Asymmetric Coordination in Old Romanian

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we discuss various types of asymmetric coordination in Old Romanian, from the earliest attested texts (the 16th c.) to the middle of the 17th c. The asymmetry of the coordination may concern either the linearization (e.g., the elements of one conjunct mirror the elements of the other conjunct) or the internal structure of the relevant constituents (e.g., the verbs may have different tenses or moods or the nouns may be differently Case marked). We have excerpted our data from several texts, both originals and translations. In Modern Romanian, there are only traces of this asymmetry, as it will be shown at the end of the article: the asymmetry of the clitics is still present in a few imperative pseudocoordinated sentences and in exclamatory desiderative sentences.

Keywords: unbalanced coordination, pseudocoordination, clitics, Wackernagel's law, Tobler & Mussafia's law, emphatic focus, gerund, chiasmus.

1. Introduction

The concept of *asymmetric coordination* refers to several types of coordination in which the conjuncts have a linear or structural difference between them or between them and the standard, symmetric structure. Asymmetric coordination is found in many languages (see the chapter on *unbalanced coordination* in Johannessen 1998: 7-51; for a description on this phenomenon in Old Romance languages and in Old Italian, see Salvi 2005, Salvi 2007a, Salvi 2007b, Salvi 2008, Salvi 2013).

The concept of asymmetric coordination is sometimes used to describe several types of semantic subordination of the conjuncts inside the coordination phrase, which makes it impossible to change the word order of the conjuncts (without altering the meaning). The second conjunct may express the result (*Am învăţat şi am luat examenul* 'I studied and passed the exam'), a temporal succession (*A mers la munte şi a luat telescaunul* 'He went to the mountainside and took the ski lift'), a condition (*Iei bacul şi primeşti o maşină* 'You pass the baccalaureate and you receive a car'), a concession (*Ea se trezeşte la 5 dimineaţa şi e plină de energie* 'She wakes up at 5 in the morning and she is full of energy') etc. This is not the type of asymmetry that we will refer to in this article.

As already mentioned, the asymmetry we discuss in this article may involve the word order or the internal structure of the constituents. The linear differences (asymmetries) between the conjuncts involve lexical items or functional elements (clitics). We describe this phenomenon as it appears in Old Romanian texts from the 16th century, up to mid 17th century.

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2. The asymmetry of clitic placement

A frequently encountered type of asymmetry, attested in all the texts from the corpus, involves the verb and its pronominal and adverbial clitics. The most frequent pattern is the one in (1), with the second conjunct (and next ones, in larger coordinated phrases) mirroring the first. The verb may be in the indicative mood (the future tense, in (2), the compound past, in (3), the simple past, in (4), the imperfect tense, in (5), various tenses of the past, in (6)) or in the imperative mood, as in (7).

(1) [*verb + (clitic+) auxiliary*] + [*(clitic+) auxiliary + verb*]

(2) a. Preîmbla-voiu astăzi toate oile tale şi voiu aleage
walk =AUX.FUT.1SG today all sheep.DEF your and AUX.FUT.1SG choose
oacărăle şi pistruile oi [...] (PO: 102)
mottled.DEF and spotted.DEF sheep.PL
'Today I will walk all your sheep and I will choose the mottled and the spotted sheep'

b. Iară tu, aceastea văzând, turbura-te- veri şi te
and you these saw.GER trouble =CL.ACC.2SG=AUX.FUT.2SG and CL.ACC.2SG
veri mâhni şi veri întoarce ochii tăi spre direapta
AUX.FUT.2SG upset and AUX.FUT.2SG turn eyes your to right
(Ev.1642: 188)
'And seeing all these things, you will be troubled and you will be upset and you will turn your eyes to the right'

(3) derept voi, derep toţi creştirii datu- se- **au şi se-** au
for you for all christians given.PPLE=CL.REFL.3SG=HAVE and CL.REFL.3=HAVE
vărsat sângele seu (MI: 192r)
shed blood.DEF his
'for you, for all the Christians His blood was given and shed'

(4) a. iară pre alt eu, carele răcniia cu hulă împrotiva Celui de
and PE_{ACC} other lion which shouted with blasphemy against CEL.GEN of
sus, smeri- l **şi- l înfricoşă** Domnul
above, humiliate=CL.ACC.3M.SG. and=CL.ACC.3M.SG. frighten Lord.DEF
(Ev.1642: 166)
'and God humiliated and frightened the other lion which shouted with blasphemy against The One above'

b. şi lepădat fu el; luo- l fata lu Faraon **şi-**
and abandoned was he; take.PS=CL.ACC.3M.SG. girl.DEF GEN Pharaon and=
l hrăni el (CP: 27)
CL.ACC.3M.SG. girl.DEF feed.PS he
'and he was abandoned; and Pharaon's daughter took him and fed him'

c. E el **luară-** l ucenicii noaptea **şi-** l
and he take.PS=CL.ACC.3M.SG. apprentices.DEF night.DEF and=CL.ACC.3M.SG
spânzurară pre păreatele cetăţii întru o coşniţă. (CP: 40)

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hang.PS on wall.DEF castle.DEF.GEN in a basket
'And the disciples took him during the night and hanged him on the wall of the castle in a basket'

d. Deci Hristos singur **află- se**, iară aceia **se duseră**.
therefore Christ alone find.PS=CL.REFL.3 and those CL.REFL.3 go.PS
(CC[2] : 598)
'Therefore, Christ was alone and they were gone'

(5) Şi un bărbat [...] purta- **l şi-** l punea prespre
and a man carry.IMPERF=CL.ACC.3M.SG. and=CL.ACC.3M.SG. put.IMPERF on
toate zilele înaintea uşilor besearecilor (CP: 11)
all days.DEF before doors.DEF.GEN churches.DEF.GEN
'And a man [...] carried him and put him every day before the doors of the churches'

