ON THE SYNTACTIC SPECIALIZATION OF ROMANIAN DEMONSTRATIVES AND THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE ARTICLE *CEL*

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Abstract. The paper discusses the diachronic syntactic specialization of Romanian demonstratives according to the morphophonological weak/strong distinction, and the grammaticalization of the article CEL, specific to Romanian from a Romance perspective. It is shown that the reanalysis of the aphaeretic form of the distal demonstrative as the article CEL, through a grammaticalization process that regularly took place in the emergence of Romance determiners, strongly correlates with the diachronic specialization of Romanian demonstratives and with other syntactic changes taking place across-the-board in the Romanian DP.

Keywords: diachronic specialization, demonstrative, determiner, reanalysis, grammaticalization, Romanian

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

1.1. Aim and outline of the paper[2]

The syntax of modern Romanian demonstratives is driven by the weak/strong distinction which associates each type of demonstrative with specific selection features and

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[2] For the glossing of the examples, we have used the symbols and conventions generally accepted in the field, recently used in the 2013 OUP *Grammar of Romanian* (pp. xxviii–xxxi); of the abreviations used more rarely or generally employed in the description of Romanian, we draw the reader's attention to the following ones: AL – freestanding genitival/possessive marker specific to Romanian, AUX – auxiliary, CL – clitic, DEF – definite, DOM – differential object marker, PERF – perfective, PS – simple past, S – strong, W – weak; the symbol = indicates cliticization.

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particular syntactic derivations (Cornilescu 2005). By contrast, the syntax of old Romanian demonstratives is not driven by the weak/strong division – in other words, old Romanian demonstratives are not syntactically specialized. The first goal of this paper is to investigate the mechanisms by which Romanian demonstratives become specialized, and the factors involved in this diachronic process.

Another quirk of modern Romanian (at least from a Romance perspective) is the existence of the so-called "adjectival / demonstrative article" CEL, a definite determiner with particular distributional and interpretative features. Old Romanian presents a somewhat different picture: the forms out of which CEL grammaticalized have a dual grammar, to some degree common to that of demonstratives, but nonetheless idiosyncratic. The second goal of this paper is to account for the grammaticalization of CEL, and to show that this process is associated with the syntactic specialization of demonstratives and with other diachronic changes in the overall syntax of the Romanian DP.

The paper is structured as follows: on the basis of previous literature, we present a synchronic account of the syntax of demonstratives and of the article CEL in modern Romanian (section 2), and then we turn to the diachronic specialization of demonstratives and the grammaticalization of CEL (section 3); in section 4 we draw the conclusions.

1.2. Period investigated

We follow the generally accepted periodization of the Romanian language (Gheție 1997: 52–53), and distinguish between old Romanian (1500–1510[3]/1521[4] to 1780[5]) and modern Romanian (1780 to the present-day). The old Romanian data are extracted from original texts and translations, mostly focusing on the earliest writings.

2. THE SYNTAX OF DEMONSTRATIVES AND OF THE ARTICLE *CEL* IN MODERN ROMANIAN

In contrast to old Romanian, in modern Romanian there is a strict morphological and distributional specialization of demonstratives, and the determiner CEL has a robust morphology and a constrained and limited distribution. The goal of this section is to present the morphosyntactic features of Romanian demonstratives and of the determiner CEL, against which we set the diachronic analysis that follows (section 3).

[3] The earliest attested Romanian text, *The Hurmuzaki Psalter* (PH.1500-10), a religious translation.

[4] The earliest attested Romanian *original* text, a letter sent by Neacșu Lupu from Câmpulung to Johannes Benker of Brașov (DÎ.1521: I).

[5] S. Micu and G. Șincai's grammar *Elementa linguæ daco-romanæ sive valachicæ* (1780).

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2.1. Demonstratives[6]

From a functional point of view, the demonstrative system of modern Romanian is organized along the bipartite proximity distinction: *acest(a)* ('this') *vs. acel(a)* ('that'), behaving similarly to modern French and standard Italian, but contrasting with other Romance languages (e.g. Portuguese, Spanish, Valencian, and Occitan) (Salvi 2011: 325).

From a morphological point of view, Romanian distinguishes *weak* and *strong* demonstratives[7]; strength is achieved (i) by means of the final vocalic augment *-a*[8], either simply added to the weak form ((1a) *vs.* (1b)) or replacing the final segment *-ă* of the weak form ((1c) *vs.* (1d)), or (ii) by word internal processes ((2a) *vs.* (2b)).

		WEAK DEMONSTRATIVE		**STRONG DEMONSTRATIVE**
(1)	a.	*acest* this.W.M	b.	*acest**a*** this.S.M
	c.	*aceast**ă*** this.W.F	d.	*aceast**a*** this.S.F
(2)	a.	*acea* [aʧe̯a] that.W.F	b.	*aceea* [aʧeja] that.S.F

2.1.1. *Distribution*

From a distributional point of view, there are stark contrasts between the weak and the strong forms[9]. The weak form is a prenominal determiner which occupies the DP-initial position, selects a non-definite noun / nominal phrase, and precedes all other DP-internal constituents (numerals, modifiers, the head noun, etc.); it may only be preceded by light adverbials or by the universal quantifier *tot* ('all'):

(3)	a.	*doar*	***aceşti***	*trei*	*copii*
		only	these.W	three	children
		'only these three children'			

[6] Since we are interested mostly in the syntactic behaviour of demonstratives, our presentation in this section makes use of the standard Romanian etymologically complex demonstratives *acest(a)* ('this') and *acel(a)* ('that'), which exhibit both strong and weak forms. In standard Romanian, the etymologically simple demonstratives *ăsta* ('this') (ia) and *ăla* ('that') (ib) have only strong forms, whose distributional behaviour is similar to that of their strong counterparts *acesta* and *acela* (see Nicolae 2013a); they are mostly employed in spoken Romanian (Nicula 2008, 2009). See Niculescu (1968) on the inventory of non-standard demonstratives.

