

(NON-)CONFIGURATIONALITY AND THE INTERNAL SYNTAX OF ADJECTIVES IN OLD ROMANIAN

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Abstract. This paper deals with three phenomena specific to old Romanian: prehead complements to adjectives (i.e., head-final adjectival structures), postadjectival degree markers, and discontinuous adjectival and degree phrases. Following recent work by Adam Ledgeway, we defend the hypothesis that the old Romanian adjectival phrase preserves relics of the head-final and non-configurational syntax of Latin. The fact that prehead complements of adjectives and postadjectival degree markers represent a genuine instance of head-finality (i.e., roll-up movement) is reinforced by the existence of discontinuous adjectival phrases (the hallmark of non-configurationality), discontinuous structures being unavailable in harmonic head-initial systems (Ledgeway, in press).

Keywords: old Romanian, Adjectival Phrase, complementation, head-final grammar, roll-up, non-configurationality

1. Aim of the paper

This paper analyses certain patterns specific to the old Romanian (OR) Adjectival Phrase (AP): the preadjectival position of the complement (1a), degree markers (such as *foarte* ‘very’) placed after the adjective (1b), and discontinuous APs, either with a dislocated complement (1c) or with a dislocated degree marker (1d). When compared to their canonically linearized counterparts, these structures appear not to involve semantic or pragmatic differences. They are all disallowed in modern Romanian (MR), at least in the standard language.

- (1) a. arme de moarte **purtătoare** poartă (CIL.~1705: 3)
 weapons of death.ACC carrying.F.PL carry
 ‘they carry lethal weapons (lit. death-bearing weapons)’
- b. era amu **bogat** foarte (CC².1581: 482)
 was now rich.M.SG very
 ‘he was very rich’
- c. **poftitoriu** mai multe decât atâtea a ști (CIst.1700–50: 35^v)
 eager.M.SG more many than so.much A_{INF} know.INF
 ‘eager to know more than this’
- d. foarte i-e **drag** (PO.1582: 157)
 very CL.DAT.3SG=is dear.M.SG
 ‘he is very dear to him/her’

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Following recent work on Latin and the passage from Latin to Romance (mainly Ledgeway 2012 and in press) we set our goal to show that the syntax of the AP in OR – similarly to the syntax of nominal phrase (Nicolae, in press) – displays a certain amount of head-finality and non-configurationality, most probably inherited from Latin.

The paper is structured as follows: in section 2, we briefly illustrate the main features of the AP in OR, throwing into prominence the differences from MR; in section 3, we present the relevant data illustrating the phenomena investigated in our paper; in section 4, we compare the Romanian data to Latin and old Italian; in section 5, we present the analysis, while section 6 is dedicated to the conclusions.

2. The main features of the AP in OR

In contrast to MR, the syntax of old Romanian APs shows a higher degree of variation. The main differences – relevant to our research – can be summarised as follows (see, for details, Brăescu, in press).

(i) *Definite article and case marking.* In OR, the association of the adjective with the definite article did not observe strict rules. In MR definite DPs, the adjective occupying the first position of the nominal phrase obligatorily hosts the definite article; by contrast, in OR, the definite article may be enclitic either to the DP-initial adjective (2c) or to the postadjectival noun (2a, b); the latter construction has been dubbed the “low definite article” (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011). The adjective may also appear in polydefinite constructions, some of which are only specific to OR ((2c, d); see Stan, in press); only relics of these constructions have been preserved in the passage to MR (see Nicolae 2013b); in the passage from its old to its modern stage, Romanian has been gradually drawn closer to the typological make-up of the other Romance languages in which the grammatical categories (case, number, definiteness) are typically marked on the constituent occupying the DP-initial position (Repina 1971, Stan 2013: 93). Moreover, agreement with the noun was not consistent in the OR AP (2e).

- (2) a. **mare** frâmseatea ta (CP¹.1577: 10^f)
 great beauty.DEF your.F.SG
 ‘your great beauty’
- b. supt **putearnică** mâna lui Dumnezeu (SA.1683: 10^v)
 under strong.F.SG hand.DEF LUI.GEN God
 ‘under God’s strong hand’
- c. **sfânta** beseareca aceasta (CL.1570: 13^b)
 holly.DEF.F.SG church.DEF this.F
 ‘this holly church’
- d. fratele cela **smeritul** (CV.1563–83: 56^f)
 brother.DEF CEL(DEF)/that humble.DEF.M.SG
 ‘the/that humble brother’
- e. învățătura legiei **creștinească** (CC².1581: 6)
 teaching.DEF law.DEF.GEN Christian.F.SG.NOM=ACC
 ‘the teaching of the Christian law’

(ii) *Complementation and word order.* In OR, complement-taking adjectives (heavy APs) are also attested in the prenominal position (3), whereas in MR complementation is authorised only if the adjective is postnominal.

- (3) a. [ascuțitele la auzire] urechi (CIL.~1705: 41)
 keen.DEF.F.PL at hearing ears
 ‘the keen ears’
 b. [făcătoare de minuni] icoane (GCond.1762: 288)
 working.F.PL of miracles icons
 ‘miracle worker icons’

In contrast to MR, where relational adjectives are constrained to the postnominal position, in OR (as in other old Romance languages – Ledgeway 2012: 56), certain relational adjectives can also appear prenominally ((4); Brăescu and Dragomirescu 2014).

