
       fort.the Hotin.the.GEN managed   well Ieremia-King
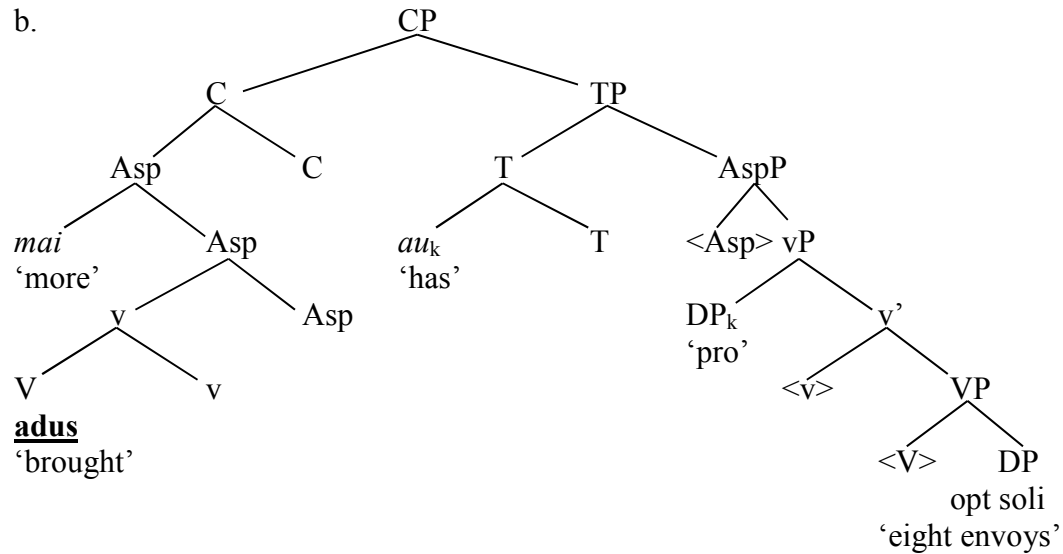   'King Ieremia managed well the Hotin fort' (Ureche

(18)   NegP

Neg   TP
nu
'not'   T   AspP

        i_j T   Asp   vP
        'to.him'
                au_k T *mai* Asp DP_k v'
                'have'   'more'   'pro'
                         v   Asp   <v>   VP
                                 Asp
                     V   v   <DP_j>   V'

                    dat   <V>   DP
                    'given'   oaste
                                                              'army'

In sum, the merge position of clitics, namely the T head (used here as an umbrella term for the inflectional domain), can be used as a reference basis for the landing site of the verb: with proclisis, as in (17), V is in T (in simple tenses) or in Asp (when AUX is in T).

Accordingly, in the V > clitic order, V is above T (i.e. in C). Thus, (19b) denotes the structural representation for (14b), repeated here as (19a), in which the complex head (i.e. Adv+V) moves to C across the clitic cluster in T[15].

(19)   a.   Aşijdere *mai* **adus**-*au*   opt   soli
                also   more brought-has eight envoys
                'Furthermore, he also brought eight envoys.' (Neculce 153)

---

[15] (19) shows the Asp head complex skipping T. Should the Asp head transit through T, excorporation from T without the AUX clitic would constitute a violation of the A-over-A condition (Ross 1967, Roberts 2010). However, we still take this movement to be an instance of T-to-C given the inflectional nature of the Asp head. Crucially, the data indicate that only the adverbial clitic moves together with the V head, pronominal and auxiliary clitics being left behind in TP.

(19) b.

```
                            CP
                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                    C                 TP
              ┌─────┴─────┐      ┌─────┴─────┐
             Asp          C      T          AspP
          ┌───┴───┐          ┌───┴───┐   ┌───┴───┐
         mai     Asp        auₖ      T  <Asp>    vP
        'more' ┌──┴──┐     'has'         ┌───────┴───────┐
               v    Asp                 DPₖ             v'
           ┌───┴───┐                   'pro'        ┌────┴────┐
           V       v                               <v>       VP
          adus                                          ┌─────┴─────┐
        'brought'                                      <V>         DP
                                                              opt soli
                                                            'eight envoys'
```

2.2 Clause structure and cartography

The cartographic approach to clause structure (Belletti 2008, Rizzi 1997, 2004) splits the CP field as in (20). In this hierarchy, discourse features relevant to topic and contrastive focus readings are mapped in-between Force and Fin.

