DIACHRONIC VARIATION WITH ROMANIAN (PSEUDO)-PARTITIVES

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Abstract. The paper discusses partitive and pseudo-partitive constructions in Old and Modern Romanian. The main claim is that Old Romanian featured a partitive preposition *de* separating two fully-fledged DPs. The corresponding partitive structure in Modern Romanian employs (mainly) two partitive prepositions *din* 'of-in' and *dintre* 'of-among', the former partitive preposition 'de' being reserved for pseudo-partitive constructions consisting of a single DP structure. There is one remnant *de* partitive construction – the possessive partitive (Cornilescu 2006). The paper claims that there is one more remnant *de* partitive in Modern Romanian – the demonstrative partitive.

Keywords: partitive, pseudo-partitive, diachronic variation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper makes two claims. Firstly, there are two structures available with Romanian (pseudo)partitives, which, following Tănase-Dogaru (2011, 2012), will be dubbed the Double-DP structure and the Single-DP structure. While Old Romanian featured the Double-DP structure with partitive *de*, Modern Romanian employs the Double-DP structure with the partitive prepositions *din* 'of-in' and *dintre* 'of-among'. Secondly, the Single-DP structure is seen as reserved in Modern Romanian for pseudopartitive constructions (Tănase-Dogaru 2012); There are two remnant *de* Double-DP constructions in Modern Romanian: the possessive partitive (Cornilescu 2006) and what we call the demonstrative partitive.

2. THE DATA

Examples (1) and (2) are preliminary examples of diachronic variation of Old and Modern Romanian partitive and pseudo-partitive constructions. (1a), from the 16th century, displaying a Double-DP structure with the partitive preposition *de* is contrasted with (1b), an example from Modern Romanian, where the same Double-DP structure features the partitive preposition *dintre* 'of-among'. The contrast in (2a,b) illustrates the pseudo-

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partitive preposition *de* being used in a Single-DP pseudo-partitive from the 17th century and one from Modern Romanian.

(1) a. nimini **de** rudele meale nu m-a grijit (16th century – DÎR: 101)
nobody of relatives-the mine not me-have attended
'no relative of mine has taken care of me'

b. fără să vorbesc cu nimeni **dintre** rudele mele
without to talk with nobody from relatives-the mine
'without talking to any of my relatives'

(2) a. mulțime **de** turci (17th century – C. Cantacuzino: 145)
multitude of Turks
'a crowd of Turks'

b. **o** mulțime **de** familii de turci
a multitude of families of Turks
'many Turkish families'

Therefore, while Old Romanian employed partitive *de* 'of', Modern Romanian witnesses a competition between the partitive prepositions *din* 'of-in' and *dintre* 'of-among'. This competition (see Nedelcu 2009) is an example of synchronic variation.

In Modern Romanian, *de* is confined to the pseudo-partitive domain (3), the only remnants of the partitive use being the 'possessive partitive' construction (4) (see Cornilescu 2006) and what we call the 'demonstrative partitive' (5).

(3) pahar **de** vin
glass of wine

(4) o soră **de**-a lui Ion
a sister of-the the Ion
'a sister of Ion's'

(5) dați-mi două **de**-astea şi trei **de**-alea
give me two of these and three of those

Similarly, variation can be noticed in relation to cardinal-noun constructions, which are assumed to be a sub-type of partitive constructions (Tănase-Dogaru 2012) (6)−(7):

(6) a. şi 5 **de** ai voştri vor goni pre 100 (17th century − C. Cantacuzino: 87)
and 5 of yours will chase DOM 100
'and five of your men will chase away one hundred'

b. cinci **dintre** ei
five of-among them
'five of them'

(7) a. era la **una de beseareci** întru sâmbătă (16th century − *Cazania a II-a*: 120)
was at one of churches in Saturday
'It was one Saturday in one of the churches'

b. una **dintre** ele
one of-among them
'one of them'

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Modern Romanian partitives have been thoroughly analyzed and classified by Nedelcu (2009); Old Romanian partitives – by Pană Dindelegan (2012). Building on their proposals and on Tănase-Dogaru (2012), the present paper attempts to offer a syntactic account of variation with partitive and pseudo-partitive constructions.

