

## Article

# The Effects of the Slavic–Balkan Contact on Lipovan Daco-Romanian

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**Abstract:** This paper offers both a descriptive account and an analysis of the possible consequences of linguistic contact between the Daco-Romanian variety spoken by the Lipovan community and Russian (starting from a fieldwork-based corpus study) regarding (low) verb movement in neutral readings, ultimately reflected in the preference for [ADV-V] word order. The situation identified in Lipovan Daco-Romanian will be compared with that of old and standard Daco-Romanian, Moldovan Daco-Romanian, and Russian.

**Keywords:** Balkan languages; Daco-Romance; Lipovan Daco-Romanian; verb movement; Moldovan Daco-Romanian; old Romanian

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Background

Lipovan Daco-Romanian is used in numerous parts of Romania, especially by Lipovan communities. After several fieldwork sessions that took place between 2018 and 2023, I have observed that there are two tendencies in the morphosyntax of Lipovan Daco-Romanian: (i) on the one hand, it displays a series of archaic features, that can be found in old Romanian (an explanation for this situation can be the fact that the Lipovan community is a conservative community), and (ii) on the other hand, I have observed the influence of Russian on the morphosyntax of Lipovan Daco-Romanian as a consequence of the generalized Russian–Daco-Romanian bilingualism in these communities.

The immigration of Lipovan Russians took place gradually, with the first attempts of the Lipovans to come to Daco-Romanian-speaking territories taking place in the late 17th century. Therefore, there are multiple countries across Europe (besides Romania and the Republic of Moldova) and even on different continents where Lipovan Russians fled after the Russian Orthodox Church split<sup>1</sup>, i.e., Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Turkey and even the USA, China, and Uruguay (Ipatiov 2001, pp. 30–31; Tudose 2015, pp. 129–30). In Romania, there are around 70 settlements with predominantly Lipovan population, more specifically in the north and southeastern of the country (Bukovina, Dobrudja, Wallachia). The immigration of Lipovans in Dobrudja took place in several stages, gradually making up a compact community in which traditions, language, and confessional character have been preserved and consolidated (Prigarin 2007, pp. 3–4; Tudose 2015, p. 163).

### 1.2. Language Contact and Its Consequences: The Case of Lipovan Daco-Romanian

It is well known that there is not only a single point of view regarding the effects of language contact. Some scholars claim that linguistic contact cannot affect all the domains of a language (Weinreich [1953] 1964, among others), while others state that there are no limitations on the influence of one linguistic system over the other (Sala 1997, p. 133; Trubetzkoy 1939, p. 82). Hickey (2010) developed a more moderate approach according to which every linguistic level could be changed as a consequence of linguistic contact, with the mention that there are notable differences in the rhythm of change. The influence of the Daco-Romanian on Slavic languages in Romania is a complex problem, and this subject has



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benefited the interest of the researchers in the literature, but the other side of the process, i.e., the way in which Russian influences the Daco-Romanian variety spoken by Lipovan Russians, has not been sufficiently studied. Unavoidably and involuntarily, Lipovan Russians from Dobrudja bring Russian features into their variety of Daco-Romanian, given that their mother tongue is Russian, e.g., in family settings it is always Russian that is employed. Apart from that, a considerable number of hybrid constructions can also be encountered, ultimately the result of both languages being used by the community, albeit in different settings.

### 1.3. *Aim of the Paper, Sources, and Methodology*

#### 1.3.1. Aim of the Paper

The examination of the Romanian variety spoken in the Lipovan community from Dobrudja is approached from a linguistic and a sociolinguistic point of view; I will explain the identified particularities of Lipovan Daco-Romanian by comparing the structures that individualize this variety with those from modern Daco-Romanian, old Romanian, Russian, Romance and Balkan languages, and Moldovan Daco-Romanian (on V(erb)-movement, see [Kayne 1991](#); [Cinque 1999](#); [Cornilescu 2000](#); [Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005](#); [Nicolae 2015, 2019](#); [Schifano 2015, 2018](#); [Costea 2019](#)). The main objective is to give a descriptive account of the Daco-Romanian variety spoken in the Lipovan community from Dobrudja and to analyze the morphological and syntactic effects of Daco-Romanian–Russian contact regarding verb movement<sup>2</sup>.

#### 1.3.2. Sources

My research is based on empirical data that I collected from the Lipovan community in Dobrudja, an area that was chosen given the numerous Lipovan settlements. The data are based on ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork, with the examples used being extracted from spontaneous conversations between native Lipovan Daco-Romanian speakers as well as semi-structured interviews with native Lipovan Daco-Romanian speakers. The participants are Russian–Romanian bilinguals aged 30 to 70 who speak Russian in the family, at home, and in their community and for whom Russian represents an important means of keeping the Lipovan identity alive.<sup>3</sup> All Lipovan Daco-Romanian examples were taken from original conversations between, and with, Lipovan Daco-Romanian native speakers, and their pragmatically unmarked status was verified once again with different participants.

#### 1.3.3. Methodology

In what follows, I adopt the current standard cartographic approach regarding the clause structure (as sketched in (1) below), according to which the inflectional domain (IP) can be split into three domains, i.e., Mood (MoodP), Tense (TP), and Aspect (AspP), with languages showing different options with respect to verb raising along the clausal spine. In what follows, the approach originally put forward by [Giorgi and Pianesi \(1997\)](#) and then further nuanced by [Schifano \(2018\)](#) will be employed, thus keeping a balance between [Cinque's \(1999\)](#) cartographic approach (see the hierarchy given in (2) below; cf. also [Ledgeway and Lombardi \(2005\)](#)) and the minimalist approach.

