

The descendants of Lat. *ipse* in Romanian

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Abstract

The Latin demonstrative *ipse* had different evolutions across the Romance languages, with Romanian being the one that preserved most of the source-language uses and enriched them with new ones. This article describes the evolution of the forms and functions of *îns*₁, *îns*₂/*ins*, *îns*(ă)₃, *însul*, *nusul*, *dînsul*, *adins*, *însuși*, and of the bound focal particle *-și* in Romanian. The analysis is based on a rich corpus of old Romanian and non-standard regional varieties of modern spoken Romanian. The most significant phenomena in old Romanian compared to Latin are the proliferation of forms, the preservation of the old uses and the emergence of new ones, semantic enrichments, and a large number of lexical-functional synonymies. During the old Romanian period, the form–function correlations gradually changed, syntactically conditioned variants and differential prepositional object marking emerged, new meanings developed as contextual effects of the focal prototype, the syncretisms with the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns were limited, and the textual deictic was grammaticalized as an adversative conjunction. In modern Romanian, the number of ambiguities has decreased and register differences have appeared. The evolution of the Latin *ipse* in Romanian illustrates a case of poligrammatization and polimorfism, which is not singular in the history of the neo-Latin idioms.

1. Preliminary remarks

In classical Latin, *ipse* (**ipsus*) was a demonstrative pronoun and functioned as a (contrastive) noun phrase/sentence focalizer, and sometimes as a reflexive pronoun or, in combination with reflexive pronouns, as a reciprocal. In late Latin it became a synonym of *hic*, and was used as a textual deictic, i.e. a deictic having a sentence as antecedent/subsequent term (Ernout & Thomas, 1959, p. 187–191; Väänänen, 1981, p. 120; Woodcock, 2005, p. 25–26; Baños Baños, 2009, p. 181–182). The subsequent evolution of *ipse* in Romance was divergent: in most Western languages (French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese) it disappeared; in others (Sardinian, partly the Gascon area, and Catalan), it developed into a definite article, while Romanian is the only language which preserved and enriched its forms and pronominal uses (Densusianu, 1938, p. 176; Sala, 2001, s.v.). In present-day Romanian, it displays several contextual functions.

2. From Latin to old Romanian

Compared to Latin, the descendants of *ipse* in old Romanian show the following features described below: the proliferation of forms (§2.1), the preservation of uses (§2.2), the emergence of new usages (§2.3), polifunctionalism (§2.4), and a rich network of lexical–functional synonymies (§2.5).

2.1. Proliferation of forms

There are several formal descendants of the Latin *ipse* in old Romanian: *îns*₁ (1), *îns*₂/*ins* (2), *îns*(ă) (3), *însul* (4), *nusul* (5), *dînsul* (6), *adins* (7), *însuși* (8).

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- (1) a. *iubeaște vecinul tău ca*
 love.IMP.2SG neighbour.DEF.ACC.M.SG your.M.SG as
îns tine (cc¹.1567–8, 90^v)
 ÎNS.M.SG you.ACC
 ‘Love your neighbour as yourself’
- b. *înși ni le tragemu* (cc².1581, 285)
 ÎNS.M.PL CL.DAT.1PL CL.ACC.F.3PL strive.PRES.1PL
 ‘we ourselves strive for them’
- (2) a. *patr-înși* (cc².1581, 54)
 four=ÎNS.M.PL
 ‘four fellows’
- b. *doi înș* (cc².1581, 367)
 two ÎNS.M.PL
 ‘two fellows’
- (3) *Cătră tine alerg; însă fata-mea, [...]*
 towards you.ACC.2SG run.PRES.1SG ÎNS.F.SG daughter.F.SG=my.ACC.F.SG
eu o lăsaiu acasă (cc².1581, DA, s.v.)
 I CL.ACC.F.3SG leave.PS.1SG home
 ‘I’m running to you; but my daughter [...], I left her at home’
- (4) a. *nu putu grăi cătr-înșii* (ct.1560–2, 111^r)
 not can.PS.3SG speak.INF towards=ÎNS.DEF.M.PL
 ‘he was not able to speak to them’
- b. *nu e într-însele alte nemică* (CCat.1560, 2^r)
 not is in=ÎNS.DEF.F.PL any.F.PL nothing
 ‘there is nothing else in them’
- (5) a. *Și era Dumnezeu cu nusul* (cl.1570, 26)
 and was God with NUS.DEF.M.SG
 ‘and God was with him’
- b. *cu nusa leagă cătușile de*
 with NUS.DEF.F.SG fasten.PRES.3PL chain.DEF.F.PL as
o țepenesc (cc².1581, 294)
 CL.ACC.F.3SG fix.tight.PRES.3PL
 ‘and they fasten it with chains and fix it tight’
- (6) a. *văzu Iisus pre Nathanail viind cătră sine*
 see.PS.3SG Jesus DOM Nathan come.GER towards self
și grăi dins (vrc.1645, 31)
 and speak.PS.3SG DINS.M.SG
 ‘Jesus saw Nathan coming towards him and spoke to him’
- b. *o aduseră pre dinsa*
 CL.ACC.F.3SG bring.PS.3PL DOM DÎNS.F.SG
la Faraon (BB.1688, DA, s.v.)
 at Pharaoh
 ‘they brought her to Pharaoh’
- (7) a. *adinsu voi iubosti aibînd* (cv.1563–83, 159^r)
 ADINSU you.PL love.ACC have.GER
 ‘loving each other’ / ‘having love for each other’
- b. *iertîndu-vă adinsu voiș* (NT.1648, DA, s.v.)
 forgive.GER=CL.ACC≡DAT.2PL ADINSU youș.N.2PL
 ‘forgiving each other’

- (8) a. *însuși* *eu* *sânt* (CT.1560–2, 179^v)
 ÎNSUMI.M.1SG *I* *am*
 ‘it’s myself’
- b. *însuși* *craiul* (ULM~1725, 21^v)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG *king.DEF.M.SG*
 ‘the king himself’

Of all these forms, *îns₁*, *îns₂/ins*, *îns(ă)* are the direct descendants of Lat. *ipse*, while the others are compounds in old Romanian with *îns* plus the definite article (*însul* < *îns* + *-ul*) or with *îns* (\pm definite article) and various prepositions (*adîns(ul)* < *ad* + *îns* + (*-ul*); *însuși* < *îns(u)* + *-și*; *nusul* < *cu nus* + *-ul* < *cu* + *îns* + *-ul*; *dînsul* < *de* + *îns* + *-ul*). The definite forms were more frequent than the indefinite ones, and *însuși* fully replaced *îns* by the end of the 18th century (see details in Vasilescu, 2015, p. 330–332).

The etymology of the compound *însuși* (Engl. ‘itself/himself’ used as an intensifier) has been a matter of controversy among the Romanian linguists, who proposed three hypotheses: (i) *îns* + the dative reflexive *și* (< Lat. *sibi*); (ii) *îns* + the deictic adverbial *-și* (< Lat. *sic*); (iii) *îns* + *-și*, the clitic form of Lat. *ipse* (for details see Manoliu-Manea, 1987; Zafiu, 2012). The bound focal particle *-și* attached to *îns* and many other semantic subtypes of pronouns (*eluși*, *mineși*, *săiși*, *sineși*, *același*, *cevași*, *careși*), adverbs (*atunceși*, *aciiși*) and numerals (*întîiași*). Most of these forms disappeared during the 18th c., others (*întîiași*, *cevași*) persisted in some regional varieties of spoken non-standard Romanian, while *același* and *însuși* have been completely taken over by the system of modern Romanian. *Același* lexicalized as a demonstrative pronoun/adjective of identity (Engl. ‘the same’), inflected for gender, number, and case (NOM \equiv ACC: m.sg. *același*; f.sg. *aceeași*; m.pl. *aceiași*; f.pl. *aceleași*; GEN \equiv DAT: m.sg. *aceluiși*; f.sg. *aceleiași*; m.pl. *acelorași*; f.pl. *acelorași*) following the pattern of *acela* ‘that’. It is the functional equivalent of the descendants of Lat. **metipse* transmitted to the other Romance languages, but not to Romanian. *Însuși* lexicalized and later grammaticalized as an intensifier/focal particle with a full-fledged inflectional paradigm, marking person, number, gender and case oppositions. At the same time, *îns* gradually lost its function as a focal particle for that of a pronominal substitute (see §2.3 below), while the bound focal particle *-și* was gradually eliminated and fossilized in the structure of *același* and *însuși* (see also Vasilescu, 2015). The most frequently used term of the paradigm was *însuși* (person 3, singular, masculine, NOM \equiv ACC), which might be the immediate consequence of its complex inflection (the lack of agreement occurring both in old and present-day Romanian), but it might also indicate the stages of its grammaticalization, as hypothesized below:

