Auxiliary Cliticization and its Implications for Language Change
Virginia Hill & Gabriela Alboiu
University of New Brunswick & York University

Intro. Old Romanian (OR) and Modern Romanian (MR) both have canonical VSO word order (Pană Dingelegan 2013, 2016) and clitic auxiliaries. However, the 16th c. texts display constructions that are unexpected in a Balkan VSO (i.e., subject in Spec,vP) grammar (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998): (i) subject-AUX inversion (SAI), (ii) scrambling within TP (Dragomirescu 2013), and (iii) subject doubling with strong pronouns (Todi 2001).We argue that these properties are not random but specific to an earlier parametric setting for SVO (from the Romanization period) and we relate the SVO setting to availability of non-clitic auxiliaries.

Data. (i) *SAI* (i.e., Aux-to-C/Fin and subject in Spec,TP) is seen with short *wh*-movement, (1).

(1) mergeţi   la Iosif   şi   *ce*   **va**   **el**   <u>dzice</u>   voao   aceaia   faceţi
      go.IMP.PL   to Iosif   and   what   will.3SG   he   say   to.you   that   do.IMP.PL
      'go to Joseph and do what he tells you' (PO,145)

(ii) *Scrambling* occurs in declarative clauses, (2), with XP moved between AUX in T and the verb. (2) also shows V-to-I/Part(iciple), Kayne (1989), as the verb precedes the in situ subject.

(2) aşa   se-**au**   *tare*   <u>puternicit</u>   [vP**foametea**   t$_v$ în pământul   Canaanului]
      thus   REFL=has   strongly   accrued   hunger.the   in land.the   Canaan.the.GEN
      'thus the hunger strongly accrued in the lands of Canaan' (PO, 166)

(iii) *Doubled subjects*. A DP or a relative CP is resumed by a strong subject pronoun, (3).

(3) că   **darurile celealalte**   <u>**eale**</u>   să numără   între   daruri   cele   mai slabe
      for   gifts.the other   they   REFL=count.3   among   gifts   those   more weak
      'for the other gifts count among the less important ones' (SA 75 – Chivu 348)

Analysis. Tests (predicate deletion; coordination) indicate a non-clitic status for AUX in (1)-(3), with AUX in T (lower than Neg, higher than Asp/Part) in declaratives but AUX-to-C/Fin with [+qu] C/Force. Notably, the 16th c. texts show intra-speaker variation of (non-)clitic treatment of AUX. Constituent fronting between AUX and the verb (in the I/Part head) shows complementary distribution: <u>subjects only</u> with AUX-to-C but <u>exclusively non-subject</u> constituents in declaratives (with AUX in T). On the basis of bare quantifier subjects and adjunct XPs we identify two IP specifier positions: a Spec,TP A-position for subjects, and an A-bar Spec,PartP for XPs, as in (4).

(4)   [CP [TP **Subject** [T **Aux** [PartP **XP** [Part **V** [vP…]]]]]]

In (4), AUX-to-C excludes scrambling because the latter triggers an operator-variable chain that competes with short *wh*-movement. Declarative clauses allow for scrambling and display preverbal subjects (Spec,TP above AUX in T). Crucially, the complete reanalysis of AUX as a clitic within (4) leads to the obliteration of both the scrambling and the Spec,TP position as clitics are V-oriented in Romanian, so they require adjacency to the verb (adjacency between T and Part in declaratives; replacement of AUX-to-C with V-to-C, where the enclitics disallow an intervening Spec,TP. Any constituent fronting is then reanalyzed either at the edge of vP or to CP (CLLD to TopP). For the latter, (3) shows transitional stages, where subject fronting for discourse purposes (from A- to A-bar movement), is recognized only if a lower copy of the same item is spelled out in Spec,TP (A-position). Once the CP related analysis stabilizes, the doubling procedure becomes superfluous, while the in situ (Spec,vP) option for subjects is generalized. Thus, the cliticization of AUX triggers the disappearance of SAI, scrambling, and the evidence for Spec,TP as argumental position, while VSO and CLLD become generalized.

Conclusions. The setting for VSO does not arise from a switch in the 'directionality' parameter, but is an epiphenomenon of the cliticization of AUXs.

References

Alboiu, G.; Hill, V; Sitaridou, I. 2015. Discourse-driven V-to-C in Early Modern Romanian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 33 (4): 1057-1088.

Alexiadou, Artemis & Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Paremetrizing AGR: Word Order, Verb-Movement and EPP-Checking. *Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory* 16: 491-539.

Dragomirescu, A. 2013. O schimbare parametrică de la româna veche la româna modernă în sintaxa formelor verbale compuse cu auxiliar. *Limba română* 62(2): 225-240.

Kayne, R. 1989. Facets of Romance Past Participle Agreement. In Paola Benincà (ed.), *Dialect Variation and the Theory of Grammar*, 85-103. Dordrecht: Foris.

Nicolae, A. 2015. *Ordinea constituenţilor în limba română: o perspectivă diacronică.* Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti.

Pană Dindelegan, G. (ed). 2013. *The Grammar of Romanian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pană Dindelegan, G. (ed). 2016. *The syntax of Old Romanian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Todi, Aida. 2001. *Elemente de sintaxă românească veche*. Iaşi: Editura Paralela 45.