- (1) (CP >) IP MoodP TP AspP (> vP > VP)
- (2) a. Higher Adverb Space (HAS)  
 [sincer ‘frankly’ Mood<sub>speech act</sub> [din nefericire ‘unfortunately’ Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> [aparent ‘apparently’ Mood<sub>evidential</sub> [probabil ‘probably’ Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> [acum ‘now’ T<sub>(past/future)</sub> [poate ‘perhaps’ Mood<sub>irrealis</sub> [necesar ‘necessarily’ Mod<sub>necessity</sub> [de obicei ‘usually’ Asp<sub>habitual</sub> [iar ‘again’ Asp<sub>repetitive(event)</sub> [des ‘often’ Asp<sub>frequentative(event)</sub> [intentionat ‘intentionally’ [ușor ‘slowly’ Asp<sub>celerative(event)</sub>
- b. Lower Adverb Space (LAS)  
 [deja ‘already’ T<sub>anterior</sub> [încă ‘still’ Asp<sub>continuative</sub> [mereu ‘always’ Asp<sub>perfect</sub> [doar ‘just’ Asp<sub>retrospective</sub> [curând ‘soon’ Asp<sub>proximative</sub> [rapid ‘briefly’ Asp<sub>durative</sub> [în general ‘typically’ Asp<sub>generic/progressive</sub> [aproape ‘almost’ Asp<sub>prospective</sub> [de tot ‘completely’ Asp<sub>Completive(event)</sub> [bine ‘well’ Voice [rapid ‘fast’ Asp<sub>celerative(process)</sub> [din nou/iar ‘again’ Asp<sub>repetitive(process)</sub> [des ‘often’ Asp<sub>frequentative(process)</sub> [de tot ‘completely’ Asp<sub>SgCompletive(process)</sub> [v-VP...

## 2. Verb Movement: Romance Languages, Balkan Languages, Modern and Old Daco-Romanian, Russian, Moldovan Daco-Romanian, and Lipovan Daco-Romanian

### 2.1. The View from Romance

#### 2.1.1. Synthetic Verbal Forms: Present

In Romance languages, the present exhibits a different distribution with respect to verb raising along the clausal spine: to the MOOD field in French (3); to the TENSE field in Northern regional Italian (4); to the ASPECT field in European Portuguese (5); or just outside of *v*-VP in Spanish (6) (Schifano 2015).

- (3) Antoine confond **probablement** (\*confond) le poème.  
 Antoine confound probably counfound ART poem  
 ‘Antoine probably confounds the poem.’  
 (French, *apud* Schifano 2015, p. 59)

- (4) Nonna conosce **già** (\*conosce) la ricetta.  
 Nonna knows already knows ART recipe  
 ‘Nonna already knows the recipe.’  
 (Northern regional Italian, *apud* Schifano 2015, p. 12)

- (5) O João vê **sempre** (\*vê) este tipo de Filmes.  
 ART João sees always sees this kind of movies  
 ‘João always watches this kind of movie.’  
 (European Portuguese, *apud* Schifano 2015, p. 68)

- (6) Sergio contesta **bien** (\*contesta) las preguntas.  
 Sergio answers well answers ART questions  
 ‘Sergio is answering well to the questions.’  
 (Spanish, *apud* Schifano 2015, p. 63)

#### 2.1.2. Analytic Verb Forms: Compound Past

As for the verb-movement options of [Aux-V] constructions across Romance, it has been argued that auxiliaries are base-generated directly as centers of functional projections from IP (cf. Edmonds 1978). The lexical verb is generated under V, raises to *v*<sub>Prt</sub> to acquire (or license) its participial morphology, then it can either move across ASPECT or just outside the *v*-VP. Therefore, the verb has a very high position in French (the auxiliary targets the MOOD field, but the participle does not rise above the adverb *bien* ‘well’ (Ledgeway 2012, p. 145) (7)), a clause-medial one in Northern regional Italian and Northern Italian dialects (the auxiliary targets the MOOD field and the past participle the TENSE field (8)), a low one in European Portuguese (the auxiliary is found between TENSE field and ASPECT FIELD (9)), and a very low one in Spanish (where the auxiliary and the participle leave the *v*-VP (10)) (Schifano 2015, pp. 185–91).

- (7) a. Il a bien compris (\*bien) la question.  
He AUX.PERF.3SG bine understand.PPLE well ART question  
'He understood the question well.'  
(French, *apud* Roberts 2010, p. 56)
- b. Il a déjà lu (\*déjà) le livre.  
he AUX.PERF.3SG already read.PPLE already ART book  
'He has already read the book.'
- c. Il est toujours allé (\*toujours) à la mer.  
he AUX.PERF.3SG always go.PPLE always to ART sea  
'He always went to the sea.'  
(French)
- (8) Gianni probabilmente ha (probabilmente)  
Gianni probably AUX.PERF.3SG probably  
sbagliato.  
make.mistakes.PPLE  
'Gianni was probably wrong.'  
(Northern regional Italian, *apud* Schifano 2015, pp. 26–27)
- (9) a. O Pedro já tem (\*ja) estudado  
ART Pedro already AUX.PERF.3SG already study.PPLE  
muito.  
a lot  
'Pedro has already studied a lot.'
- b. Hoje o João (\*sempre) tem estado sempre  
here ART João always AUX.PERF.3SG be always  
a dormir.  
sleep.INF  
'João slept all day today.'  
(European Portuguese, *apud* Schifano 2015, pp. 71–72)
- (10) a. María ya ha hablado (ya)  
Maria already AUX.PERF.3SG speak.PPLE already  
de este asunto.  
about this issue  
'Maria has already spoken about this issue.'  
(Spanish, *apud* Schifano 2015, p. 72)
- b. Probablemente él ha venido.  
probably he AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE  
'He probably came.'
- c. Él siempre ha ido a la playa.  
he always AUX.PERF.3SG go.PPLE to ART sea  
'He always is going to the sea.'
- d. Él ha comido bien.  
he AUX.PERF.3SG eat.PPLE well  
'He ate well.'  
(Spanish)

## 2.2. The View from Balkan Languages

If the situation of the Romance languages is relatively organized (they show different options with respect to verb raising along the clausal spine, to the MoodP, TenseP, or Asp(ect)P field), the Balkan languages do not seem to strictly respect the classical verb-movement patterns. Although the verb—either the lexical verb or the auxiliary—is considered to rise to T/Agr (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, p. 501), adverbs exhibit a relatively free word order (Rivero 1994, pp. 75–76). A consequence of the absence of strict requirements regarding the placement of adverbs with respect to verbs is the (apparently) inconsistent generalizations regarding the level of the verb movement.

### 2.2.1. Synthetic Verbal Forms: Present

In modern Greek, the position of the verb with respect to various adverbs is ambiguous. Mavrogiorgos (2010, 198 f.n.10; 235 f.n.55; 238 f.n.58) suggests that Greek verbs move to T (for example, the placement of the verb can be either before or after *idhi* ‘already’ (lexicalizing Spec, T<sub>anterior</sub>) (11)).

