

2.2 Pronominal clitics: clitic ordering, clitic clusters

2.2.2 The position of clitics in the clause

2.2.2.2 Clitics in first, second, and third position

- (77') a. *Sârguiia-se* această uşă să
 strive.IMPERF.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG this door.ACC SĂ_{SUBJ}
 treacă (CC².1581:179)
 pass.SUBJ.3SG
 'He strived to pass this door'
- b. *de cine mă* tem? (CP¹.1577: 120)
 of who CL.REFL.ACC.1SG be.afraid.PRES.1SG
 'who am I afraid of?'
- c. *doară se* ară afla 30
 I.wonder CL.REFL.ACC.3PL AUX.COND.3PL find.INF 30
 într-înşi? (PO.1582: 59)
 in=them
 'I wonder, would there be 30 in them?'
- (78') *pre care o* au datu în
 DOM which CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.PERF.3SG give.PPLE in
 Borşa (DÎ.1593: CXIII)
 Borşa
 'that he married away in Borşa'
- (79') *de se* vor mesteca, post 9
 if CL.REFL.ACC.3PL AUX.FUT.3PL mix.INF fasting 9
 ai (Prav.1581: 205^r)
 years
 'if they should mix, nine years of fasting'
- (80') b. • S-a împodobit această
 CL.PASS.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG decorate.PPLE this
 Evanghelie (ITM.1598: 108)
 Evangely
 'This Evangely was decorated'
- S-a scris aceasta (ITM.1571: 83)
 CL.PASS.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG write.PPLE this
 'This was written'
- (81') a. *Că sculară-se* (CP¹.1577: 45^v)
 because get.up.PS.3PL=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
 'because they rose'
- b. *Omulu amu grăiaşte-se* şi
 man.DEF.NOM now speak.PRES.3SG=CL.PASS.ACC.3PL and
 se cheamă de oameni iubitoriul
 CL.PASS.ACC.3PL call.PRES.3SG by people loving.DEF

Dumnezeu (CC².1581: 23)

God

‘Man is spoken to and is called by God who loves the people’

- c. *Dereptu aceaia și mulți oameni pierdu-i*
 for that and many people.ACC lose.PS.3PL=CL.ACC.M.3PL
 părearea (CC².1581: 13)

opinion.DEF.NOM

‘For that reason this idea destroys many people’

- (82’) *Cine apără-ne se nu*
 who defend.PRES.3SG=CL.ACC.1PL if not
 botezu-me? (CB.1559–60: 91)
 baptize.PRES.1SG=CL.REFL.ACC.1SG
 ‘Who defends us if I don’t get baptized?’

- (83’) a. *Le stau movilele și până astăzi*
 CL.DAT.3PL stand.PRES.3PL piles.DEF.NOM and until today
 deasupra satului Tăuteștilor (CLM.1700–50: 177^r)
 above village.DEF.GEN Tăutești.GEN
 ‘Their bodies are still piled up high above the village of Tăutești’
 b. *Pentru amar ce le sosisă* (ICB.~1750: 104)
 for sufferance which CL.DAT.3PL arrive.PLUPERF.3SG
 ‘for the sufferance that had come upon them’
 c. *Mărturisi-mă-voi ție* (DPar.1683: II.6^r)
 confess.INF=CL.REFL.ACC.1SG=AUX.FUT.1SG you.SG.DAT
 ‘I shall confess to you’

- (84’) *apucatu-s-au și dumnealui de*
 start.PPLE=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG and he.POL.3SG that
 au scris (ULM.~1725: 2^r)
 AUX.PERF.3SG write.PPLE
 ‘he also started to write’

2.2.2.3 Coordinating conjunctions and clitic placement

- (85’) • *ci m-au căutat Dragnea* (DÎ.1600: VIII)
 but CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG take.care.PPLE Dragnea
 ‘but Dragnea took care of me’
 • *au se apropiia către*
 or CL.REFL.ACC.3SG draw.near.IMPERF.3SG towards
 oltariu (PO.1582: 317)
 altar
 ‘or he drew near the altar’
 • *Însă vă prevegheați* (FT.1570–5: 1^v)
 but CL.REFL.ACC.2PL take.care.IMP.2PL
 ‘but take care!’