(6) **Mirară- se** toţi **şi** nu se domiriia (CP: 8)
wonder.PS=CL.REFL.3 all and not CL.REFL.3 understand.IMPERF
'They all wondered and did not understand'

(7) a. voi **rodiţi- vă şi vă înmulţiţi** şi viiaţi pre
you yield fruit.IMP=CL.ACC.2PL and CL.ACC.2PL multiply.IMP and live.IMP on
pământ (PO: 34-35)
earth
'Yield fruit and multiply and live on earth'

b. Du- **mă**, pre carele sânt striin, înlăuntrul curţei tale **şi**
take.IMP=CL.ACC.1SG PE_{ACC} which (I)am foreign inside yard.GEN your and
mă satură, flămândul de mine (Ev.1642: 181)
CL.ACC.1SG satiate starved of me
'Take me, the foreign one, inside your yard and feed me, for I am starved'

c. o, iubitorilor de păcate, **spământaţi-vă şi vă milcuiţ**
oh lovers.VOC of sins scare.IMP= CL.ACC.2PL and CL.ACC.2PL beg.IMP
'Oh, lovers of the sin, be scared and beg for mercy'(Ev.1642: 189)

d. **Pocăiaşte-** te amu de răul tău acesta **şi** te **roagă** lu
repent.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG now of evil.DEF your this and CL.ACC.2SG pray DAT
Dumnezeu (CP: 35)
God
'Repent now for this sin of yours and pray to God'

We could explain these structures with Wackernagel's or Tobler & Mussafia's laws. According to Wackernagel (1892), in Old Indo-european languages clitics appear in the second position, after the first constituent or the first stressed word in the sentence. According to Tobler & Mussafia's law (1875, 1886), in Old Romance languages object pronominal clitics are always postverbal when the preverbal position is the first position in the sentence. Therefore, there is a constraint on clitics which prevents them from appearing in the first position in the sentence, because of their phonological features. The erosion of this constraint involved several steps. For old French, they were described by Hirschbühler & Labelle (2000):

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(i) The clitics are excluded from the initial position in the sentence in all types of sentences (the strict phase of the Tobler & Mussafia's law).
(ii) The clitics are allowed in preverbal position when the sentence is introduced by a coordinate conjunction (*et* in French, *şi* in Romanian, 'and')
(iii) The clitics are allowed in the initial position in all the sentences with the exception of the 'volitional' ones (the imperative and the hortative sentences).
(iv) The clitics are allowed in initial position in all the sentences with the exception of the imperative ones.
(v) The clitics are always postverbal in affirmative (positive) imperative sentences.

The second phase described by Hirschbühler & Labelle (2000) for old French seems to be present in Old Romanian as well. In examples (2-7) above, the coordinate conjunction in the first position allows the clitic in the second conjunct to appear preverbally. But in the same examples, the clitic in the first conjunct is systematically postverbal even if placing it in preverbal position would not make it be the first element of the sentence (see (2b), (3), (4a, c, d), (5), (7a, c)).

For Romanian, we also have evidence of the first phase described above, when the clitic is always postverbal. In *Codicele Bratul* (1559-1560), pronominal clitics are systematically postposed to the finite verb. The examples listed in (8) below are with coordinate phrases and the clitic is always postverbal:

(8) a. unde fu glasul acela, **adună-** se nărodul **şi**
where be.PS voice.DEF that gather.PS=CL.REFL.3 people.DEF and
mestecă- se. (CB: 14)
mingle.PS=CL.REFL.3
'Where that voice was heard, the people gathered and mingled'

b. mira- se toţi **şi** ciudia- se grăindu cătră
wonder.IMPERF=CL.REFL.3 all and anger.IMPERF=CL.REFL.3 saying to
sineş (CB: 14-15)
themselves
'They all wondered and angered saying to themselves'

c. Şi unde rugară- se ei **legănă-** se locul iuo era
and where pray.PS=CL.REFL.3 they rock.PS=CL.REFL.3 place.DEF where were
adunaţi **şi** **împlură-**se de Duhul Svântu (CB: 43-44)
gathered and fill.PS= CL.REFL.3 of Spirit.DEF Holy
'And where they prayed, the place where they were gathered rocked and they were filled with the Holy Spirit'

d. Întrară giunii, **aflară-** o moartă **şi** **scoaseră-**
enter.PS young.PL.DEF find.PS=CL.ACC.3F.SG dead and pull out.PS=
o **şi** **îngropară-**o la bărbatul ei. (CB: 48)
CL.ACC.3F.SG and buried.PS= CL.ACC.3F.SG at man.DEF her
'The young man entered, they found her dead and they pulled her out and buried her near her husband'

In a different version of the same religious text (Coresi's *Praxiul*), in the same contexts the clitic in the second conjunct is preverbal:

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(9) a. şi deca fu acest glas, adună- se gloata şi se **mestecară**.
and if was this voice gather.PS=CL.REFL.3 people and CL.REFL.3 mingle.PS
'And if that voice was heard, the people gathered and mingled'(CP: 14)

b. mirară- se şi se ciudiia, grăiia către
wonder.IMPERF=CL.REFL.3 and CL.REFL.3 anger.IMPERF say.IMPERF to
sineşi (CP: 14-15)
themselves
'They all wondered and angered, they said to themselves'

c. Şi deaca se rugară legănă- se locul iuo era adunaţi
and if CL.REFL.3 pray.PS rock.PS=CL.REFL.3 place.DEF where were gathered
şi se **împlură** toţi de Duhul Sfânt (CP: 43-44)
and CL.REFL.3 fill.PS all of Spirit.DEF Holy
'And if they prayed, the place where they were gathered rocked and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit'

d. Întrară junii şi aflară- o moartă şi scoaseră de
enter.PS young.PL.DEF and find.PS=CL.ACC.3F.SG dead and pull out.PS that
o **îngropară** ia lângă bărbatul ei. (CP: 48)
CL.ACC.3F.SG buried.PS she near man.DEF her
'The young man entered and found her dead and pulled her out and buried her near her husband'