1.1. The Old Romanian corpus

The 'part' in the 'part-of' relation is represented by the first element of the partitive construction, i.e. N1. This may be a pronominal (8) or nominal (9) element. The pronominal element is either an indefinite pronoun (8a-g), an interrogative pronoun (8h) or negative pronoun (8i-k)) (see also Pană Dindelegan 2012):

(8) a. **Unul den voinici** cu sulița coastele lui împunse
one-the of-in young men with spear-the ribs-the his thrust
'one of the young men thrust his spear into his ribs'
(*Liturghierul lui Coresi*: 129)

b. vineră cu noi şi **alți** **de ucenici** den Chesaria
came with us and others of disciples from Chesaria
'other of the disciples from Chesaria came with us'
(*Lucrul Apostolesc*, in *Codicele Bratul*: 227)

c. **mulți de câți** crezut-au (*Codicele Bratul*: 204)
many of how-many believed
'many of those who believed'

d. Scularǎ-se **oarecarii dintru gloată** (*Codicele Bratul*: 61)
stood-up anyone.pl from crowd
'some people of the group called L stood up'

e. au purces [...] cu **câțiva din Potoceşti** (Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul*: 57)
have left with a few from Potocesti
'they left with a few of the Potocescu family'

f. Şi **fieşŭ-carele de noi** datoriu iaste lui Dumnezeu mii de talanți
and everyone of us debtor is to God thousands of talants
'and everyone of us owes God their talent' (*Cazania a II-a*: 285)

g. Oare iaste **cineva dintr-acei** ce mă ascultă (Ilie Miniat: 501)
Really is someone from-those who me listen
'is there really any of those who listen to me'

h. **Carele de proroci** nu goniră părinții voştri? (*Codicele Bratul*: 79)
which-the of prophets not chased parents-the yours
'which prophets were not chased away by your parents'

i. nerămâindu **nime** **de noi** (DÎR − 1594: 103)
not-remaining nobody of us
'not remaining any of us'

j. **nemenele** **den rudele** lui să
nobody-the f-in relatives-the his subj.să
n-aibă treabă (*Acte şi documente* – 1588: 107)
not-have business
'none of his relatives should be concerned'

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k. unde **nici una de aceastea** nu le strică (*Evanghelie învățătoare*: 80)
where neither one of these not them spoils
'where none of these spoils them'

Our corpus adds the indefinite pronouns *destui* 'enough.masc.pl' and *vreunul* 'any-one.the' as well as the demonstrative *aceaia* 'those' to the pronominal elements discussed by Pană Dindelegan (2012):

(9) a. **Destui** **de ceia** ce făcea farrmăce
enough.masc.pl of those who cast spells /
(*Codicele Voroneţean*, in *Codicele Bratul*: 205) /
Destui **de câți** fapt-au farmece
enough.masc.pl of how-many.masc.pl cast spells
'enough of those involved in witchcraft'
(*Codicele Bratul*: 205)

b. cu umbra să umbrească **vreunul de ei**
with shadow-the subj.să shade any-one.the of them /
(*Lucrul Apostolesc,* in *Codicele Bratul*: 50)
cu umbră se umbrească **vreunul dintru ei** (*Codicele Bratul*: 50)
with shadow subj.sa shade any-one.the from them
'one of them should shade the others'

c. ne-au ales **den lume pre aceaia** (*Cazania I*: 59)
us-have chosen of-in world DOM those
'they have chosen those of the people'

Our corpus features partitive constructions whose N1 is the noun *parte* 'part' (10a), indefinite DPs (10b), bare plurals (10c) or collective nouns (10d−f):

(10) a. cum am fostu cumpărat ***o parte*** **de ocină**, din sat din Brăhăşeşti
how I have been bought a part of land, from village from Brăhăşeşti
'I have bought a part of land from the village of Brăhăşeşti'
(DÎR – 1577: 154)

b. au pus […] dijma **din** **5 stupi** ***un stup***
have put tribute of-in 5 beehives one beehive
'they settled the tribute to one beehive out of five'
(*Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc*: 120)

c. să-m fii ***frate*** **den cei 4 fraţi** (DÎR – 1600: 128)
subj.să-me be brother of-in the 4 brothers
'you should be one of my four brothers'

d. Şi aléseră pre Ali-paşa cu ***o seamă*** **de oşti** ca să păzească
and chose DOM Ali-pasha with a number of armies to guard
cetatea Târgovиştii (*Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc*: 126)
city-the Târgovişte.gen
'And they chose Ali-pasha with a number of soldiers to guard the city of Târgovişte'