2.2.3 Finite moods

2.2.3.1 The indicative

- (87') a. **îi** dzic (CLM.1700–50: 164^f)
CL.DAT.3SG say.PRES.1SG
'I tell him'
- b. Au **asameni-te** cu **ceialalți**
or resemble.PRES.2SG=CL.REFL.ACC.2SG with the.other
oameni? (CD.1698: 8^f)
people
'Or do you resemble the other people?'
- c. • **te** făcuși (CD.1698: 22^v)
CL.REFL.ACC.2SG make.PS.2SG
'you became'
• **și-l** crescú (AA.1708: 157)
and=CL.ACC.M.3SG raise.PS.3SG
'and he raised him'
- d. cunoscu-**i** (LC.~1650: 410^v)
recognize.PS.3SG=CL.ACC.M.3PL
'he recognized them'
- e. **le** trimitea (NL.~1750–66: 206)
CL.ACC.F.3PL send.IMPERF.3SG
'he sent them'
- f. **Tăia-i** capul
cut.IMPERF.3SG=CL.POSS.3SG head.DEF.ACC
beiului (CronH.post1780: 116^f)
governor.DEF.GEN
'he beheaded the governor'
- g. **le** făcúșă (Bert.1774: 20^f)
CL.ACC.F.3PL make.PLUPERF.3SG
'he had done these things'
- h. acela învățase-**se** la Isus (CT.1560–1: 65^f)
that learn.PLUPERF.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG at Jesus
'that one had been taught by Jesus'
- (88') a. **I-au** scris (NL.~1750–66: 3)
CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG write.PPLE
'he had written it'
- b. • **Dzisu-le-u** vizirul (NL.~1750–66: 35)
say.PPLE=CL.DAT.3PL=AUX.PERF.3SG vizier.DEF.NOM
'the vizier said to them'
• Oare acești 40 de ani
I.wonder these 40 of years
viețuitu-**i-am** deplin, au
live.PPLE=CL.ACC.M.3PL=AUX.PERF.1SG fully or
ba? (CD.1698: 38^v)
not
'I wonder, have I lived my life to the full these 40 years or not?'

- c. **Te** va aduce (GUP.1735: 112^v)
CL.ACC.2SG AUX.FUT.3SG bring.INF
'he will bring you'
- d. veni-**i**-va osândă (DPV.1673: 73)
come.INF=CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.FUT.3SG punishment.NOM
'he will be punished'

- (89') ascultați de tot de câte **se**
listen.IMP.2PL of all of how.many CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
zice-va către voi (CB.1559–60: 34)
say.INF=AUX.FUT.3SG towards you.PL.ACC
'listen to all that is said to you'

- (90') *voi* *spune-vă* (DPar.1683: II.13^r)
AUX.FUT.1SG say.INF=CL.DAT.2PL
'I shall tell you'

2.2.3.2 The subjunctive

- (91') • **să mă credzi** (CD.1698: VIII^r)
SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.ACC.1SG believe.SUBJ.2SG
'believe me!'
- **să-l fie otrăvit** (NL.~1750–66: 52)
SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.M.3SG be.SUBJ.3SG poison.PPLE
'to have poisoned him'
- (92') a. *Se sfîiască-se* (PH.1500–10: 19^v)
SĂ_{SUBJ} be.shy.SUBJ.3PL=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
'they should be shy'
- b. *cade-se se sfârșască-se* (CB.1559–60: 10)
ought.PRES.3SG=CL.REFL.IMPERS.3SG SĂ_{SUBJ} stop.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
'it ought to stop'
- (93') *Scoale-să și să se*
rise.SUBJ.3PL=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL and SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
suie toate limbile (DPar.1683: I.6^r)
ascend.SUBJ.3PL all people.PL.DEF.NOM
'let all the peoples rise and ascend'
- (94') a. **Și-ți dea ție blagosloveniia**
and=CL.DAT.2SG give.SUBJ.3SG you.DAT blessing.DEF.ACC
lu Avram (PO.1582: 94)
LUI.GEN Abraham
'And they should give you Abraham's blessing'
- b. **Nu-ț fie grijă** (VS.post1700: 146)
not=CL.DAT.2SG be.SUBJ.3SG worry.NOM
'Don't worry!'

2.2.3.3 The conditional

- (95') a. să **te** ascultare (CT.1560–1: 38^v)
if CL.ACC.2SG listen.COND.PRES.3SG
'if he listened to you'
- b. e se nu *ținure-se* (CB.1559–60: 400)
and if not keep.COND.PRES=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
'and if they cannot stop themselves'
- (96') a. ca și când **i-ară** *sfărâma* către
as if CL.ACC.M.3PL=AUX.COND.3PLcrush.INF towards
umilință (DPV.1673: 195)
humility
'as if it crushed them into humility'
- d. de ar hi acmu viu,
if AUX.COND.3SG be.INF now alive
ierta-I-ai? (AA.1708: 164)
forgive.INF=CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.2SG
'if he were alive, would you forgive him?'

