

(Non)-finite gerunds in Early Modern Romanian

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INTRODUCTION

- Early Modern Romanian (EMR): mid 16th to end of 18th century
- Gerund = V root + *ind(u)/-ând(u)*
 - e.g. mânĉ+ând > mânĉând(*u*) ‘eating’; ven+ind > venind(*u*) ‘coming’
- Our corpus: The ‘Moldavian Chronicles’: 17th – 18th centuries
 - (authors: Ureche + Costin + Neculce)
 - - 18 root gerund clauses; 5 gerund complement clauses; 100 > gerund adjuncts
- EMR gerunds are exclusively verbal: * *mânĉând-ul* ‘the eating’ (Caragiu 1957, Edelstein 1972);
 - Cf. Latin gerund (verbal; Miller 2000)

DISTRIBUTION AND TAM PROPERTIES OF EMR GERUNDS

I. EMR gerunds occur as **ROOT CPs**: “out-of-the-blue” (1) or under coordination with indicatives (2).

(1) *Traian întîiu, împăratul, supuinu pre dahii.*

Trajan first emperor.the conquering DOM Dacians

Dragoș apoi în moldoveni premenindu pre vlahi.

Dragos then in Moldovans turning DOM Vlachs

‘First, Trajan, the Emperor, conquered the Dacians. Then, Dragos turned some Vlachs into Moldavians.’ (Costin 11)

(2) *Gheorghie Ștefan-vodă trecînd cu oastea ungurească prin*

Gheorghe Ștefan-king passing with army.the Hungarian through

Roman, să scoate pre Vasilie-vodă din domnie, iar un bivolar bătrîn

Roman SUBJ eject DOM Vasile-king from throne but a shepherd old

al lui au ieșit înainte dintr-o circimă, fiind bat, în mijlocul tîrgului.

of his has come before from a bar being drunk in middle town

‘King Gheorghie Ștefan was passing with the Hungarian army through

Roman, on his way to eject king Vasile from the throne, but an old

shepherd of his came out of a bar, drunk, in the middle of the town,

standing before him.’ (Neculce 116)

II. EMR gerunds occur as **ADJUNCT CPs**: adverbials (3) and relatives.

(3) *că apoi, nemărgînd el, va aduci perirea țării și boierimei.*

for then not.going he will bring destruction.the country and boyars

‘for if he didn’t, he’d cause the destruction of the country and the boyars.’ (Neculce 227)

(4) *Nedînd pro război cazacilor, să le închidză hrana...*

not.giving war Cosacks.the.DAT SUBJ to.them close food.the

ce ar hi făcut cu tabăra Timuș? (Costin 146)

what would be done with camp.the Timus

‘if he had not fought the Cosacks in order to cut their supply lines, what would Timus have done with his camp?’

(III. EMR gerunds occur as reduced/non-phasal clausal complements; Alboiu & Hill 2013)

- Properties of phasal CP gerunds in (1)-(4):
 - - **Nominative subjects (1), (2), (3), & (4)**
 - - **Tense/Aspect values: past perfective-(1); past imperfective-(2)**
 - - **Mood: neutral/realis => Indicative-(2); hypothetical (4), etc.**
 - ✓ **Gerund CP phases have independent TAM readings in EMR**

- **Hypothesis:**

→ A syntactic operation is at work that recovers declarative clause typing and finiteness for root gerunds in a way that makes them equivalent to root indicative clauses

EMR GERUNDS & CARTOGRAPHY

- CP gerunds instantiate ForceP (in the sense of Rizzi ’ s 1997 split CP):
 - License independent Nominative Case & TAM (i.e. are phasal)
 - Co-occur with *că* ‘that’ (a Force Head, Hill 2012); see (5):

(5) *Că fiindu-i nepot și-n cinste la dînsul, îl știu.*

for being-him.DAT nephew and in honor to him him knew.3SG

‘He knew him, for he was his nephew and in great esteem with him’ (Neculce 179)

- **Where is the EMR gerund mapped in the clausal cartography?**

✓ A. EMR Gerund V to Fin:

- Gerund V > T; in (6), T(past) = *odată* ‘once’ – Cinque (1999)

(6) *Ștefănișă-vodă vrînd odată să scoată fumărit pe țară*

Ștefanita-king wanting once SUBJ impose smoke.tax on country

‘King Ștefanita wanted *at one time* to impose the smoke tax...’ (Neculce 120)

- Gerund V > Neg: affixal *ne-* permits V-movement to C in (7);

- Gerund V > clitics, see (7):