(20)   ForceP > TopP > FocusP > ModP > FinP > (NegP) …

In (20), 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 exhaustive (although not necessarily alternative) readings; hence, we assume that any type of operator of the same class (e.g., *verum focus*) is mapped in the same position.
        Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007; ex. 38) have further refined (20), by showing that TopP can be further articulated as *aboutness*, *contrastive,* and *familiar* TopPs, seen in (21). For them, "contrast" in (21) can be further split in contrastive Topic > contrastive Focus. In what follows, we maintain this projection collapsed as FocusP, since we did not encounter examples with splitting in the texts.

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

        The mapping of the left periphery is especially useful to languages like EMR/MR in which XP constituents are positioned to satisfy discourse requirements. In particular, EMR is a null subject language with VSO basic order, as shown in (22), seen also in Footnote 6, where the verb is moved out of *v*P to T and the subject is left in situ.

 (22)   iar   de   Antohi-vodă nu <u>fug</u>   **nime**.
        but [$_{TOP}$ from Antohi-king] [not run   nobody]$_{comment}$
        'nobody runs from King Antohi'   (Neculce 235)

SVO or any other placement of the subject is derived through movement to positions sensitive to information structure (e.g., to TopP or FocP). As previously discussed, fronting is very productive in EMR. Transitional formulas are also very productive, hence the high frequency of *şi* 'and' not only as a coordinator inside the sentence but also as a transitional item starting new sentences (e.g., (23a)).

The EMR left periphery follows the mapping in (20) in both matrix and embedded clauses, as seen in (23a, b). Topic and focus XPs are labeled in the glosses.

(23) a. Şi acolo   multă groază   *le*   <u>face</u>…
          and [TOP there] [FOC much fear]   DAT does
          'And there, he causes them a LOT of FEAR' (Neculce 117)
     b. …că   din oastea   lui,   puțini   <u>perise</u>
          [Force that] [TOP from army.the his] [FOC few]   had.died
          'that, from his army, FEW have died' (Ureche 89,13v)

To sum up so far, the discussion on EMR clitics indicates that clitic > V orders arise from V-to-T/Asp (low verb movement), as seen here in (18), and V > clitic orders arise from V-to-C (high verb movement), as seen in (19b). However, since the CP field is articulated as in (20)/(21), we must determine which of the functional heads within the CP field is the target of high verb movement.

3 Properties of Focus in EMR

Section 1 concluded that the variation between clitic > V and V > clitic word orders concerns verb movement versus clitic movement. It was also argued that V > clitic interacts with the presence of focus operators. Section 2 took the investigation to a next step, arguing that the V > clitic order arises from V-to-C. If V > clitic is sensitive to the mapping of focus, it follows that V-to-C is V to or through a Focus head.

This section looks at the way semantic foci are mapped in EMR sentences. On the assumption that the mapping of focus operators involves the CP field, as in (20) and (21), the aim is to pinpoint the exact interaction between V-to-C and the mapping of focus. We conclude that V-to-C occurs in complementary distribution with constituent movement to the focus position in the CP.

For a semantic classification of focus, we follow Krifka (2007). For Krifka (2007:6), "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 (FocusP in (20)) 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. As shown in (1c), (4a,b), (10b), in EMR these contexts systematically linearize as V > clitic, which indicates V-to-Focus, on a par with the situation in Latin.