- I. *îns* (focal particle inherited from Latin)
- II. *-și* (bound focal particle developed in old Romanian)
- III. *însuși* (newly created focal particle in old Romanian)
- IV. lexicalization of the focalizer *însuși*
- V. the development of an inflectional paradigm of the focalizer *însuși* by analogy with the dative forms of the personal/reflexive pronoun (*îns* + *mi/ți/ne/vă*)
- VI. grammaticalization of the focalizer *însuși* with a full-fledged pronominal paradigm

An early categorial specialization of the forms descending from Lat. *ipse* is to be noticed: *îns₁* and the other forms having it as a lexical base (*însul*, *nusul*, *dînsul*, *adîns*, *însuși*) displayed pronominal features allowing independent, modifier or adverbial uses; *ins/ins₂* was a generic noun with several synonyms (*ins* ‘guy’, *om* ‘man’, *persoană* ‘person’, *individ* ‘individual, fellow’); *îns(ă)* was a textual demonstrative deictic with conjunction-like functions in old Romanian, only later fully grammaticalized as adversative conjunction (see §2.2–2.3 below).

The inflectional paradigms were regular. *Îns₁* was inflected for gender and number via desinences and phonetic changes in the root: m.sg. *îns*Ø, f.sg. *însă*, m.pl. *înși*, f.pl. *înse*. *Îns₂* was inflected like motional nouns, shared gender and number desinences with *îns₁* (m.sg. *î/ins*Ø, f.sg. *î/insă*, m.pl. *înși*, f.pl. *înse*) and showed initial vowel fluctuation for the singular (*î/i*), later fixed as *i*, which formally differentiated

the pronoun and the noun. *Însuși* had the most complex inflectional paradigm, which seemed complete by the end of the period: the desinences and phonetic changes on the first component (m.sg. *însu*/f.sg. *însă*/m.pl. *înși*/f.pl. *înse*) marked gender and number oppositions, while the suppletive forms of the second component (pers.1 *mi*/pers.2 *ți*/pers.3 *și*/pers.4 *ne*/pers.5 *vă*/pers.6 *și*) marked the person-number oppositions (for more examples, see DA, s.v.; Stan, 2013, p. 143; Vasilescu, 2016b, p. 388–391). *Însul*, *nusul*, *dînsul* marked gender and number oppositions through the forms of the definite article in their structure and the consonant alternation *s/ș* for the masculine singular/plural (m.sg. *însul*, f.sg. *însa*, m.pl. *înșii*, f.pl. *însele*; m.sg. *nusul*, f.sg. *nusa*, m.pl. *nușii*, f.pl. *nusele*; m.sg. *dînsul*, f.sg. *dînsa*, m.pl. *dînșii*, f.pl. *dînsele*). In the beginning, *adins* displayed the inflection of *ins* in its structure, but it later developed into an invariable adverb. Initially a textual demonstrative deictic, *îns(ă)* had both a masculine form (*îns*) and a feminine form (*însă*) in old Romanian (DA, s.v.). The grammaticalization of the feminine form (not the masculine one) as an adversative conjunction seems consistent with a systemic feature of Romanian. It is exactly the feminine form which was selected for other textual deictics with “neutral” function: the demonstratives *a(cea)sta*, *ace(e)a*, *ceea ce* (9), the neutral pronominal clitic *o* (10), the indefinite pronouns *una*, *alta* (11), the numerals *a doua*, *a treia* pragmaticalized as discourse markers (12) (see Pană Dindelian, 2016b; 2016a, *Anexe online*, §11.5).

- (9) a. *pentru aceasta încă pohtesc carte*
 for this.F.SG still wish.PRES.1SG letter
de la împăratul (DÎ.1600, XXXIII)
 from emperor.DEF.M.SG
 ‘for this reason I’m still waiting for a letter from the emperor’
- b. *Acea ne rugăm*
 that.F.SG CL.REFL.DAT≡ACC.1PL pray.PRES.1PL
domnilor-voastre (DÎ.1595, CII)
 highness.DEF.DAT.F.PL=your.F.PL
 ‘that is what we are asking you’
- c. *ceaea ce zice* (CIST.1700–50, 33^v)
 that.F.SG what say.PRES.3SG
 ‘what he says’
- (10) *Ascultă, să o știi că nu*
 listen.IMP.2SG SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.ACC.F.SG know.SUBJ.2SG that not
să cade (Mărg.1691, 44^v)
 CL.IMPERS fall.PRES.3SG
 ‘Listen, you should know that one should not do such a thing’
- (11) *și una și alta să dovedeaște* (CIST.1700–50, 58^r)
 and one.F.SG and another.F.SG CL.IMPERS prove.PRES.3SG
 ‘both one and the other are proven’
- (12) *Întăi, credința cea dreaptă; a doa, nedeajdea;*
 first faith.DEF.F.SG CEL.F.SG right.F.SG A.F.SG second.DEF.F.SG hope.DEF.F.SG
a treia, liubovul cătră Dumnezeu (VRC.1645, 2^v)
 A.F.SG third.DEF.F.SG love.DEF.M.SG towards God
 ‘First, the right faith; second, hope; third, love of God’

2.2. Preservation of usages

The corpus analysis indicates that the following usages of *ipse* in Latin have been preserved in old Romanian: independent focalizer (13), adjectival pre- (14a–b) or postposed focalizer (14c–d), or adverbial focalizer (15); reflexive pronoun (16); reciprocal pronoun (17); textual deictic (18).

- (13) a. *însuș* *va* *cădea* *într-însa* (FD.1592–604, 543^r)
 ÎNSUȘ.M.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG fall.INF in=ÎNS.DEF.F.SG
 ‘he himself will fall in it’
- b. *însă* *să-l* *învăț* (Sind.1703, 79^r)
 ÎNS.F.SG SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.M.3SG teach.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘to teach him myself’
- c. *fratele* *acestuia* *au* *murit* *și* *numai*
 brother.DEF.M.SG this.one.GEN.M.SG AUX.PERF.3SG die.PPLE and only
însuși *au* *rămas* (PO.1582, 157)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG AUX.PERF.3SG remain.PPLE
 ‘his brother died and only he survived/and he remained alone’
- (14) a. *ca* *îns* *trupul* *lui* (CPr.1566–7, 430)
 like ÎNS.M.SG body.DEF.M.SG his
 ‘like his own body’
- b. *numai* *înșiși* *ucenicii* *Lui* (NT.1648, 112^v)
 only ÎNSUȘI.M.3PL apprentice.DEF.M.PL his
 ‘only his apprentices themselves’
- c. *ei* *însuși* (CPr.1566–7, 539)
 they ÎNSUȘI.M.3PL
 ‘they themselves’
- d. *trupure* *înse* (DPar.1683, III/130^f)
 body.N.PL ÎNS.F.PL
 ‘the bodies themselves’
- (15) *să* *trage* *însuși* (A.1620, 44^r) 2^v)
 CL.REFL.ACC.3SG originate.PRES.3SG ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
 ‘he himself comes from’
- (16) a. *însuși-l* *întrebați* (CT.1560–2, 206^r)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3PL=CL.ACC.3SG ask.PRES.2PL
 ‘You should ask him yourselves’
- b. *însuș* *au* *îzbăvit* *pre* *înș* (DPar.1683, III/73^r)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG AUX.PERF.3SG save.PPLE DOM ÎNȘ.M.SG
 ‘he saved himself’
- (17) a. *să* *se* *aleagă* *ei*
 SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.ACC.3PL choose.SUBJ.3PL they.M
adinș *ei* (CPr.1566–7, 73)
 ADINS they.ACC
 ‘to choose among them’
- b. *ziseră* *adinș* *eiș* (cc¹.1567–8, 29^v)
 say.PS.3PL ADINS themș
 ‘they said to each other’
- (18) *Fiiul* *omenesc* *mearge-va* *pre* *zisë*
 son.DEF.M.SG human go.INF=AUX.FUT.3SG DOM say.PPLE.F.SG
însă *vai* *de omul* *acela* *ce*
 ÎNS.F.SG woe.INTERJ of man.DEF.M.SG that.one.M.SG that
mă *vîndu* (CT.1560–2, 161^v)
 me.ACC sell.PS.3SG
 ‘Man’s Son will trust your word, but woe to the one who betrayed me’

2.2.1. Focalizer

The high frequency of the focalizer *îns(uși)* seems to correlate with the content of the text and the persuasive function it has. On the one hand, focalizers were frequently used in religious texts to highlight unexpected/unpredictable actors and events and to impose them into the public consciousness. On the other hand, in legal texts they were used to emphatically assert the propositional content. In both cases, the speaker/writer takes stance with respect to the textual content and projects a rhetorical-persuasive attitude. In all the other textual genres the occurrence of *îns(uși)* is sporadic.