- (4) a. glăsi evreiasca limbă (CV.1563–83: 18^v)
 speak.PS.3SG Jewish.DEF language
 ‘he spoke in Hebrew’
 b. înaintea alor noștri moldovenești boiari (Doc.Athos¹.1669: 181)
 before AL.GEN.PL our Moldavian boyars
 ‘before our Moldavian boyars’

It is also worth mentioning that there are certain differences in the serialization of (relational) adjectives (see also Brăescu and Dragomirescu 2014). Example (5a) shows that in OR a qualifying adjective may precede a relational one, and (5b) demonstrates that two relational adjectives depending on the same noun may be placed on both sides of the noun.

- (5) a. un veșmentu mohorātu împărătescu (CS_v.1590–602: 47^r)
 a robe sober royal
 ‘a sober royal robe’
 vs MR: un veșmânt împărătesc mohorât
 b. ce pămentești suflete drăcești (CV.1563–83: 63^v)
 but earthly souls devilish
 ‘but earthly devilish souls’
 vs MR: suflete pământești drăcești/suflete drăcești pământești

The changes from OR to MR are not random. The loss of the prenominal position of relational adjectives represents a parametric change (defined as in Roberts 2012: 320): higher N(P)-movement, to the left of relational adjectives, in modern Romanian, as opposed to very low N(P)-movement in OR (see Ledgeway 2012: 50-57, 2015b on variation in Romance; Andriani 2015 for high N(P)-movement in Barese). Together with the low position of the definite article, of the demonstratives and of the genitive, this phenomenon illustrates an essential diachronic change in the OR nominal domain, the loss of long distance Agree (see, for details, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011).

(iii) *Degree marking.* Degree marking shows significant variation in OR. The degree markers were not (fully) grammaticalised, and this state of affairs has significant influence on

the syntax of these words: more than one degree marker could appear in the same context (6a), word order was not rigid (6b–d), i.e. the degree marker could have been separated from the adjective (6b) or stranded, either in preadjectival (6c) or in postadjectival position (6d).

- (6) a. și ***mai nalt foarte*** (CC².1581: 306)
 and more tall very
 ‘and very tall’
- b. ***multu*** easte ***milostiv și ieftinu*** (CV.1563–83: 67¹)
 much is merciful and moderate
 ‘he is very merciful and moderate’
- c. fiind ***foarte cu orânduială*** bună (Prav.1780: 110)
 being very with order good.F.SG
 ‘being in very good order’
- d. ***ghizdavă*** la față ***foarte*** (BB.1688: 21)
 beautiful.F.SG at face very
 ‘with a very beautiful face (lit. very beautiful at face)’

All these features have been lost in the transition to MR. Therefore, in the passage from OR to MR a major syntactic change occurred, which is at least in part related to the loss of head-final structures and the generalisation of a fully configurational syntax.

3. Head-finality and non-configurationality in OR

In this section, we present the data related to the syntax of the adjective in OR which illustrate the existence of the residual head-final and non-configurational syntax.

3.1. Head-finality and non-configurationality

The theoretical framework, which will be detailed in section 5, is represented by recent work by Adam Ledgeway (2012, in press), who has shown that in the passage from archaic Latin (to classical and late Latin and then) to the Romance languages the most important syntactic change is the switch in the directionality of the head-parameter, from head-finality to head-initiality, in correlation with the establishment of a fully configurational syntax.

It is generally accepted that, in configurational languages, the relations between the constituents are encoded by the syntactic position they occupy, whereas non-configurational languages display a lexicocentric syntactic organisation: the relations between constituents are almost exclusively encoded by their form (affixes for case, agreement, etc.), and word order is almost free; thus non-configurational languages (Warlpiri and, as claimed by some, (archaic) Latin) appear to be characterised by a “flat” phrase structure (see Baker 2001, Ledgeway 2012: 10-29, 284-309)⁴. Ledgeway (2012, in press) convincingly demonstrates that the

⁴ “[...] there is nonetheless an inescapable fundamental difference in the grammatical organizations of Latin and Romance syntax which simply cannot be overlooked: whereas in the former grammatical relations are encoded by the forms of the words themselves through case and agreement morphology, so-called lexicocentricity [...], in the latter grammatical relations are encoded through the syntactic context of individual words organized into hierarchical phrase structure configurations” (Ledgeway 2012: 71).

non-hierarchical (/flat) syntactic organisation of Latin is only apparent, and results from the mixed setting of the head parameter, with classical Latin representing a transitional stage with both conservative head-final and innovative head-initial orders. Furthermore, Ledgeway (in press) shows that discontinuous constituents and head-final structures are tightly connected, representing actually different sides of the same phenomenon: the availability of antilocal movement; roll-up movement is a “too-short”, antilocal type of movement by default (Comp-to-Spec), while discontinuous structures are derived by the exploitation of the edge of individual functional projections which subsequently function as escape hatches in apparent violation of Ross’s (1967) *Left Branch Condition* (LBC). Ledgeway’s (in press) conclusion, to which we adhere, is that antilocal movement should be parameterized as being available only in head-final configurations. We will elaborate more on this issue in section 5.