Wh-interrogatives also project a FocusP domain 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 EMR interrogatives, so such contexts do not trigger V-to-C (i.e., the underlying structure for verb movement is as in (18), not as in (19)). Importantly, *wh*-movement to CP is seen consistently, as in (24) below. At this point, we adopt the analysis in Rizzi (1997) that *wh*-phrases move to Spec, FocusP. In the next section, we bring word order evidence to confirm this for EMR.

(24) 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   you.DAT-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. Presentational focus can be subsumed under the use of alternatives to indicate covert questions (e.g. 'What happened?') hinted by context (Krifka 2007: 12). Accordingly, in thetic contexts (i.e. provided the entire clause is new information and the presupposition is a null operator rather than an overt XP fronted from within the comment) this type of focus must also be mapped to FocusP in CP.[16] The encoding of presentational focus in the CP for thetic sentences is also hinted at in Devine & Stephens (2006), who propose that Latin clauses that contain only new information instantiate an operator in C which triggers verb movement. As discussed in Section 1.3 for example (7), the subject of predication could be the event itself realized as a null element in a topic position; since focus is involved (a different set of events is being introduced), and since the topic cannot be related to familiarity, this operator must be encoded under a Topic/Focus head as well. Therefore, in cases where the comment is introduced as new information, without a topic, EMR has V-to-Focus/C, on a par with Latin. The example in (25) further illustrates this case: The paragraph that precedes the example (25) informs us about the situation in Wallachia, which made King Mihai send envoys to Prince Bator to ask for support. Then the sentence in (25) starts a new paragraph, which switches the perspective, to tell us the result of this action. There is a change in the source of the narrator's report (Prince Bator's answer to King Mihai's request), and, predictably, we see high verb movement (i.e. V-to-Focus/C).

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[16] It is important to note that we do not claim that XP constituents with presentational/new information focus in EMR relate to operator features in CP – Focus, 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), EMR keeps the constituents with information focus to the right of the verb, on par with MR. In these cases, FOC$_{INFO}$ either projects above the *v*P (cf. Beletti 2008 for Italian), is at the left edge of *v*P (Alboiu 2002), or is clause final (cf. Neeleman & Titov 2009).

(i)   Pre urma lui Dragoş vodă   *au* **stătut**   la domnie   fiiu-său…
         [$_{TOP}$ on track.the of Dragos-king]   have stayed in throne [$_{FOCinfo}$ son-his]
         'After king Dragos, his son followed to the throne.' (Ureche 72, 7v)

(25) **Dat-au** Bator îndată oşti într-agiutor…
given-has Bator immediately armies in-help
'Bator gave them army to help right away.' (Costin 18)

Krifka (2007) takes *verum focus* 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 sees V-fronting in these contexts, which in English invoke emphatic *do*-support (e.g. *I did fix that problem*). It is difficult to tease apart instances of *verum focus* from other types of V-fronting in EMR, especially since we have no prosodic information to rely on. However, that *verum* focus was instantiated in the left periphery of EMR clauses can be seen by looking at (26). The presence of the *verum* focus operator *adeverat* 'truly' in CP blocks V-to-C. This is in line with what we have seen happen in other overt cases of Focus operators in CP (e.g. *wh*-movement).

(26) în dooă-trei rînduri au trimis să vadză, [**adeverat**] *au* **sosit**?
in two-three times have.3 sent SUBJ see [FOC truly] have.3 arrived
'He sent someone two-three times to see, is it 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, Kiss 1998). Clefts in English are a typical example for the absence of such distinction (e.g. *It is John that studies maths, not Mary*). We also include both instances under contrastive focus. As with other types of focus, we notice an asymmetry in EMR between instances of contrastive focus with an overt operator dislocated to CP from within the derivation, as in (27a), and instances where the contrastive operator is null, as in (27b). In (27a), with operator movement, there is no V-to-Focus; while in (27b), in the adjunct clause, the null operator referencing whoever it is that does evil, realized merely as the clitic *i* 'to.him', triggers V > clitic[17].

