

## Splitting Fin in Romanian subjunctives

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### 1. Replacements for the long infinitive

- (1) *cântare* ‘sing.INF’ > *cântare(a)* ‘song.(the)’ (Meyer-Lübke 1900)  
[V] > [N]

Consequence: Two patterns of replacement

→ **Pattern 1**: *de* + indicative

- (2) Că au pus Ștefan vodă **de** au arat cu leșii pe o culme  
for has put Stefan King DE have.INDIC ploughed with Poles.the on a hill  
‘For King Stefan ordered them to use the Poles to plough a hill’ (Neculce 117)

Balkan Sprachbund pattern:

- (i) infinitive [V] → [N]  
(ii) *na/da* + indicative (= subjunctive)

Examples: (Rivero 1994; Tomić 2006)

Bulgarian *da otida* ‘SUBJM go.INDIC.3SG’;  
Greek *na erthis* ‘SUBJM come.INDIC.2SG’;

→ **Pattern 2**: *a* ‘to’ + infinitive

Lat. *ad* > Rom. *a* P<sub>a</sub> > CP = adjunct clause → C<sub>a</sub> (Force°/Fin°) (Jordan 2009)

- (3) și s-au gătit **a** stare cu războiu  
and REFL-have prepared A resist.INF with war  
‘and they prepared themselves to resist with war’ (CLM 18 – Chivu 352)

**Conclusion:**

- Pattern 2 is a language internal innovation:
- It involves a different CP articulation than Pattern 1

### 2. Cartography

Motapanyane (1991); Cornilescu (2000); Jordan (2009): inf. *a*/subj. *să* in Mood°  
(IP = MoodP > AgrP > TP) vs. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994): *a/să* in C/I°

Cartography for Balkan subjunctives (Hill 2004; Isack&Jakab 2004; Krapova 2001; Tomić 2002)

- (4) ForceP > TopP > FocusP<sub>contrast</sub> > FinP > MoodP > NegP > TP > vP  
*ca* in Fin° ↔ *să/na/da* in Mood° = inflectional [mood] markers

### 3. De-indicatives

Complementizer *de* = checks and values [-finite] → anaphoric T/obligatory control checks but does not value modality

- (5) a. *Că întâi au fost învățat de au pîrjolit iarba* +realis  
 for first has been learned DE has burnt grass.the  
*pretitindinea, de au slăbit caii turcilor cei gingași.*  
 everywhere DE has weakened horses.the Turks.the.GEN the delicate  
 ‘For, first of all, he learned to burn the grass everywhere, so he weakened the Turks’ delicate horses’ (Ureche 1958: 100)
- b. *Ștefăniță vodă ...punè de lua frîile din capeteli* -realis  
 Stefanita King ordered DE take.IMPF reins from heads.the  
*cailor boierilor*  
 horses boyars.GEN  
 ‘King Stefanita was ordering to have the reins removed from the horses’ heads...’ (Neculce 120).

*de* in Fin°

Above negation (*nu* = free morpheme; Isac & Jakab 2004; Isac 2013)

- (6) *să tîmplasă de nu știè nimic*  
 REFL happened DE not knew.3 nothing  
 ‘it happened that he did not know anything’ (Neculce 242)

Lower than TopP

- (7) *Tîmplatu-s-au atunce, [grecii, carii era a lui*  
 happened-REFL-have then [Greeks.the who.the were of his  
*Mihai-vodă capichihai, și alții ce slujie la dînsul],*  
 Mihai-king captains and others who served at him]<sub>TOP</sub>  
*de-au început a să sfădi ei în de ei.*  
 DE-have started INF REFL counsel they in between them  
 ‘It happened at that time that the Greeks, who were King Mihai’s captains, and others who served him, have started to talk among themselves.’ (Neculce 334)

- (8) a. [<sub>Force/FinP</sub> **de** [<sub>NegP</sub> **nu** [<sub>TP</sub> **V<sub>indic</sub>** ]]] under control V  
 b. [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> **de** [<sub>NegP</sub> **nu** [<sub>TP</sub> **V<sub>indic</sub>** ]]]]]]] under raising V

## 4. Infinitives

*a* + INF stem//INF stem.re(*a*)