As an independent focalizer in old Romanian, *însuși* might be equally interpreted as the focalizer of an empty category (*însuși pro/pro însuși; însuși e/e însuși*) (Stan, 2013, p. 143) and a pro-form (for *îns* as a pronominal substitute, see §2.3 below) intensified by the bound focal particle *-și*. Evolutions in modern Romanian seem to support the latter interpretation: on the one hand, *îns* lost its use as a pronominal substitute, on the other hand *-și* lost its function as a bound focal particle, while the newly created compound *însuși* lexicalized as focalizer in the position of an external modifier of the D(eterminer) P(hrase).

In old Romanian, the use of *însuși* as an adjectival focalizer was more frequent than its use as an independent focalizer (Vasilescu, 2015, p. 341). It combined with [+/- human] nouns and pronouns (see example (14) above). Its ante-position to the (pro)noun was considered an imitation of the Slavonic syntax of the original texts translated into Romanian (Stan, 2013, p. 60–61). Nevertheless, an internal explanation is not to be excluded taking into account the free word order in old Romanian, both in the sentence and inside the DP (see also the position of the adjective, the demonstrative and possessive determiners to the noun).

As an adverbial focalizer, *însuși* frequently meant *singur* ‘alone’. In Romanian, this meaning has been considered the reflex of the two meanings of *samŭ* in Slavonic: *însuși* as intensifier (Engl. ‘itself’) and *singur* (Engl. ‘alone’) (see, among others, DA, s.v.; Stan, 2013, p. 61). Actually, what the texts in the corpus show is that *îns(uși)* was a floating focalizer sharing the free word order with many other sentence constituents in old Romanian, and that it had various contextual meanings (see §2.4 below), not only that of “singur” (Engl. ‘alone’). Consequently, I suggest an alternative interpretation, adopting the concept of convergence, proposed by Hickey (2010, p. 19): the floating intensifier *însuși* generated several contextual meanings, the strongest and most frequent one being ‘alone’ due to its convergence with the Slavonic *samŭ*. *Însuși* meant ‘itself, himself, not someone else’ and contextually developed the meaning ‘itself, himself, not someone else, hence alone’.

2.2.2. Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive use of *îns(uși)* is consistent with the cross-linguistic data. From a typological perspective, languages display differences in expressing the reflexive and the intensification meanings (Gast & Siemund, 2006): in what might be called the “syncretic language type”, the reflexive and the intensifier have the same form (in English, for example); in what might be called “the non-syncretic language type”, the reflexive and the intensifier have different forms (in German, the Romance languages, the Slavic languages, among others). Latin pertained to the non-syncretic type, although in late Latin *ipse* was sometimes used instead of a reflexive pronoun. This use was transmitted to old Romanian, where the stressed reflexive pronoun, the (focalized) personal pronoun and the intensifier *însuși* (*sine* ≡ *elu* ≡ *eluși* ≡ *însuși*, Engl. ‘self’ ≡ ‘him’ ≡ ‘himŝI’ ≡ ‘himself’) were functionally equivalent in some contexts, as exemplified in (19e–f) below.

- (19) a. *Iisus Hristos arată sine aicea* (CT.1560–2, 190^v)
 Jesus Christ show.PRES.3SG self here
 ‘Jesus Christ shows himself here’
- b. *Pre elu se va piiarde* (CT.1560–2, 137^r)
 DOM him CL.REFL.ACC.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG lose.INF
 ‘he will lose himself’

- c. *prea lesne pre eluși se înșală* (CC².1581, 3)
 too easily DOM heȘI.ACC CL.REFL.ACC.3SG deceive.PRES.3SG
 ‘he deceives himself so easily’
- d. *să se pomenească pre însăși* (PO.1582, 5)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.ACC.3SG mention.SUBJ.3SG DOM ÎNSĂȘI.F.3SG
 ‘to mention herself’
- e. *însuși sine* (CPr.1566–7, 124–5)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG self
 ‘he himself’
- f. *de la sine însăși* (CC².1581, 402)
 from self ÎNSĂȘ.F.3SG
 ‘from/by itself’

2.2.3. Reciprocal pronoun

In structures with semantically symmetrical predications, old Romanian presented several strategies to express the reciprocal meaning, directly linked to the Latin ones (details in Vasilescu, 2016a, p. 216–222). One such strategy involved a plural subject and a reciprocity prepositional phrase (*între ei* ‘among them’), as in (20a). The pattern underlied the structure *ad + ins* (*adins*), where the reciprocal meaning paralleled the emphatic one (20b). By the middle of the 17th c. the reciprocal meaning faded out (DA, s.v.) and *adins* functioned exclusively as a focalizer (20c) that moved outside the DP and entered various adverbial phrases (Engl. ‘purposely’, ‘deliberately’, ‘with intent’) (20d). For a detailed analysis of *adins* in old Romanian, see Zamfir & Uță Bărbulescu (2016).

- (20) a. *ei înde ei tocmindu-să* (CII~1705, 86)
 they among they.ACC bargain.GER=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
 ‘bargaining among them’
- b. *voi adinsu voiși* (DA, s.v.)
 you.2PL ADINSU youȘI.2PL
 ‘you among yourselves’
- c. *adins eluși așa poruncește* (DA, s.v.)
 ADINS heȘI so order.PRES.3SG
 ‘he himself orders that’
- d. *(mai) (cu) deadins(ul), în deadins, (mai) (cu) dinadins(ul), cu tot dinadinsul, înadins, într(u)-adins* (DA, s.v.)
 ‘on purpose’

2.2.4. Between textual deictic and adversative conjunction

As a demonstrative pronoun, the Latin *ipse* allowed a propositional focalizer usage. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that some structures in old Romanian continued this use, as in (18) above, where *îns(ă)* resumes a previous predication to generate, via conventional implicatures, a contrast with the newly introduced predication (sentence₁ ^ *însă*_{textual deictic} ^ sentence₂). *Însă* could show anywhere in the sentence (at the beginning, in the middle, at the end). The occurrence of the feminine form [see 2.1 above] of the textual deictic in contexts where the adjacent sentences stood in an adversative logical relationship triggered its grammaticalization as an adversative conjunction that joined the series *dar, iar, ci* (cf. DA, s.v.). Unlike the other conjunctions’ obligatory front position, the position of the conjunction *însă* is still free in present-day Romanian and reminds of its former function as textual deictic.

2.3. New usages

Compared to Latin, the uses of *îns(ul)/însuși* as a pro-form and *îns/ins* as a noun were an innovation of old Romanian.

2.3.1. Personal pronoun

A DP/sentence focalizer in Latin, *ipse* developed in old Romanian along two complementary paths: a newly created form *însuși* (< *îns* + *-și*) was undergoing a lexicalization and grammaticalization process as intensifier (see §2.2.1 above), while the direct descendant of *ipse*, Rom. *îns*, was gradually losing its focal function developing into a pronominal substitute, a synonym of the 3rd person singular personal pronoun (*el/ea – însul*). With this function, it only accidentally occurred as the argument of a verb (21), but it was highly frequent in P(repositional) P(hrases) as the complement of the head preposition, realized in three phonologically and lexically constrained variants: following prepositions ending in the consonant cluster *ntr* (*într-îns(ul)* ‘in it’ / *dintr-îns(ul)* ‘out of it’ / *printr-îns(ul)* ‘through it’, etc.), as in (22a–b); following the preposition *de* (*dîns(ul)* < *de* + *îns(ul)* ‘of/about it’), as in (22c); following the preposition *cu* (*cu nus(ul)* < *cu* + *îns(ul)* ‘with it’), as in (22d–e). This is what I herein call differential prepositional object marking: a dedicated pronominal form (*însul*) occurred in PPs, distinct from the ones which regularly occurred as arguments of verbs (*el* ‘he’, *ea* ‘she’).