(27) a. …l-au întrebat Ştefan-vodă: [**el**] *au* **strigat** aşa tare…?
him-has asked Stefan-king: [FOC 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; he associates particles like *even* and *also* with this type of focus. In this case, alternatives are ordered, and the focus

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[17] An anonymous reviewer points out that the contrast on the person who does evil is typically represented via a strong pronon (instead of just the clitic), *cine face, LUI i se face*. While we agree, we note that since the clitic itself cannot satisfy Focus and the strong pronoun *LUI* is missing in (27b), V-to-Focus ensues.

denotation is the least or the greatest element. (28) shows an example of emphatic focus. In this example, *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.[18] There is no overt focus operator but, predictably, V-to-C.

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

Summing up, the Moldavian *Chronicles* 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, versus clitic > V (i.e. V in T/Asp) in the presence of operator movement and overt material in CP. This suggests that the intuition in Devine & Stephens (2006) offered for Latin, namely V-movement as lexicalization of a CP-related focus operator, is correct for EMR as well.

4 The cartography of V > clitic linearizations in EMR

Having established that V-to-C occurs in complementary distribution with constituent movement to focus in CP, we now proceed to the cartographic assessment of the relevant movement. We show that V-to-C is V-to-Focus (not V-through-Focus), and that is why V-to-C competes with the fronting of constituents to focus in CP, since any of these operations can implement the checking of the focus operator feature.

We start from the premise that the focus operator is mapped as an uninterpretable feature on the Focus head at the left periphery of clauses, as in (20), and that this syntactic Focus is an umbrella for the Contrast distinctions represented in (21). Hence, the focus feature acts as a probe that attracts a lexical item with interpretable features, either a focused XP, or with null operators, the verbal head [19].

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[18] *Şi* is often 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'.
    (ii)   Şi Maria   trebuie să vină.
          and Maria   must   SUBJ come.SUBJ.3   'Maria must come as well (not only Ion).'
[19] 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 (i). 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).
    (i)   **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)

Empirically, we take the position of clitics to be fundamental as evidence for verb movement: as shown in (18) and (19), proclitics indicate low V movement (18), while enclitics indicate V-to-C (19).

Negation provides further empirical evidence for V-to-C: it is well known that a non-clitic negation in the Neg head blocks V-to-C, irrespective of the trigger (see Rivero 1993; Roberts 2001). Accordingly, examples as in (29), where the negation systematically pairs with clitic > V versus V > clitic in EMR, indicate that clitic > V does not involve V-to-C, whereas V > clitic does.

(29) a. **n-*au*** **fost** **avînd** mestei la nădragi, …
          not-has been having slippers at pants
          'He didn't have slippers with his pants.' (Neculce 109)

      b. **Nu *să* știe** din ce pricină au fost luat şi ei moşii …
          not REFL knows of what cause have.3 been taken also they land
          'It's not clear why they also had taken land …' (Neculce 118)

For Romanian, the complementarity of distribution between V-to-C and negation is not surprising given observations made by Isac & Jakab (2004) that *nu* 'not' instantiates a Neg head which blocks the movement of lower verbal heads in imperatives. This property of Neg is related to the polarity feature of this element which qualifies it as a goal for the probing operators. In our particular case, the negation qualifies as a goal for the focus probe. Giurgea & Remberger (2012) explicitly define emphatic/contrastive focus as ancillary to polarity, predicting Neg-to-Foc. Accordingly, in examples as in (29), 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 the representation in (20), 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 this position is occupied by non-clitic complementizers. Examples with *că* 'that' and V > clitics were shown in (4c, d), and further in (30) below. The word order in (30) also shows that topicalized constituents can equally precede the V > clitic order.

(30) Scrie letopisețul nostru [**că** [în anii 6947…] **intrat-*au***
      writes chronicle.the ours that [$_{\text{TOP}}$ in years 6947] entered-has
      în ţară oaste tătărască]
      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 available at any time, as it is in embedded clauses, and as (31a, b) illustrate. This means that the CP is fully articulated and the level of V-to-C movement is the same in both matrix (31) and embedded clauses (30).