(7) *Decii Roman vodă neputîndu să-și îngăduiască cu văru-său, cu Pătru, fiiorul lui Ștefan vodă, pentru domnie,*

so Roman king not.being.able SUBJ-REFL put.up with cousin-his with Petru son.the of Ștefan king for throne

‘Therefore, King Roman was not able to put up with his cousin, Peter, King Ștefan’s son, in their co-reigning.’ (Ureche 84)

- Data in (5)-(7), show that EMR Gerund V to Fin; co-occurrence with Topic and Focus, see (8):

(8) *Și de acolo multe luund și lipindu de ale noastre, potrivindu vremea și anii, [...]*

and [TOPP from there] [FOCP many] taking and sticking to of ours adjusting time.the and years.the

‘And from there MANY (data) he took and added to ours, adjusting the periods and the years, [...]’ (Ureche 64)

- However, other data - impossible in M(odern) R(omanian) - point towards:

✓ B. EMR Gerund V to T:

- Co-occurrence with AUX; see (9):

(9) *Iară dac-au mârșu oastea la Ceahrin, fiindu știind Halep-pașe pe Buhuș hatmanul, [...]*

and if-has gone army.the to Ceahrin being knowing Halep-Pasha DOM Buhus counselor

‘And since the army went to Ceahrin, Halep-pasha *having known* counselor Buhus, [...]’ (Neculce 147)

- (9) Also shows that gerund V moves out of vP, given V_S order.

- Presence of the free negative morpheme *nu* blocking movement above T ; see (10):

(10) *Ce nu lășindu in voia căpăteniilor de Ardeal împăratul nemțescu, au socotit*

but not leaving at will.the captains.the.GEN of Ardeal emperor.the German has decided

și cu sabia să-i supuie, avîndu tocmeii cu Bator.

and with sword.the SUBJ-them repress having deals with Bator

‘But the German Emperor, not leaving things at the will of Ardeal’s captains, decided to repress them by sword, having arrangements with Bator.’ (Costin 19)

- Proclisis: clitic > V word order; see (11)

(11) *Iar cuconu mirele cu ochi negri le privind.*

and mister groom.the with eyes black them watching

Și cu galbeni le cumpărînd,

and with money them buying

Fețisoarei dumatile le potrivind.

face.DAT yours them fitting ...

‘The groom watched them [the earrings] with black eyes and bought them, and fitted them to your face...’ (Gabinschi 2010: 83)

→ **EMR represents a system in change: diachronic change from gerund V in T to gerund V in C.**

→ **the system eventually stabilizes as V to C in MR, which coincides with loss of root gerunds.**

OPERATOR LICENSED GERUND ROOT CLAUSES

- **The EMR gerund:**

- ➤ **(a) Is underspecified for TAM properties, so plurifunctional**

- Independent TAM readings in EMR root gerunds cannot be inherent as there is no overt TAM specification ...

- We follow Pesetsky & Torrego (2004) who assume that interpretability and valuation are two distinct properties.

Specifically, **Tense is interpretable but unvalued**;

- ✓ In **Indicatives**, Tense valuation obtains syntactically from the intrinsic values of finite V; see (12):

(12) ...Tense [v finite] => ... Tense [v finite]

ÎT [] *uT* + value => ... *ÎT [v]* *uT* + value

- ✓ In **Gerunds**, Tense valuation is contextual/pragmatic as the invariant non-finite gerund V cannot itself value; see (13):

(13) ...Tense [v] => ... Tense [v]

ÎT [] *uT* => ... *ÎT [v]* *uT*; **pragmatic valuation (marked)**

- ➤ **(b) Can occur in free variation with indicative CPs**

- Given (b), root gerunds and indicatives must have identical interpretable features, regardless of their uninterpretable features and distinct Spell-Out (Adger & Smith 2005)

- We suggest that the identical interpretable features are the result of the ASSERT(ion) OP(erator), an illocutionary OP which takes a structured proposition as its argument (Meuninger 2004).

- So, **EMR has a dual system with root clauses:**

- I. **ASSERT OP binds/scopes over Tense: ÎT [syntactic value], uphi => Indicative Spell-Out**
- II. **ASSERT OP binds/scopes over Tense: ÎT [pragmatic value] => Gerund Spell-Out**

CONCLUSIONS

- EMR phasal gerunds represent a system in transition:

- from T [GER] and V-to-T,
- to C [GER] and V-to-Fin

- phasal gerunds have deictic Tense, determined contextually

- ➤ i.e. the gerund V itself cannot value Tense(AM)

- underspecified T can be selected by the ASSERT OP

- ➤ phasal gerunds are in free variation with root indicatives

- once [GER] unambiguously reanalysed as C rather than T

- ➤ It can no longer selected by the ASSERT OP and root status is lost

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