(i) a. M.SG: *ăsta* F.SG: *asta* M.PL: *ăştia* F.PL: *astea* 'this(S)'

b. M.SG: *ăla* F.SG: *aia* M.PL: *ăia* F.PL: *alea* 'this(S)'

[7] In glosses, the weak and the strong form will be distinguished by the symbols W and S, respectively.

[8] Agreement has not yet been reached with respect to the origin of the vocalic augment *-a*; see Dimitrescu (1978 and references therein) for discussion.

[9] The weak and strong forms of the demonstrative have been also associated with different DP-internal information-structure functions, which lay beyond the interest of this paper (see, for details, Tasmowski 1990, Manoliu 2000, Cornilescu 2005, Vasilescu 2009a, i.a.).

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b. *toţi* ***aceşti*** *copii* *frumoşi*
all these.W children beautiful
'all these beautiful children'

By contrast, the strong form is a postnominal determiner which combines with a definite noun. The noun is suffixed by the definite article ((4a) *vs.* (4b)) and obligatorily precedes the demonstrative (cf. (4c)). Optional multiple definiteness is available in modern Romanian, especially in the spoken language (4d) (Iordan 1956).

(4) a. *frate**le*** ***acesta***
brother.DEF this.S
'this brother'
b. **frate* ***acesta***
brother this.S
c. ****acesta*** *frate**(le)***
this.S brother(.DEF)
d. *muncitoru**l*** ***ăla*** *vrednic / vrednicu**l***
worker.DEF that.S diligent diligent.DEF
'that diligent worker'

Furthermore, the demonstrative is strictly adjacent to the definite noun, the insertion of other constituents in between the noun and the demonstrative being completely banned (5); even nominal arguments (5a) and relational (classifying and thematic) adjectives (5c) become separated from the selecting head. Another particularity of the postnominal demonstrative construction is that it freely allows the postnominal distribution of cardinal numerals (5e).

(5) a. *fratele* ***acesta*** *al meu*
brother.DEF this.S AL my
'this brother of mine'
b. **fratele* *meu* ***acesta***
brother.DEF my this.S
c. *maşina* ***aceasta*** *nemţească*
car.DEF this.S German
'this German car'
d. **maşina nemţească* ***aceasta***
car.DEF German this.S
e. *copiii* ***aceştia*** *doi*
children.DEF these.S two
'these two children'
f. **copiii* *doi* ***aceştia***
children.DEF two these.S

Another significant difference between weak and strong demonstratives concerns nominal ellipsis and occurrence as a predicative: only the strong form may head DPs with elided heads (6a) (*vs.* (6b)) and appear as postcopular predicatives (7a) (*vs.* (7b)).

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(6) a. *omul* ***acesta*** / ***acesta***
man.DEF this.S this.S
'this man' 'this (one)'
b. ***acest*** *om* / ****acest***
this.W man this.W
'this man'

(7) a. *El este* ***acesta***.
he is this.S
'He is this one'
b. **El este* ***acest***.
he is this.W

Let us now focus on the syntactic characterization of the weak *vs.* strong demonstratives as results from the distributional characteristics reviewed above.

2.1.2. *Syntactic analysis*

The high domain of the Romanian DP consists of (at least) the following functional projections (Cornilescu 2005, 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2009, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a, i.a.)[10]:

(8) DP > DemP > QP > …

The D^0-head of the DP projection accommodates *interpretable* definiteness, being thus responsible for definiteness valuation/checking; demonstratives merge in Dem^0 or in Spec,DemP (cf. Giusti 1993, Brugè 2002)[11], depending on their phrasal status (head/phrase), and potentially undergo movement to D^0/DP; the specifier of QP accommodates cardinal numerals and other quantifiers.

Turning to the particular situation of Romanian demonstratives, the following results can be drawn from the facts reviewed in the previous section:

(i) behaviour under nominal ellipsis (6) and in predicative position (7) shows that the strong demonstrative is phrasal (XP), while the weak demonstrative is a head (X^0) (Cornilescu 2005);

(ii) different DP-internal operations are associated with each type of demonstrative: while the distribution of the weak demonstrative is similar to its prenominal counterpart from Romance or English and poses no special problems (9), the postnominal distribution of strong demonstrative points to the fact that the definite noun undergoes movement to D; the strict adjacency constraint of the postnominal demonstrative to the nominal head illustrated in (5) further indicates that the type of movement involved is head-movement

[10] Intensive research on the left periphery of the Romanian DP (Cornilescu 2007, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a) in the split-D framework (Giusti 2005, Laenzlinger 2005 i.a.) has shown that the functional domain of the Romanian DP is more complex: the D-area consists of at least a higher/external deixis D and a lower/internal agreement D. The adoption of a simple, non-split D projection suffices for the purposes of the present analysis.

[11] UG actually provides two merger positions for demonstratives (Guardino 2012), a high position like the one in (8) and a lower functional projection in the extended nominal domain. Of these two positions, (old and modern) Romanian makes use only of the high position (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015).

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across the phrasal demonstrative (Cornilescu 2005); head-movement is chosen over phrasal movement (the general option in the Romanian DP, see Cinque 2004) as a last resort strategy to bypass a locality problem (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015), namely the impossibility of one specifier to crossover another specifier (a constraint not encountered in old Romanian, see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b).

(9) ***acest*** *frate*
this.W brother
a. [$_{DemP}$ ***acest*** [$_{NP}$ *frate* …]]
b. [$_{DP}$ *acest* [$_{DemP}$ ~~***acest***~~ [$_{NP}$ *frate*]]]

(10) *fratele* ***acesta***
brother.DEF this.S
a. [$_{DemP}$ ***acesta*** [$_{NP}$ *fratele*]]
b. [$_{DP}$ [$_{N+D}$ *fratele* [$_{DemP}$ *acesta* [$_{NP}$ ~~*fratele*~~]]]]

Retaining this analysis for the diachronic account that follows, in the next section we briefly turn to the distribution and analysis of the article CEL.