2.2.3.4 The imperative

- (97') Doamne, miluiești-**ne!** (AOD.1675–6: 96)
God.VOC take.mercy.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.ACC.1PL
'God, take mercy on us!'
- (98') tu **mă** slobozește (AD.1722–5: 29^r)
you.NOM CL.ACC.1SG set.free.IMP.2SG
'set met free!'
- (99') • Pleacă-te jos *de* **te**
bow.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.ACC.2SG down and CL.REFL.ACC.2SG
închină! (VS.post1700: 137)
make.cross.IMP.2SG
'Bow and make the sign of the cross!'
- Ia-ți al tău *și* **te**
take.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.DAT.2SG AL.M.SG your and CL.REFL.ACC.2SG
du (CT.1560–1: 42^v)
go.IMP.2SG
'Take what belongs to you and leave'
- (100') **Te** apucă de a mea dojană, nu
CL.REFL.ACC.2SG grasp.IMP.2SG of AL.F.SG my reprimand not
te lăsa (DPar.1683: II.14^v)
CL.REFL.ACC.2SG renounce.IMP.2SG
'Hold on to my reprimand, do not give up'
- (101') nu defăima dojana Domnului, *nici* **te**
not defame.IMP.2SG reprimand.DEF Lord.DEF.GEN nor CL.REFL.ACC.2SG
mâhni (DPar.1683: II.9^v)

sadden.INF

‘do not defame the Lord’s reprimand, nor get sad’

- (102’) • *Nu* ciudireți-**vă** (CB.1559–60: 356)
 not look.IMP.2PL=CL.REFL.ACC.2PL
 ‘Do not look!’
 • *nu* jurareți-**vă** (CB.1559–60: 293)
 not swear.IMP.2PL=CL.REFL.ACC.2PL
 ‘Do not swear!’
 • *nu* înșelareți-**vă** (CB.1559–60: 295)
 not be.wrong.IMP.2PL=CL.REFL.ACC.2PL
 ‘Do not be wrong!’

2.2.3.5 Double auxiliary structures

- (103’) • *popa* *cela* *ce-i* *va* *hi*
 priest.DEF that which=CL.ACC.M.3PL AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF
cununat (Prav.1581: 258^f)
 marry.PPLE
 ‘the priest that will have married them’
 • *de* *nu-i* *vrea* *fi* *lăsat*
 if not=CL.ACC.M.3PL AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF let.PPLE
Dumnezeu (CC².1581: 237)
 God.NOM
 ‘if God had not allowed it to them’
 • *elu* *se* *ară* *fi* *săturând* (PO.1582: 122)
 he CL.REFL.ACC.3SG AUX.COND.3SG be.INF have.enough.GER
 ‘he would have enough’
 • *nu* *l-am* *fi* *vândut* *el* (CT.1560–1: 228^f)
 not CL.ACC.M.3SG be.INF betray.PPLE him.ACC
 ‘we would not have betrayed him’

- (104’) *fi-se-ară* *sfătuit* (CC².1581: 374)
 be=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL=AUX.COND.3PL take.counsel.PPLE
 ‘they would have taken counsel from one another’

2.2.3.6 Clitic climbing structures

- (105’) a. *n-a* *pute-o* *birui* (NL.~1750–66: 46)
 not=AUX.FUT.3SG can.INF=CL.ACC.F.3SG defeat.INF
 ‘he will not be able to defeat it’
 b. *nu-ț* *știu* *spune* (VN.1630–50: 39^v)
 not CL.DAT.2SG know.PRES.1SG tell.INF
 ‘I cannot tell you’
- (106’) a. *Cine* *poate* *să* *se*
 who can.PRES.3SG SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
spăsească? (CC².1581: 312)
 repent.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘Who can repent?’