(31) a. Mai apoi [în zilele acestui Ştefan vodă], **fost-*au***

more after [Top in days.the this.GEN Stefan king]   been-has
foamete mare și în Tara   Moldovei   și   la unguri,
starvation big   and in Kingdom Moldova.GEN and at Hungarians
'Later on, during the reign of this King Stefan, there has been big
starvation, in the Kingdom of Moldova and in Hungary.' (Ureche 159)

b.   Apoi [și Petriceico-vodă,   ce   l-au   ales   boierii,]
then [Top and Petriceico-King   whom him-have elected boyars.the]
vide-*veți* la cîta   stingere și robie   au dus   țara
see-will   to how.much burning and servitude has brought country.the
cu   faptele lui,
with deeds his
'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)

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_{about} would predict grammatical sequences with V > clitics
> *wh*-phrase, for which there is no evidence in our corpus[20]. Consequently, high verb
movement targets either 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 should 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, the data
showing complementary distribution between V > clitic order and XP constituents in
FocusP.[21] More precisely, *wh*-phrases (which, following Rizzi 1997, target Spec, FocusP)
block verb movement above T, in both matrix and embedded interrogatives. The word
order in (32) confirms that EMR *wh*-phrases move to Spec, FocusP because such phrases
are preceded by Topic constituents (32a) and by the lexical complementizer in Force
(32b). Crucially, *wh*-movement to Spec, FocusP restricts the word order to clitic > V.

(32)   a.   [Neamul   Țării   Moldovei
[Top people.the Country.the.GEN Moldova.the.GEN]
de   unde *să*   tărăgănează?
from where REFL originates
'From where do the people of Moldova originate?' (Costin 6)
b.   …întrebîndu-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 linearization in the presence of fronted constituents with a
contrastive focus reading, as in (33).

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[20] A V > wh-phrase > clitic is excluded on more general grounds, since these are "V-oriented clitics" and
therefore obligatorily adjacent to V.
[21] Interestingly, movement to FocusP reflects the old restriction on doubly-filled COMP (Pesetsky 1982).

(33) [**Prostatec**] *îl* <u>ţinea</u> Vasilie-vodă pre Matei-vodă.
[_Foc_ 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,FocP 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 in the Moldavian *Chronicles* (or in the contemporary official documents we looked at), 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 (34a, b), unless the negation *nu* is present, as in (34c). 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*). Văcărescu's work is the exception, having the clitic > V order consistent throughout, including in *yes-no* questions, as in (34d). Importantly, there is no *optional* encliticization in *yes-no* interrogatives in the grammar of any writer, although optionality exists in declaratives, in the same grammar. That is, all *yes-no* questions have either V > clitic or clitic > V (but not both) on a systematic basis, with the general trend pointing to encliticization. Finally, examples from chancellery documents show that constituents with Topic reading may precede the V > clitic sequence in interrogative clauses, as shown in (34e).[22]

(34) a. **Pare-*le*** lor bine c-au luat împărăţia Cameniţa, au ba?
seems-to.them them good that-has taken empire.the Camenitza or not
'Are they glad that the Porte took Camenitza?' (Neculce 134)

b. **Fost-*au*** hain ?
been-has mean
'Has he been mean?' (Neculce 401)

c. Au **n-*au*** <u>fost</u> hrană?[23]
or not-has been food
'Wasn't there food?' (Costin 123)

d. au doar *s-au* <u>turburat</u> Poarta pântru dosirea fiilor săi?
or just REFL-has bothered Porte.the for hiding.the sons.the.GEN his
'The Porte has been bothered just for the hiding of his sons?'
(Văcărescu 131)

e. Au [**nu tu**], Doamne, **împenseşi-*ne*** ….?
or [_TOP_ not you] God.VOC pushed-us

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[22] Lema & Rivero (1989) and Rivero (1993 and further work) have a technical explanation for how the past participle can move across the clitic (Long Head Movement) without violating the head movement constraint (see also Section 5 in this paper). Alternatively, Phillips (1996) proposes that VP merges in FocusP when it carries a [focus] feature and is then lowered under I(nflection), which contains the clitics.
[23] *Au* is a question particle approximating 'is it?' It might be spelling out Force, but we do not have sufficient data for a definitive analysis.