2.2. The article *CEL*

The article CEL, characterized by Romanian traditional scholarship as a "demonstrative / adjectival article" (GLR 1966, I: 107–108), is an innovation of Romanian among the Romance languages (Niculescu 1965: 19–20, Iliescu 2006, 2009), which does not have Romance counterparts (Reinheimer Rîpeanu 2001: 198, Vasilescu 2009b: 273), at least as far as its distribution with postnominal modifiers is concerned. From an interpretative point of view, in modern Romanian, CEL is devoid of demonstrative meaning, i.e. it no longer encodes proximity distinctions.

2.2.1. *Distribution*[12]

CEL functions as a (last resort) *freestanding definite article* and values definiteness when the DP-initial position is occupied by numerals which cannot bear the suffixal definite article (Cornilescu 2004) (11); "quantifying adjectives", which display a mixed adjectival and quantificational behaviour (Pană Dindelegan 2003, Cornilescu 2009), have the option of valuing definiteness either by CEL-insertion (12a) or by definite article suffixation (12b).

(11) a. ***cei*** *doi* *frați* (*vs.* a'. **doi**i*** *frați*)
CEL two brothers two.DEF brothers
'the two brothers'
b. ***cel*** *de-al doilea* *frate*
CEL second brother
'the second brother'

[12] For the full distribution of CEL, see Nicolae (2013b); in this paper, we limit ourselves to the contexts which present a direct interest for the diachronic analysis that follows.

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(12) a. ***cei*** *(foarte) mulți frați*
CEL very many brothers
'the very many brothers'
b. *mulți**i*** *frați* *ai Mariei*
many.DEF brothers AL Mary.GEN
'Mary's many brothers'

While the freestanding definite article usage of CEL is not peculiar from a cross-linguistic perspective, its other context of occurrence (*adjectival article*) is highly specific to Romanian (at least from a Romance perspective, see Ledgeway 2012: 113–115). In this second context[13], CEL is postnominal and precedes[14] APs headed by qualifying adjectives (13a), PPs (13b), agreeing past participles (13c), agreeing gerund (obsolete) (13d) (Cornilescu 2004).

(13) a. *casa* ***cea*** *nouă*
house(F).DEF CEL.F new.F
'the new house'
b. *casa* ***cea*** *din deal*
house(F).DEF CEL.F from hill
'the house on the hill'
c. *copiii* ***cei*** *pierduți*
child.PL.DEF CEL.PL lost.PL
'the lost children'
d. *lebăda* ***cea*** *murindă*
swan(F).DEF CEL.F dying.F
'the dying swan'

Although CEL is preceded by a definite constituent, its distribution is not as similar to that of strong demonstratives as may seem at first sight. First of all, CEL may be preceded by phrasal constituents (compare to the ungrammatical counterparts with postnominal demonstratives in (5b), (5d)):

[13] The interpretation of the CEL-construction has been subject to much controversy; we refer the reader to the discussion in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011a; 2012: 1087–1093) for a review of the relevant literature and a unifying proposal of interpretation.

[14] The full distribution of CEL also includes its occurrence as a formative of the superlative (i) and in the structure of PNs (ii). The grammaticalization of CEL as a superlative morpheme (i) took place after its grammaticalization as an adjectival article (Brăescu 2015), and represents a Romance-specific type of grammaticalization (Iordan and Manoliu 1965: 153), widely attested cross-linguistically, namely DEFINITE > SUPERLATIVE (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 106) (see also Ledgeway 2012: 114, fnt. 44 for discussion). The presence of definite determiners in the internal structure of proper names (ii) is also widely attested in Romance and cross-linguistically.

(i) a. ***cea*** *mai tânără* *fată* (ii) *Ivan* ***cel*** *groaznic*
CEL more new girl Ivan CEL terrible
b. *fata* ***cea*** *mai tânără* 'Ivan the Terrible'
girl.DEF CEL more young
'the youngest girl'

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(14) a. *fratele* *meu* ***cel*** *mic*
brother.DEF my CEL little
'my little brother'
b. *maşina* *nemţească* ***cea*** *roşie*
car.DEF German CEL red
'the red German car'

Secondly, while postnominal demonstratives directly precede relational adjectives, in the CEL-construction relational adjectives are pied-piped along by the head noun (14b), and cannot be directly preceded by CEL (15a), a distribution permitted with strong demonstratives (see (5c) above). Another difference between postnominal demonstratives and CEL concerns the availability of multiple definiteness, totally excluded in the CEL- construction (15b), but possible in the postnominal demonstrative construction (4d). Also, in contrast to prenominal demonstratives, CEL cannot (directly or indirectly) precede nouns (15c).

(15) a. **maşina* ***cea*** *nemţească*
car.DEF CEL German
b. *muncitoru**l*** CEL *vrednic* */ *vrednicu**l***
worker.DEF that.S diligent diligent.DEF
'the diligent worker'
b. ****cea*** *maşină* / ****cea*** *roşie* *maşină*
CEL car CEL red car

CEL is also the licenser of definite nominal ellipsis in Romanian. Romanian keeps distinct two very similar processes, *nominal ellipsis* and *substantivization*, by means of different licensers (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012, Nicolae 2013c, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2015), contrasting to other Romance languages which employ one and the same element, the definite article (see Sleeman 1996). Nominal ellipsis, the discourse-conditioned omission of the nominal head, is headed by the article CEL (16), while substantivization, a lexically-conditioned process which involves the incorporation of a silent but contentful noun, e.g. HUMAN, COLOUR, CATEGORY (Kayne 2005), is licensed by the suffixal definite article (17). Traditional scholarship has also characterized CEL as a "semiindependent pronoun" (Manoliu-Manea 1968) due to the fact that CEL is unable to stand alone under nominal ellipsis, being obligatorily accompanied by at least a remnant (owing to its clitic nature, see Nicolae 2013b: 311); once more, this sets it in contrast to demonstratives (18).