- (21) a *veacilor* *munci* *înși*
 AL.F.SG century.DEF.GEN.M.PL labour.PL ÎNS.M.PL
ni *le* *tragem* (cc².1581, 315)
 CL.DAT.1PL CL.ACC.F.3PL carry.with.US.PRES.1PL
 ‘we carry with us labours as old as centuries’
- (22) a. *Beați* *toți* *dentr-îns* (CCat.1560, 11^v)
 drink.IMP.2PL all.M.PL from=ÎNS.M.SG
 ‘drink of it, all of you’
- b. *Domnul* *mînie-se* *spr-insa* (CPrav.1560–2, 2^v)
 Lord.DEF get.angry.PS.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG towards=ÎNS.F.SG
 ‘God gets angry with her’
- c. *Domnul* *auzi-mă-va* *cînd* *voiu*
 Lord.DEF hear.INF=CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.FUT.3SG when AUX.FUT.1SG
stăga *cătră* *Dănsul* (PB~1651, 5^v)
 call.out.INF towards DÎNSUL.M.SG
 ‘God will hear me when I call him out’
- d. *Și* *mîna* *lu* *dumnezeu* *era* *cu* *nusul* (CT.1560–2, 113^v)
 and hand.DEF.F.SG LUI God was with NUSUL.M.SG
 ‘and God’s hand was with him’
- e. *ce* *grăiești* *cu* *nusa?* (cc¹.1567–8, 22^r)
 what speak.PRES.2SG with NUSA.F.SG
 ‘what are you talking with her?’

This evolution was strongly influenced by the emergence in Romanian of the bound focal particle *-și* adjoined to words from various morphological classes (see §2.1 above). In a pronominal system with parallel strong and clitic forms, it is highly probable that *îns* and *-și* were both reflexes of the Lat. *ipse*, the former, the strong form, and the latter its clitic counterpart. Initially, the two forms probably functioned as independent strong focalizer and clitic focalizer, respectively; later, after *-și* fossilized in the newly created lexemes *însuși* ‘itself/himself’ and *același* ‘the same’, the clitic might have disappeared and been compensated by *însuși*, which thus enhanced its position in the system of Romanian. This process allowed *îns(ul)* to change its focal particle function into a mere substitute, an alternative term to *el* ‘he’ or *ea* ‘she’, differentially selected: *însul* in PPs, *el/ea* in verb argument positions. Nevertheless, the rule of differential prepositional object marking did not apply strictly.

2.3.2. Generic noun

The nominal use of *îns/ins* (*om, persoană, individ*, Engl. ‘guy’, ‘man’, ‘person’, ‘individual’, ‘fellow’) was an innovation of old Romanian compared to Latin. This use was attested since the earliest texts in the 16th c. throughout the whole period. See examples in (2a–b) above. The masculine form was the most frequent one, and it occurred in the context of definite or indefinite quantifiers. The form has been connected to the Albanian *vetë* (DA, s.v.).

2.4. Polisemy

The focal particle *însuși* developed various secondary meanings through contextually generated conventional implicatures. Basically, it functioned as a purely focal particle “exactly X” (23a), but it also acquired the meaning of a contrastive focal particle “X, not Y” (23b), a cumulative focal particle “even X” (23c), a focal particle of uniqueness (“only X, nobody else”) (23d), a focal particle of non-causation contrasted to similar events controlled by an external agent (“by itself, nobody else caused the action”) (23e), metalinguistic focal particle, synonym to “in itself” (23f), a synonym of the prefix-like segment (Rom. “prefixoid”) *auto* ‘self’ (23g).

- (23) a. *Însă* *aceasta mână ce mă vîndu,*
ÎNS.F.SG this.F.SG hand.F.SG that CL.ACC.1SG sell.PS.3SG
cu noi iaste la masă (CT.1560–2, 171^v)
 with us is at table
 ‘the very same hand that has sold me is with us at this table’
- b. *vedeți mînile mele și picioarele mele*
see.IMP.2PL hand.DEF.F.PL my.F.PL and foot.DEF.NEUT.PL my.FEM.PL
că însumi eu sînt (CT.1560–2, 179^v)
 that ÎNSUMI.M.1SG I am
 ‘Look at my hands and my feet and see that it is me!’
- c. *cu credința însăș sara sămînță*
with faith.DEF.F.SG ÎNSĂȘ.F.3SG evening.DEF seed
luo (CC¹.1567–8, 87^r)
 take.PS.3SG
 ‘She herself faithfully took that seed in the evening’
- d. *doamne, nu grijești că sora mea*
Lord.VOC not care.PRES.2SG that sister.DEF.F.SG my.F.SG
lăsatu-m-au însămi
let.PPLE=CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG ÎNSĂMI.F.1SG
să slujesc? (CC¹.1567–8, 234^v)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} serve.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘God, you don’t care that my sister left me all alone to serve?’
- e. *Ușile, iale înseși să’nchiseră* (apud DA, s.v.)
door.DEF.F.PL they.F.PL ÎNSEȘI.F.3PL CL.REFL.ACC.3PL=shut.PS.3PL
 ‘the doors closed by themselves’
- f. *Țara Ardealului nu este o țară*
country.DEF Ardeal.DEF.GEN.F.SG not is a.F.SG country.F.SG
însuși, ci „Ardealul” este și se cheamă
ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG but Ardeal.DEF.M.SG is and SE_{IMPERS} call.PRES.3SG
mijlocul țării (apud DA, s.v.)
middle.DEF.NEUT.SG country.GEN.F.SG
 ‘The country of Ardeal is not a country properly, but “Ardeal” is and is called the middle of the country’

- g. *însuși-văzătoriu*, *însuși-făcătoriu*, *însuși-stăpînitor* (apud DA, s.v.)
ÎNSUȘI.M.SG=voyant *ÎNSUȘI.M.SG*=doer *ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG*=ruler
 ‘self-voyant’, ‘self-maker’, ‘self-ruler’

All the usages share the focal function; the prototype generates particular meaning effects, as discourse projections of various implicit communicative intentions.

2.5. Contextual synonyms

From the earliest texts preserved in Romanian, *îns(uși)* had various synonyms: *chiar* ‘clearly, right’ < Lat. *clarus* (24a), *numai* ‘only’ < *nu mai* / Lat. *non magis* (24b), *singur* ‘alone’ < Lat. *singulus* (24c), *tocmai* ‘exactly’ < Slav. *tŭkŭma* (24d), *unul* ‘one’ < Lat. *unus* (24e).

- (24) a. *din chiar pornirea sa* (Prav.1646, 214)
 from right will.DEF.F.SG his.F.SG
 ‘of his own will’
- b. *aceasta numai Iisus Hristos [...] au dobîndit* (cc¹.1567–8, 114^r)
 this.F.PL only Jesus Christ AUX.PERF.3SG attain.PPLE
 ‘only Jesus Christ attained that’
- c. *îndrăgește priiatnicul tău, ca tine*
 love.IMP.2SG friend.DEF.M.SG your.M.SG like you.ACC.2SG
singur (CPr.1566–7, 406)
 alone
 ‘love your friend like yourself’
- d. *sufletele tocma care-s ale lor* (Ev.1642, 60)
 soul.DEF.PL indeed that=are AL.FEM.PL their.GEN
 ‘the souls which belong to them, indeed’
- e. *nimea nu e bun, numai dumnezeu unul* (cc¹.1567–8, 91^r)
 nobody not is good only God.M.SG one.DEF.M.SG
 ‘nobody is good, but God alone’

Cumulative, redundant uses were frequent (25); several idioms functioned as intensifiers due to their concrete meanings referring to self through a *pars-pro-toto* relationship (26a–b).

- (25) a. *elu numai însuși singur* (cc¹.1567–8, 7^r)
 he only *ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG* alone.M.SG
 ‘him and only him’
- b. *tocma și pre sine însuș* (Ev.1642, 57)
 indeed also DOM self *ÎNSUȘ.M.3SG*
 ‘he himself included, indeed’
- c. *el unul singur {iaste} îmblătoriu întru noi* (cc¹.1567–8, 41^r)
 he one.DEF.M.SG alone.M.SG is walking among us
 ‘he himself and no one else is walking among us’
- (26) a. *eu [...] însum, cu mena mea* (DRH,B.1645, 82)
 I *ÎNSUMI.M.1SG* with hand.DEF.F.SG my.F.SG
 ‘I myself, with my own hand’
- b. *El însuș cu limba sa* (DRH,B.1645, 247)
 he *ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG* with tongue.DEF.F.SG his.F.SG
 ‘He himself, with his own mouth’

Overall, in old Romanian *însuși* was more frequent than any of its synonyms (a quantitative approach in Vasilescu, 2016b, p. 392).