In CB, the clitic is postverbal even if the verb is in the negative form, while in CP the clitic advances between the negation and the verb:

(10) a. [...] **şi** nu domiria- se, unul către altul grăindu (CB: 17)
and not understand.IMPERF=CL.REFL.3 one to another saying
'and they did not understand, saying to each other'

b. [...] şi nu se domiriia, unul către alalt grăiia (CP: 17)
and not CL.REFL.3 understand.IMPERF one to another say.IMPERF
'and they did not understand, they said to each other'

The postposition of the clitics in CB is not necessarily ruled by Tobler & Mussafia's law. Even in the contexts in which the preposing of the clitic would not be disallowed by Tobler & Mussafia's law (because the clitic wouldn't be the first element in the sentence), the clitic is also postverbal (see the examples in (11) and the examples in (8)).

(11) a. Ei, amu, **adunară-** se, întrebară elu grăindu: "Doamne, au
they therefore gather.PS=CL.REFL.3 ask.PS he saying Lord whether
întru vara aceasta tocmi- veri Împărăţiia lu Israil?" (CB: 7)
in summer.DEF this arrange=AUX.FUT.2SG kingdom GEN Israel
'Therefore they gathered and asked him: "Lord, in this summer will you arrange Israel's kingdom?"'

b. Acesta Isus, ce **înălţă-** se dintru voi spre ceriu, aşijdere veni-
this Jesus which ascend.PS=CL.REFL.3 from you to sky likewise come=
va în ce chipu văzut elu mergându spre ceriu (CB: 8)
AUX.FUT in what face saw him going to sky

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'This Jesus, who ascended from among you to the sky, will come back with the same face you saw him going to the skies with'

c. Atunce **întoarsără-se** întru Ierusalim de la măgura ce zice-
then return.PS= CL.REFL.3 into Jerusalem from hill which say.PRES=
se Eleon (CB: 8-9)
CL.REFL.3 Eleon
'Then they returned to Jerusalem from the hill which they call Eleon'

d. zis- ai: dereptu ce **împruorară-se** limbile şi
said =have.2SG for what mix.PS= CL.REFL.3 languages.DEF and
oaminii **învăţară-** se deşartelor? (CB: 42)
people.DEF get accustomed.PS=CL.REFL.3 vanities.DAT
'You said: why did the languages mix and the people get accustomed to the vanities?'

There are other texts from the corpus in which the second conjunct does not necessarily have the clitic in preverbal position, thus the coordination is not 'asymmetrical'. In the same text, the asymmetric coordinate phrases may alternate with 'symmetric' ones, in which the clitics have a postverbal position, as in (12):

(12) a. toate lucrurile beseareciei şi împărăteştile **turbură-se** şi
all things church.GEN and imperial.DEF fret=CL. REFL.3 and
răsipescu-se (CC^2: 3)
dissipate=CL.3PL.REFL
'All the imperial things and those belonging to the church become turbid and dissipate'

b. după şapte dzile **lăsa-voiu** ploaia spre pământ 40 de dzile şi 40 de
after seven days let= AUX.FUT.1SG rain.DEF on earth 40 of days and 40 of
nopţi şi strânge-voiu toată firea ceaia ce am făcut
nights and gather= AUX.FUT.1SG all being that which have.1SG made
'After seven days I will let the rain on earth for 40 days and 40 nights and I will gather all the beings which I made' (PO: 29)

For the examples in (12), we could argue that the conjunctive coordinator *şi* 'and' is not really in the first position, as it is not a fully lexical word. However, in other contexts other words or phrases could appear between the coordinator and the [verb + clitic] complex, so that the clitic could surface in preverbal position (the same situation as in CB, see (11)).

In (13) the clitic is postverbal although it would not be the first element of its sentence if it were placed preverbally.

(13) a. mulţi oameni creştineşti întru multe chipuri de credinţe şi de învăţături noao
many people Christian in many types of faiths and of teachings new
pleacă- se şi întru părerile loruş **sălbătăcescu-se** (CC^2: III)
submit.PRES=CL.REFL.3 and in beliefs.DEF their estrange.PRES=CL.REFL.3
'Many Christian people submit themselves to many types of faiths and new teachings and estrange themselves from their beliefs'

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b. mulţi feciori [...] **depărtează- se** de Dumnezău [...] şi cu
many boys estrange.PRES=CL.REFL.3 from God and with
cugetul **împreunează- se** cu dimonii (Ev.1642: 176-177)
mind.DEF join.PRES= CL.REFL.3 with demons.DEF
'Many boys estrange from God and in their mind they join the demons'

We can conclude that the position of the clitic in coordinate structures in Old Romanian is not necessarily related to avoiding the first position. In the same texts, the clitic in the second conjunct can occur before or after the verb, with the exception of CB, where the clitic is always postverbal. Therefore, the Tobler & Mussafia law (in its strict phase) does not fully explain the asymmetry of clitic placement in coordinate phrases in Old Romanian. On the one hand, a clitic almost never appears in the first position, with the exception of the coordinate phrase, which could lead us to an explanation based on Tobler & Mussafia's law: the conjunction occupies the first position, and the clitic comes in second position. On the other hand, in the same text the clitic is postverbal in some coordinate phrases and preverbal in others, with no apparent rule for its distribution, which means that the position of the clitic is not predictable only from the Tobler & Mussafia law. According to Alexandru Nicolae (pc.), an alternative explanation would come from the height of verb movement in Old Romanian: assuming that pronominal clitics have a fixed position on the clausal spine, the verb may target different positions on the spine, either above or below the clitic.

For a more detailed description of the position of the clitic, we should note that in main clauses, the clitic systematically avoids the first position in all the texts from the corpus. There are two main strategies to avoid placing the clitic in the first position: the clitic is postposed to the verb, as in (14) or the sentence begins with a transition word (a sentence connector), such as *şi* 'and' *că* 'that/for/because', as in (15).