In sum, we can conceive classical Latin as representing an intermediate stage in which two systems (head-initial and head-final) are in competition; two of the hallmarks of non-configurational syntax (Hale 1983), free word order and discontinuous structures, result in this mixed parametric setting. Our goal is to show that OR still preserves residual head-final structures (see also Nicolae, in press); we will explore the syntax of the AP and argue that prehead complements to adjectives are derived via roll-up movement, taking as strong evidence for this claim the various attested discontinuous APs which reinforce the roll-up movement analysis.

3.2. The data from OR

In what follows we will present the data from OR which illustrate the existence of head-final and discontinuous structures. Our main interest lies in the analysis of the AP but nevertheless, at the end of the section, we bring supporting evidence from other types of phrases as well, in order to show that head-finality and discontinuity are regular syntactic phenomena in OR, not limited to phrases headed by adjectives.

As we have already mentioned in the introduction, in the analysis of the OR AP, we pay attention to three relevant phenomena: prehead complements to adjectives, postadjectival degree markers, and discontinuous structures involving either complements or degree markers.

(i) *Preadjectival complements.* Ordered according to their frequency, the preadjectival complements are: PPs (7)-(9), datives (10)-(11) and comparative complements (12). Many of the adjectives taking (preposed) complements are derived with the suffix *-tor*, which displays a high degree of categorial ambiguity; words obtained via *-tor* suffixation may be thus interpreted either as adjectives or as nouns (see Pană Dindelegan 2015). Certain types of adjuncts are also attested in preadjectival positions.

The examples in (7) illustrate prehead complements to adjectives derived from verbs with the suffix *-tor*. Except for the adjectives from these examples (*născătoare* < *a naște* ‘give birth’, *aducătoare* < *a aduce* ‘bring’, *poftitoriu* < *a pofti* ‘want’, *lovitoare* < *a lovi* ‘hurt’), we have also identified in this type of construction adjectives such as: *tocmitoare* < *a tocmi* ‘produce’ (CII.~1705: 35), *îmblătoare* < *a îmbla* ‘walk’, *târătoare* < *a târî* ‘creep’ (CII.~1705: 38), *purțătoriu* < *a purta* ‘bear’ (CII.~1705: 51), *băutoriu* < *a bea* ‘drink’ (CII.~1705: 90), *iubitoriu* < *a iubi* ‘love’ (SVI.~1670: 151^r, CD.1698: 1^r). Preadjectival domain adjuncts are also attested with this type of adjectives (7e).

- (7) a. feateei de Dumnezeu născătoare (CC².1581: 553)

- girl.DEF.GEN of god.ACC give.birth.ADJ.F.SG
 ‘of the girl who gave birth to God (lit. of the God giving-birth girl)’
- b. **de grabnică moarte** **aducătoare** iaste (CII.~1705: 23)
 of sudden.F.SG death.ACC bring.ADJ.F.SG is
 ‘she can bring a sudden death (lit. she is bringer of sudden death)’
- c. ca un om **de oști** pururea **poftitoriu** (CLM.1700–50: 164^v)
 like a man of armies always want.ADJ.M.SG
 ‘like a man always eager for armies’
- d. cuvintele așa **la inimă** **lovitoare** (CII.~1705: 52bis)
 words.DEF like.this at heart hurt.ADJ.F.PL
 ‘the words hurting the heart’
- e. fiind **în trup** **muritoriu** (CC¹.1567: 74^v)
 being in body mortal
 ‘being mortal, as far as its body is concerned’

In (8), we list past participial adjectives taking a preposed complement: a *by*-phrase in (8a, b), and a *bona fide* prepositional complement in (8c). The same configuration is also available with domain adjuncts (8d, e). Participial adjectives taking a preposed complement are also attested in DRH.A.1645–6: 19 (*îndemnat* < *a îndemna* ‘advise’), 30 (*îmbiiat* < *a îmbia* ‘urge’), 31 (*asupriți* < *a asupri* ‘oppress’), 31 (*săliți* < *a sili* ‘oblige’), DDL.1679: 38 (*dăruit* < *a dărui* ‘gift’), 45 (*slavoslovit* < *a slavoslovi* ‘glorify’), CD.1698: III^r (*obicinuit* < *a (se) obișnui* ‘to get used’), AAM.1713: 7^v (*învățat* < *a învăța* ‘teach’), ACP.1714: 5^v (*vegheate* < *a veghea* ‘watch’).