(16) a. *mărul* *roşu* *şi* ***cel*** *verde* */ *şi verde**le***
apple.DEF red and CEL green and green.DEF
'the red apple and the green one'
b. *câinele* *sănătos* *şi* ***cel*** *bolnav* */ *şi bolnavu**l***
dog.DEF healthy and CEL sick and sick.DEF
'the healthy dog and the sick one'

(17) a. *verde**le*** [COLOUR]
green.DEF
'the colour green' (but not 'the green apple')

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b. *bolnav**ul*** [HUMAN]
sick.DEF
'the sick man' (but not 'the sick dog')

(18) ***Acela*** / ****Cel*** *a* *venit.*
that.S CEL AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE
'That one came'

2.2.2. *Syntactic analysis*

Taking stock of the properties reviewed in previous subsection, we can draw the conclusion that CEL directly merges in the D-position of the higher functional nominal domain, merger in Dem(P) being excluded as CEL does not have demonstrative value. The fact that CEL may be preceded by phrasal constituents (14) and the inability of CEL to stand alone under nominal ellipsis (18) further indicate that CEL is a *head*, not a phrase. If CEL were phrasal, it would induce the same last resort type of head-movement and block phrasal movement, just as in the case of the as the strong demonstrative, contrary to fact.

Hence, as a freestanding determiner preceding quantifiers, CEL merges in D^0 and types the phrase as definite; in this structure, movement of the noun across CEL is possible (Cornilescu 2004), but rare (Nicolae 2013b: 315):

(19) ***cei*** *doi* *oameni*
CEL two people
$[_{DP}\,[_{D^0}$ cei $[_{QP}\,[_{CardP}$ doi] Q $[_{NumP/NP}$ oameni]]]]

In the adjectival article construction[15], CEL also merges in the same position, and there is obligatory phrasal movement across CEL to the specifier of the DP:

(20) *fratele* *(meu)* ***cel*** *mic*
brother.DEF my CEL little
$[_{DP}\,[_{NP}$ fratele (meu)] $[_{D}$ cel $[_{FP}\,[_{AP}$ mic] … t_{NP}

2.3. Summary

In this section, we have reviewed the distributional and syntactic properties of demonstratives and of the article CEL in modern Romanian. The following facts have emerged from the discussion:

(i) the weak proximal and distal demonstratives and the article CEL are *heads*, while the strong demonstratives are *phrasal*;

(ii) in the extended nominal projection which assumes at least the projections DP > DemP > QP,

(a) weak demonstratives merge in Dem^0 and undergo head movement to D^0;

[15] Under the split-D hypothesis (see fnt. 10), the analysis of the adjectival article construction is slightly different (see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a); this difference is immaterial for the purposes of the diachronic analysis that follows.

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(b) strong demonstratives merge in Spec,DemP; N^0-movement across the demonstrative derives the postnominal demonstrative construction;

(c) CEL directly merges in D^0; the adjectival article construction is derived by NP-movement to Spec,DP across CEL.

3. THE VIEW FROM DIACHRONY

In the previous section, we have highlighted the fact that the syntax of demonstratives in modern Romanian aligns along the weak/strong distinction and there is virtually no optionality in this respect; in other words, modern Romanian demonstratives exhibit *a robust form – syntax correlation*. In this section, we show that this correlation was not active in older stages of Romanian: the distribution of demonstratives in old Romanian indicates that the weak/strong distinction does not correlate with the head/phrase distinction. The effect of this lack of specialization has repercussions on the DP-internal movement operations: the adjacency constraint of postnominal demonstratives to a definite noun is not well-established in old Romanian (see, for the initial observation, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b: 214).

Similar considerations hold for the article CEL, which also displays a uniform syntax in modern Romanian. The extensive examination of old Romanian texts actually shows that in the earliest stages of old Romanian CEL stood a dual grammar, displaying both demonstrative and article (distributional and interpretative) properties, and hence illustrating Kroch's (1989) notion of "grammars in competition" (see Roberts 2007: 319–331 for an up-to-date discussion).

After a brief presentation of the origin of the Romanian demonstratives and of the article CEL, we turn to their distributional and interpretative behaviour in old Romanian, and then propose a diachronic scenario that accounts for the changes encountered in the transition to modern Romanian.

3.1. The origin of Romanian demonstratives and of the article CEL

Romanian possesses both etymologically simple demonstratives and etymologically complex demonstratives. The demonstratives *ăsta* ('this') and *ăla* ('that'), used only as strong forms mainly in the spoken language, originate from the vulgar Latin demonstratives *ĭstus* (classical Latin ISTE) and, respectively, *illum* (classical Latin ILLE) in stressed position. The demonstratives *acest(a)* ('this') and *acel(a)* ('that') are etymologically complex forms, resulting from the combination between Latin *eccum* (variant of ECCE 'behold') and *istum* and, respectively, *illum* (see the discussion in Dimitrescu 1978: 275).

Turning to CEL, its origin is the aphaeretic distal demonstrative *acel(a)* ('that') (Dimitrescu 1975: 169). Iordan and Manoliu (1965: 145) correctly remarked that the rise of CEL as a different form of the distal demonstrative took place after the 16th c., a hypothesis verified by the present research.

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3.2. Non-specialized demonstratives

In this section, we focus on non-aphaeretic demonstratives (*acest(a)* 'this' and *acel(a)* 'that'); in the next section, which specifically deals with CEL, we show that the aphaeretic forms display an ambiguous demonstrative/definite article grammar.

3.2.1. *Distribution*

The weak forms of demonstratives may appear both prenominally (21) and postnominally (22); the postnominal usage of weak demonstratives has been eliminated. The internal make-up of old Romanian DPs with postnominal *weak* demonstratives is sometimes very similar to that of modern Romanian postnominal demonstrative DPs with *strong* demonstratives (22b).

(21) a. *pentru* ***acel*** *bir* (DÎ.1593: X)
for that.W tax
'for that tax'

b. ***această*** *sămânţă* (PH.1500–10: 19^{r})
this.W seed
'this seed'

(22) a. *neamul* ***acel*** (CP^{1}.1577: 185^{r})
nation.DEF that.W
'that nation'

b. *mâncări**ei*** ***acea*** *porcească* (CC^{2}.1581: 18)
food.DEF.GEN that.W porcine
'of that porcine food'

By the same token, the strong form may appear both prenominally (23) and postnominally (24). The prenominal usage of the strong form has been also eliminated.