- c. nu-**i** putea să-**i**
 not=CL.ACC.M.3PL can.IMPERF.3SG SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.3PL
 biruiască (NL.~1750–66: 57)
 satisfy.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘he could not satisfy [their appetite]’
- (107’) de I-ar ști unde să
 if CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG know.INF where CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
 află (CII.~1705: 274^v)
 find.PRES.3SG
 ‘if he knew where he was’

2.2.3.7 The position of the clitic *o*

- (108’) o va mărita (VM_I.mid18th: 128^v)
 CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG marry.INF
 ‘he will marry her’
- (109’) a. *au* *descălecat-o* (CLM.1700–50: 157^v)
 AUX.PERF.3SG settle.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG
 ‘he settled there’
- b. • elu *datu-o-au* (CC².1581: 509)
 he give.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG
 ‘he gave it’
- va *adăoga-o* (Prav.1780: 58)
 AUX.FUT.3SG add.INF=CL.ACC.F.3SG
 ‘he will add to it’
- c. *aflī-o* pustiită (SA.1683: 78^v–9^r)
 find.PRES.2SG=CL.ACC.F.3SG emptied.F.SG
 ‘you find it emptied’
- (110’) a. *Luoatu-o-ai* cu lingura (VE.1703: 187)
 take.PPLE=CL.ACC.F.3SG=AUX.PERF.2SG with spoon
 ‘you took it with a spoon’
- b. **o** vei *cerca-o* (DPar.1683: II.7^v)
 CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.FUT.2SG search.INF=CL.ACC.F.3SG
 ‘you will search for it’

2.2.3.8 The position of clitics relative to the weak adverbs *mai* ‘more’, *și* ‘also’, *prea* ‘too’

- (111’) • carii **îi** *mai* sta împotriva (NL.~1750–66: 282)
 which CL.DAT.3SG more stand.INF against
 ‘which still stood against him’
- lu *și* uciseră (CB.1559–60: 115)
 CL.ACC.M.3SG also kill.PS.3PL
 ‘they also killed him’
- să nu **ne** *prea* înălțăm (CC².1581: 279)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} not CL.REFL.ACC.1PL too rise.PRES.1PL
 ‘let us not be too eager’

- (112') *mai învățaiu-me* (PH.1500–10: 105^r)
 more learn.PS.1SG=CL.REFL.ACC.1SG
 'I learned more'

2.2.3.9 The position of clitics relative to the sentential negator *nu*

- (113') *dici Arbănașul nu s-au lăsat* (DÎ.1595–6: XII)
 so Arbănașul not CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG
 quit.PPLE
 'so Arbănașul did not quit'

- (114') *că nu înfrică-se* (CP¹.1577: 101^v)
 because not get.afraid.PS.3PL=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
 'because they did not get afraid'

- (115') a. *Nu mă tem* (CP¹.1577: 40)
 not CL.REFL.ACC.1SG be.afraid.PRES.1SG
 'I am not afraid'
 b. *Nu făgădui-se* (CB.1559–60: 197)
 not promise.PS.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
 'he did not promise'

- (116') *nu se cade a se dezlega de boala aceasta în ziua de reliefa de sambătă?* (CC¹.1567: 141^r)
 not CL.REFL.IMPERS.ACC.3SG ought.PRES.3SG A_{INF} CL.PASS.ACC.3SG
 of illness.DEF this in day of
 Saturday
 'ought she not to be relieved of this illness on Saturday?'

- (119') a. *vădzindu-l* (NL.~1750–66: 117)
 see.GER=CL.ACC.M.3SG
 'seeing him'
 b. *Cât am umblat mă ferindu, / Tot de mine be.on.guard.GER still of me.ACC ți-o stat gându* (CCâmp.1768: 30)
 CL.DAT.2SG=AUX.PERF.3SG stay.PPLE thought.DEF
 'As long as I walked around being on my guard, / You have been thinking of me'

2.2.5 Coordination

- (120') *i ne rrugămu și îlu cinstim și îlu mărimu* (Prav.1581: 192^v)
 CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL.ACC.1PL pray.PRES.1PL and CL.ACC.M.3SG
 honour.PRES.1PL and CL.ACC.M.3SG glorify.PRES.1PL
 'we pray to him and we honour him and we glorify him'

- (121') de-i *strică* și *munci* ei (CC².1581: 155)
 that=CL.ACC.M.3PL break.PS.3SG and torture.PS.3SG them.ACC
 'that he hurt and torture them'
- (122') Hrăonii-**mă** și spământă-**se**
 feed.PS.1SG=CL.ACC.1SG and frighten.PS.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
 inema mea (CP¹.1577: 298^v)
 heart.DEF.NOM my
 'I ate and my heart became frightened'
- (123') iară tu, acestea văzând, turbura-**te-veri**
 and you these.ACC see.GER trouble=CL.REFL.ACC.2SG=AUX.FUT.2SG
 și **te** veri mâhni (Ev.1642: 188)
 and CL.REFL.ACC.2SG AUX.FUT.2SG get.upset.INF
 'and you, seeing these, will be troubled and will get upset'
- (124') Că **se** giură / Domnului <și>
 because CL.REFL.ACC.3SG commit.PS.3SG Lord.DEF.DAT and
 făgădui-**se** lu Dumnedzeu
 promise.PS.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG LUI.DAT God
 a lu Iacov. (PH.1500–10: 113^f)
 AL.M.SG LUI.GEN Jacob
 'Because he committed himself to the Lord and he promised himself to God'