- (9) *au vrut milostivul Dumnedzau a nu lăsarea acestu pământ făr' de oameni*  
 has wanted good.the Lord **INF not leave.INF.the** this land without of people  
 ‘The merciful Lord willed it that this land not be left without people.’ (Ureche 66)
- (10) *s-au gătit a stare cu războiū împotriva lui Răzvan.*  
 REFL-has prepared **INF stand.INF** with war against of Razvan  
 ‘he prepared himself to wage war against Razvan’ (Costin 16)
- (11) *nicăirea nu i-au cutezatu a-i sta împotrivă Radul vodă*  
 nowhere not to.him-has dared **INF-to.him stand** against Radu King  
 ‘There was no place where King Radu would dare to confront him.’ (Ureche 147)

Nominative subjects

- (12) a. *au dzis că-i «pre lesne a plini măria ta giurămîntul».*  
 has said that-is too easy **INF fulfill** majesty your oath.the  
 ‘he said that it is “too easy for your Majesty to fulfill the oath”’ (Neculce 110)
- b. *nicăirea nu i-au cutezatu a-i sta împotrivă Radul vodă*  
 nowhere not to.him-has dared **INF-to.him stand** against Radu King  
 ‘At no location did King Radu dare to stand against him’ (Ureche 147)

*de* in Fin1° ↔ *a* in Fin2°

Topic constituents

- (13) a. *Iar turcii, cum au vădzut poarta cetății deschisă,*  
 and Turks.the as have seen gate.the fort.the.GEN opened  
*au lăsat [pre moscali] de-a-i mai gonire]] ș-au*  
 have quit [DOM Russians]TOP **DE-INFM-CL.DAT more chase.INF** and-have  
*ș-început a intra în cetate.*  
 and-started INF enter in fort  
 ‘And the Turks, as soon as they saw the gate of the fort opened, quit chasing the Russians and started entering the fort.’ (Neculce 380)
- b. *au lăsat și ei [Cetatea Neamțului] de a o mai bate]]*  
 have quit and they [Fort.the Neamtu.GEN]TOP **DE INF it more attack**  
 ‘they’ve also stopped attacking the Neamtu fort’ (Neculce 107)

Focus/Contrastive Topic

- (14) *noi sîntem datori să fim gata [[de oaste] [în toată*  
 we are obliged SUBJ be.SUBJ ready [of army]TOP<sub>contr</sub> in any  
*vremea, [cîndu va veni cuvîntul împăratului]],*  
 time when will come order.the emperor.the.GEN  
*și [de bani] de a le darea pururea...]*  
 and of money-TOP<sub>contr</sub> **DE INF them provide. INF.the** forever

‘We are obligated to be ready to provide them forever with ARMY, at all times, – as soon as the emperor’s order comes – and with MONEY.’ (Ureche 131)

Above negation

- (15) *Și câți blesteamă de a nu te fi putut uita*  
 and how.many curse **DE INF not you be could forget**  
 ‘And how many curse it that they are not being able to forget you.’  
 (from Jordan 2009: 172)
- (16) *i-au căutat și veziriului în cea noapte a nu mînea supt cortă.*  
 to.him-have compelled and Vizir.the.DAT in that night **INF not remain** under tent  
 ‘They have even compelled the Vizir to not remain in the tent that night.’ (Costin 58)
- (17) au apucat **a** duce// au apucat **de a** duce // \*au apucat **de** duce  
 have got INF carry// have got DE INF carry // have got DE=INF carry  
 ‘they’ve got to carry’
- (17’) [ForceP [TopP [FocP [FinP1 **de** [FinP2 **a** [NegP **nu** [TP V<sub>inf</sub> ...]]]]]]]]]

a is in Fin°

Topic constituents

- (18) *au început [cătră împăratul] a pîrî tare pre Brîncovanul*  
 have started [towards Emperor.the]<sub>TOP</sub> **INF tell.on** very.much DOM Brincoveanu  
 ‘they started to tell a lot on Brincoveanu to the Emperor’ (Neculce 279)

Focus constituents

- (19) *cela ce poate [toate] a face*  
 that who can [all]<sub>FOC</sub> **INF do**  
 ‘the one who can do them all’ (CC, 267 apud Frîncu 1969: 17/85)

Infinitive [mood] without a

- (20) *au apucat a duce* VERSUS *\*au apucat duce*  
 have managed INF carry have managed carry
- (21) *Nu avea [de ce se apuca.]*  
 not had on what REFL lean  
 ‘He had nothing to lean on.’ (Costin 105)