(14) a. **Mulţemescu- ţi**, Doamne, că nu sânt ca alţi oameni: [...].
thank.PRES.1SG=CL.2SG Lord that not (I)am like other people
Postescu- **mă** de doao ori în săptămână (Ev.1642: 163)
fast.PRES.1SG=CL.1SG of two times in week
'Thank you, Lord, for I am not like other people: [...] I fast two times a week'

b. Scrisu- se- au ceaste cărţi sfinte, anii 7090. (PO: 11)
written=CL.REFL.3=have these books holy years 7090
'These holy books were written in the year 7090'

c. Scris- am eu, Ion, şi frate- miu, Stan, Meleşeştii acesta zapis
written=have.1SG I John and brother=my Stan Meleşescu.PL this document
'I, John, and my brother, Stan Meleşescu wrote this document' (DÎ.1592: VIIIb)

(15) a. **Şi se-** au început aceste cărţi luna noiembrie (PO: I)
and CL.REFL.3=have begun these books month November
'And this book was begun in the month of November'

b. **Şi se sculă**, duse- se cătră părintele lui. (CC^2: 11)
and CL.REFL.3 stood up went=CL.REFL.3 to parent.DEF his
'And he stood up, went to his parent'

c. **Ş-** au lasat pre această sfânta slujbă (MI: 192r)
and=have left PE_{ACC} this holy.DEF service

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'And he left this holy service'

d. să închipuim mâniia ursului, ce- i e foarte dragă
SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ imagine.SUBJ anger bear.DEF.GEN which=CL.DAT.3SG is very dear
miiarea. **Şi- l mănâncă** albinele la nas (FD: 489r)
honey and=CL.ACC.3SG eat bees.DEF at nose
'Let us imagine the anger of the bear who likes honey very much. And the bees eat his nose'

e. **Că ne- au scumpărat** pre noi din blăstemul păcatelor
that CL.ACC.1PL=have redeemed PE$_{ACC}$ us from curse.DEF sins.DEF.GEN
'That he redeemed us from the curse of sins' (MI: 185r)

Examples with the clitic in first position are very rare in our corpus:[1]

(16) Oamenii ce născură în lume supt o stea de planite, aceia au fire şi
people.DEF which were born in world under a star of planets those have character and
se iubescu unii cu alalţi. [...]. **Se arată** şi întru meşteri,
CL.REFL.3 love some with others CL.REFL.3 show.PRES also in craftsmen
că se iubescu toţi pentru meşterşugul lor. (FD: 469r-469v)
that CL.REFL.3 love all for craft.DEF their
'Those who are born in this world under a star, they are the ones who have conscience and love one another. It is also shown among craftsmen, as they love one another for their craft'

If the restriction on clitic placement is not necessarily triggered by the need to avoid the first position, then we should search for other factors which determine the word order inside the [verb - clitic] complex.

Alboiu & Hill (2012), using a corpus from the 17th and the 18th century, reached the conclusion that the occurrence of the verb in the first position of the sentence cannot be explained by Wackernagel's law. They suggest that the verb moves over the position of the pronominal clitic or the auxiliary, TP (most of inflection features are associated with TP – mood, tense, agreement). The cartography of the CP domain (Rizzi (1997), is given in (17).

(17) ForceP > TopP > FocP > ModP > FinP > (NegP) > TP > vP

Alboiu & Hill (2012) argue that the verb moves to Focus as a result of discourse factors. In their corpus, the movement of the verb in the first position is optional:

(18) **Să** vedea că după acest război fără noroc, ce făcusă
CL.REFL.3 see.IMPERF that after this war without luck which make.PLUPERF

[1] According to Nicolae & Niculescu (2014), who analyzed an extensive corpus of 16th c. Romanian texts, in 45% of the matrix clauses the clitic is placed in second position. In 75-90% of subordinate clauses the clitic occupies the second position. The authors show that with the exception of one text, no pronominal clitic in first position is attested in 16th century translations. By contrast, in original texts, pronominal clitics are attested in first position. This contrast indicates that the syntax of the Slavonic texts had an influence on the syntax of the clitics in Romanian translations.

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leşii cu Ştefan Vodă, va fi perirea lor.
Polish men with Ştefan Vodă will be death.DEF their
(Ureche/Panaitescu 1958: 115, apud Alboiu & Hill 2012, (2b))
'It was obvious that after this luckless war between the Polish men and Ştefan Vodă, their perishment will come'

There are four types of focus operators: contrastive focus, verum focus, question focus and emphatic focus (Höhle 1992; Krifka 2007; Richter & Mehlhorn 2006, *apud* Alboiu & Hill 2012: 22). They are all present in Old Romanian (Alboiu & Hill use the term *Early Modern Romanian,* for the 17th and the 18th centuries). Some of them are realized through the fronting of a constituent (contrastive focus and question focus), the others are realized by moving the verb to Focus (verum focus and emphatic focus). Alboiu & Hill (2012) exemplify the emphatic focus with the following example from Grigore Ureche (mid 17th c.):

(19) Deciia Ştefan Vodă strâns- au boierii ţării [...] **şi** i-
therefore Ştefan Vodă gathered=have boyars.DEF country.DEF.GEN and CL.ACC.3PL=
au întrebatu pre toţi [...]
have asked PE_{ACC} all
(Ureche/Panaitescu 1958: 91, apud Alboiu & Hill 2012, their (23a))
'Therefore Ştefan Vodă gathered the country's boyars and asked all of them [...]'

Emphatic focus, which can also be called narrative focus, is present in declarative sentences. It is used when a new event is introduced in the discourse (like in (19)) or when the narrator wishes to highlight the event. As we can see, in example (19) we have the same type of asymmetric coordination we discussed above, with the pattern in (1). The first conjunct has a postverbal clitic, while in the second conjunct the clitic is preverbal. Alboiu & Hill (2012) argue that in (19) the second conjunct is elaborating on an event which was already introduced by the first conjunct; therefore the verb is not fronted before the clitic.