2.2.6 Adjacency vs. scrambling

- (125') și să **te** *ochiul* *tău*
 and if CL.ACC.2SG eye.DEF.NOM your
 săblâznește scoate-l (CT.1560–1: 38^f)
 bring.into.temptation.PRES.3SG take.out.IMP.2SG=CL.ACC.M.3SG
 'and if your eye brings you into temptation, take it out!'
- (126') Ce **se** *voao* pare de
 what CL.REFL.ACC.3SG you.DAT seem.PRES.3SG of
 Hristos? (CT.1560–1: 49^f)
 Christ
 'What do you think of Christ?'
- (128') Nu **vă** *foarte* **bucurareți** (VN.1630–50: 50^v)
 not CL.REFL.ACC.2PL a lot rejoice.IMP.2PL
 'Do not rejoice a lot'
- (129') ce **se** *dereptu* *mulți* **varsă** întru
 but CL.REFL.ACC.3SG for many shed.PRES.3SG in
 lăsațiunile păcatelor (CT.1560–1: 59^f)
 forgiveness.PL.DEF.ACC sins.DEF
 'which is shed for many in order for their sins to be forgiven'

2.2.7 Doubly realized clitics on the same verbal head

- (130') **și-l** dusă ră-**l** (VN.1630–50: 39^v)
 and=CL.ACC.M.3SG take.PS.3PL= CL.ACC.M.3SG
 'and they took him away'
- (131') a. **te** **vei** **întoarce-te** (DPar.1683: 12^r)
 CL.REFL.ACC.2SG AUX.FUT.2SG return.INF= CL.REFL.ACC.2SG
 'you will return'
- b. **ș-au**
 CL.REFL.DAT.POSS.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG
vestitu-ș **cinstea** (DPar.1683: 1.2^v)
 make.known.PPLE=CL.REFL.DAT.POSS.3SG honour.DEF.ACC
 'his honour became well-known'

2.2.8 Clitic double realization on distinct verbal heads

- (133') **i-au** **și** **început** **a-i**
 CL.ACC.M.3PL=AUX.PERF.3SG immediately start.PPLE A_{INF}=CL.ACC.M.3PL
 prinde (NL.~1750–66: 293)
 catch.INF
 'he started to catch them'

2.2.9 Morphophonological changes: proclisis and *î*- prothesis; -*u* deletion

- (136') a. **cu milă lu** **cungiu ră** (PH.1500–10: 26^r)
 with mercy CL.ACC.M.3SG surround.PRES.3SG
 'he surrounds him with his mercy'
- b. **udu-lu** (PH.1500–10: 4^r)
 wet.PRES.1SG= CL.ACC.M.3SG
 'I wet it'
- (138') a. **fratele maiceei meale îmi** **iaste**
 brother.DEF mother.DEF.GEN my CL.DAT.POSS.1SG is
unchiu-mare (Prav.1581: 227^v)
 great uncle
 'my mother's brother is my great uncle'
- (139') **când i** **era** **Lazăr** **aproape** (CC².1581: 367)
 when CL.DAT.3SG be.IMPERF.3SG Lazăr.NOM close
 'when Lazăr was close to him'

2.2.10 Mesoclisism

- (140') **alege-vă-ț** (EG.1757: 57)
 choose=CL.REFL.ACC.2PL=IMP.2PL
 'choose yourselves!'
- (141') **Iată-mă-i,** **eu** **sunt** (DPar.1683: II.19^r)
 behold=CL.ACC.1SG=2SG I.NOM am
 'Behold, it's me'

2.2.11 Clitic clusters

- (142') a. **ce** **nu** **i** **se** **cade**
 which not CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL.IMPERS.ACC.3SG ought.PRES.3SG
 lui (CT.1560–1: 23^r)
 him.DAT
 ‘which he ought not [to do]’
- c. **lasă-ți-se**
 release.SUBJ.3PL=CL.DAT.2SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
 păcatele (CT.1560–1: 71^r)
 sins.DEF.NOM
 ‘be released of your sins!’
- (146') **mi** **vă** feacet de
 CL.DAT.1SG CL.REFL.ACC.2PL make.PS.2PL of
 sațâu (DPar.1683: II.32^r)
 enough
 ‘I had enough of you’