'Wasn't it you, God, who pushed us?' (PV 21 apud Chivu 1997: 245)

The examples in (34a-b, e) indicate that a verbal head (i.e. the lexical V in (34a, b, e) can spell out Focus in the absence of an overt operator in Spec,FocP. Predictably, the presence of a constituent with focus reading in Spec,FocP blocks high verb movement in *yes-no* questions, and triggers clitic > V orders, as in (35). In these examples, the context suggests a contrastive reading for the elements labeled as focus: is it he who yelled (versus somebody else), in (35a); is it true (or not) that they have arrived, in (35b). For the latter, the fronted position of the adverb is also 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') or it occurs as a post-verbal PP (i.e., 'cu adeverat').

(35)   a.   …l-au   întrebat Ştefan-vodă: [**el**]   ***au*** **strigat** aşa tare…?
                 him-has asked   Stefan-king: [FOC he] has yelled so   loudly
                 'King Stefan asked him: was it he who yelled so loudly?' (Neculce 108)
        b.   în dooă-trei rînduri   au trimis să   vadză, [**adeverat**] ***au*** **sosit**?
                 in two-three times   has sent   SUBJ see   [FOC truly]   have arrived
                 'He sent someone two-three times to see, is it TRUE that they've arrived?'
                       (Costin 118)

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 heads (i.e., negation); or (ii) by constituents moved to contrastive focus/topic (i.e., Spec, FocusP).

The above properties clearly point to high verb movement being related to Focus and not Fin. While Focus always projects in interrogatives, the projection of Focus is potentially optional in declaratives (i.e. this domain does not project in the absence of a focused operator). However, the Fin domain 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. 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 EMR. (34a) shows V-to-C of a verbal form containing agreement and tense features, hence finite; conversely, (34b) shows V-to-C of a participial verbal 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 argued that V-to-C is 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).

5 Encliticization in EMR in light of previous accounts

In this section, we show that previous analyses of V-to-C in Romance do not account for the data presented here. The comparative analysis also emphasizes the contribution of the EMR data to the debates on high verb movement in Old Romance, more generally.

Wackernagel (1892) predicts that a language may have either V2 or the second position clitic requirement, but not both (for a re-actualization of this dichotomy, see Anderson 1993). This distinction has been maintained in the diachronic syntax of Old Romance languages, but the adopted path is controversial when it comes to accounting for high verb movement in these languages: (a) some studies argue for a generalization of Wackernagel's law, (b) others for a generalization of V2. Both directions share the idea that high verb movement responds to a well-formedness condition (i.e. they show structure dependent movement), so they are in sharp contrast with the perspective adopted in this paper, which ties high verb movement exclusively to discourse triggers (that is, in EMR, the sentence is well formed with or without high verb movement in the absence of a null operator in Focus). In this section, we show that the previous analyses are not appropriate for the EMR data.

5.1 LHM in EMR

Rivero (1993 and previous work) generalizes Wackernagel's law to Old Romance languages with null subjects. That explicitly includes Romanian (early and modern). In these studies, the second position clitic requirement is satisfied either through constituent movement to clause initial position, or through V-to-C. The latter option involves Long Head Movement (LHM), namely movement of the past participle or infinitive verb across a clitic cluster containing an auxiliary and, optionally, clitic pronouns.[24] The main point of this analysis is that LHM is triggered by the properties of the clitics. However, this paper has shown that clitic requirements are not the trigger for LHM in EMR.