3. From old Romanian to modern Romanian

In the passage from old Romanian to modern Romanian, the number of lexical units, formal variants and systemic syncretisms decreased as forms became ever more functionally specialized and register-marked. Present-day Romanian preserved *însuși*, *însă*, *dînsul*, *ins*, *adins*, *într-/printr-/dintr-/etc.-însul*, but lost *îns₁*, *îns₂*, and *nusul*, and shows 1:1 form–function correlations: *însuși* – focal particle; *însă* – conjunction; *însul*, *dînsul* – pronouns; *ins* – noun; *adins* – adverb (in adverbial idioms). Combinatorial restrictions changed compared to old Romanian and each lexical unit originating in Lat. *ipse* has a particular register distribution in present-day Romanian.

3.1. The focal particle *însuși*

In the first half of the 20th c. the independent use of *însuși* (sometimes ambiguous between a pronominal and an adverbial reading) was still attested (27a–e), but it became ever rarer by the end of the century. At the same time, at the beginning of the 20th c. *însuși* in its adjectival use frequently combined with [–animate] nouns (28a–i), but tended to be an external modifier of [+human] nouns/pronouns exclusively, even though the [–animate] context was not totally excluded (29). It has preserved some of the semantic values it had in old Romanian (see §2.4 above)—contrastive focalizer, cumulative focalizer, focalizer of uniqueness (a detailed analysis in Zafiu, 2013)—, but lost the non-causative and metalinguistic focalizer value, replaced by *singur* (‘alone’, ‘itself’) and *propriu-zis* (‘properly’, ‘in itself’), respectively; for the prefix-like value (Rom. “prefixoid”) it was replaced by *auto* in present-day Romanian. Ever more frequently, it combines with the strong reflexive pronoun (*sine*) forming an intonational unit (30); in the clitic chain [*se ... pe sine*], *pe sine* disambiguates the anaphoric function of the reflexive clitic, and *însuși* functions as a focal particle of the strong reflexive. The syntagms [personal pronoun + *însuși*] tend to grammaticalize for the emphatic reflexive value (31). For the structural features and the use in present-day Romanian, see Vasilescu (2008, p. 218–222; 2013, p. 404–407); Zafiu (2013, p. 287–294).

- (27) a. *HB a venit însuși*
 HB AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
în România [1935] (*apud Iordan, 1947, 313*)
 in Romania
 ‘HB came himself to Romania’
- b. *renunțăm de a vorbi înșine*
 give.up.PRES.1PL DE A_{INF} speak.INF
 ÎNȘINE [1936] (*apud Iordan, 1947, 313*)
 ÎNȘINE.M.1PL
 ‘we give up speaking ourselves’
- c. *despre una din călătoriile sale vorbește însuși*
 about one.F of travel.DEF.F.PL his.F.PL speak.PRES.3SG
 ÎNSUȘI [1937] (*apud Iordan, 1947, 313*)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
 ‘he himself speaks about one of his travels’
- d. *fără ca însuși s-o guste*
 without that ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.F.3SG
 taste [1937] (*apud Iordan, 1947, 313*)
 taste.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘without tasting it himself’
- e. *marile spirite înșile* [1937] (*apud Iordan, 1947, 313*)
 great.DEF.F.PL minds.NEUT.PL ÎNȘILE.M.3PL
 ‘the great minds themselves’

- (28) a. *În sînul însuși al limbii*
 in bosom.DEF.M.SG ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG AL.M.SG language.DEF.GEN.F.SG
române (Philippide, 1894, 35)
 Romanian.GEN.F.SG
 ‘right in Romanian’
- b. *se schimbă uzul*
 CL.REFL.ACC.3SG change.PRES.3SG usage.DEF.NEUT.SG
însuși (Philippide, 1894, 42)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
 ‘the usage itself is changing’
- c. *în însăși limba latină* (Philippide, 1894, 49)
 in ÎNSĂȘI.F.3SG language.DEF.F.SG Latin.F.SG
 ‘even in Latin’
- d. *înseși sunetele* (Iordan, 1947, 16)
 ÎNSEȘI.F.3PL sound.DEF.NEUT.PL
 ‘even the sounds’
- e. *pe a noastră însăși* (Iordan, 1947, 17)
 DOM AL.F.SG our.F.SG ÎNSĂȘI.F.3SG
 ‘even ours’
- f. „coraș” *însuși* are, în popor,
 “coraș” ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG has in people
sensul de „dispoziție, veselie” (Iordan, 1947, 30)
 meaning.DEF of mood joy
 ‘«coraș» itself has, in its colloquial use, the meaning «mood, joy»’
- g. *Academia însăși cerea să*
 Academy.DEF.F.SG ÎNSĂȘI.F.3SG ask.IMPERF.3SG SĂ_{SUBJ}
scriem -ia (Iordan, 1947, 33)
 write.SUBJ.1PL -ia
 ‘The Academy itself recommended the spelling with -ia’
- h. *sintaxa oricărei limbi este, prin ea*
 syntax.DEF any.GEN.F.SG language.GEN.F.SG is through she
însuși (sic!), *mai bogată* (Iordan, 1947, 279)
 ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG more rich.F.SG
 ‘the syntax of any language is, in itself, richer’
- i. *prin și pentru ele înseși* (Iordan, 1947, 279)
 by and for them.F ÎNSEȘI.F.3PL
 ‘by and for themselves’
- (29) *Brexitul arată ceva mai grav decât*
 Brexit.DEF.M.SG show.PRES.3SG something more serious than
Brexitul însuși (EvZ)
 Brexit.DEF.M.SG ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
 ‘The Brexit shows something more serious than the Brexit itself’
- (30) *un bărbat s-a căsătorit cu*
 a man CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG marry.PPLE with
sine însuși (ZC)
 self ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
 ‘a man got married to himself’
- (31) a. *Iohanis, împiedicat de el însuși* (C)
 Iohannis obstruct.PPLE.M by he ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG

- ‘Iohannis, obstructed by himself’
- b. *îndepărtarea lui Grindeanu de el însuși* (G)
 alienation.DEF LUI Grindeanu from he.ACC ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
 ‘Grindeanu’s alienation from himself’
- c. *Donald Trump, costumat în el însuși* (B1 TV)
 Donald Trump dress.up.PPLE.M.SG in he ÎNSUȘI.M.3SG
 ‘Donald Trump, dressed up in himself’

Însuși is quasi-absent in non-standard Romanian, yet not excluded. In the subdialectal corpus¹ investigated, there is only one occurrence (32).

- (32) *el î... nu prea [€] se-ngrijea*
 he not really CL.REFL.3SG=take.care.IMPERF.3SG
pe el însuș personal (Moldova & Bucovina, 230)
 DOM he.ACC ÎNSUȘ.M.3SG personally
 ‘he wasn’t really taking care of himself’

There are several possible convergent explanations for these register differences. First, *însuși* incorporates the conventional implicature “invalidation of expectations”, which indicates an argumentative-persuasive stance of the speaker/writer in relation to the listener/reader, which might explain the occurrence of *însuși* in argumentative-persuasive genres, but its absence in spoken non-standard Romanian texts, produced in various communication situations where both the interviewer and the respondents normally take a neutral stance. It seems that, both in old Romanian and in contemporary Romanian, *însuși* is more than a focal particle: it is a stancetaking marker. This discursive function makes the difference to the synonyms of *însuși* and explains register selections [see §2.5 above, and examples (35)–(38) below]. Second, spoken varieties prefer either intonational focalization, as the propositional turn indicates (33), or the syntactic strategy of explicit opposition between terms (34).