(23) a. ***aceasta*** *a mea* *scrisoare* (DÎ.1594: X)
this.S AL my letter
'this letter of mine'

b. ***acestea*** *cărţi creştineşti* (CCat.1560: 2^{r})
these.S books Christian
'these Christian books'

(24) a. *după feciorulŭ* ***acela*** (CC^{2}.1581: 24)
after boy.DEF that.S

b. *în iezerul* ***acela*** (A.1620: 19^{v})
in mountain.lake.DEF that.S
'in that mountain lake'

Authors like Dimitrescu (1978: 278) and Stan (2013: 35–36) have also remarked the lack of distributional constraints on the selection of the weak vs strong form.

Furthermore, the strong demonstrative may also precede nouns suffixed by the definite article, an option no longer available:

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(25) a. *însuşŭ* ***acela*** *judecătoriulŭ* *dereptŭ* (CC^2.1581: 33)
himself that.S judge.DEF honest
'that honest judge himself'
b. ***aceasta*** *moşia* *vândut-am* (DÎ.1595–96: XIII)
this.S property.DEF sell.PPLE=AUX.PERF.1SG
'I sold this property'

Another feature of postnominal strong demonstratives is that they may (26) or may not (27) be adjacent to the definite article. The latter distribution indicates phrasal movement across the strong demonstrative, an option no longer available.

(26) *in anulu* ***acesta*** *1593* (DÎ.1593: CXIII)
in year.DEF this.S 1593
'in that year 1593'
(27) *fiiulŭ meu* ***acesta*** *mortŭ* *era* (CC^2.1581: 12)
son.DEF my this.S dead was
'this sone of mine was dead'

3.2.2. *Nominal ellipsis*

Another disparity between old and modern Romanian demonstratives concerns nominal ellipsis; both strong (28) and weak (29) forms may occur in DPs with elided heads. In the transition to modern Romanian, the selection of the weak form in elliptical DPs has been eliminated.

(28) a. *audu* *şi înţelegu* *lucru ca* ***acesta*** (DÎ.1599: XVIII)
hear.PRES.3PL and understand.PRES.3PL thing like this.S
'they hear and understand a thing like this one'
b. ***Acela*** *era* *răul* *sterpiciunei* (SVI.~1670: 7^v)
that.S was wickedness.DEF sterility.DEF.GEN
'That was the wickedness of sterility'
(29) a. ***acel*** *e* *frate* *mie* (CT.1560–1: 74^r)
that.W is brother me.DAT
'That is my brother'
b. ***Aceste*** *zise* *marele* *împărat Alexandru* (A.1620: 74^v)
these.W say.PS.3SG great.DEF emperor Alexander
'The great emperor Alexander said these (words)'

3.2.3. *Evidence for the commencement of specialization*

However, in contrast to the data reviewed above, there is evidence for the fact that the strong/weak distinction tends to become syntactically specialized. To begin with, postnominal *weak* demonstratives have a low frequency, and they are mostly attested in translations; in general, the distribution of weak vs strong forms in original documents is more stable than in translations (Stan 2013: 35–36).

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More importantly, the postnominal *weak* demonstrative construction (30) differs from the postnominal *strong* demonstrative construction (31) in that only the latter allows (and actually favours in old Romanian) the multiple expression of definiteness.

(30) a. *mâncări**ei*** ***acea*** *porcească* (CC^2.1581: 18)
food.DEF.GEN that.W porcine
'to that porcine food'

b. *bucinu**lŭ*** ***acelŭ*** *îngerescŭ* (CazV.1643: 26^v)
alphorn.DEF that.W angelical
'that angelical alphorn'

(31) a. *lumi**ei*** ***aceştiia*** *înşălătoare**a*** (CC^2.1581: 18)
world.DEF.GEN this.S.GEN deceiving.DEF.GEN
'of this deceiving world'

b. *locu**l*** ***acesta*** *sfântu**l*** (CV.1563–83: 17^r)
place.DEF this.S sacred.DEF
'this sacred place'

A similar behaviour has been observed in the situation the aphaeretic demonstratives (see Vasiliu 2007 for the initial observation): apocopate (i.e. weak) forms of CEL disallow multiple definiteness, while their strong counterparts actually favour it (see the next section for details).

3.2.4. *Summary*

The old Romanian distribution of demonstratives reviewed above indicates that the weak/strong distinction does not correlate with a clear phrasal status (head/phrase), nor with uniform DP-internal movement options: (i) both weak and strong forms may head elliptical DPs, a fact which shows that weak forms are not uniformly classified as heads; (ii) movement to D is not obligatory for either type of demonstrative, as indicated by the fact that both weak and strong forms may be preceded by other material, but is possible for both weak and strong demonstratives, as shown by the fact that both types of form may occupy the DP-initial position preceding the head-noun; (iii) strong demonstratives may be preceded either by definite nouns or by complex phrasal constituents, this again testifying to the fact that the head/phrase categorization is unclear. Despite this vacillating behaviour, there are certain clear signs of specialization from the earliest (16th c.) texts, namely the availability of multiple definiteness only with strong demonstratives.

3.2.5. *Diachronic development*

The passage to modern Romanian *consolidated the weak/strong distinction* by specializing the weak form as a head which obligatorily undergoes movement to D^0, and the strong form as a phrase which occupies the Spec,DemP and no longer moves to the D-position[16]. In other words, a grammar with more options has been reset to a grammar

[16] The loss of the strong form's ability to move to D does not imply that strong forms no longer entertain any relation with the D-position; the relation between D and strong demonstratives is mediated by *Agree* (*coindexation* in older terminology, see Roberts and Roussou 2003: 133).

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with fewer options in which each type of demonstrative is associated with an unambiguous phrasal status and with unambiguous movement options.

3.3. The ambiguous grammar of CEL

3.3.1. *Acel* > *CEL* or *acela* > *CEL*?

The grammaticalization of CEL is supported by phonological processes of reduction of the distal demonstrative *acel(a)* ('that'); as known, morphophonological reduction is a frequent process that takes place in the grammaticalization of determiners (Roberts and Roussou 2003: 132).