- (8) a. și **de toți** **lăudații** apostoli (CL.1570: 5^f)
 and by all praised.DEF.M.PL apostles
 ‘and the apostles praised by all’
- b. **de nime** **nevoită** (DRH.A.1645–6: 12)
 by nobody forced.F.SG
 ‘forced by nobody’
- c. **de stârvurile** **împutite** totdeauna **însătate**
 of carcasses.DEF putrid.F.PL always thirsty.F.PL
și nesățurate sint (CII.~1705: 38–39)
 and un-satiated.F.PL are
 ‘and they are always thirsty and hungry for putrid carcasses’
- d. **la mânie iute**, **la foame** **nesăturată** iaste (CII.~1705: 54)
 at rage quick at hunger un-satiated.F.SG is
 ‘she is irascible and always hungry’
- e. micii **în scutece** **învăliți** copilași (CII.~1705: 83)
 little.DEF.M.PL in napkins covered.M.PL children
 ‘the little children covered with napkins’

Non-derived adjectives are also able to take preposed complements: *plin* ‘full’ ((9a); SVI.~1670: 100^r), *vreadnic* ‘worthy’ ((9b); CII.~1705: III, 23, 73; CD.1698: IV^r), *destoinic* ‘worthy’ ((9c); CC¹.1567: 48^r, 51^r). Domain adjuncts (9d) and causal adjuncts (9e) are also attested preadjectivally.

- (9) a. de oameni **plinu** (CS_v.1590–602: 16^r)
 of people full.M.SG
 ‘full of people’
- b. de toată probozirea **vreadnic** să fiu (CII.~1705: II)
 of all.F.SG admonition.DEF worthy.M.SG SĂ_{SUBJ} be.SUBJ
 ‘I should be worthy of all admonition’
- c. de pomenire **destoinice** (CD.1698: IV^v)
 of remembering worthy.F.PL
 ‘worthy of remembering’
- d. om de trup și de hire **slabu** (CLM.1700–50: 210^v)
 man of body and of character weak.M.SG
 ‘a man with a weak body and character’
- e. hergheliul de bat **răsturnat** (CII.~1705: 91)
 keeper.of.stud.of.horses of drunk fall.down.ADJ.M.SG
 ‘the keeper of the stud of horses who fell down because he was drunk (lit. the [fallen down due to drunkenness] keeper of the stud of horses)’

The adjectives taking a preposed dative complement are either derived, with the suffix *-tor* (*folositoare* < *a folosi* ‘use’, *iubitori* < *a iubi* ‘love’ in (10); *cunoscător* < *a cunoaște* ‘know’ (CII.~1705: IV), *dăruitoriu* < *da* ‘give, offer’ (CII.~1705: 55)) and of participial origin (11), or non-derived (12).

- (10) a. toate ceale sufletului și trupului **folositoare**
 all those soul.DEF.DAT and body.DEF.DAT useful.F.PL
 îți poftesc (CII.~1705: V)
 CL.DAT.2SG wish.1SG
 ‘I wish you all the things useful to the soul and body’
- b. credincioșii și lui Hristos iubitorii
 faithfull.DEF.M.PL and LUI.DAT Christ loving.DEF.M.PL
 ai noștri împărați (DDL.1679: 84)
 AL.M.PL our emperors
 ‘our faithful emperors who love God’
- c. sufletului **stricătoare** (CD.1698: 1^r)
 soul.DEF.DAT damaging.F.PL
 ‘things damaging to the soul’
- (11) însăși îngerilor **necunoscută** (ACP.1714: 11^r)
 even angels.DEF.DAT unknown.F.SG
 ‘unknown even to the angels’
- (12) a. va fi lui **milostivnic** (CC¹.1567: 31^v)
 AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF he.DAT merciful
 ‘he will be merciful to him’
- b. un miel la hire, nelacom, nemăruia
 a lamb at character un-greedy nobody.DAT
rău (CLM.1700–50: 210^v)
 mean
 ‘a kind, generous man, mean to no one’

The preposed comparative complement (i.e. the standard of comparison), the occurrence of which is conditioned by the degree markers of the adjectives, is attested with adjectives such as: *slabă* ‘thin’, *pământeană* ‘pale’ (13a), *dulce* ‘sweet’ (13b), *cu minte* ‘wise’, *cu socoteală* ‘cautious’ (CII.~1705: 21).

- (13) a. *decât un iepure* *mai slabă* *și* *mai pemintiană*
 than a rabbit more thin.F.SG and more pale.F.SG
 a fi (CII.~1705: 32)
 A_{INF} be.INF
 ‘being thinner and paler than a rabbit’
- b. *decât stârvul* *împuțit* tot *mai dulce* iaste (CII.~1705: 38)
 than carcass.DEF putrid.M.SG still more sweet is
 ‘it is still sweeter than the putrid carcass’

A non-prepositional accusative preadjectival complement of *dator* ‘indebted’ is also rarely attested (14a). Accidentally, adjectives suffixed by *-tor* can take a preposed direct object (14b), which alternates with a prepositional object (illustrated in (7)).

- (14) a. *nemică* *datoriu* nefiind (CC².1581: 485)
 nothing.ACC indebted.M.SG NEG-being
 ‘not being indebted with anything’
- b. *bunului* *și* *viață* *făcătoriului* Tău Duh (DDL.1669: 50)
 kind.DEF.DAT and life.ACC giving.DEF.DAT your spirit
 ‘to your kind and life giving spirit’

The example in (15) illustrates the genitival complement of adjectives derived with *-tor*, which is also rarely attested.

