

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 split¹, 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



Citation: Boioc Apintei, Adnana. 2024. The Effects of the Slavic–Balkan Contact on Lipovan Daco-Romanian. *Languages* 9: 122. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages9040122>

Academic Editors: Virginia Hill and Adam Ledgeway

Received: 3 February 2024

Revised: 19 March 2024

Accepted: 22 March 2024

Published: 29 March 2024



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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 movement².

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.³ 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_{speech act} [din nefericire ‘unfortunately’ Mood_{evaluative} [aparent ‘apparently’ Mood_{evidential} [probabil ‘probably’ Mod_{epistemic} [acum ‘now’ T_(past/future) [poate ‘perhaps’ Mood_{irrealis} [necesar ‘necessarily’ Mod_{necessity} [de obicei ‘usually’ Asp_{habitual} [iar ‘again’ Asp_{repetitive(event)} [des ‘often’ Asp_{frequentative(event)} [intentionat ‘intentionally’ [ușor ‘slowly’ Asp_{celerative(event)}
- b. Lower Adverb Space (LAS)
 [deja ‘already’ T_{anterior} [încă ‘still’ Asp_{continuative} [mereu ‘always’ Asp_{perfect} [doar ‘just’ Asp_{retrospective} [curând ‘soon’ Asp_{proximative} [rapid ‘briefly’ Asp_{durative} [în general ‘typically’ Asp_{generic/progressive} [aproape ‘almost’ Asp_{prospective} [de tot ‘completely’ Asp_{Completive(event)} [bine ‘well’ Voice [rapid ‘fast’ Asp_{celerative(process)} [din nou/iar ‘again’ Asp_{repetitive(process)} [des ‘often’ Asp_{frequentative(process)} [de tot ‘completely’ Asp_{SgCompletive(process)} [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, <i>apud</i> 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, <i>apud</i> 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, <i>apud</i> 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, <i>apud</i> 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_{Prt} 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 (*já) 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_{anterior}) (11)).

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

(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 (Rivero 1994, p. 79; cf. also Rivero 1992).

- (12) a. Den **tha** ksana-kalo-fái 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-
 troo 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**⁴ čete knjigata.
 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, *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 verb⁵ (cf. 15).

- (15) a. Ta pedhiá éXun óla dhi aftóto érgho.
 ART kids AUX.PF.3PL all see.PPLEthis 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 idhi⁶ 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.3SGtell.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 vjerovatno dosao (vjerovatno).
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_{epistemic}P) (23) or *poate* ‘maybe’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mod_{irrealis}P) (cf. 23 and 24), while, in the case of lower *mereu* ‘always’ (Spec,Asp_{perfect}) (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 participle⁷ (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_{epistemic}P) (26c) or *poate* ‘maybe’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mood_{irrealis}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 Romanian⁸

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_(past/future)P) (27), *neapărat* ‘necessarily’ (lexicalizing Spec,Mod_{necessity}P) (28), and *iar* ‘again’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{repetitive(event)}P) (29).

(27) **acum** easte al treilea 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^r)

With respect to LAS, old Romanian lexical verbs are preceded in pragmatically unmarked sentences by low adverbs, such as *încă* ‘still’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{continuative}P) ((30), (31)), *pururea* ‘always’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{perfect}P) (32), *aproape* ‘almost’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{prospective}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^r–12^v)

(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^v)

(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^v)

(33) vreamea mea **aproape** iaste
 time.DEF my almost is
 ‘my time is almost here’
 (CC¹.1567, p. 204^v)

(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_(past/future)P) (35), or lower ones, such as *încă* ‘still’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{repetitive(event)}P) (36), *pururea* ‘always’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{perfect}P) (37), *doar* ‘just’ (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{retrospective}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^r)

(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^r)

(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^v)

(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^v)

(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^v–92^r)

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 **naverno** 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** sdelal 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'she** 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_{epistemic}P) (43) or *neapărat* 'necessarily' (lexicalizing Spec,Mod_{necessarily}P) (44), and low adverbs, such as *deja* 'already' (lexicalizing Spec,T_{anterior}P) (45), *încă* 'still' (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{continuative}P) (46), or *mereu* 'always' (lexicalizing Spec,Asp_{perfective}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)

- (45) Încerc să-i lămuresc că
 try.IND.PRES.1SG să.SUBJ = CL.DAT.3G explain.SUBJ.PRES.1SG that
deja e timpul să facem
 already is time.NOM.DEF să.SUBJ make.SUBJ.PRES.1PL
 un copilăş.
 a little.baby
 ‘I’m trying to explain to him that it’s time to have a baby together.’