Consequences

- (i) Romanian Fin° can be split  
 (ii) Subjunctive replacement sees only CPs in bi-clausal structure (Hill 2011)

- (22) *nu le putem [a le cunoaște cu singur pipăitul]* +replacement  
 not CL.ACC can.1PL INFM CL.ACC know.INF with just touch.the  
 ‘we can’t know them just by touching’ (Costin 1979: 121)

- (23) *[nici-l putem da țării noastre]* -replacement  
 nor-CL.ACC can.1PL give.INF country.the.DAT our  
 ‘nor could we give it to our country’ (Ureche 1958: 66)

## 5. Subjunctive clauses

### Subjunctive verb forms (**bare subjunctives**)

Vulgar Latin Subjunctive > Romanian Subjunctive 2\*, 3 (Fischer 1985; Sala 1998)  
 Lat. *fias* ‘be.SUBJ.2’ > Rom. *fi* ‘be.SUBJ.2’ (Maiden 2006: 47)  
 Lat. *videat* ‘see.SUBJ.3’ > Rom. *vadă* ‘see.SUBJ.3’

- (24) \**au vrut vadă țara*  
 have wanted see.SUBJ.3 country

### Bare subjunctive as imperative (V-to-C)

- (25) a. *fie voao ce iaste*  
 be.SUBJ3 CL.DAT what is  
 ‘be onto you as it should be’ (CPB, 2936 apud Frâncu 2009: 120)  
 b. *sfintească-se numele tău*  
 bless.SUBJ3-REFL name.the yours  
 ‘blessed be your name’ (CT, 10r,13-14 apud Frâncu 2009: 120)

⇒ Force[directive OP] → Fin[irrealis] → T[mood] (Han 1998)

### Bare subjunctive in protasis

- (26) *Că întâi la aceste părți de lume, unde trăiesc moscalii,*  
 for first in these parts of world where live Moskovits  
*rușii, tătarii, să fie omul îmbrăcat în haine*  
 Russians Tartars if be.SUBJ3 man.the clothed in cloths  
*franțozești, ar crăpa de frig.*  
 French would crack of cold  
 ‘For, to begin with, in these parts of the world, where Moskovits, Russians  
 and Tartars live, if a man were to clothe himself with French outfits, he  
 would die of cold.’ (Costin 219)

⇒ Force [conditional OP] → Fin [irrealis] → T[mood] (Haegeman 2010)

Conditional *de* = conditional *să* (< Lat. *si* ‘if’)

- (27) a. *Să iești fiul domnului, aruncă-te jos.*  
 if are.2 son.the lord.the.GEN throw-IMP2SG-REFL down  
 ‘If you are the Lord’s son, throw yourself down.’  
 (CT, 5, v.23 apud Frâncu 1969: 75/7)  
 b. *au trimis soli, zicîndu că-i va da ajutoriu, de-i va*  
 has sent envoys saying that-to.him will give help if-to.him will  
*tribui, împotriva lui Mateiașu și i-ar fi dat, de nu*  
 need against the Matei and to.him-would be given if not  
*s-ar fi părăsit Mateiașu crai de acel gîndu.*

REFL-would be quit Matei king of that thought  
 ‘He sent envoys, telling him that he would provide help against King Matei, if he needed it, and he would have provided it if King Matei had not renounced his intention.’ (Ureche 94).

⇒ Conditional *de* preferred (Todi 2001: 178)

- Conditional *să* + grammatical moods
- (28) a. *Să veți fi îmblîndu în tocmelele mele și veți fi socotindu* **INDIC**  
**if will.2PL be following** in plans.the my and will.2PL be considering  
*și țiindu porăncile mele, da-voiu voao ploaie.*  
 and respecting orders.the my give-will.1s 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. *ci lucrul în cumpănă sta și punținea jalbă cât de mică* **SUBJ**  
 but process.the in balance was and little complaint as of small  
*și cât de puțini oameni de țară să fie fost n-ar fi luat domniia.*  
 and as of few people of country **if be.SUBJ.3 been** not-would be taken throne  
 ‘but the decision could go either way, and if there were any small written complaint or people from the country present, he would not have been granted the throne.’ (AB, 279 apud Todi 2001: 178)
- c. *E să greșire ție fratele tău, pasă și oblicește el* **INFIN**  
 and **if wrong.INF** 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)
- d. *Atunci să are zice voao cineva* **COND**  
 then if would.COND.3 say to.you somebody  
 ‘Then if somebody says to you:...’ (CT, 100, r.16 apud Frîncu 1969: 76/8)