- (15) *aceaia au* *fost* *a lucrurilor*
 they AUX.PERF.3PL be.PPLE AL.GEN things.DEF.GEN
făcători (CII.~1705: 80)
 creators.ADJ.M.PL
 ‘they were the creators of these things’

(ii) *Postadjectival degree markers*. When compared to MR, the ordering of degree markers shows certain anomalies. In OR, the degree marker *foarte* (which was not completely grammaticalised) can be postadjectival (1b), (16) (see also Brăescu 2015).

- (16) a. *om de cinste și de folos* *foarte* (ULM.~1725: 93)
 man of honour and of help very
 ‘a honourable and very helpful man’
- b. *mare* *foarte* *groapă făcând* (CIst.1700–50: 37)
 big very pit making
 ‘making a very big pit’

(iii) *Discontinuous structures*. Discontinuous structures, rarely attested in our corpus, contain either an adjective and its complement (17a–c) (see also (1c)), or an adjective and its degree marker (17d–f).

- (17) a. **Plinu** e ceriul și pământul
full is heaven.DEF.NOM and earth.DEF.NOM
de slava Lui (SVI.~1670: 247^v)
of glory.DEF.ACC his
‘The heaven and the earth are full of his glory’
- b. Bețișor scurticel, carile **obicinuiți** sint împărații în mână
small.stick short which accustomed.M.PL are emperors in hand
a-l tinea (CIL.~1705: XVII)
A_{INF}=CL.ACC.M.SG keep.INF
‘A small, short stick which emperors are accustomed to keeping in their hand’
- c. Și așa **mântuiți** boierii și țara
and like.this saved.M.PL boyars.DEF and country.DEF
de domnia lui Alexandru vodă Iliș (CLM.1700–50: 214^v)
of reign.DEF LUI.GEN Alexandru vodă Iliș
‘And like this the boyars and the country have been saved by the reign of Alexandru vodă Iliș’
- d. acum **foarte** se strângu turci **mulți** (DÎ.1599: XVII)
now very CL.REFL.3PL gather Turks many.M.PL
‘very many Turks are gathering now’
- e. **mare** nevoie **foarte** (CC².1581: 591)
big need very
‘a very big need’
- f. **foarte** grije **mare** (CC².1581: VIII)
very care big
‘a very big care’

Apparently, the AP does not differ from other phrases, such as the nominal phrase and the verbal phrase (the sentence). In OR, different types of complements could appear preverbally (18) or prenominally (19).

- (18) a. hotar și săvârșit gâlceavii aceștia
limit.ACC and end.ACC quarrel.DEF.DAT this.F.SG.DAT
să **punem** (CIL.~1705: 19)
SĂ_{SUBJ} put.SUBJ.1PL
‘we should put an end to this quarrel’
- b. răsipă acestor orde a face
damage.ACC these.DAT armies.DAT A_{INF} make
n-au **putut** (CLM.1700–50: 208^r)
NEG=AUX.PERF.3PL can.PPLE
‘they could not produce damage to these armies’
- (19) a. den a lui **suirea** (CC².1581: 305)
from AL.F.SG his.GEN ascension.DEF.ACC
‘from his ascension’

- b. a altuia **pofta** (CII.~1705: 11)
 AL.F.SG other.GEN desire.DEF
 ‘the desire of another’

Nevertheless, despite the surface resemblance between the NP, AP and IP, we should mention that the preverbal complements in Romanian do not represent a genuine case of head-finality. There is evidence that in OR the lexical verb raises out of the *v*-VP domain (Nicolae, in press), just like in MR (see Nicolae 2013a, 2015, Schifano 2014 for recent accounts); hence, preverbal complements are actually displaced to the left periphery (cf. Rizzi 1997, 2004) of the clause. This account is directly supported by the fact that in the examples above the preverbal complements occur to the left of the Fin-head *să* (18a) or to the clausal negator *nu* (18b), functional elements which have been analysed as representing the lower border of the C-domain and the higher border of the inflectional domain, respectively (see Ledgeway 2015a, Nicolae 2015 for discussion).

Moreover, in our corpus survey, we did not identify head-final Complementiser Phrases or Prepositional Phrases. This result is in perfect agreement with Ledgeway’s (2012: 237-242) analysis, according to which the head-final to head-initial diachronic change is gradual, and the directionality of change is top-to-bottom (CP // PP → IP → VP → NP → AP)⁵. Thus, phrases headed by nouns and adjectives are predicted to the last projections to undergo the head-final to head-initial parametric change, a conclusion supported by our findings which show that APs (and NPs) are subject to a mixed parametric setting in OR (the head-final option is already rare in OR and is gradually eliminated in compliance with cross-categorical harmony). Further support for the existence of head-final NPs is given by discontinuous NPs⁶:

- (20) a. toată acum lumasca să lepădăm **grije** (DDL.1679: 63)
 all.F.SG now worldly.F.SG SĂ_{SUBJ} hurl.1PL anxiety.F.SG
 ‘let us now hurly all the worldly anxiety’
- b. lacomul a cuiva într-adevăr **dragostea**
 greedy.DEF AL.F.SG someone.GEN really love.DEF.ACC
 să păzască (CII.~1705: 39)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} keep.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘the greedy one should really keep someone’s love’