- (33) a. *Cerneala o făceam noi* (AD I, Vâlcea, 7)
 ink.DEF.F.SG CL.F.3SG make.IMPERF.1PL we.NOM
 ‘we used to make the ink ourselves’
- b. *Cărate bucățile de mine acolo*
 carry.PPLE.F.PL piece.DEF.F.PL by me there
la arina boierească (AD I, Tecuci, 25)
 at yard.DEF.F.SG manorial.F.SG
 ‘the pieces carried by me there at the boyard’s yard’
- c. *Am auzit eu de la părinții mei* (AD I, Roman, 30)
 AUX.PERF.1SG hear.PPLE I from parent.DEF.M.PL my.M.PL
 ‘I heard it myself from my parents’
- (34) *Bănuî-ți tu, nu eu* (Maramureș, 57)
 regret.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.DAT.2SG you not I
 ‘regret it yourself, not me’

Third, the complex inflexion of *însuși* might explain the speakers’ preferences for the synonym lexical focalizers *chiar* ‘even’, *singur* ‘alone’, *unul* ‘one’, *cu ochii mei* ‘with my own eyes’, especially in non-standard Romanian (35)–(38).

¹The phonetic transcription of the texts used in examples was simplified and presented as literary transcription, considering that the phonetic features marked in the original transcript are irrelevant for the phenomena under discussion in this article.

- (35) a. *Eu chiar eu am născut la unu noaptea* (Muntenia, 242)
 I right I AUX.PERF.1SG give.birth.PPLE at one night.DEF
 ‘I myself gave birth at one o’clock at night’
- b. *Chiar mie* (Muntenia, 243)
 right me.DAT
 ‘right to me’
- c. *Povestea chiar frati-su ei* (Moldova & Bucovina, 123)
 narrate.IMPERF.3SG right brother=her.M.SG her.GEN.F
 ‘her own brother used to tell that story’
- (36) a. *Atunci o ieşit ei singuri* (AD I, Bacău, 27)
 then AUX.PERF.3SG≡PL come.out.PPLE they.M alone.M.PL
 ‘then they came out all alone’
- b. *El singur, să ştie, ar face ceva* (GN, Bucovina, 31)
 he alone.M.SG SĂ_{SUBJ} know.SUBJ.3SG AUX.COND.3SG do.INF
 something
 ‘if he knew, he himself would do something’
- c. *Am mers singuri şi-am văzut* (AD I, Basarabia, 41)
 AUX.PERF.1PL go.PPLE alone.M.PL and=AUX.PERF.1PL
 see.PPLE
 ‘We went alone and we saw’
- d. *Îl taie el singur* (Porțile de Fier, 198)
 CL.ACC.M.3SG cut.PRES.3SG he alone.M.SG
 ‘he cuts it all alone’
- e. *Eu singur vi l-oi lega* (GN, Maramureş, 88)
 I alone.M.SG CL.DAT.2PL CL.ACC.M.SG=AUX.FUT.1SG
 tie.INF
 ‘I myself will tie it for you, all alone’
- f. *ea singură [...] bate* (Dobrogea, 306)
 she alone.F.SG beat.PRES.3SG
 ‘she alone beats’
- g. *el singur [îl] săpa, uda* (Oltenia, 376)
 he alone.M.SG CL.ACC.M.SG dig.IMPERF.3SG water.IMPERF.3SG
 ‘he alone used to dig it and water it’
- (37) a. *Ca pe mine pe una* (GN, Maramureş, 51)
 like DOM me.ACC DOM one.F.SG
 ‘like myself’
- b. *Eu una l-am omorît* (GN, Maramureş, 106)
 I one.F.SG CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.1SG kill.PPLE
 ‘I myself killed him’
- (38) *i-am văzut eu cu ochii mei* (AD I, Săcele, 43)
 CL.ACC.M.3PL=AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE I with eye.DEF.M.PL
 my.M.PL
 ‘I saw them with my own eyes’

3.2. The adversative conjunction *însă*

There are relatively clear-cut pragmatic differences among the adversative conjunctions in present-day Romanian: *dar* and *însă* (Engl. ‘but’) invalidate expectations; *ci* (Engl. ‘but’) induces corrections to and substitutions in the propositional content; *iar* (Engl. adversative ‘and’) marks the thematic contrast (Zafiu, 2005, p. 3–5). *Însă*, unlike *dar*, signals the argumentative stance of the speaker (probably what Spiță, 2003, p. 253 calls a “supplementary emphatic function”), preserving the meaning it inherited from its old Romanian etymon *însă/însăși* (see DA, s.v. and §2.2.4 above).

Moreover, there is a register difference between *dar* and *însă*. *Dar* (and its regional synonyms *da*, *numa*, *fără*) is generally preferred in the non-standard uses, while *însă* is generally preferred in standard uses (Zafiu, 2005, p. 3, note 9). Nevertheless, *însă* occurs in non-standard uses too, more frequently in Oltenia, Muntenia, and Moldova (Teiuș, 1980, p. 119–120). It is noteworthy that the samples in the corpus (39) occur in the speech of partly educated informants who have/had frequent/long term contacts with out-groups. The tautological use (40) could indicate that speakers do not interpret *însă* as a marker of the adversative relationship between constituents, but rather as a textual deictic, emphatically resuming its antecedent.

- (39) a. *în timpul liber însă/ se-ntreținea*
 in time.DEF free ÎNS.F.SG CL.REFL.3SG=socialize.IMPERF.3SG
cu noi (Moldova & Bucovina, 251)
 with us
 ‘in his spare time he used to socialize with us’
- b. *însă două oale se punea*
 ÎNS.F.SG two.F pot.F.PL CL.IMPERS put.IMPERF.3SG
prima dată (Muntenia, 150)
 first.F time.F
 ‘but the first time, two pots were counted’
- c. *asistam de multe ori la... diferite*
 witness.IMPERF.1SG DE many.F.PL time.F.PL at various.F.PL
scandaluri care era/ însă nu aveam voie [...]
 scandal.NEUT.PL which were ÎNS.F.SG not have.IMPERF.1SG permission
să mă... vîr (Moldova & Bucovina, 118)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.ACC.1SG get.involved.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘I used to witness many scandals, but I was not allowed to interfere’
- d. *Acum însă le zicem jupîni și domni*
 now ÎNS.F.SG CL.DAT.3PL tell.PRES.1PL boss.PL and sir.PL
și rîd ei de noi (GN, Buzău, 226)
 and mock.PRES.1PL they.M DE us
 ‘but now we call them boss and sir and they mock us’
- e. *Asta însă nu îi spunea lui*
 this.F.SG ÎNS.F.SG not CL.DAT.3SG tell.IMPERF.3SG LUI.DAT
frate-său (GN, Constanța, 369)
 brother=his.M.SG
 ‘but he would’t tell that to his brother’
- f. *nu mai lucrează/ însă înainte bătrînii*
 not more work.PRES.3PL ÎNS.F.SG before old.people.DEF.M.PL
lucrau (Dobrogea, 247)
 work.IMPERF.3PL
 ‘they don’t work anymore, but old people used to work before’

- g. *Mai facem [...]. Însă acumă facem*
 still make.PRES.1PL ÎNS.F.SG now make.PRES.1PL
cu prafuri (Oltenia, 1)
 with powder.PL
 ‘we still make. But nowadays we make it with powder ingredients’
- (40) a. *dar însă noi trecusem (Oltenia, 995)*
 but ÎNS.F.SG we pass.PLUPERF.1PL
 ‘but we had gone by’
- b. *dar însă nu dădea așa randament (Porțile de Fier, 103)*
 but ÎNS.F.SG not give.IMPERF.3SG such efficiency
 ‘but it was not very efficient’
- c. *dar însă... [...] parcă... mă simt*
 but ÎNS.F.SG apparently CL.ACC.1SG feel.PRES.1SG
așa (Moldova & Bucovina, 1)
 like.that
 ‘but it seems I feel like that’

3.3. The noun *ins*

In present-day Romanian, the noun *ins* (Engl. ‘guy’, ‘man’, ‘person’, ‘individual’, ‘fellow’) occurs especially with its masculine plural form (*inși*) combined with a quantifier, both in standard (41) and non-standard (42) uses. One peculiar occurrence, *dînsul* (otherwise a personal/politeness pronoun, see §3.4 below) for *ins*, was spotted in a transcript (43), probably a formal confusion due to the infrequent use of the singular form *ins*.