- (11) a. Aftos      **idhi**      divazi      **idhi**      to      vivlio.  
he      already      reads      already      ART      book.DEF  
'He is already reading the book.'
- b. I      Daniela      **idhi**      ton      ikserē      **idhi.**  
ART      Daniela      already      CL.ACC.3M.SG      know.PST.3SG      already  
'Daniela already knew him.'
- (modern Greek)

(Greek, *apud* [Mavrogiorgos 2010](#), p. 125f.)

However, the discussion must be nuanced: in modern Greek, there are some adverbs (e.g., *ksaná* ‘again’) (12) which are attached to the verbal root. They should not be analyzed along the lines of ‘typical’ adverbs, e.g., the ones given in (11) above, inasmuch as it does not indicate the absence of verb raising but rather the fact that the verb undergoes movement together with the attached constituents, i.e., phrasal movement (Riviero 1994, p. 79; cf. also Riviero 1992).

- (12) a. Den            **tha**                      ksana-kalo-**fai**                      edhó.  
NEG                 AUX.FUT.3SG          again.well.eat                      here  
'He won't eat here well again.'
- (modern Greek, *apud* Rivero 1994, p. 79)
- b. Dhen                      ksana-kalo-                      edhó.  
NEG                      again.well.ear          here  
'He doesn't eat here well again.'

(modern Greek)

Let us now turn to what we find in Bulgarian. Here, the verb can precede and also follow both high and low adverbs, such *verojatno* ‘probably,’ *veče* ‘already,’ *vinagi* ‘always,’ *dobre* ‘well,’ and *često* ‘often’ (13) (Krapova 1999, p. 65). Migdalski (2006, pp. 93–96, p. 210) notes that finite lexical verbs must undergo movement across VP-adverbs, reaching an Asp(ect)-related position, and may move further (presumably to a T-related (Spec) position) to prevent pronominal/auxiliary clitics from occurring clause-initially.

- (13) a. Ivan            (**verojatno**)čete            **verojatno** ljubovni            romani.  
           Ivan            probably    reads            probably    romance            books  
           'Ivan probably reads romance novels.'
- (Bulgarian, *apud* Krapova 1999, p. 66)
- b. Toi            **veče**<sup>4</sup>            čete            knigata.  
           he            already    reads            book.DEF  
           'He is already reading the book.'
- c. Te            (**vinagi**)            otivat            **vinagi**            na            moreto.  
           they            always    go            always            to            sea.DEF  
           'They always go to the sea.'
- d. Te            (**dobre**)            mislyat            **dobre**.  
           they            well            think            well  
           'They think well.'
- (Bulgarian)
- e. Ivan            (**često**)            celuva            (?**često**)            Maria.  
           Ivan            often            kiss.IND.PRES.3SG            often            Maria  
           'Ivan often kisses Mary.'

(Bulgarian)

(Bulgarian, *apud* Kallestinova 2007, p 116)

In Croatian (as well as in Serbian) (14), both high (such as *vjerojatno* ‘probably’) and low adverbs (such as *dobro* ‘good’) (14d) precede the lexical verb in contexts that are not pragmatically marked.

- (14) a. On (vjerojatno) jede vjerojatno.  
he probably eats probably  
‘He probably eats.’  
b. On (već) čita već knjigu.  
he already reads already book.DEF  
‘He is already reading the book.’  
c. On (često) idu često na more.  
he always goes always to sea  
‘He always goes to the sea.’  
d. Oni (dobro) misle dobro.  
they well think well  
‘They think well.’

(Croatian)

## 2.2.2. Analytic Verb Forms: Compound Past

Rivero (1994, p. 72) notes that the auxiliary rises to T/Agr in all Balkan languages (but arguably not further, as shown by, among other factors, the fact that modern Greek auxiliaries cannot precede high adverbs, e.g., *malon* ‘probably’), while the lexical verb occupies a lower position. Evidence for this type of movement comes from the fact that a series of constituents, such as adverbs and floating quantifiers, can be inserted in between the auxiliary and the lexical verb<sup>5</sup> (cf. 15).

- (15) a. Ta pedhiá éXun óla dhi aftóto érgho.  
ART kids AUX.PF.3PL all see.PPLE this ART movie  
‘All the kids have seen this movie.’  
(modern Greek, *apud* Rivero 1994, p. 82)  
b. Den echume pote grapsi s afton.  
NEG AUX.PF.1SG never write.PPLE to him  
‘I have never written to him.’  
(modern Greek, *apud* Philippaki-Warbuton 1993, p. 55)  
c. Aftos malon ehi (\*malon) erti.  
he probably AUX.PF.3SG probably come.PPLE  
‘He probably came.’  
d. Aftos ehi idhi<sup>6</sup> divasi to vivlio.  
he AUX.PF.3SG already read.PPLE ART book.DEF  
‘He has already read the book.’  
e. Aftos ehi (\*kala) fai kala.  
he AUX.PF.3SG well eat.PPLE well  
‘He ate well.’

(modern Greek)

Bulgarian distinguishes between two auxiliaries that correspond to the verb ‘to be’: *sûm* (a functional auxiliary, used in the formation of the present perfect; it has a lower position) and *bjux* (an auxiliary used in the formation of the past perfect; it has a higher position). Krapova (1999, pp. 65–67) considers that, given the structure in (16), the past perfect auxiliary rises to T1P, while the participle stands in T2Asp; this could explain why *bjax* can be separated from the lexical verb by various floating adverbs or quantifiers (17), unlike *sûm* (18) (but cf. Legendre 2000, pp. 428–29, who argues that the hypothesis proposed by Krapova is not borne out, since both auxiliaries behave similarly with respect to a class of adverbs such as *veče* ‘already’ (19), *verojatno* ‘probably’ (20), and *dobre* ‘well’ (21)).

- (16) [AgrP Agr [T1P T1 [T2/AspP T2/Asp [VP SU [V' [V OB]]]]]]

(Krapova 1999, pp. 65–67)



(17) Ivana beše često razkazvala (često) тази istorija.  
 Ivana AUX.PF.3SG often tell.PPLE often this story  
 ‘Ivana often told this story.’

(18) Ivana (\*e) često e razkazvala (često) тази istorija.  
 Ivana AUX.PF.3SG often AUX.PF.3SG tell.PPLE often this story  
 ‘Ivana often told this story.’