In this section, we have seen that prehead complements and discontinuous structures characterise not only the OR AP but also other phrases, especially the NP. The examples illustrating these phenomena are attested not only in translations, but also in original documents, hence they cannot be considered loan translations (calques) from foreign texts. Nevertheless, we have noticed that in certain texts the structures we are interested in are not attested at all (for example, CCat.1560, CPrav.1560–2, CM.1567, etc.), whereas in other texts (such as CD.1698, CII.~1705, and CLM.1750) they are richly attested. In sum, head-final structures and

⁵ “The passage from Latin to Romance is characterized by a principle of cross-categorical harmonization, such that once head-initiality becomes established in the topmost CP and PP layers, it is then free to percolate down harmonically to the phrases that these in turn embed” (Ledgeway 2012: 242).

⁶ Note that examples like the ones given here (which depict discontinuous **definite** DPs) validate Ledgeway’s (in press) analysis of discontinuous structures, which divorces the availability of discontinuous structures from the availability of articles; the correct correlation, as established by Ledgeway (in press), links discontinuous structures to the availability of roll-up, antilocal, movement (see section 5).

discontinuous constituents must have been inherited from Latin (recall that the mixed setting of the directionality parameter and discontinuous structures are the hallmarks of the perceived non-configurationality of Latin); they are rarely attested in the first period of OR, and they were massively used and revived by authors strongly influenced by Latin texts, such as Dimitrie Cantemir (CD.1698, CIL.~1705) and Miron Costin (CLM.1700–50).

In what follows, we will turn to the Latin data, in order to show that the constructions investigated here are also attested in Latin and in other old Romance languages.

4. Latin and old Italian

4.1. The Latin data

As already mentioned, Latin had a relatively free word order, derived from the mixed setting of the directionality parameter and the availability of discontinuous structures (Ledgeway 2012). In the literature dedicated to word order in Latin, we have identified relevant data related to the adjectival phrase only in Devine and Stephens (2006: 391-396), who mention that, as with the complements of nouns, complements to adjectives can either follow or precede the head, or they can be separated from the head in *hyperbaton* (the label of phrasal discontinuity in classical studies).

The examples in (21) illustrate preadjectival complements to adjectives, whereas in (22) the standard of comparison (i.e. the comparative complement) occurs in preadjectival position.

- (21) a. caelum stellis ardentibus
 sky.NEUT.SG.ACC stars.F.PL.ABL burning.ADJ.F.PL.ABL
aptum (Virgiliu, in Guțu, s.v. *aptus*)
 provided.NEUT.SG.ACC
 ‘the sky full of burning stars’
- b. locus castris **idoneus**
 place.M.SG.NOM camps.NEUT.DAT suitable.M.SG.NOM
 ‘a place suitable to lay out a camp’
 (Caesar, in Guțu, s.v. *idoneus*)
- c. alia rationis **expertia** sunt
 others.NEUT.PL.NOM reason.F.SG.GEN devoid.PL.NOM are
 ‘other are devoid of reason’ (Cicero, in Devine and Stephens 2006: 394)
- d. audacia odio **digna** (Cicero, in Gaffiot, s.v. *dignus*)
 bravery.F.SG.NOM envy.NEUT.SG.ABL worthy.F.SG
 ‘a bravery worthy of envy’
- e. nihil a me **alienum** (Terence, in Gaffiot, s.v. *alienus*)
 nothing to me.ABL unknown.NEUT.SG.ACC
 ‘nothing unknown to me’
- (22) a. Nihil est bello civili
 nothing is war.NEUT.SG.ABL civil.NEUT.SG.ABL
miserius (Cicero, in Lavency 1985: 60)
 more.awful.NEUT.SG.NOM
 ‘Nothing is more awful than the civil war’
- b. melle **dulcior** (Cicero, in Lavency 1985: 60)

honey.NEUT.SG.ABL sweeter
 ‘sweeter than the honey’

The examples below illustrate Latin discontinuous structures with complements to adjectives (23a) and with the standard of comparison (23b).

- (23) a. nec earum rerum quemquam funditus natura
 nor these things.F.GEN anyone completely nature
esse voluit expertem
 be.INF want.IND.PERF.3SG devoid.ADJ.ACC
 ‘And nature has wanted no one to be outright devoid of these faculties’
 (Cicero, in Devine and Stephens 2006: 395)
- b. longior fui quam vellem (Cicero, in Guțu, s.v. *longus*)
 longer be.IND.PERF.1SG than want.SUBJ.IMPERF.1SG
 ‘I was longer than I would have wanted’

The main difference between the Latin and the OR parallel structures is that apparently, the Latin word order appears to be driven by pragmatic/information structure factors (according to Devine and Stephens 2006), whereas the OR word order variation (at least with respect to the structures investigated here) does not seem to express information such as topic, focus, etc.

4.2. Data from old Italian

The data from old Italian are extracted from Giusti (2010: 596–598). Unfortunately, we have not been able to identify relevant data for other old Romance languages (in the grammars of old French – Buridant 2000; Lardon and Thomine 2009 – there is no relevant information for this topic).