Step 1: From Force° to Fin°

- să* ‘if’ in Force°
- (29) a. *să inimile noastre nu se întăritare noao, îndrăznire avea-vrem*  
 if hearts.the our not REFL agitate.INF to.us courage have-will.1PL  
*cătră Dumnezeu, și dela el vrem cere, priimi-vrem dela dînsul*  
 towards God and from him will.1PL ask.INF receive-will.1PL from him  
 ‘our hearts, if they will not get angered, we shall have courage towards God, and if we will ask from him (something) we shall receive (it)’  
 (CPr 73 apud Densușianu 1997/1901: 711)
- b. *Deci se legiea osindești, nu ești făcătoriu legiei ce giudețu*  
 so if law.the condemn.2SG not are.2SG provider law.GEN 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)

să 'if' in Fin°

- (30) *ci lucrul în cumpănă sta și punținea jalbă cât de mică*  
 but process.the in balance was and little complaint as of small  
*și cât de puțini oameni de țară să fie fost n-ar fi luat domniia.*  
 and as of few people of country **if be.SUBJ.3 been** not-would be taken throne  
 'but the decision could go either way, and if there were any small written  
 complaint or people from the country present, he would not have been granted the  
 throne.' (AB, 279 apud Todi 2001: 178)

Step 2: imperatives

Ambiguous interpretation: conditional/imperative

- (31) *Să aveți pismă amară și zavistie întru inimile voastre,*  
 COND/SUBJ have.2PL hate bitter and quarrel in hearts.the your  
*nu vă laudareți nece fireți mincinoși*  
 not you boast.IMP.2PL nor be.IMP.2PL liars  
 'If you have bitter hate and quarrel in your hearts, don't boast nor lie.'// 'Have bitter hate  
 and quarrel in your hearts - don't boast nor lie.' (Frîncu 1969:76/8).

Ambiguous location: Fin° or Force°

- (32) a. *ce fie amu voao ceea ce iaste, e!, e!,* Force°  
 what be.SUBJ.3 now to.you that which is eh eh  
*și ceea ce nu e, nu!, să nu în fățarie cădeți.*  
 and that which not is not SUBJ not in vanity fall.2PL  
 'Let it be for you as it is, eh! eh!, for what is not, is not; don't fall into  
 vanity' (16<sup>th</sup> c.; CV, 134, 2-4 apud Frîncu 1969: 76/8)
- b. *se se sfințească și*  
 SUBJ REFL sanctify.SUBJ.3 and  
*se smintească-se toți vrăjmașii* Fin° & Force°  
 SUBJ convert.SUBJ-REFL all enemies.the  
 'let all my enemies return to God and convert their minds'  
 (16<sup>th</sup> c.; PH, 4v/8 apud Frîncu 2009: 120)
- c. *așea nice la voi să nu hie* Fin°  
 this.way not at you SUBJ not be.SUBJ.3  
 'let it not be like this not even for you'  
 (17<sup>th</sup> c.; Varlaam, C, [25v]/Byck 1964)

Step 3: complements to V  
*de* in Fin1° ↔ *să* in Fin2°

Co-occurrence *de să* (→ mid 17<sup>th</sup> c.)

- (33) a. *și vrea nepotul [de se ia muiare pre mătușea]*  
 and wants nephew.the DE SUBJ take spouse DOM aunt.the

(Prav. 1581, 233r apud Frâncu 2009: 211)

- b. *să fie volnic [cu cartea domnii meale*  
 SUBJ be.SUBJ.3 able with letter.the lordship.GEN my  
*de să-și ție a lui parte]*  
 DE SUBJM-REFL keep.SUBJ.3 of his part  
 ‘he should be able to keep his part due to the letter from me (my lordship)’  
 (București 1619, B, 45, 50 apud Frâncu 1969: 80/12)
- c. *acii spuse de să nu osîndească spre mișei bogății în besearecă*  
 those said DE SUBJ not punish DOM thugs rich.the in church  
 ‘they said the rich should not punish the thugs in church’ (Coresi L {142})
- (34) *\*spuse de osîndească*  
 said DE punish.SUBJ