A similar explanation can be proposed for the asymmetric coordinate phrases exemplified in (2)-(7). However, given the frequency of the asymmetric conjuncts in our corpus and the fact that the clitic very rarely occurs in the first position of the sentence, a more complex explanation should be adopted. In some stages of Old Romanian, Tobler & Mussafia's law must have been active. A piece of evidence for this is the systematic postposition of the clitic in *Codicele Bratul,* one of the oldest text from the corpus. The other texts from our corpus belong to a stage of the language when Tobler & Mussafia's law was eroded, as it happened in other Old Romance languages as well. We should also add to this explanation the fact that many texts from old Romanian were translations from Slavonic, a language in which this law was active.

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3. Linear asymmetry with stylistic effects (chiasmus)

The word order of the conjuncts may be (a)symmetrical for stylistic reasons, in order to contrast words, ideas etc. (see the antonyms in (20e)). The items we found in this type of structures are the verb or the adjective and their arguments or adjuncts. Conjunctive, disjunctive or adversative conjuncts can be found in this mirror structure (A B & B A) [2]:

(20) a. Învăţătura **doarme la inemă**, e nu **întru cărţi** zace. (FD: 523v)
knowledge.DEF sleeps at heart and not in books lies
'Knowledge sleeps near one's heart, it doesn't lie in books.'

b. Dară voiu mânca carne de giuncu sau sânge de iedu
therefore AUX.FUT.1SG eat meat of calf or blood of kid
voiu bea? (PH: 42r)
AUX.FUT.1SG drink
'Therefore will I eat a calf's meat or will I drink a kid's blood?'

c. Cornilie, **auzită fu rugăciunea ta** şi milostenia ta pomeni-
Cornilie.VOC heard was prayer.DEF your and mercy.DEF your mention.PS=
se înaintea lu Dumnezeu. (CP: 47)
CL.REFL.3 before GEN God
'Cornilie, your prayer was heard and your mercy was mentioned before God'

d. rog voi [...] se **gustaţi de** trupul lui Hristos şi de
ask.PRES.1SG you $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ taste from body.DEF GEN Christ and from
sângele său să beaţi. (MI: 184r)
blood.DEF his $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ drink
'I ask you to taste Christ's body and drink from his blood'

e. Aibi liubov cu bucuria, şi cu **răul** aibi **vrajbă**! (FD: 486r)
have.IMP love with joy.DEF and with evil.DEF have.IMP discontent
'Love the joy and hate the evil!'

A word from the first conjunct is frequently repeated in the second conjunct, for stylistic reasons:

(21) a. nu iubitori de lume, ce **de Dumnedzău** iubitori (MI: 185r)
not lovers of world but of God lovers
'not loving the world, but loving God'

b. Bogăţiia ce se strânge **de pripă, de pripă se**
wealth which CL.REFL.3 gather.PRES of haste of haste CL.REFL.3
împuţineadză (FD: 506v)
waste.PRES
'The wealth that is gathered hastily is wasted hastily'

[2] Chiasmus may also be found in subordinate structures:

(i) Şi cine te **măngânie cu** limba, cu coada împunge. (FD: 519r)
and who CL.ACC.2SG caresses with tongue.DEF with tail.DEF stings
'The one who caresses you with the tongue stings you with the tail.'

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c. cine aşa prost laudă, ori bine fiind, ori nefiind bine, nu iaste acela iubitori
who so badly praises either well being or not being well not is that loving
'He who praises so badly, whether it's good or bad, is not a loving person'
(CC[2] : 380)

We could include here examples with clitics as well, with the word order *clitic + verb* & *verb + clitic*, the reverse word order of the asymmetric structures we discussed above, in section 2. This type of asymmetry is triggered by stylistic reasons:

(22) a. aceastea **mă** muncesc şi hainele spurcate **ruşinează-**
these CL.ACC.1SG torment.PRES and clothes.DEF dirty shame.PRES=
mă (Ev.1642: 181)
CL.ACC.1SG
'These things torment me and the dirty clothes shame me'

b. Mulţi priiatnici la veselie se **află**, iară la nevoie afli- te
many friends at joy CL.REFL.3 find and at need find=CL.ACC.2SG
însuţ. (FD: 505r)
yourself
'When you are joyful you have many fiends, but when you are in need you find yourself alone.'

c. cu nusul am mâncat şi **băut-** am cu nusul după învisul lui den
with him have eaten and drunk=have with him after victory.DEF his from
moarte (CP: 48)
death
'I ate with him and I drank with him after his victory over death.'

d. Fratele nu-l va **izbăvi**, au **izbăvi-l-**
brother.DEF not=CL.ACC.3SG AUX.FUT save whether save=CL.ACC.3SG=
va omul? (PH: 41r)
AUX.FUT man.DEF
'His brother will not save him, will the man save him?'

4. The asymmetry of the verbal moods

The conjuncts could have different verbal moods in Old Romanian, in some contexts. For instance, a verb in an inflectional mood (the indicative, the subjunctive, the imperative) could be coordinated with a verb in a non-inflectional form (the gerund and the infinitive):

(i) gerund + indicative:

(23) a. eu Şerban diiacu, meşterul mare a tiparelor, şi cu Marien
I Şerban clerk master.DEF great AL_{GEN} printing offices and with Marien
diiac dându în mâna noastră ceaste cărţi, cetind şi ne
clerk give.GER in hand.DEF our these books read.GER and CL.DAT.1PL
plăcură şi le- am scris voo (PO: 11)
like.PS.3PL and CL.3PL=have written you.DAT