(Bulgarian, *apud* Krapova 1999, p. 62)

(19) Ivana veče e/beše pročela knjigata.  
 Ivana already be.AUX.PRES/AUX.PF.3SG read/read.PPLE book  
 ‘Ivana has/had read the book.’

(Bulgarian, *apud* Legendre 2000, p. 429)

(20) Toibeše verovatno razkazval (verovatno) тази istorija.  
 he AUX.PF.3SG probably read.PPLE probably this story  
 ‘He probably had read this story.’

(21) Toi beše dobro mislil (dobro).  
 he AUX.PF.3SG well think.PPLE well  
 ‘He had thought this through well.’

(Bulgarian)

Croatian and Serbian have two paradigms of the auxiliary ‘to be’: one represented by clitic forms (*sam, si, je, smo, ste, su*) and one represented by non-clitic forms (*jesam, jesi, jest(e), jesmo, jeste, jesu*) (Tomić 1996, p. 837) (22). The auxiliary seems to rise higher than the lexical verb to the second position of the clause (see Migdalski 2006, p. 170), and, as a consequence, different elements can intervene between them.

(22) a. Ja sam mu ih dao.  
 I AUX.PF.1SG him them give.PPLE  
 ‘I gave them to him.’

(Croatian, *apud* Tomić 1996, p. 839)

b. niji su žene kod kuće čekale  
 they AUX.PF.3PL wives at home wait.PPLE  
 ‘and they waited for their wives at home’

(Croatian, *apud* Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2016, p. 458)

c. On je vjerojatno dosao (vjerojatno).  
 He AUX.PF.3SG probably come.PPLE probably  
 ‘He probably came.’

d. On je već pročitao (već) knjigu.  
 He AUX.PF.3SG already read.PPLE already book  
 ‘He has already read the book.’

e. On je često išao (često) na more.  
 He AUX.PF.3SG always go.PPLE always to sea.DEF  
 ‘He always went to the sea.’

f. On je dobro jeo (dobro).  
 He AUX.PF.3SG well eat.PPLE well  
 ‘He ate well.’

(Croatian)

### 2.3. The View from Modern Daco-Romanian

#### 2.3.1. Synthetic Verb Forms: Present

In (standard) Daco-Romanian, the issue of verb movement has been discussed by several researchers, thus resulting in two main orientations: on the one hand, it is considered that the verb in Daco-Romanian rises to the highest projection in the MOOD–TIME–ASPECT field, namely MoodP (see, among others, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Cornilescu 2000; Schifano 2013, 2014, 2015, 2018; Nicolae 2015, 2019), and, on the other hand, it targets a lower position (for further references, see Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005, 2014; Ledgeway 2012, 2014; Costea 2019). One explanation for this can be the fact that there exists variation

among speakers with respect to the level of V-movement in Daco-Romanian, given that speakers allow it to raise to high(er) or low(er) projections. However, it is perhaps the case that a moderate approach should be employed (cf. also [Costea and Ledgeway 2024](#), *this issue*), given that, as my own experiments have shown (cf. [Boioc Apintei 2023](#)), in modern Daco-Romanian, lexical verbs are preceded in pragmatically unmarked sentences by high adverbs, such as *probabil* ‘probably’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mood<sub>epistemic</sub>P) (23) or *poate* ‘maybe’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mod<sub>irrealis</sub>P) (cf. 23 and 24), while, in the case of lower *mereu* ‘always’ (Spec,Asp<sub>perfect</sub>) (25), both pre- and postverbal placements can be unmarked, given the fact that some speakers consider its preverbal placement pragmatically neutral, while others consider its postverbal placement pragmatically neutral.

- (23) Ana **probabil** merge la serviciu astăzi  
 Ana probably goes to work today  
 ‘Ana probably is going to work today’  
 (modern Daco-Romanian, *apud* [Boioc Apintei 2023](#), p. 124)

- (24) **poate** alergăm împreună  
 maybe run together  
 ‘maybe we run together’  
 (modern Daco-Romanian, *apud* [Boioc Apintei 2023](#), p. 124)

- (25) Ana (**mereu**) mănâncă (**mereu**) prăjituri  
 Ana always eat.IND.PRES.3SG always cookies  
 când vine la noi.  
 When come.PRES.3SG to us  
 ‘Ana always eats cookies when she comes our place.’  
 (modern Daco-Romanian)

### 2.3.2. Analytic Verb Forms: Compound Past

With respect to the [Aux-V] constructions in modern Daco-Romanian, there is obligatory adjacency between the auxiliary and the past participle (cf. 26a,b), i.e., adverbs and floating quantifiers cannot be placed between the auxiliary and participle<sup>7</sup> ([Dobrovie-Sorin 1994](#), pp. 8–9; [Cornilescu 2000](#), pp. 90–91; [Ledgeway 2012](#), p. 145; [Nicolae 2015](#)). In modern Daco-Romanian, it was observed ([Boioc Apintei 2023](#)) that there is a preference for the auxiliary and the lexical verb to be preceded in pragmatically unmarked sentences by high adverbs, such as *probabil* ‘probably’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mood<sub>epistemic</sub>P) (26c) or *poate* ‘maybe’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mood<sub>irrealis</sub>P) (26d) ([Boioc Apintei 2023](#)).

- (26) a. Ion a plecat **probabil/** **deja/** **mereu.**  
 Ion AUX.PF.3SG go.PPLE probably already always  
 ‘Ion has probably /already /always left.’  
 (SDRo, *apud* [Nicolae 2015](#), p. 81)
- b. copiii au (\***toți**) citit **toți.**  
 children.DEF AUX.PF.3PL all read.PPLE all  
 ‘all the students eat’  
 (modern Daco-Romanian)
- c. Ana **probabil** a mers la serviciu astăzi.  
 Ana probably AUX.PF.3SG go.PPLE to work today  
 ‘Ana probably went to work today.’  
 (modern Daco-Romanian, *apud* [Boioc Apintei 2023](#), p. 125)
- d. **poate** am înțeles greșit.  
 maybe AUX.PF.3SG understand.PPLE wrong  
 ‘maybe I got it wrong’  
 (modern Daco-Romanian, *apud* [Boioc Apintei 2023](#), p. 125)

Therefore, in the case of present Daco-Romanian, a variation regarding the level of the verb movement can be observed, since for some speakers the verb tends to stay low(er), while, for others, it can raise to high(er) projections. This variation can be explained through the Balkan character of Daco-Romanian, given the fact that a similar situation (i.e., variation



among speakers with respect to verb movement) can be found in Balkan varieties, in languages such as Greek, Bulgarian, and even Serbian and Croatian.