As in OR, in old Italian head-final structures are attested alongside the regular head-initial ones (Poletto 2014: 76). Giusti (2010: 596–598) mentions that in the AP, the order adjective-complement and complement-adjective are both possible, without semantic and pragmatic differences:

- (24) a. similitudini a noi manifeste (Bono Giamboni, in Giusti 2010: 597)
 resemblances to us clear
 ‘resemblances clear to us’
- b. la cittade fosse d’uomeni vuota
 the city be.SUBJ.IMPERF of=people empty
 ‘the city would be empty of people’
 (Bono Giamboni, in Giusti 2010: 597)

Degree markers are also attested in postadjectival position in old Italian:

- (25) a. piacevole molto (Bono Giamboni, in Giusti 2010: 596)
 pleasant very
 ‘very pleasant’
- b. uno rivo chiaro molto (Dante, in Giusti 2010: 597)
 a river clear very

‘a very clear river’

As in OR, in old Italian discontinuous structures with complements (26a) and with degree markers (26b) are also attested.

- (26) a. in **più acconcio** luogo **per te**... (*Bono Giamboni*, in Giusti 2010: 598)
in more suitable place for you
‘in a place more suitable for you’
b. di **gentile** aspetto **molto** (*Dante*, in Giusti 2010: 598)
of nice look very
‘with a very nice look’

Data from old Italian support our claim that the head-final and non-configurational structures of Latin survived to a certain extent in old Romance.

5. Analysis

Several explanations have been put forth for the correlation between prehead complements and discontinuous structures in the analysis of different languages. A very interesting hypothesis, which gave rise to many debates in the literature, belongs to Bošković (2005, 2009). He analyses phenomena similar to the ones investigated in this paper as involving Left Branch Extraction and formulates the following generalisation: this type of movement is only allowed in languages without articles (e.g. Latin, certain Slavic languages) but impossible in languages with articles (such as the Romance languages). This correlation proves inconsistent since, of the Romance languages, at least old Romanian and old Italian allow for Left Branch Extraction, but also have articles.

As already mentioned, our analysis for the OR AP follows the one proposed by Ledgeway (2012, in press) for similar phenomena from Latin or early Romance. Ledgeway considers that the major parametric change which was on its way already in archaic Latin and continued in Romance is related to the head-directionality parameter: the head-final syntax is progressively replaced by the head-initial syntax, this overall change also triggering the establishment of fully configurational syntax in Romance.

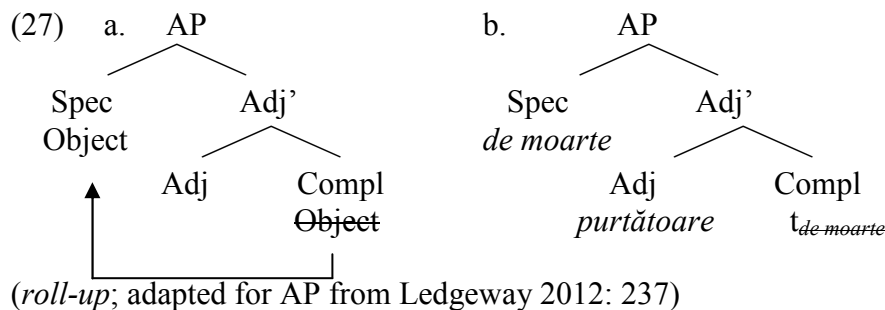
Contrary to what traditional studies mention, Latin was not a non-configurational language (Ledgeway 2012, in press; Giusti and Iovino 2014). The perceived non-configurationality of Latin can be actually broken down into two main phenomena (Ledgeway 2012: 235, Ledgeway, in press): (i) a variable word order, with complements preceding or following the head (Ledgeway, in press) and (ii) pragmatically driven word order, allowed because of the higher accessibility towards the Topic and Focus projections located in the left periphery of certain functional projections (see also Rizzi 1997, 2004); massive left-edge accessibility often produces discontinuous structures, with the edge of individual projections functioning as escape hatches which feed further movement to the clausal (CP) or clause-internal (vP) left peripheries.

This characterisation is also suitable for the head-final and discontinuous structures of OR. In what follows, we offer a more technical analysis of these data, in the spirit of Ledgeway (2012, in press).

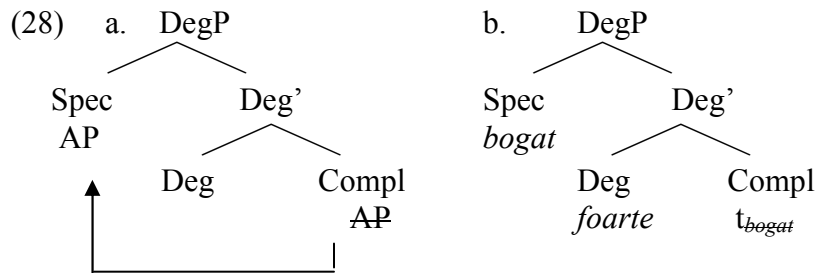
The variation between head-final and head-initial structures is explained by Adam Ledgeway using the concept *roll-up*: “when the primary complement of a verb, for example, surfaces to the left of its head, as in OV languages, it must have moved leftwards across the verb from its base-generated complement position to a derived (inner) left-peripheral modifier/Spec(ifier) position (viz. Compl → Spec movement)” (Ledgeway 2012: 236). This account of head-final structures is largely accepted; Kayne (1994) assumes a *Universal Base Hypothesis* (Spec – Head – Comp) and derives head-final configurations from underlyingly head-initial configurations via Comp-to-Spec movement. Roll-up movement has been more recently advocated, among others, by Sheehan (2009) in her movement account for head-final orders, and by Nevins (2011) in the derivation of postnominal adjectives in Catalan.