The origin of CEL is actually the aphaeretic weak form of the distal demonstrative, *(a)cel*, not the strong form *acela* simultaneously affected by the aphaeresis of the initial vowel *a-* and the apocope of the final vowel *-a* (cf. also Giurgea 2012: 41–42). The aphaeretic strong form (i.e. *cel**a***) as the etymological basis of CEL is ruled out by phonological[17] (see Dimitrescu 1978: 276) as well as distributional reasons; in particular, notice that aphaeretic strong forms do not exhibit the so-called "semiindependent" behaviour characteristic to CEL (the presence of a DP-internal constituent to their right) (32a) and may precede definite or non-definite constituents (32b, c), just like the non-aphaeretic demonstratives:

(32) a. ***ceia**-u* *dzis* *că* *nu e acolo* (DÎ.1593: CXII)
those.S=AUX.PERF.3PL say.PPLE that not is there
'those (men) said that it is not there'

b. *asculta* (...) *de* [***cealea** de Pavelu grăite**le***] (CV.1563–83: 43^{v})
listen. IMPERF.3SG of those.S by Pavel spoken.PL.DEF
'he listened to the those (things) spoken by Pavel'

c. *pintru* ***celea*** *săbii* (DÎ.1599–600: XXV)
for those.S swords
'for those swords'

Further evidence for the fact that the grammaticalization of CEL proceeds from simultaneously aphaeretic and apocopate forms (henceforth glossed as CEL[18]) is given by multiple definite constructions. Vasiliu (2007: 75) correctly remarks that in postnominal position the apocopate forms of old Romanian CEL disallow multiple definiteness (33), while non-apocopate forms behave like the old and modern Romanian postnominal *strong* demonstratives, i.e. multiple definiteness is allowed (34) – actually favoured in this stage of Romanian –, but not always obligatory (35). Vasiliu's observation is strongly supported by

[17] This is obvious when we compare the singular feminine strong form *(a)ceea* whose augmentation is achieved through a word-internal change with the singular feminine form *(a)cea*.

[18] For convenience, we will gloss the aphaeretic and apocopate forms with CEL, bearing in mind that these forms stand a dual demonstrative/definite article analysis, as will be seen in the next subsection.

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the fact this behaviour is systematic in the collection of the earliest attested original Romanian writings (DÎ).

(33) a. *înțelepciunea* ***cea*** *veacinicî* (CazV.1643: II^{v})
wisdom.DEF CEL eternal
'the eternal wisdom'

b. *frații* ***cei*** *mici* (CC^{2}.1581: 34)
brothers.DEF CEL little
'the little brothers'

c. *datoria* ***cea*** *veache* (DÎ.1595–96: XII)
debt.DEF CEL old
'the old debt'

d. *cugetul* *lui* ***cel*** *rău* (DÎ.1600: XLIV)
thought.DEF his CEL mean
'his mean thought'

(34) a. *la locul* ***cela*** *strimtu**l*** (DÎ.1521: I)
at place.DEF CEL narrow.M.DEF
'at that narrow place'

b. *iară popa* ***cela*** *greşitu**l*** *(să*
and priest.DEF CEL.M.SG trespassed.DEF.M.SG SUBJ
se/să *facă* *călugăr)* (CPrav.1560–62: 9^{r}; Prav.1581: 206^{v})
SE become.SUBJ monk
'and the/that priest who has trespassed should become a monk'

c. *fiu**lŭ*** *lui* ***cela*** *mai* *mare**le*** (CC^{2}.1581: 12)
son.DEF his that.S more old.DEF
'his older son'

(35) *feciorul**ŭ*** *lui* *cel**a*** *mai mare* (CC^{2}.1581: 22)
son.DEF his that.S more old
'his older son'

Hence, the aphaeretic non-apocopate forms are variants of the full demonstrative, and an accurate diachronic analysis of the grammaticalization of CEL should mostly focus on the forms simultaneously affected by aphaeresis and apocope.

3.3.2. *Demonstrative distribution and interpretation*

Despite the clearly different distribution of the aphaeretic and apocopate forms in contrast to their non-apocopate counterparts with respect to multiple definiteness, there is distributional and interpretative evidence that the aphaeretic weak forms also exhibit demonstrative behaviour in old Romanian.

To begin with, these forms may directly precede non-definite nouns (36) / adjectives plus nouns (37) / nouns plus adjectives (38) (Dimitrescu 1978, Giurgea 2013, Stan 2013), a distribution no longer available for modern Romanian CEL, but available for old and modern Romanian weak demonstratives:

(36) a. ***cei*** *oameni* *ai săi* (CC^{1}.1567: 97^{v})
CEL men AL his
'his people / those people of his']

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b. *au* *luat* ***cel*** *grâu* (DÎ.1593: IX)
AUX.PERF.3PL take.PPLE CEL wheat
'they have taken the / that wheat'

c. *pre* ***cel*** *sol* (A.1620: 57[r])
DOM CEL messenger
'the/that messenger'

(37) a. ***cea*** *bună nădejde* (FT.1571–75: 2[v])
CEL good hope
'the/that good hope'

b. ***cea*** *puțină* *credință* (CC[2].1581: 297)
CEL little faith
'the/that little faith'

(38) a. *toate* ***cele*** *lucrure bure* (MI.~1630: 191r)
all CEL things good
'all the/those good things'

b. ***cel*** *fecior curvariu* (Ev.1642 : 179)
CEL son fornicating
'the/that fornicating son'

c. *den* ***celŭ*** *lucru rău* (CC[2].1581: 17)
from CEL thing bad
'from the/that bad thing'

Another demonstrative feature of these forms is represented by the direct combination with relational adjectives (Brăescu and Dragomirescu 2014), a feature no longer available in the modern Romanian CEL-construction:

(39) a. ***cea*** ***dumnezeiască*** *viață* (CC[2].1581: 147)
CEL godly life
'that divine life' (*dumnezeiesc* < *Dumnezeu* 'God')

b. *birăul* ***cel rumânescu*** *şi* *cu* ***cel armenescu*** (DÎ.1593–97: XCVII)
mayor CEL Romanian and with CEL Armenian
'the Romanian mayor with the Armenian one'