## 2.4. The View from Old Romanian<sup>8</sup>

### 2.4.1. Synthetic Verb Forms: Present

The landing site of the present indicative verb in the texts verified from old Romanian seems to be the low ASPECT-related position (Nicolae 2019; Boioc Apintei 2023). As far as HAS is concerned, lexical verbs are preceded in pragmatically unmarked sentences by high adverbs, such as *acum* ‘now’ (lexicalizing Spec,T<sub>(past/future)</sub>P) (27), *neapărat* ‘necessarily’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mod<sub>necessity</sub>P) (28), and *iar* ‘again’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>repetitive(event)</sub>P) (29).

- (27) *acum* *easte* *al* *an* *de când* *eram* *în* *casa*  
 now is third year since was in house.DEF  
*părinților* *miei*  
 parents.DAT my  
 ‘now is the third year since I was in my parent’s house’  
 (VS.1700, p. 145)

- (28) *Dumnezeu (...)* *neapărat* *varsă* *milostea*  
 God necessarily spreads mercy  
 ‘God necessarily spreads His mercy’  
 (Ev.1642, p. 119)

- (29) *și* *într-alt* *loc* *iarăș* *zice...*  
 and in = other place again says  
 ‘and in other place says...’  
 (VRC.1645, p. 201, 10<sup>r</sup>)

With respect to LAS, old Romanian lexical verbs are preceded in pragmatically unmarked sentences by low adverbs, such as *încă* ‘still’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>continuative</sub>P) ((30), (31)), *pururea* ‘always’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>perfect</sub>P) (32), *aproape* ‘almost’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>prospective</sub>P) (33), or *bine* ‘well’ (lexicalizing Spec,VoiceP) (34).

- (30) *încă* *dăruiesc* *cutăruia* *pentru* *mântuirea* *sufletului*  
 still give.IND.PRES.1SG someone for rescue.DEF soul.GEN  
*meu*  
 my  
 ‘I still give [it] to someone for the rescue of my soul’  
 (ACP.1714, p. 12<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>)

- (31) *și* *încăș* *hotărâm* *pentru* *această* *mare* *milă*  
 and still decide.IND.PRES.1PL for this big mercy  
 ‘and we still decide for this big mercy’  
 (AAM.1713, p. 8, 35<sup>v</sup>)

- (32) *iară* *eu* *pururea* *nedejdescu* *pre* *tine*  
 And I always believe.IND.PRES.1SG in you  
 ‘and I always believe in you’  
 (PH.1500–10, p. 10, 60<sup>v</sup>)

- (33) *vreamea* *mea* *aproape* *iaste*  
 time.DEF my almost is  
 ‘my time is almost here’  
 (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567, p. 204<sup>v</sup>)

- (34) *carii bine* *vestesc* *sufletelor* *bucuriia* *cea negrăită*  
 who well announce souls.DAT joy.DEF the unspeakable  
 ‘the one who well announce unspeakable joy to the souls’  
 (Ev.1642, p. 227)

### 2.4.2. Analytic Verb Forms: Compound Past

As for the [Aux-V] constructions in old Romanian, it has been argued (Nicolae 2015) that the auxiliary can be found in the IP domain (MOOD-filed), in contrast to the participle, which has a lower position. A further argument for the low position of verb movement is represented by the possibility of interpolating various constituents between the auxiliary and past participle.

In old Romanian, the lexical verb (past participle) can follow high adverbs, such as *acum* ‘now’ (lexicalizing Spec,T<sub>(past/future)</sub>P) (35), or lower ones, such as *încă* ‘still’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>repetitive(event)</sub>P) (36), *pururea* ‘always’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>perfect</sub>P) (37), *doar* ‘just’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>retrospective</sub>P) (38), or *bine* ‘well’ (lexicalizing Spec,Voice) (39).

- (35) *Iară acum ne-am înderetnicit de leage*  
 and now CL.1PL = AUX.PF.1PL depart.PPLE of law  
 ‘and now we stopped obeying the law’  
 (VRC.1645, p. 217: 22<sup>r</sup>)

- (36) *în darul lui Dumnezeu sau în păcatele lumiei,*  
 in gift God.GEN or in sins.DEF people.GEN  
*încă nu s-au ales*  
 still NEG CL.REFL.PASS = choose.PPLE  
 AUX.PF.3PL  
 ‘in God’s gifts or in the sins of the world they hadn’t been chosen yet’  
 (VRC.1645, p. 222: 26<sup>r</sup>)

- (37) *pururea l-am sfătuit dreptu*  
 always CL.3SG.ACC = AUX.PF.1SG advise.PPLE well  
 ‘I always advised him well.’  
 (Bert.1774, p. 60<sup>v</sup>)

- (38) *că doară au făcut el spăseniia*  
 that just AUX.PF.3PL do.PPLE he redemption  
 ‘he has just completed his redemption’  
 (VRC.1645, p. 215: 2<sup>v</sup>)

- (39) *și pre soli bine i-au priimit*  
 and DOOM messengers well CL.3PL.ACC = AUX.PF.3PL receive.PPLE  
 ‘and the messengers were well received’  
 (ULM.~1725, p. 91<sup>v</sup>–92<sup>r</sup>)

## 2.5. The View from Russian

### 2.5.1. Synthetic Verb Forms: Present

In Russian literature, there are two different interpretations regarding verb movement: on the one side, the rich agreement of Russian verbs suggests V-to-I movement, namely to ASPECT (Gribanova 2013, pp. 94–95; Roberts 2019), and on the other side, the fact that manner adverbs appear to the left of Russian verbs (40) (Slioussar 2007, p. 145; Dyakonova 2009, p. 28; among others) has led some scholars to conclude that the final landing site is *v* (cf. Bailyn 1995; Erechko 2002; Kallestinova 2007; among others).