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'I, Şerban the clerk, great master of the printing offices, and Marien the clerk were given these books, we read them, we liked them and we wrote them to you'

b. acesta au venit osândit şi cu faţa ruşinată şi cu capul său în
this has come punished and with face.DEF ashamed and with head.DEF his in
pământ **bătea** şi lăcrimi multe dentr-ochi **vărsând**, picioarele mie
ground hit.IMPERF.3SG and tears many from=eyes shed.GER legs me
spălând şi cu plângere de lacră-mi **grăiaşte** (Ev.1642: 184)
wash.GER and with crying of tears=CL.DAT.1SG say.PRES.3SG
'This one came and he was punished, his face was full of shame and with his head he hit the ground and he shed many tears, he washed my legs and he speaks shedding tears'

c. iară ei îmblându în cetăţi dereptu sfântu cuvântul tău şi sântu **ucişi**
and they walk.GER in cities for holy word.DEF your and are killed
şi dzua şi noaptea (CS: 11v)
both day and night
'And they walk in the cities spreading your teachings and they are killed day and night'

A possible source for this type of asymmetrical conjuncts would be the church Slavonic, where this type of coordination was also attested (Olteanu 1974:158, 164, *apud* Niculescu 2014). Old Romanian religious texts were sometimes influenced by the original ones written in Slavonic.

An explanation of this asymmetrical coordination is that the gerund could be the predicate of the sentence, despite its lack on inflection (Alboiu & Hill 2013; Edelstein 1972:120-1; Niculescu 2014), unlike in Modern Romanian, where the gerund is essentially an adjunct (GR:245-254) – see (24). Thus, the coordination of a verb in the gerund form and a verb in the indicative mood is a coordination of two predicates:

(24) a. Petru stându naintea porţiei. (CB:129) (cf. Niculescu 2014)
Peter stay.GER before gate.DEF.GEN
'Peter stayed before the gate'

b. Traian întâiu, împăratul, supuindu pre dahii.
Trajan first emperor.DEF defeat.GER PE_{ACC} Dacians
Dragoş apoi în moldoveni premenindu pre vlahi.
Dragoş then in Moldavians change.GER PE_{ACC} Wallachians
(Costin, Letopiseţul, cf. Alboiu & Hill 2013:(1)).
'First the emperor Trajan defeated the Dacians. Then, Dragoş changed the Wallachians into Moldavians.'

(ii) subjunctive + infinitive:

In old Romanian, a subjunctive could be coordinated with an infinitive form, in conjunctive (25) or adversative structures (26):

(25) a. Cu pamete sufletească **să** **prăznuim**, şi cu cinste a
with mercy spiritual $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ celebrate.SUBJ and with honesty A_{INF}

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pomeni el şi toţi sfinţii patriarşi (CC^2: 549)
mention.INF he and all saints.DEF patriarchs
'To celebrate with mercy in our souls and to mention him and all the saint patriarchs with honesty'

b. au dat noao Hristos sufleteaşte **să praznuim** şi sufleteaşte a
has given us Christ spiritually $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ celebrate.SUBJ and spiritually A_{INF}
îmbla. (MI: 185r)
walk.INF
'Christ planned for us to celebrate with our souls and to walk with our souls'

c. cătră bărbaţi <ne>obrezuiţi **nu avăm** a întra şi **să mâncăm**
to men rude not have.PRES.1PL A_{INF} enter.INF and $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ eat.SUBJ
cu nuşii! (CP: 50)
with them
'We shall not enter the rude men's house and eat with them'

(26) Şi nu numai bucatele şi avuţiia şi măriia **să lăsăm** pentru
and not only food and fortune and greatness $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ leave.SUBJ for
Hristos, ce şi până la sânge a ne protivi (CC^2: 67)
Christ, but also up-to blood A_{INF} CL.REFL.ACC match.INF
'And to leave away for Christ not only food and wealth and greatness, but to follow him to the blood'

This type of coordination was made easier by the functional equivalence of the subjunctive and the infinitive in Romanian (in some contexts), the same equivalence which favored the replacement of the infinitive by the subjunctive (GR: 221).

(iii) indicative + subjunctive:

(27) a. "Şi va paşte", zice, "oamenii miei, izrailii": nu-i va
and will guard says men my Israelis not=CL.ACC.3PL AUX.FUT.3SG
munci sau **să-** i **mănânce**. (CC^2: 563)
torture or $SĂ_{SUBJ}$=CL.ACC.3PL eat.SUBJ
'And he will guard, he says, my men, the Israelis: he will not torture or destroy them.'

b. Şi noi, cum lu vrem uita **şi să** nu-l plângem!
and we how CL.ACC.3SG AUX.FUT forget and $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ not=CL.ACC.3SG cry
(FD: 484v)
'And we, how could we forget and not regret him!'

c. alalţi nu văm osândi, nici ne **văm sălbătăci**
others not AUX.FUT.1PL punish neither CL.ACC.1PL AUX.FUT.1PL become wild
de osânda vecinilor, **nici să ne scârbim**
from punishment neighbours.DEF.GEN neither $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ CL.ACC.1PL anger.SUBJ
derept împutarea (CC^2: 10)
for quarrel
'We shall not punish others, nor shall we become violent because of our neighbours' punishment, nor shall we anger and seek a quarrel'

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In all the structures excerpted from the corpus, the indicative verb is in the future tense and the subjunctive verb from these contexts expresses potential events, placed in the future. Thus, both coordinated verbs express future events. The modal distinction between real events (expressed by the indicative) and potential events (expressed by the subjunctive) is attenuated in these contexts.

(iv) subjunctive + imperative:

(28) se nu fie ţie Dumnedzeu nou, nice te închinra a
SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ not be.SUBJ you.DAT God new neither CL.ACC.2SG devote to
Dumnedzeului celui striinru (PH: 69v)
God.DAT the.DAT foreign
'You will not have a new God, nor will you devote yourself to a foreign God.'