From an interpretative point of view, the aphaeretic and apocopate distal forms still seem to preserve a spatial meaning (i.e. the meaning of a full distal demonstrative); in the oldest Romanian writings, in the same text, we also find aphaeretic and apocopate *proximal* forms; hence, a proximity opposition of aphaeretic and apocopate forms is still at play to a certain degree:

(40) a. ***cele*** *grele pedepse a tale* (FT.1571–75: 3[r])
CEL hard penalties AL your
'your hard penalities / those hard penalties of yours'

b. ***ceastă*** *lume* (FT.1571–75: 2[v])
this.W world
'this world'

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(41) a. ***celŭ*** *feciorŭ micŭ* (CC^2.1581: 11)
CEL son little
'the/that little son'
b. *avuțiia* ***cestui*** *pămînt* (CC^2.1581: 49)
wealth.DEF this.W.GEN land
'the wealth of this land'

To sum up, in contrast to the evidence for a distinction between the aphaeretic forms with apocope and those without apocope presented in the previous subsection, in the present subsection we have discussed certain characteristics that indicate that the aphaeretic apocopate forms also present demonstrative features. We may safely conclude that the forms out of which CEL eventually grammaticalized displayed dual demonstrative/definite article behaviour; in other words, these forms had a double categorization, hence illustrating the phenomenon of grammars in competition.

3.3.3. *Nominal ellipsis*

A final piece of evidence in favour of the idea that the CEL-forms of old Romanian did not display the same behaviour of the modern Romanian CEL-construction is given by nominal ellipsis. Recall that modern Romanian, in contrast to other Romance languages, distinguishes definite nominal ellipsis from substantivization by using the article CEL for the former process and the suffixal definite article for the latter (see examples (16)–(17) above). By contrast, in the oldest Romanian writings, elliptical DPs are headed by the suffixal definite article (42a); crucially, in the later editions of the same passage, the definite article strategy is replaced by the CEL-strategy (42b) (Stan 2015: 62).

(42) a. *nooa* (CT.1560–1: 121^v)
new.DEF
b. ***cel*** *nou* (BB.1688: 793)
CEL new
'the new one'

This change took place across-the-board in the passage from the earliest texts of old Romanian to later texts (Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2015; Nicolae 2015).

3.3.4. *The grammaticalization of* CEL

The grammaticalization of the aphaeretic and apocopate form of the distal demonstrative as definite determiner is intimately related to the diachronic specialization of the Romanian demonstratives.

Recall that the principal phenomenon that took place in the syntax of demonstratives is the specialization of the weak forms as heads which select a non-definite nominal complement, and of the strong forms as phrases which take a definite noun as their complement, which subsequently raise to D via head-movement.

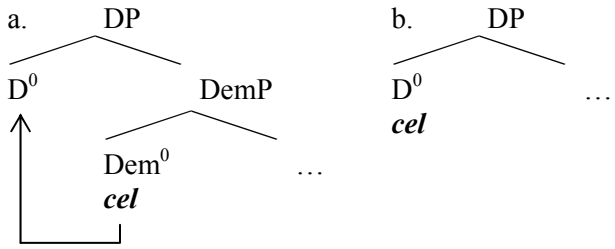
In what follows, we sketch the steps which have led to the reanalysis of CEL as a definite article:

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(i) The aphaeretic and apocopate form of the distal demonstrative generally patterns with the weak demonstrative forms. Hence, along with the weak demonstrative, it gradually becomes specialized as a head.

(ii) Since it displays dual demonstrative/article features, two merger positions (i.e. two structures) are available for CEL-forms: Dem^0 (with potential movement to D^0, just like modern Romanian weak demonstratives) (43a) and D^0 (43b); these two structures co-exist for a period. The same scenario has been also advocated by Giusti (1998) for the emergence of the Romance definite article.

(43)



(iii) The semantic bleaching of the [+demonstrative] feature – also supported by the almost complete disappearance by the end of old Romanian of aphaeretic and apocopate ***proximal*** demonstratives (*cest* < *acest(a)*), with which the CEL-forms enter the proximity opposition – triggers the complete reanalysis of CEL as D^0-head; structure (43a) is no longer possible, the only option for the merger of CEL being (43b).

In sum, the grammaticalization of article CEL is a familiar Move > Merge type of reanalysis (Roberts and Roussou 2003: 136), often encountered in the emergence of Romance determiners. Similarly to the transformation of the Latin distal demonstrative *ille* into the Romance definite article (including the Romanian one, see Nicolae 2012), the transformation of the Romanian distal demonstrative into a definite article involved morphophonological reduction (*acel* > *cel*), semantic bleaching (loss of the demonstrative property), and categorial change (demonstrative > article). This has prompted researchers like Iliescu (2006, 2009) to qualify the development of CEL as an example within Romanian of a recurrent Romance typological change: the production of a parallel new form from almost identical material.

3.3.5. CEL *in quantificational phrases*

One final problem concerns the usage of CEL as a freestanding definite article in phrases that contain morphologically defective quantifiers (see example (11) above). This usage of CEL is related to an old Romanian structure which disappeared in the passage from old to modern Romanian, namely the "low definite article", first discussed in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011b). In this structure, the definite article may be suffixed on a noun preceded by a non-definite adjective; in other words, definiteness valuation/checking proceeds across a prenominal intervener:

(44) a. *tinde (...)* *către noi* [*<u>svântă</u>* *mana* *ta*] (FT.1571–75: 3^{v})
extend.PRES.2SG towards us holy hand.DEF your
'extend your holy hand towards us with mercy'

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b. *cu* [*cinstită carte**a*** *măriii* *tale*] (DÎ.1596: CVI)
with honoured letter.DEF highness.DEF.GEN your
'with your highness' honoured letter'

This type of definiteness valuation/checking was reset by the end of old Romanian in favour of a grammar which favours a more local type of valuation: the bearer of definiteness must be hosted by the first noun/adjective in the DP.