- (40) a. Ja                    **navernoe**                    smogu                    tebe                    pomoč.'  
 I.NOM                    probably                    can.FUT.1SG                    you.DAT                    help.INF  
 'I can probably help you.'  
 (Russian, *apud* Dyakonova 2009, p. 8)
- b. Ivan                    **často**                    ubiraet                    komnatu.  
 Ivan.NOM                    often                    clean.IND.PRES.3SG room.ACC  
 'Ivan often cleans his room.'  
 (Russian, *apud* Gribanova 2013, p. 95)
- c. Ja                    **uže**                    em                    eto.  
 I                    already                    eat.IND.PRES.1SG                    this  
 'I already eat it.'  
 (Russian)
- d. Zlodei                    **horošo**                    znali                    povadki                    životnyx.  
 malefactors                    well                    know.PAST                    habits                    animals.GEN  
 'The malefactors knew animals' habits well.'  
 (Russian, *apud* Slioussar 2007, p. 146)
- e. Petja                    **bystro**                    sdelał                    uroki.  
 Petya.NOM                    quickly                    do.PST.M                    homework.ACC  
 'Petya quickly did his homework.'  
 (Russian, *apud* Dyakonova 2009, p. 5)

### 2.5.2. Analytic Verb Forms

Russian auxiliaries surface higher manner adverbs (cf. 41), while lexical verbs follow them (Slioussar 2007, p. 146). This was explained by the fact that auxiliaries occupy a T-related position, and the verb moves somewhere between *v*P and T (Gribanova 2013, p. 96; Harizanov and Gribanova 2019, pp. 471–472). Furthermore, there is no adjacency requirement, such that adverbs or scrambled constituents can intervene between the auxiliary and the lexical verb (42) (Dyakonova 2009, p. 7).

- (41) Kuda    ty                    ne                    budeš'                    **bol'se**                    ezdit'?'  
 where    you                    NEG                    AUX.FUT.2SG                    from.now.on                    go.INF  
 'Where are you not going anymore?'
- (42) Zavtra    my                    skoree                    vsego                    budem                    **celuj**                    **den'**  
 tomorrow    we                    sooner                    all                    AUX.FUT.1PL                    whole                    day  
 zanimat'sja.  
 study.INF.REFL  
 'Tomorrow we will most probably study the whole day.'  
 (Russian, *apud* Dyakonova 2009, pp. 7, 198)

## 2.6. The View from Moldovan Daco-Romanian

### 2.6.1. Synthetic Verb Forms: Present

In Moldovan Daco-Romanian, the landing site of the indicative lexical verb seems to be a (very) low ASPECT-related position. In pragmatically unmarked sentences, the lexical verbs are preceded by both high adverbs, *probabil* 'probably' (lexicalizing Spec,Mood<sub>epistemic</sub>P) (43) or *neapărat* 'necessarily' (lexicalizing Spec,Mod<sub>necessarily</sub>P) (44), and low adverbs, such as *deja* 'already' (lexicalizing Spec,T<sub>anterior</sub>P) (45), *încă* 'still' (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>continuative</sub>P) (46), or *mereu* 'always' (lexicalizing Spec,Asp<sub>perfective</sub>P) (47).

- (43) **Probabil**                    fac                    exerciții                    la                    mall.  
 probably                    do.IND.PRES.3PL                    drills                    to                    mall  
 'They probably do some drills at the mall.'  
 (MDRo, *apud* Costea 2019, p. 36)
- (44) **Neapărat**                    îl                    sun                    acum.  
 necessarily                    CL.ACC.M.3SG                    call.PRES.IND.1SG                    now  
 'I'm obligatorily calling him right now.'  
 (MDRo, *apud* Costea 2019, p. 36)



- (50) a. noi **deja** mâncăm  
we already eat.IND.PRES.1PL  
'We have already eaten.'
- b. noi **deja** avem 40 și ceva de ani  
we already have. 40 and something PREP years  
IND.PRES.1PL  
de când n-am făcut chestia asta  
PREP when NEG.AUX = PF.1SG do.PPLE thing.DEF this  
'We already are 40 years old since we did not do this thing. . .'
- c. au zis că acolo **deja** umblă  
AUX.PF.3PL say.PPLE that there already go  
pe jos cu picioarele descălțați  
on.foot with legs barefoot  
'they said that they already are walking barefoot'
- d. cu miru nu dă, că el **deja** este  
with ointment.DEF NEG give because he already is  
dat și nu botează  
given and NEG baptize  
'he doesn't apply ointment because it is already applied, and he is not baptized'

(LDRo)

- (51) Tot părinții ajută... Ajutorul **încă** merge  
continuously parents.ART help help still goes  
înainte.  
forward  
'It is the parents that continue to help. . . the help keeps coming.'

(LDRo)

- (52) a. Ei **mereu** își schimbă denumirea.  
they always CL.REFL.3PL change.IND.PRES.3PL name.DEF  
'They are always changing their name.'
- b. **mereu** vorbește, are prieteni  
always speak.IND.PRES.3SG has.IND.PRES.3SG friends  
care sunt veniți din Republica  
that are IND.PRES.3SG come from Moldova  
Republic of Moldova  
'she is always speaking, she has friends from Republic of Moldova'
- c. **mereu** învață limba rusă ca să  
always learn.IND.PRES.3SG language.DEF Russian to să.SUB  
vorbească cât mai bine  
speak better  
'she always learns Russian to speak as well as possible'

(LDRo)

Unlike standard Daco-Romanian (53), where the verb shows a high position, in both old Romanian (54) and Lipovan Daco-Romanian (55), the verb undergoes movement to a lower position, i.e., below low adverbs such as *deja* 'already' or *mereu* 'always.' Indeed, as already shown above, a similar position of the verb can be found in Moldovan Daco-Romanian (56).

- (53) Ana merge **des** la cumpărături.  
Anna go.IND.PRES.3SG often PREP shopping  
'Anna often goes shopping.'

(SDRo)

- (54) ce se **pururea** pomenește  
which CL.REFL.PASS always mention.IND.PRES.3SG  
'which is always mentioned'

(Prav.1581, p. 258<sup>r</sup>)

- (55) ei        **mereu** își                      schimbă                      denumirea  
 they    always CL.REFL.DAT.3PLchange.IND.PRES.3PL name.DEF  
 ‘they are always changing their name’

(LDRo)

- (56) Moldovenii                      noștri        **mereu**                      caută  
 moldovans.NOM.DEF    ours        always                      search.IND.PRES.3PL  
 să                      mai        ia                      bani        de        undeva.  
 SĂ.SUBJ                      more        get.SUBJ.PRES.3PL    money    from    somewhere  
 ‘Our Moldovans always want to get some extra money from different places.’