(MDRo, apud Costea 2019, p. 37)

- (46) Afară încă e zăpadă, dar fecioraşii
 outside still is snow but sons.NOM.DEF
 m-au bucurat cu primii
 CL.ACC.1SG = AUX.PERF.3PL be.happy.PPLEwith first.ADJ.PL.DEF
 ghiociei.
 snowdrops
 ‘There’s still snow outside, but my sons brought me snowdrops, and they made me happy.’

(MDRo, apud Costea 2019, p. 37)

- (47) Moldovenii noştri 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)

2.6.2. Analytic Verb Forms: Compound Past

In the case of the compound past, the [AUX-V] cluster raises to T_{anterior} in Moldovan Daco-Romanian, but not further. Therefore the [AUX-V] should be preceded by *mereu* ‘always’ ($\text{Asp}_{\text{perfective}}$) (48) in pragmatically unmarked sentences. Regarding the placement of *deja* ‘already’ (T_{anterior}) (49), both the preverbal and postverbal placement of it are accepted, but only the preverbal placement one is regarded by native speakers to be pragmatically unmarked (cf. Costea 2019, pp. 38–41).

- (48) Avem nişte părinţi de aur, care mereu
 have.IND.PRES.1PL some parents of gold who always
 ne-au ajutat.
 CL.ACC.1PL = AUX.PERF.1PL help.PPLE
 ‘We have some wonderful parents, who have always helped us.’

(MDRo, apud Costea 2019, p. 39)

- (49) Zi-i că tu ai făcut-o
 tell.IMPER = CL.DAT.3SG that you AUX.PERF.2SG do.PPLE =
deja cu un amic de-al lui⁹
 already with one friend of = him
 ‘Tell him you have already slept with one of his friends. . .’

(MDRo, apud Costea 2019, pp. 38–39)

2.7. V-Movement in Lipovan Daco-Romanian¹⁰

2.7.1. Synthetic Verb Forms: Compound Past

In contrast to standard Daco-Romanian (where verb targets a high position within the sentence), the Lipovan Daco-Romanian verb seems to have a lower $\text{Asp}(\text{ect})$ -related position, between $\text{Asp}_{\text{perfective}}$ and Voice. The verb is consistently preceded in pragmatically unmarked contexts by lower adverbs, such as *deja* ‘already’ ($\text{Spec}, T_{\text{anterior}}P$) (50), *încă* ‘still’ ($\text{Spec}, \text{Asp}_{\text{continuative}}P$) (51)¹¹, or *mereu* ‘always’ ($\text{Spec}, \text{Asp}_{\text{perfect}}P$) (52), while strictly preceding *bine* ‘well’ ($\text{Spec}, \text{Voice}P$).

- (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.3SGoften 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^r)

(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_{epistemic}P (*naverno* ‘probably’), Spec,T_{anterior}P (*uže* ‘already’), Spec,VoiceP (*xorošo* ‘well’), and Spec,Asp_{celerative}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_{anterior}P) (58), *încă* ‘still’ (Spec,Asp_{continuative}P) (59), or *mereu* ‘always’ (Spec,Asp_{perfective}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
 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.

Funding: This research was funded by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS—UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-1097, within PNCDI III.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study.

Data Availability Statement: Dataset available on request from the author.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

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 ¹ .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. 1646</i> , 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

- ¹ 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](#)).
- ² 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.
- ³ Also, the language has served to separate members of the religious community from their non-Russian-speaking neighbors.
- ⁴ The adverb *veče* ‘already’ seems to have a special behavior in Bulgarian, being placed preverbally.
- ⁵ 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).
- ⁶ *Idli* ‘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.
- ⁷ Daco-Romanian has only one form for the participle, functionally equivalent to the past participle in other (Romance) languages.
- ⁸ ‘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, CC¹.1567, 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](#)).
- ⁹ 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.
- ¹⁰ It must be noted that the order [V-Adv] is also grammatical in Lipovan Daco-Romanian but in some contexts can be pragmatically marked.
- ¹¹ 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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