- (41) a. *La 113 inși ne aducea câte o pâine (S)*
 at 113 ÎNS.M.PL CL.DAT.1PL bring.IMPERF.1PL each one.F bread.F
 ‘they used to bring us one loaf of bread for each of the 113 persons’
- b. *Din mașina oprită au coborît cinci inși, toți cu cefe de bivol (MG)*
 from car.DEF.F.SG stop.PPLE.F.SG AUX.PERF.3PL descend.PPLE five
 ÎNS.M.PL all.M.PL with neck.F.PL of ox
 ‘five guys with ox-like necks descended from the car which had stopped there’
- c. *chem în ajutorul meu pe acești unul sau doi inși (BF)*
 call.PRES.1SG in help.DEF.NEUT.SG my.M.SG DOM this.M.PL
 one.DEF.M.PL or two.M ÎNS.M.PL
 ‘I call these one–two guys to help me’
- a. *Trei inși, beți turtă, merg în patru labe (BZ)*
 three ÎNS.M.PL drink.PPLE.M.PL cake walk.PRES.3PL in four paw.PL
 ‘three guys, as drunk as a fiddler, are crawling on the ground’
- (42) a. *trei/ patru/ cinci inși (Muntenia, 151)*
 three four five ÎNS.M.PL
 ‘three–four–five guys’
- b. *Am fostu vo cinci, șase inși (Tîrnave, 55)*
 AUX.PERF.1PL be.PPLE around five six ÎNS.M.PL
 ‘We were around five–six guys’
- c. *doi inși (Bistrița-Năsăud, 75)*
 two ÎNS.M.PL
 ‘two guys’

- d. *Am fost vreo nouăzeci de inși* (AD I, Transilvania, 51)
 AUX.PERF.1PL be.PPLE around ninety of INS.M.PL
 ‘We were around ninety guys’
- e. *Atuncea facem o adunare/... șapte/ opt/ zece*
 then make.PRES.1PL a reunion seven eight ten
inși (Porțile de Fier, 174)
 INS.M.PL
 ‘then we gather seven–eight–ten guys’
- f. *eram doi inși* (Bistrița-Năsăud, 75)
 be.IMPERF.1PL two.M INS.M.PL
 ‘we were two guys’
- g. *și-am fost doi inși* (Moldova & Bucovina, 21)
 and=AUX.PERF.1PL be.PPLE two.M INS.M.PL
 ‘and we were two guys’
- h. *mai mulți inși* (Dobrogea, 499)
 more many.M.PL INS.M.PL
 ‘several guys’
- (43) *Apoi își fac oricare câte o gaură în pământ*
 then CL.REFL.DAT.3PL make.PRES.3PL anyone each a hole in ground
și tăt dînsu are câte o botă în mînă [...] (Maramureș, 149)
 and every DÎNSU has each a cudgel in hand
 ‘then each digs a hole in the ground and each one (each guy) has a cudgel in his hand’

The examples above indicate a register-induced difference in the meaning of *ins*: while in non-standard uses *ins* preserved the neutral connotation it had in old Romanian, in standard uses it mostly occurs in negatively connotated contexts, triggering a depreciative implication or projecting negative emotions.

3.4. *Dînsul* – personal deictic, social deictic

The lexical unit *dînsul* has been preserved in present-day spoken Romanian, both standard and non-standard, but has undergone a process of functional differentiation.

In old Romanian it functioned as a pronominal substitute, initially after the preposition *de*, later it generalized in the P(repositional) P(hrase), and by the end of the period it functioned outside the PP (DLR, s.v.). Until the end of the 19th c. and during the first decades of the 20th c. it occurred as a personal deictic in standard Romanian (44), as well as in several regional varieties of Romanian (45a–f), more frequently in Moldavia and the North-East of Dobrogea (Rusu, 1984, p. 220–221). *Dînsul* and *el* had parallel uses (45g). Notice example (45a), where *dînsul* occurs with an archaic form, without the incorporated definite article (*-ul*).

- (44) a. *Hirtia e răbdătoare, căci pe dînsa poți*
 paper.DEF.F.SG is patient.F.SG because on DÎNSUL.F.SG can.PRES.2SG
scrie ce vrei (Budai-Deleanu, *apud* DLR, s.v.)
 write.INF what want.PRES.2SG
 ‘Paper is patient, because you can write whatever you want on it’
- b. *Cucoana Caliopi a primit tustrele răvașele*
 Mrs. Caliopi AUX.PERF.3SG receive.PPLE all.three letter.DEF.F.PL
și a rămas încîntată
 and AUX.PERF.3SG remain.PPLE delighted.F.SG
de dînsule (Negruzzi, *apud* DLR, s.v.)
 by DÎNSUL.F.PL
 ‘Mrs. Caliopi received all three letters and was delighted with them’

- c. *Înainte tribunii, cu spatele spre*
 in.front.of stand.DEF.GEN.F.SG with back.DEF towards
dînsa (Caragiale, *apud DLR*, s.v.)
DÎNSUL.F.SG
 ‘In front of the stand with their backs to it’
- d. *raporturile acestor manifestări între*
 relationship.DEF.NEUT.PL this.GEN.PL manifestation.PL among
dînsule (*Philippide*, 1894, p. II)
DÎNSUL.F.PL
 ‘the mutual relationships of these manifestations’
- (45) a. *Mai avea un singur fecior care mai era*
 still have.IMPERF.3SG one single son who still was
pe lângă dîns (*HS*, Moldova, 46)
 near *DÎNS.M.SG*
 ‘he still had one son around’
- b. *Lupul a ieșit cu oaia*
 wolf.DEF.M.SG AUX.PERF.3SG go.OUT.PPLE with sheep.DEF.F.SG
pe poartă/ am fugit după dînsul
 on gate AUX.PERF.1SG run.PPLE after *DÎNSUL.M.SG*
cu câini (*Moldova & Bucovina*, 52)
 with dog.PL
 ‘The wolf went out the gate with the sheep, I ran after him with dogs’
- c. *Fac o casă/ cu două camere [...] bătut*
 make.PRES.1SG a.F.SG house.F.SG with two.F room.F.PL fix.PPLE
tablă/ sau carton/ pe dînsa (*Moldova & Bucovina*, 49)
 tin or cardboard on *DÎNSUL.F.SG*
 ‘I build a house with two rooms, I fixed tin or cardboard on it’
- d. *pînă cînd curățam eu cepurile*
 until when clean.IMPERF.1SG I spigot.DEF.NEUT.PL
de la dînsul (*Bistrița-Năsăud*, 81)
 from *DÎNSUL.M.SG*
 ‘until I cleaned its spigots’
- e. *s-a-mburdat crucea*
 CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG=fall.PPLE cross.DEF
pe dînsul (*GN*, Oaș, 58)
 on *DÎNSUL.M.SG*
 ‘the cross fell on him’
- f. *Intră-n casă străinu/ Și dă*
 enter.PRES.3SG=in house stranger.DEF.NOM.M.SG and give.PRES.3SG
mîna cu dînsu (*Maramureș*, 40)
 hand.DEF with *DÎNSUL.M.SG*
 ‘the stranger enters the house and shakes hands with him’
- g. *Și potrivim și-l culcăm lemnul să*
 and fix.PRES.1PL and=CL.ACC.M.SG lean.PRES.1PL stick.DEF.M.SG SĂ_{SUBJ}
dăm cu el cît mai sus [...], să nu dăm cu
 hit.SUBJ.1PL with it as high SĂ_{SUBJ} not hit.SUBJ.1PL with
dînsul jos. Dacă dăm cu dînsu-n jos,
DÎNSUL.M.SG low if hit.PRES.1PL with *DÎNSUL.M.SG=downwards*

atunci [...] ne ia după el (Oltenia, 162)
 then CL.ACC.1PL pull.PRES.3SG after it
 ‘And we fix and lean the stick to hit with it as high as we can, to avoid hitting with it at the lower part. If we hit with it at the lower part, then it pulls us after it’

After the second half of the 20th c., *dînsul* began to function as a social deictic (politeness pronoun for the 3rd person) in standard Romanian, shaping the grammatical system as a two person and four/three degrees of politeness: *tu – dumneata – dumneavoastră – domnia voastră*; *el – dînsul – dumnealui – domnia lui*; *voi – dumneavoastră – domniile voastre*; *ei/ele – dînșii/dînsele – dumnealor – domniile lor* (Vasilescu, 2008, p. 212–218; 2013, p. 401–402). Rarely, *dînsul* is used as a social deictic in non-standard varieties, especially in the Southern areas (46), by young persons constantly exposed to standard spoken and written Romanian in school and in the media.