Our data clearly indicate that LHM applies to EMR, insofar as a past participle or an infinitive verb form precedes the auxiliaries in complex tenses, as has been shown in a number of examples, starting with (1). However, despite the fact that it yields V > clitic word orders, LHM in EMR cannot be justified through Wackernagel's law, as argued throughout this paper, since: (i) the enclitic ends in the second position only by chance when this operation applies, otherwise it may be in third or further position, as in (36a); and (ii) LHM is restricted to complex tenses, whereas EMR shows V > clitic orders with simple tenses as well, as in (1b) and (36b).

(36)   a.   [Aşijdere]   [la acè gîlceavă]   **prins-*au***   Fliondor armaşul
             also   during that rout   caught-has   Fliondor smith.the
             la gazdă pre   un grec,…

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[24] As a technical implementation for LHM, Rivero proposes a contrast in the type of chains: V-to-C is A-bar movement, whereas clitics are in a position (and head a chain) with argumental properties. Notice that the basic idea of considering the elements involved as having different +/- argumental status is translatable in the minimalist framework, where the clitic pronouns are mixed A/A' items (see Pancheva 2005) and as such, do not necessarily occupy a head position, and do not interfere with head movement. See also Roberts (2001) for a featural definition of interveners for head movement.

at host   DOM a   Greek
'Also, during that rout, Fliondor, the army smith, caught a Greek at his host's place'. (Neculce 170)

   b.   **veniră-i**   olăcarii de-i   dedè de domniie veste
        arrived-DAT   couriers for-he.DAT   gave of kingship news
        'his couriers arrived and gave him news of kingship' (Ureche 189)

Furthermore, it has been argued that LHM entails V-to-Force or V-to-Fin, if FinP is the highest projection in the clause, in truncated CPs (Roberts 1994). None of these operations would explain the complementary distribution between constituent fronting to Focus and high verb movement seen in EMR. First, the left periphery of interrogative clauses is necessarily projected up to ForceP, because of clause typing features. High verb movement should be possible in these constructions, either to Force or to Fin, in the presence of constituents fronted to FocusP. The EMR data show that this is not an available option, and that any constituent in Spec,FocusP pairs with low verb movement (to T/Asp). Second, constituents with an *aboutness* topic reading co-occur with high verb movement as a matter of routine, and they always precede the verb. This word order would also be unpredictable under V-to-Force (which leaves the *aboutness* topic post-verbal) or under V-to-Fin (i.e., a truncated CP, with no projections above FinP).

　　To conclude, the analysis we propose is more efficient for the EMR data because it acknowledges the presence of LHM, but it disengages LHM from Wackernagel's law. That is why high verb movement does not have to be restricted to LHM, involving participles or infinitive stems, but can also affect finite verbs in simple tenses. Separation of LHM from Wackernagel's law also allows for an empirically more adequate identification of the target for movement, which is neither Force nor Fin.

5.2 V2 in EMR

There is a long tradition in generative grammar that accounts for high verb movement in Old Romance through V2 (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, and Vance 1997 for Old French; Ribeiro 1995 for Old Portuguese; Fontana 1993, 1997 for Old Spanish; Benincà 1984 for Old Venetian; Ledgeway 2008 for Old Romance). Romanian is vaguely included in this generalization in Benincà (1983/1984), where the author considers that V2 might have occurred previously to EMR (no written documents exist for that period). We therefore have to look at how a V2 analysis would fare for V > clitic orders in EMR.

　　V2 means verb movement to Force (Rizzi 1996) or Fin (Roberts 2001). The objections arising for the application of Wackernagel's law in the previous section hold here as well, as the word order tests on EMR data do not support V-to-Force (or V-to-Fin). However, there are also independent reasons for objecting to a V2 analysis of EMR – that is, reasons independent of V > clitic orders, and which are shared with other Old Romance languages, such as Old Spanish (henceforth OSp). In (37) to (42) we illustrate only two of such properties, namely, variations of word orders that are not typical of V2 but that are routinely seen in EMR and OSp.