Coming back to Latin, the so-called free word order can be explained by the application of the roll-up strategy (which, in its turn, feeds further information-structure driven movement), whereas the rigid word order of the Romance languages is the effect of the loss of this type of movement.

The AP data from OR also prove that roll-up movement, illustrated in (27), and previously used to explain the structure of the Latin sentence and NP, is also used for the derivation of the OR structures presented in the previous sections. Therefore, we claim the OR allowed roll-up (i.e. head-final structures), whereas MR lost the roll-up option and is harmonically head-initial. The representation in (27) schematically illustrates the derivation of preadjectival complements like, for example, the one in (1a). Representation (28) depicts the derivation of postadjectival degree markers via roll-up (for an example such as 1b), where the adjective is raised in Spec,DegP (see also Poletto 2014: 83).



(1a) arme **de moarte** purtătoare (CIL.~1705: 3)



(1b) era amu **bogat foarte** (CC².1581: 482)

This analysis faces the following problem: this instance of movement is extremely short and it violates antilocality (i.e. the principle which bans costly movement considered to short/

local and forces the movement to pass at least a phrasal node – Grohmann 2000, 2003; Abels 2003; Bošković 2005). However, Ledgeway (in press) shows that antilocality is parametrisable, that is, languages which allow for head-final structures also allow for antilocal movement (roll-up movement being, by definition, an antilocal type of movement); by contrast, consistently head-initial languages observe antilocality and thus ban roll-up. Summing up, the generalisation of a configurational syntax in the passage from Latin to Romance is equivalent to the setting of the head parameter as head-initial and the loss of the roll-up movement.

The analysis above only accounts for the first two structures we have investigated in this paper. The existence of discontinuous structures is tightly connected to the existence of antilocal movement: Ledgeway (in press) shows that only the phrasal categories which allow for the violation of antilocality also allow for the LBC violations; thus, only under the violation of antilocality may the left edge of individual functional projections function as an escape hatch which feeds “further fronting operations to more remote and pragmatically more salient LP [left periphery] positions within the nominal and clausal superstructures” (Ledgeway 2012: 183). This fact, coupled with the idea that there is a certain directionality of change in the setting of the head parameter which places adjectives and nouns in conservative end of the scale of change, provides a straightforward explanation for the existence of discontinuities only in phrases headed by adjectives and nouns.

6. Conclusions

The results of our research can be summarised as follows:

(i) We have shown the OR AP displays a residual head-final and non-configurational grammar: head-final structures (with preadjectival complements and postadjectival degree markers) as well as discontinuous structures with complements separated from the adjective or with (AP-external) constituents intervening between the adjective and the degree marker are consistently attested. It is hard to relate these phenomena to particular pragmatic/information-structure effects, a fact which consolidates the roll-up movement analysis advocated above.

(ii) The phenomena investigated here are also attested in Latin. Thus, they have been inherited from Latin (as in other old Romance languages, such as old Italian). They are scarcely attested in the first OR texts (both translations and original documents from 16th century), but they have been extensively used by authors influenced by Latin texts, at the beginning of the 17th century. In this respect, we support the hypothesis that, in spite of the influence of Latin grammar on style of the authors who extensively use head-final and discontinuous structures, these structures are indicative of a genuine, residual, option of the grammar of OR. This perspective has also been advocated in the analysis of old Italian by Cecilia Poletto: “[t]he authors writing in this period “mimic” the structure of Latin in the only possible way they have in their own grammar” (Poletto 2014: 77).

(iii) Following mostly the work of Ledgeway (2012, in press), we have provided a unitary account for the existence of the phenomena investigated in OR as well as for their disappearance in the transition to MR: the loss of roll-up movement and, as a consequence, the enforcement of antilocality.

(iv) In the light of the recent literature and of the facts presented here, the changes from Latin to early Romance does not seem as radical as previously considered: Latin was a language in which the competition between head-final (archaism) and head-initial (innovation) was at play, and early Romance languages inherited this mixed grammar, albeit with different degrees

in the proportion of head-final and head-initial structures. Latin appears to be radically different from modern Romance, but in this development we should see a stage (early Romance) in which the differences were considerably less significant. The analysis of Romanian data presented above is illustrative of the fact that the jettisoning of conservative head-final structures by innovative head-initial structures did not have the same rhythm in the entire Romance-speaking area, as conservative head-final structures are still attested in 16-17th century Romanian.

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