să in Fin°

- (35) *Scrisă amu iaste că îngerilor tăi zis-ai*  
 written now is that angels.the.dat your told-have.2sg  
*[de tine să te păzească] și [pre mâni să te ia]*  
 from you SUBJM CL.ACC guard.SUBJ3PL and by hands SUBJM CL.ACC take.3PL  
 ‘It is written now that you told your angels to guard you and to take you by hand’  
 (16<sup>th</sup> c.; CT, 120v/Dimitrescu 1963)

ca in Fin1° ↔ să in Fin2°

- (36) a. *socotit-am ca să nu lăsăm acestu lucru nesăvîrșit*  
 decided-have.1SG that SUBJM not leave this thing undone  
 ‘I decided not to leave this thing undone’ (17<sup>th</sup> c.; Ureche 1958: 65)
- b. *vrînd ca să jecuiască // vrînd să să fălească*  
 wanting that SUBJM plunder.SUBJ3 wanting SUBJM REFL boast.SUBJ3  
 ‘wanting to plunder’// ‘wanting to boast himself’  
 (18<sup>th</sup> c.; Neculce 1955: 106)
- c. *nelăsând [nici un boeru și nici o jupâneasă*  
 not.letting no one boyar and no one lady  
*ca să nu facă vreo întrebare*  
 that SUBJM not make.SUBJ3 some question  
 ‘not letting any boyar or lady to ask any question’  
 (18<sup>th</sup> c.; Văcărescu 2001: 117)

Competing CPs

- (37) a. *ar vrea ceva a întreba de elu*  
 would want something INFM ask.INF of him



- (17<sup>th</sup> c.; CV 52 apud Frîncu 1969: 90/22)
- b. *vrînd ceva să-l întrebe*  
wanting something SUBJM-CL.ACC ask.SUBJ  
(17<sup>th</sup> c.; CV 53 apud Frîncu 1969: 90/22)
- c. *au vrut de au făcut*  
have wanted DE have done  
'they wanted to do' (VC, 106 apud Frîncu 1969: 23/91)
- (38) a. *cît să nu hie apucat [a ieși un bulucă de nemți ]*  
as SUBJM not be.SUBJ3 got INFM exit.INF a group of Germans  
'enough so that a group of Germans did not get to exit' (Costin 55)
- b. *Pușcilor apucase cazacii [de le stricase roatele]*  
guns.the.DAT get.PAST3PL Cosacks.the DE CL.DAT ruin.PAST3 wheels.the  
'The Cosacks got to ruin the wheels of the guns...' (Costin 54)
- c. *nu am apucat [să-ți dzicū]*  
not have.1SG got SUBJM-CL.DAT tell.1SG  
'I didn't get to tell you' (Costin 65)

Table 1: Subjunctive complements – rate of occurrence (Frîncu 1969)

Verb class	desire: <i>vrea</i> 'want' etc.	injunction: <i>porunci</i> 'order', etc.	modal: <sup>1</sup> <i>trebui</i> 'must'	attempt: <i>încerca</i> 'try' etc.	BE+INF(LG) <i>este a ucide</i> 'is to kill', etc.	aspectuals: <i>începe</i> 'start' etc.
Rate	91,8%	90%	69,2%	31%	29,9%	2.4%

## 6. Conclusions

Gradient feature distinction (Roberts 2010) applied to Fin<sup>o</sup> in selected context

- (39) Fin<sup>o</sup> [+/-finite]; [+/-realis] > Fin1<sup>o</sup> [finite] *ca, de*  
Fin2<sup>o</sup> [irrealis] *să*

→ *să* = complementizer (versus inflectional item)

→ [mood] is in T<sup>o</sup> (subjunctive or indicative verb forms)

Cartography for Southern Italian subjunctives (D'Alessandro&Ledgeway 2010; Ledgeway 2003)

- (40) ForceP > TopP > FocusP<sub>contrast</sub> > FinP > NegP > TP > vP  
*ca, che* in Fin<sup>o</sup> ↔ *ocche* in T<sup>o</sup> = inflectional [mood] marker  
→ ~~MoodP~~

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<sup>1</sup> Table 2 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 excluding this verb class from the Table is that the calculations amalgamate *a*-infinitives and bare infinitives, although the replacement affected only *a*-infinitives. I also excluded causative verbs, because they trigger verb restructuring and vP incorporation (Harley 2002) so they are not equal to the regular control V constructions.

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