The low definite article construction is also available with quantificational phrases in old Romanian; the suffixal definite article checks definiteness across the intervening quantifier:

(45) a. *deade* *Dumnezeu* [*zeace* *cuvinte**le*** *sale*] (CCat.1560: 4^{r})
give.PS.3SG God ten words.DEF his
'God gave his ten commandments'
b. *arătarea* [*a dooa* *venire**ei*** *lui*] (CC^{2}.1581: 600)
showing.DEF second coming.DEF.GEN his
'the showing of his second coming'

However, in contrast to prenominal adjectives, which are ϕ-complete and have the option to be suffixed by the definite article and hence value definiteness in a local manner, quantifiers (with few exceptions, see (12) above) are ϕ-incomplete (i.e. morphologically defective) and cannot be suffixed by the definite article. Since non-local definiteness valuation in no longer available, the presence of the suffixal definite article on a post-quantifier constituent is excluded. A novel freestanding exponent of the D^{0} projection is already available in the old language, namely CEL, and hence it is selected as a last resort option to check/value definiteness in quantificational DPs. Hence, definiteness valuation in DPs of the type in (45) is satisfied by the insertion of CEL (46):

(46) a. ***cele*** *zece* *cuvinte* ***ale*** *sale*
CEL ten worlds AL his
'his ten words'
b. ***cea*** *de-a doua* *venire* *a lui*
CEL second coming AL his
'his second coming'

The low definite article in quantificational DPs was already an archaism in old Romanian (in contrast to the low definite article with prenominal adjectives, which was relatively frequent, see Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b). This construction is rare, and the usage of CEL as a freestanding definite article devoid of (distal) demonstrative meaning is quite frequent; for example, in the following fragment from the popular novel *Alexandria* (A.1620), it is obvious that the quantificational DP "**cei** 6 filosofi" ('the six philosophers') anaphorically refers back to the indefinite DP "6 filosofi" ('six philosophers'), and CEL is a definite article not a distal demonstrative:

(47) *Şi luo* *Alexandru de la* *ei* *6 filosofi* *şi ieşi*
and take.PS.3SG Alexander from them six philosophers and leave.PS.3SG

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din ostrov [...] . *Şi-i* *îmbrăcă*
from island and=CL.ACC.3PL dress.PS.3SG
pre ***cei*** *6 filosofi* […] (A.1620: 7^{v})
DOM CEL six philosopers
'And Alexander took six philosophers from them and left the island. […] And he dressed the six philosophers and …'

The non-ambiguous usage of the aphaeretic and apocopate form as freestanding definite article in very early old Romanian documents further validates the idea that CEL-forms have dual categorization in old Romanian, defended in section 3.3.1 above.

4. CONCLUSIONS

4.1. The reconfiguration of the syntax of demonstratives and the emergence of CEL

The main phenomenon that took place in the syntax of Romanian demonstratives is the diachronic specialization of the weak and strong forms as heads and phrases, respectively. This conferred non-ambiguous syntactic derivations of each type of form:

(i) the weak form is a head merging in Dem^0 that selects a non-definite complement; the short demonstrative values definiteness and moves to D^0;

(ii) the strong form is a phrase which merges in Spec,DemP and selects a definite complement; the D-position is targeted by the definite noun; the definite noun may only undergo head-movement to D^0, phrasal movement being blocked by locality constraints.

The fact that each type of demonstrative has particular selectional features (weak forms select a non-definite complement / strong forms take a definite complement) is further verified by the fact that in both old and modern Romanian multiple definiteness is available *only* with strong forms.

The aphaeretic and apocopate distal demonstratives were included in the weak demonstrative paradigm and unambiguously categorized as heads; the subsequent loss of the [+demonstrative] feature triggered their reanalysis as articles. The result of this process is a second definite article of Romanian, CEL, which has particular distributional features, and a particular DP-internal information structure function.

4.2. Factors favouring the emergence of CEL

Due to space limitations, little has been said about the interpretation of the non-quantificational CEL-construction (see footnote (12) above). Except for DPs containing quantifiers and for elliptical DPs, CEL-insertion is mostly optional in modern Romanian (see Nicolae 2013b); however, when CEL insertion takes place, the postnominal modifier acquires a particular pragmatic interpretation, which is generally associated with discourse prominence / saliency, and with the signalling of an identifying property of referent of the CEL-containing DP. The question arises as to what are the factors that have led to the emergence of this construction.

We believe that this construction emerged from the interplay of two other changes in the internal syntax of Romanian DPs. The first phenomen is the specialization of the

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prenominal adjectival position: in old Romanian, AP-movement to the left edge of the DP was virtually unbounded, and any type of adjective could occupy the DP-initial position, as richly documented by Brăescu and Dragomirescu (2014). Very often, AP-displacement to the DP-left periphery is information-structurally driven. This change is part of a larger shift witnessed in the change from Latin to late Latin and Romance, documented by Ledgeway (2012: 210): "Though as a typological diagnostic the position of the adjective with respect to the noun has been claimed on crosslinguistic grounds, as well as on the evidence of Latin and Romance, not to correlate robustly with other word order patterns, there are nonetheless some consistent Latin-internal patterns which incontrovertibly point towards an early shift from an original head-final AN order to the head-initial NA order (…) that continues into Romance".

The other change has already been briefly discussed in section 3.3.5 above: the strengthening of locality conditions on definiteness valuation in the passage from old to modern Romanian, further complicated by the fact that the Romanian definite article is a suffix with particular conditions of encliticization.

The combined effect of these two changes is the emergence of a novel construction in which CEL functions as an escape hatch allowing a nominal phrase to target the leftmost position of the DP, bypassing thus the intervention effects induced by information-structurally marked modifiers, DP-periphery constituents themselves.

The emergence of a novel construction with a particular DP-internal information structuring function is strategy that compensates for the gradual reduction of "pragmatically-driven word order (…) resulting form the greater accessibility of topic- and focus-fronting positions situated in the left edge of individual phasal projections" (Ledgeway 2012: 281–282) – in other words, discourse configurationality – which has taken places across-the-board in the passage from Latin to Romance, as extensively documented by Ledgeway (2012).

CORPUS

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