This type of coordination is facilitated by the fact that both the subjunctive and the imperative forms can be used in hortatory main clauses, in Old as well as in Modern Romanian (GR:45). The examples (29a, b) from Modern Romanian show the use of these two verbal moods, which have different presuppositional (temporal) implications:

(29) a. Să nu pleci! – the event is projected into the future
SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ not go.SUBj.2SG
'Don't go!'
b. Nu pleca! – the event is placed in the present
not go.IMP
'Don't go!'

(v) indicative + infinitive

In Old Romanian, asymmetric coordination may arise, whereby the first conjunct is in indicative, whereas the second is in infinitive, as in (30). In particular, the indicative is an aspectual verb, whereas the infinitive should be its sentential complement. Instead, the infinitive appears under coordination with the matrix verb. This type of structure is also called *pseudocoordination* (Johannessen 1998):

(30) atunce **începură şi** a **grăi**: [...] (CC^2: 109)
then begin.PS.3PL and A$_{INF}$ speak.INF
'Then they began to speak'

The canonical construction with sentential complementation is also present, as in (31).

(31) Hristos începu a **grăi** cu nusa (CC^2: 171)
Christ begin.PS.3SG A$_{INF}$ speak.INF with her
'Christ began to talk to her'

Symmetrical pseudocoordination is also present in Old Romanian, whereby both conjuncts have the same morphology for grammatical mood and tense, as in (32).

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(32) În zilele acealea începu Elisafta, muiarea lui,
in days.DEF those began Elisafta woman.DEF his
şi se **mănă** a cincea lună
and CL.REFL.3 beget the fifth month (Coresi Tetr 2 {111v})
'His woman, Elisafta, began to beget in the fifth month'

Modern Romanian preserved only the symmetrical pseudocoordination (GR:513). For example, the same aspectual verb in indicative past tense is coordinated with its disguised sentential complement that comes as an indicative past tense as well, as in (33). If the verbal morphology is different, the canonical sentential complementation applies, as in (34).

(33) El începu / se **apucă** **şi** scrise o reclamaţie.
he begin.PS.3SG CL.REFL.3 start.PS.3SG and write.PS.3SG a complaint
'He began to write a complaint'

(34) El începu **să** scrie o reclamaţie.
he begin.PS.3SG $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ write.SUBJ.3SG a complaint
'He began to write a complaint'

(vi) indicative (future tense) + imperative:

(35) iară de ce au greşit, dumneata veri **căuta** leage cum va hi sau
and about what have wronged you AUX.FUT search law how AUX.FUT be or
îngăduiaşte dumneata (DÎ.1600: CXV)
allow.IMP.2SG you
'As for what they have done wrong, you will search a law for it or condone it'

5. The asymmetry of verbal tenses

Two coordinated verbs may have different verbal tenses (without there being a rule which imposes a certain tense on the second verb; i.e. the SOT rule is not functional in Romanian). There are two types of temporal asymmetries in the corpus:

(ii) compound past + simple past:

(36) a. Şi v- am dat voao grâu şi vin şi unt şi vă
and CL.DAT.2PL=have given you.DAT wheat and wine and butter and you.ACC
săturaiu (MI: 172r)
satiate.PS.1SG
'And I gave you wheat and wine and butter and I satiated you'

b. acela pentru iubirea de oameni pre pământ s- au **arătat** în chip de
that for love.DEF of men on earth CL.REFL.3=have shown in face of
om şi cu oameni **vieţui** (Ev.1642: 174)
man and with men live.PS.3SG

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'That man showed himself on earth with a human face for his love of men and he lived with men'

c. mâniiaiu a ta de oameni iubire şi binele tău înstreinaiu
anger.PS.1SG AL_{GEN} your of people love and good.DEF your alienate.PS.1SG
şi avuţiia ta rău o pierduiu, **lăcuita**-m curveaşte
and fortune.DEF your badly CL.ACC.3SG lose.PS.1SG. lived= have in sin
împreunatu-m- am cu necuraţii diavolii cu mintea mea şi
joined= CL.ACC.1SG.=have with cursed devils with mind.DEF mea and
atâta vreame am lucrat lor! (Ev.1642: 181)
so much time have worked they.DAT
'I angered your love of people and I lost your kindness and your fortune, I lived in sin, my mind joined the cursed devils and I worked for them for so long!'

(ii) simple past + present tense:

(37) a. mulţi feciori tineri **îmbătară**- se **şi** fără minte **umblă**
many boys young get drunk.PS.3PL=CL.REFL.3 and without mind walk
'Many young boys got drunk and they walk mindlessly' (Ev. 1642: 177)

b. Părintele şi foarte se milostivi şi- l
father.DEF also very CL.REFL.3 pity.PS.3SG and=CL.ACC.3SG
milui şi tinde cu milă mâinile sale şi-
feel compassion.PS.3SG and stretch.PRES.3SG with pity hands.DEF his and=
l cuprinde pre el (Ev.1642: 181)
CL.ACC.3SG embrace.PRES.3SG PE_{ACC} he.ACC
'His father pitied him very much and felt compassion for him and stretched his hands with pity and embraced him.'

This type of asymmetry has a stylistic effect, as it occurs only in narrative contexts.

6. The asymmetry of verbal auxiliaries and markers

The same verbal form may be realized asymmetrically in coordinate structures. A verb in the future tense may lack the auxiliary in the second conjunct, while the first conjunct has the standard form, with auxiliary:

(38) doi ani [...] în carii nice vor ara nice secera (PO: 159)
two years [...] in which neither will.PL plough neither harvest
'two years during which neither will they plough nor will they harvest'

When two verbs in the subjunctive mood are coordinated, the second one may lack the subjunctive marker *să*. The asymmetry of this type is rare.