　 (i)   V1
(37) **Vor**   unii   Moldovei   să-i   zică   că   au

want   some Moldova.the.DAT   SUBJ-it   say   that   has
chiemat-o   Ştitia…   (EMR)
called-it   Scythia
'Some want to say that Moldova was called Scythia' (Ureche 65; A-2)

(38)   E   **puso**   alli   seys pilares de piedra muy grandes
        and   put.3SG   there six   pillars of stone   very big
        'And he put there six very big stone pillars'   (OSp)
                (General Estoria 5R, 2)

   (ii)   V3
(39)   Iar [scrisorile   streinilor]   [mai pe largu şi   de agiunsu]   **scriu** (EMR)
        and letters.the foreigners.the.GEN more on detail and in sufficiency write-3PL
        'And the foreigners' letters write in more detail and more comprehensively'
                (Ureche 64; A-2)

(40)   [Acest Alixandru vodă] [multe lucruri bune] *au* **făcut** în ţară…   (EMR)
        this   Alexandru king   many things good   has done in country
        'This king Alexandru has done many good things in the country' (Ureche 75)

(41)   [Aun]   [ella misma] **yaze**   en pertenencia   de europa   (OSp)
         already she   herself lies   in belonging   of Europe
        'The island itself already belongs to Europe' (General Estoria I, 3V, 8)

(42)   Et   otrossi   [uos los Etiopianos] [a la mi espada] seredes   muertos.
        and furthermore you the ethiopians   to the my sword be.FUT.2PL killed
        'And furthermore, you, the Ethiopians, will die by my sword' (39465 GE4Dan)

       In sum, the word order variations in both Old Spanish and EMR indicate that
what has previously been referred to as LHM/V2 could be subsumed under an analysis
whereby a discourse feature in C is checked via head movement. This analysis is able to
account in a systematic way for high verb movement in both simple and complex tenses,
and for constituent fronting in such sentences. From this perspective, our data endorse the
view that what seems like V2 in some Old Romance is an epiphenomenon of information
structure packaging more generally available to discourse configurational languages.

6. Conclusions

The main objective of this paper was to account for the variation in verb movement in
EMR in indicative declarative and interrogative clauses; namely, to explain why the verb
displays enclitics (high V movement) in alternation with proclitics (low V movement),
sometimes in similar configurations.
       We argued that only a syntactic approach can felicitously account for the various
linearizations. More specifically, we showed that encliticization in EMR is discourse-
driven V-to-C movement, implemented as V-to-Focus.

We discussed various types of operator Focus in association to high or low verb positioning. The generalization was shown to be related to the visibility of the CP internal Focus domain: (i) either an overt focused phrasal category dislocates to Spec,FocP from within the derivation; or, (ii) the highest non-clitic inflectional head, typically the lexical verb (but also a non-clitic aspectual auxiliary, a copula, or the negation) dislocates and adjoins to the focus probe, thus legitimizing a base-generated but null operator in Spec,FocP. 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.

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 EMR. The EMR data 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.

Appendix

The first written documents in Romanian date from the first half of the 16th century and consist of translations for religious and legalistic purposes, mainly from Church Slavonic. The writing of the *Chronicles* (in the kingdoms of Moldova and Wallachia) starts about a century later and provides the first literary manifestation of EMR, with historical dates and events being integrated in story telling prose. We base our empirical study on the Moldavian *Chronicles* (*letopiseţe moldoveneşti*) since only these have their texts preserved integrally. More specifically, our corpus covers three Moldavian chronicles in their entirety. The relevant *Chronicles* belong to the following authors: (i) Grigore Ureche, who wrote his chronicle between 1642-1647 and for which we use the Panaitescu (1958) edition; (ii) Miron Costin, who published his chronicle in 1675 and for which we use the Panaitescu (1979) edition; and (iii) Ion Neculce, who began writing his text after 1732 and for which we use the Iordan (1955) edition.

In situations where our corpus does not provide sufficient data to test a construction, we have consulted other sources (including the *Chronicles* from Wallachia), as indicated in the reference list. Since the aim of this paper is to account for the verb syntax in EMR, rather than to describe the grammar of the Moldavian *Chronicles*, we felt that such a move was justified.

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