- (46) a. *Dînsul [judecătorul] a fost întrebat* (Muntenia, 583)
DÎNSUL.M.SG [the judge] AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE ask.PPLE
 ‘he was asked’
- b. [*tovarășă învățătoare*] *m-a pus să*
 comrade.DEF teacher CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG put.PPLE SĂ_{SUBJ}
povestesc lecția [...] M-a pus dînsa
 tell.SUBJ.1SG lesson.DEF CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG put.PPLE DÎNSUL.F.SG
să zic după ea (Oltenia, 427, 11 years old)
 SĂ_{SUBJ} say.SUBJ.1SG after her
 ‘[the teacher] asked me to tell the lesson. She asked me to repeat after her’
- c. *merge dînsul acolo cu noi* (Oltenia, 365, 35 years old)
 go.PRES.3SG DÎNSUL.M.SG there with us
 ‘he goes there with us’

The evolution of *dînsul* from a positional variant of the personal pronoun (after prepositions) to a social deictic (pronoun of politeness) might have gone through the following phases:

- I. The phase of the semantic–cognitive opposition. After the form generalized in all the syntactic positions alternating with *el*, the initial syntactic opposition (+/– preposition) developed into a semantic-cognitive opposition, i.e. cognitive distance to the referent (*dînsul*) vs. cognitive proximity to the referent (*el*), supported by similar systemic oppositions in old Romanian (demonstrative of proximity/of remoteness – *acesta/acela*; proximal demonstrative of identity/remote demonstrative of identity – *acestași/același*).
- II. The phase of strategic politeness. The semantic-cognitive distance was converted into social distance/hierarchy, and *dînsul* began to function as a social deictic, which marks deference in relation to a non-interlocutor human referent.

3.5. *Adins* – adverb

The adverb *adins* is used in regional varieties of modern Romanian (47), as well as in colloquial standard Romanian (48a–b); standard usage rather resorts to neologisms such as *intenționat* ‘intentionally’, *special* ‘purposely’, *în mod expres* ‘expressly’, *deliberat* ‘deliberately’.

- (47) *Și n-ar fi într-adins* (Făgăraș-Transilvania, 408)
 and not=AUX.COND.3SG be.INF in=ADINS
 ‘and it wouldn’t be on purpose’
- (48) a. *Repere în adins falsificate* (Roșu, 2012, 22)
 landmark.F.PL in ADINS falsify.PPLE.F.PL
 ‘landmarks deliberately falsified’

- b. *Parcă cineva vrea în adins răul*
 as.if somebody want.PRES.3SG in ADINS bad.DEF.M.SG
acestei localități (InfoV)
 this.GEN.F.SG town.DEF.F.SG
 ‘as if somebody deliberately wants evil for this town’

3.6. *Însul*

Însul, a syntactically and phonologically conditioned variant in present-day Romanian (after prepositions ending in *ntr*), was frequent until the beginning of the 20th c. (49); it was progressively eliminated from standard Romanian, but still occurs in non-standard varieties (50). In standard Romanian the personal pronoun or the demonstrative is largely used (*în el/acesta* ‘in it/in this one’; *din el/din acesta* ‘from it/from this one’; *printre ei/printre aceștia* ‘among them/among these ones’, etc.).

- (49) *Mintea noastră păstrează aducerea aminte a tuturor*
 mind.DEF.F.SG our.F.SG keep.PRES.3SG memory.DEF.F.SG AL.F.SG all.GEN.PL
fenomenelor de limbă, care au trecut
 phenomenon.GEN.NEUT.PL of language which AUX.PERF.3PL pass.PPLE
vreodată printr-însa (Philippide, 1894, 1)
 ever through=*ÎNSUL*.F.SG
 ‘our mind remembers all the language phenomena it has ever been exposed to’
- (50) a. *nu avea voie să*
 not have.IMPERF.3SG permission SĂ_{SUBJ}
intre-ntr-însul (Moldova & Bucovina, 118)
 enter.SUBJ.3SG=in=*ÎNSUL*.M.SG
 ‘he was not allowed to enter there’
- b. *Și-ntr-înșii că intra (AD I, Tulcea, 18)*
 and=in=*ÎNSUL*.M.PL that enter.IMPERF.3SG
- c. *Lumea toată să se-nchine/*
 world.DEF.F.SG all.F.SG SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=worship.SUBJ.3SG
Celuia ce-ntr-însa vine (Maramureș, 189)
 that.one.DAT.M.SG that=in=*ÎNSUL*.F.SG come.PRES.3SG
 ‘Let the whole world worship he who enters it’

4. Conclusions

Romanian is the only Romance language that has preserved the formal descendant of the Lat. *ipse* and its uses (focal particle in the NP/PP, reflexive pronoun, reciprocal pronoun, and contrastive discourse deictic). Nevertheless, both the forms and the uses have slightly changed during the old and modern period.

The most significant phenomena in old Romanian (see §2 above) compared to Latin are the proliferation of forms and the emergence of new functional correlations. In modern Romanian (see §3 above) the most important changes concern the apparition of new lexical-grammatical syncretisms backed by new functional correlations and register preferences.

The following table synthetically presents the evolution of *ipse* from Latin to old Romanian and then to modern Romanian.

STAGE	FORMS	USAGES	
Latin	<i>*ipse</i>	1. nominal and sentence intensifier (focal particle) 2. reflexive pronoun 3. reciprocal pronoun 4. demonstrative pronoun expressing contrast at discourse level	
Old Romanian	<i>îns₁</i>	1. intensifier (focal particle) 2. reflexive pronoun/anaphor	
	<i>îns₂/ins</i>	generic noun, convergent with Alb. <i>vete</i>	
	<i>însul</i>	phonologically conditioned pro-form (< <i>ntr</i> + <i>însul</i>)	
	<i>dînsul</i>	syntactically conditioned pro-form (< <i>de</i> <i>însul</i>)	
	<i>nusul</i>	syntactically conditioned pro-form (< <i>cu</i> <i>însul</i>)	
	<i>adins</i>	1. syntactically conditioned pro-form (< <i>ad</i> <i>insu</i>) 2. strategy to express the reciprocal meaning	
Contemporary Romanian	<i>însuși</i>	1a. pre- or postposed intensifier (focal particle) of a DP [+/- animate], with various contextually acquired meanings: focalization, contrastive focalization, cumulative focalization, singularity/uniqueness focalization, focalization of non-causativity, metalinguistic focalization, a synonym of the prefix-like particle <i>auto</i> ; 1b. independent (free-standing) intensifier; 1c. adverbial intensifier; 2. reflexive pronoun	
	(possible) <i>-și</i>	bound intensifier attached to lexemes from various classes (pro-forms, demonstratives, indefinites, numerals)	
	Standard Romanian	Non-standard Romanian (sub-dialectal Romanian)	
	<i>însuși</i>	pre- or postposed intensifier (focal particle) in a DP, most frequently [+human], sometimes also [-human], with various contextual meanings: focalization, contrastive focalization, cumulative focalization, uniqueness focalization	rarely an intensifier; preferred synonyms <i>chiar</i> , <i>singur</i> , <i>numai unul</i> , etc.
	<i>ins</i>	generic noun used in negative/disphoric contexts	generic noun, frequently used, neutral context
	<i>însă</i>	conjunction, functionally distinct from the others in the adversative series (<i>dar</i> , <i>iar</i> , <i>însă</i> , <i>ci</i>)	conjunction, rarely used, especially in redundant syntagms
	<i>dînsul</i>	social deictic, expressing an intermediate degree of politeness with respect to the non-speaker/hearer participant in the interaction	pro-form, often expressing cognitive distance; a strong tendency towards acquiring a social deictic function
	<i>adins</i>	colloquial; standard Romanian and high registers prefer its synonyms <i>intenționat</i> , <i>special</i> , <i>în mod expres</i> , <i>deliberat</i>	sometimes used in adverbial idioms

<i>însul</i>	replaced by <i>el</i> (Engl. 'he, it') or <i>acesta</i> (Engl. 'this one')	a syntactically and phonologically conditioned substitute (adjacent to prepositions ending in <i>ntr</i>)
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The evolution of *ipse* from Latin to present-day Romanian illustrates a case of poligrammaticalization (Diessel, *apud Zamfir & Uță Bărbulescu, 2016*, p. 420) and polymorphism (Sornicola, *apud Zamfir & Uță Bărbulescu, 2016*, p. 420), which is not the only one in the evolution of Romanian (see also Dinică, 2017, in the present volume).

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