(39) a. necum se o ia sau da lor (MI: 193v)
not at all $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ CL.ACC.3SG take.SUBJ or give.SUBJ them

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'in no way to take it or give it to them'

b. vă îndemn **să** nu facem noi aceasta fără socotinţă
CL.ACC.2PL advise.1SG SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ not make.SUBJ.1PL we this without thinking
şi ne protivim[3] cătră Dumnedzeu (MI: 193v)
and CL.ACC.1PL follow.SUBJ.1PL to God
'I advise you not to do this without thinking and to follow God'

In most old Romanian texts, when two infinitives are coordinated, both of them are preceded by the infinitive marker *a.* Examples such as the one in (40), where the second verb lacks the infinitive marker, are rare:

(40) împlu Satana inima ta **a minţi** Duhului Svântu şi ascunde dim
fill.PS Satan heart.DEF your A$_{INF}$ lie.INF Spirit.DEF.DAT holy and hide.INF from
preţul satului (CB: 46)
price.DEF village.DEF.GEN
'Satan made you lie to the Holy Spirit and hide the price of the village'

7. Asymmetric markers of the grammatical relations

In Romanian, the Dative Case is marked by inflection on nouns, and on the determiner, and by a preposition in non-inflecting words. In our corpus of Old Romanian, we found examples with one conjunct employing the preposition and the second conjunct, Dative inflection:

(41) ziseră **cătră Petru şi** apostolilor (CB: 24)
say.PS.PL to Petru and apostles.DEF.DAT
'they said to peter and to the apostles'

Another asymmetric coordination involves direct object conjuncts, one with the prepositional *differential object marker* (DOM) marker *p(r)e,* the other one without it. This variation does not affect the checking of the structural Case (i.e., Accusative) of the DP in direct object position.

(42) Nu ocări **săracul**, nice laudă pre bogatul, că anul se întoarce
not blame poor.DEF neither praise DOM rich.DEF for year.DEF CL.REFL.3 turn
ca roata (FD: 507r)
like wheel.DEF
'Don't blame the poor nor praise the rich man, for the year turns like the wheel'

In coordinate phrases with a joint reading, the definite article is marked on both coordinated nouns in standard Romanian. In Old Romanian, the second coordinated noun could surface without the definite article:

[3] This subjunctive form is identical to the indicative one (in present tense).

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(43) eu întru întâiu mâniiaiu pre milostivul **şi** ieftin Părintelui mieu
I in first anger.PS.1SG DOM merciful.DEF and patient father.DEF my
'Firstly I angered my merciful and patient Father' (Ev.1642: 179)

8. Diachronic changes

In Modern Romanian, the asymmetry of clitic placement is preserved in some imperative formulas, as in (44).

(44) Du- te şi te culcă!
Go.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG and CL.ACC.2SG sleep.IMP
'Go to sleep!'

The structure in (44) may be considered a case of pseudocoordination, the second conjunct being rather an adjunct of the first one. The same sentence can be expressed with the second conjunct in the subjunctive mood, subordinated to the first conjunct:

(45) Du- te să te culci!
Go.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG SA_{SUBJ} CL.ACC.2SG sleep.SUBJ
'Go to sleep!'

Only the pseudocoordinated phrases allow the asymmetry in (44). Two imperative verbs in a relation of 'pure' coordination must be symmetrical, with postverbal clitics in both conjuncts:

(46) a. *Tunde- te şi te bărbiereşte![4] vs.
cut.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG and CL.ACC.2SG shave.IMP
a'. Tunde- te şi bărbiereşte-te!
cut.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG and shave.IMP= CL.ACC.2SG
'Cut your hair and shave yourself!'
b. *Trezeşte- te şi te îmbracă! vs.
wake up.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG and CL.ACC.2SG get dressed.IMP
b'. Trezeşte- te şi îmbracă- te!
wake up.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG and get dressed.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG
'Wake up and get dressed!'

Another case of asymmetric clitic placement comes in the form of exclamatives with an idiomatic character. The two conjuncts are juxtaposed and they are asymmetrical. The first one has the verb in the subjunctive or in the conditional form (with an optative-desiderative value), with the clitics postposed to the verb. The second conjunct is in the subjunctive mood (with a desiderative value) and the clitic is preverbal. Notice that the first subjunctive verb in (47a) lacks the special marker *să* (this is possible only in imprecations).

[4] For some speakers, examples (46a, b) are not ungrammatical, they should be marked with *?*

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(47) a. Bată- te norocul să te bată!
strike.SUBJ=CL.ACC.2SG luck.DEF SA_{SUBJ} CL.ACC.2SG strike.SUBJ
'God bless you!' / 'Good gracious!'

b. Arză-l- ar focul să- l arză!
burn=CL.ACC.3SG=AUX.OPT fire.DEF $SĂ_{SUBJ}$=CL.ACC.3SG burn.SUBJ
'Damn him!'

9. Conclusions

There is more asymmetric coordination in Old Romanian than in Modern Romanian. This contrast can be attributed to the impact of Church Slavonic texts on the grammar of the written Old Romanian, which ceased to apply to Modern Romanian. Thus, it is not clear whether there is a diachronic change whereby asymmetric coordination became less productive or whether such coordination has never been a feature of spoken Romanian. This is especially the case with the asymmetric placement of clitic pronouns.

This overview of asymmetric coordination and pseudocoordination in Old Romanian is instrumental for sorting out the syntactic properties of verb and noun phrases. For example, the fact that mood markers such as the subjunctive *să* and the infinitive *a* can be excluded from the second conjunct brings further support to the analysis of these items as free morpheme versus clitics. Along the same lines, the fact that DOM *p(r)e* is optional under the coordination of DPs in direct object position indicates that this element is not the source of structural (Accusative) Case for these DPs.

These data are also relevant for typological observations. For example, the random application of asymmetric placement of clitic pronouns under clause coordination provides a strong indication that Old Romanian grammar does not obey Wackernagel's law, at least not at the time of the attested texts. Along the same lines, the coordination of indirect object DPs, where one DP is preceded by a preposition whereas the conjunct displays a Dative Case ending indicates a transitional stage from a synthetic to an analytic Case marking system.

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