(MDRo, *apud* Costea 2019, p. 37)

Therefore, the situation seems to be similar to that found in Russian (57), where the verb is generally preceded by adverbs lexicalizing Spec,Mod<sub>epistemic</sub>P (*navernoe* ‘probably’), Spec,T<sub>anterior</sub>P (*uže* ‘already’), Spec,VoiceP (*xorošo* ‘well’), and Spec,Asp<sub>celerative</sub>P (process/process) (*bystro* ‘fast’) (see Section 2.5) in pragmatically neutral contexts (Bailyn 1995; Harves 2002; Kallestinova 2007).

- (57) Saša                      **bystro**                      ljubit                      Veru.  
 Sasha                      quickly                      love                      Vera  
 IND.PRES.3SG

‘Sasha loves Vera quickly.’

(Russian, *apud* Dyakonova 2009, p. 33)

## 2.7.2. Analytic Verbal Forms: Compound Past

Unlike native speakers of standard Daco-Romanian, Lipovan Daco-Romanian speakers tend to place adverbs such as *deja* ‘already’ (Spec,T<sub>anterior</sub>P) (58), *încă* ‘still’ (Spec,Asp<sub>continuative</sub>P) (59), or *mereu* ‘always’ (Spec,Asp<sub>perfective</sub>P) (60) before the lexical verb in pragmatically unmarked contexts.

- (58) a. noi                      **deja**                      ne-am                      pregătit  
       we                      already                      CL.ACC.1PL = AUX.PF                      ready  
       ‘we are already ready’  
   b. **deja**                      toți                      episcopii                      care                      au                      fost  
       already                      all                      bishop.DEF                      that                      AUX.PF.3PLbe.PPLE  
       au                      murit  
       AUX.PF.3PL                      die.PPLE  
       ‘all the bishops that had been around died’  
   c. harbuz                      **deja**                      s-a                      copt                      la                      noi,  
       watermelon                      already                      CL.REFL = AUX.PF.3SG                      ripe.PPLE                      at                      us  
       așa de                      și                      bun  
       frumos                      and                      tasty  
       so.beautiful                      and                      tasty  
       ‘the watermelon is already ripe here, and it is so nice and tasty’

(LDRo)

- (59) **încă**        numerele        nu                      am                      pus...  
 still    numbers        NEG                      AUX.PF.1SG                      put.PPLE  
 ‘I haven’t put the numbers yet. . .’

(LDRo)



- (60) a. **mereu** a mers cu mine la pescuit  
 always AUX.PF.1SG go.PPLE with me fishing  
 ‘(he) always went fishing with me’  
 b. ea (...) tot **încă** nu a văzut  
 she also yet NEG AUX.PF.3SG see.PPLE  
 ‘she is yet to see [it]’  
 c. când mi-a spus că vrea să  
 when CL.1SG = say.PPLE that wants să.SUBJ  
 AUX.PF.3SG  
 mănânce, eu **mereu** am cumpărat și  
 eat I always AUX.PF.1SG buy.PPLE and  
 am adus  
 AUX.PF.1SG bring.PPLE  
 ‘When she told me that she wants to eat, I always buy something and bring to her.’  
 (LDRo)

Therefore, Lipovan Daco-Romanian undoubtedly displays similarities to old Romanian (61), Moldovan Daco-Romanian (62), and Russian (63), inasmuch as the lexical verb consistently surfaces to the right of low adverbs. The presence of the constructions currently found in Lipovan Daco-Romanian can be explained not only through Romanian–Russian contact, but also through the fact that a similar phenomenon existed in old Romanian. In other words, Lipovan Daco-Romanian has preserved a feature from old Romanian under the influence of Russian (cf. also [Dindelegan and Dragomirescu 2016](#), pp. 636–37). On the other hand, this situation is not to be found in standard Daco-Romanian (64), where the verbal complex including the perfective auxiliary targets a high position, i.e., at the bottom of the MOOD field, between  $Mod_{necessarily}$  and  $Asp_{habitual}$ .

- (61) acela **curând** iase den întunearecul morții  
 that quickly emerges from dark death.GEN  
 ‘that quickly emerges from the darkness of death’  
 (Ev.1642, p. 147)  
 (62) Unde deja a nins?  
 where already AUX.PERF.3SG snow.PPLE  
 ‘Where has it already snowed?’  
 (MDRo, *apud Costea 2019*, p. 39)  
 (63) Ivan **budet** (*haraso*) **pet** (*haraso*)  
 Ivan AUX.VIIT.1PL well sing well  
 ‘Ivan will sing well.’  
 (Russian)  
 (64) (**De obicei**) am încercat (**de obicei**) să  
 usually AUX.PERF.1SG try.PPLE usually să.SUBJ  
 fim împreună de Paște.  
 be.SUBJ.PRES.1PL together of Easter  
 ‘We usually tried to spend the Easter together.’  
 (SDRo, *apud Costea 2019*, p. 31)

### 3. Conclusions

In this paper, I took the placement of lexical verbs with respect to the adverbs stated in Cinque’s hierarchy as an indicator for the level of V-movement in Lipovan Daco-Romanian. I present empirical evidence that the placement of the present and present perfect forms of the verb in Lipovan Daco-Romanian is similar to that found in old Romanian, Russian, and Moldovan Daco-Romanian. More precisely, the Lipovan Daco-Romanian verb seems to appear to the right of low adverbs, such as *deja* ‘already,’ *încă* ‘still’ or *mereu* ‘always,’ given the corpus studied (Appendix A).

The difference between Lipovan Daco-Romanian and standard Daco-Romanian (where the verb targets a high position) regarding the different level of displacement of the verb can

be explained through the fact that low verb movement was also an option of old Romanian, and, under the Russian influence, this phenomenon strengthened an already available syntactic option. In other words, the Romanian–Russian contact helped to preserve and consolidate a phenomenon like the one that appears in old Romanian, which is different from the one found in standard Daco-Romanian.

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## Abbreviations

LDRo	Lipovan Daco-Romanian
MDRo	Moldovan Daco-Romanian
SDRo	standard Daco-Romanian

## Appendix A. Corpus

A.1620	<i>Alexandria</i> . Ed. F. Zgraon, Bucharest: Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2005 ( <i>Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română</i> , 11). (Brașov or Hațeg)
ACP.1714	Antim Ivireanul, <i>Capete de poruncă</i> . Ed.: Antim Ivireanul, <i>Opere</i> , ed. G. Ștrempel, Bucharest: Minerva, 1972, pp. 386–94. (Wallachia, Târgoviște)
Bert.1774	<i>Bertoldo</i> . Ed. Magdalena Georgescu, Bucharest: Minerva, 1999 ( <i>Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română</i> , 3), pp. 157–239. (Moldavia)
CC <sup>1</sup> .1567	Coresi, <i>Tâlcul Evangheliilor</i> . Ed.: Coresi, <i>Tâlcul evangheliilor și molitvenic românesc</i> . Ed. V. Drimba, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1998, pp. 31–187. (Transylvania, Wallachian subdialect)
CLM.1700–50	Miron Costin, <i>Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei</i> . Ed.: M. Costin, <i>Opere</i> , ed. P. P. Panaitescu, Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1958, pp. 41–201. (Moldavia)
CV.1563–83	<i>Codicele Voronețean</i> . Ed. M. Costinescu, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1981, pp. 229–400. (Moldavia)
DDL.1679	Dosoftei, <i>Dumnezeiasca liturghie</i> . Ed. N. A. Ursu, Jassy: Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei, 1980, pp. 3–313. (Moldavia, Jassy)
DÎ	<i>Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea</i> . Ed. Gh. Chivu, M. Georgescu, M. Ioniță, Al. Mareș, Al. Roman-Moraru, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1979.
Ev.1642	<i>Evanghelie învățătoare</i> . Ed. A.-M. Gherman, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2011, pp. 153–480. (Oltenia, Govora Monastery)
FD.1592–604	<i>Floarea darurilor</i> . Ed. Alexandra Roman Moraru, Bucharest: Minerva, 1996 ( <i>Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română</i> , 1), pp. 119–82. (Moldavia, Putna Monastery)
PH.1500–10	<i>Psaltirea Hurmuzaki</i> . Ed. I. Gheție și M. Teodorescu, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2005. (Moldavia)
Prav.1646	<i>Carte românească de învățătură</i> . Ed.: <i>Carte românească de învățătură</i> . 1646, ed. Colectivul pentru vechiul drept românesc condus de acad. A. Rădulescu, Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1961, pp. 33–106 ( <i>Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris</i> , 6). (Moldavia, Jassy)
ULM.~1725	Grigore Ureche, <i>Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei</i> . Ed. P. P. Panaitescu, Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1955, pp. 57–210. (Wallachia, original from Moldavia)

VRC.1645	Varlaam, <i>Răspunsul împotriva catihismusului calvinesc</i> . Ed.: Varlaam, <i>Opere, Răspunsul împotriva catihismusului calvinesc</i> , ed. M. Teodorescu, Bucharest: Minerva, 1984, pp. 143–230. (Wallachia, Târgoviște, Dealu Monastery)
VS.post1700	<i>Vedenia Sofianei</i> . Ed. A. Timotin, E. Timotin, Bucharest: Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2001 ( <i>Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română</i> , 6), pp. 133–49. (Râmnic, Oltenia)

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The term ‘Old Belief’ refers to the churches and religious communities that do not recognize the reforms launched in the Russian Orthodox Church in the 17th century by Patriarch Nikon (1652–1666) (see [Chirilă et al. 1993](#); [Tudose 2015](#)).
- <sup>2</sup> I discussed this issue in my PhD dissertation (published as [Boioc Apintei 2023](#)), and ever since then I have been gathering data and verifying it with Lipovan Daco-Romanian speakers.
- <sup>3</sup> Also, the language has served to separate members of the religious community from their non-Russian-speaking neighbors.
- <sup>4</sup> The adverb *veče* ‘already’ seems to have a special behavior in Bulgarian, being placed preverbally.
- <sup>5</sup> A similar situation can be found in modern Daco-Romanian, in the case of clitic adverbs: *mai* ‘again, (any)more,’ *cam* ‘somewhat,’ *prea* ‘too much,’ *tot* ‘still,’ *și* ‘already’; these clitic adverbs can occur between the auxiliary and the lexical verb ([Nicolae 2015](#), p. 104).
- <sup>6</sup> *Idhi* ‘already’ is part of a restricted class of adverbs that can intervene between the auxiliary and the lexical verb; alongside it, *kiolas* ‘already,’ *pia* ‘may’ and *molis* ‘barely’ can also be mentioned. Therefore, its position does not contradict in any way the theoretical assumptions previously stated.
- <sup>7</sup> Daco-Romanian has only one form for the participle, functionally equivalent to the past participle in other (Romance) languages.
- <sup>8</sup> ‘Old Romanian’ refers to the period spanning from the beginning of the 16th century to the late 17th century (cf. [Timotin \(2016\)](#) for more details on the periodization of Romanian). The analyzed texts were: AAM.1713, ACP.1714, Bert.1774, CBuc.1749, CC<sup>1</sup>.1567, CLM.1700–50, CV.1563–83, DDL.1679, DÎ.1577–600, Ev.1642, FD.1592–1604, PH.1500–10, Prav.1646, ULM.~1725, and VRC.1645, VS.170 (cf. [Boioc Apintei 2023](#)).
- <sup>9</sup> Context: A girl asked for advice regarding her boyfriend requesting to start an open relationship. Her boyfriend was totally aware of the fact that she was faithful all the time. This is the example of a friend of the girl.
- <sup>10</sup> It must be noted that the order [V-Adv] is also grammatical in Lipovan Daco-Romanian but in some contexts can be pragmatically marked.
- <sup>11</sup> Upon analyzing the corpus, I noticed that the adverb *încă* ‘still’ appears most of the time in the preverbal position when the verb form is in the negative:

a.	<i>eu</i>	<i>încă</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>știu</i>	<i>unde</i>	<i>sunt</i>	<i>dormitoare</i>
	I	yet	NEG	know.PRES.1SG	where	are.PRES.3PL	bedrooms
	‘I don’t know yet where the bedrooms are.’						
b.	<i>Ea</i>	<i>încă</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>vorbește,</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>înțelege</i>	<i>tot.</i>
	she	yet	NEG	speak.PRES.3SG	but	understand.PRES.3SG	everything
	‘She doesn’t speak yet, but she understands everything.’						

(LDRo)

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