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e. Tăind ***mulțime*** **de turci** îi înecară în Dunăre
cutting multitude of Turks them drowned in Danube
'Slaying a crowd of Turks, they drowned them into the Danube'
(*Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*: 126)

f. strîngea iară ***oaste*** **de ai sei** (Miron Costin, *Letopisețul*: 54)
gathered again army of AL his
'he again gathered an army of his men'

As a piece of novelty, our corpus registers situations where N1 is definite (11a−b) or it appears in the company of indefinite quantifiers. Sometimes the collective noun *seamă* is accompanied by indefinite adjectives (11c−e); there are also situations where other N1 are preceded either by a negative adjective or an indefinite adjective (11g−i):

(11) a. ***cuvântu*** [...] **de carele** începe Iisus a face şi a învăța
word-the of which-the starts Jesus to do and to teach
'the word which Jesus starts to do and teach
(*Codicele Bratul*: 5)

b. şi le voi da […] ***rămăşițelor*** **de poporul**
and them will give remains-the.gen of people-the
mieu aceastea toate (Dosoftei, *Parimiile*: 103)
mine these all
'and I will give all this to the remains of my people'

c. **cu *câtăva*** **seamă** **de oaste** a lui
with some.fem number.fem of army of his
'with a number of his soldiers'
(*Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*: 215)

d. iar el **cu *altă*** **seamă** **de boiari** (*Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*: 222)
and he with another number of boyars
'and he with a different crowd of boyars'

e. ***Multă*** **seamă** **de oaste** (M. Costin, *Viiața lumii*: 323)
much.fem number.fem of army
'a great number of soldiers'

f. ***nece o*** **dzisă** **de-ale meale** (*Codex Sturdzanus*: 238)
neither one saying of-AL mine
'none of my sayings'

g. chemară gloata şi ***toți*** **bătrânii**
called the crowd-the and all.masc.pl oldsters.masc.pl
di fii lu Israil (*Codicele Bratul*: 51−52)
of sons.the of Israel
'they called the crowd and all the elders from the sons of Israel'

h. Atunci au pierit […] ***alți*** **oameni**
then have perished other.masc.pl people.masc.pl
de ai pribegilor (*Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*: 118)
of AL fugitives-the.gen
'Then perished other fugitives'

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N1 can also be a cardinal numeral or numerical noun:

(12) a. **ģumătati di satŭ** (DÎR – 1603: 166) **(di = de)**
half of village-the
'half of the village'
b. că şi Petru apostol, când botedză
that and Peter apostle when baptized
într-o dzi **3 de oameni** (*Şeapte taine*: 179)
in-one day 3 of people
'Peter the apostle baptized 3 people one day'

The corpus registers a single construction where N1 is a relative clause:

(13) Şi tu ia la tine **de toate bucatele *ce se mănâncă*** (*Palia de la Orăştie*: 29)
and you take at you of all foods which SE eat
'take everything edible from all foods'

As far as N2 is concerned, it is interesting to notice that sometimes, it is the only element remaining in a pseudopartitive headed by a null head (Pană Dindelegan 2012: 195).

(14) se gustați **de trupul lui Hristos** şi **de sîngele**
should taste of body-the of Christ and of blood-the
său să beați (*Manuscrisul de la* Ieud: 159)
his should drink
'taste the body of Christ and drink his blood'

The partitive prepositions in our corpus are *de* (very frequent in the 16th century), *den / din* 'of-in = from', *dentru / dintru* 'of-in=from', *dintre / dentre* 'of-among' şi *între* 'among'. Marginally, one can find hybrids (*de între* for *dintre*).

(15) a. **De** toate să vă îndulciți (*Cronica lui Mihail Moxa*: 352)
of all should you savour
'you should savour everything'
b. întru una **den** sâmbete (*Cazania a II-a*: 124)
one of-in Saturdays
'one of the Saturdays'
c. vor împărâți **din** feciorii lui Ham (Antim, *Scrieri*: 30)
will reign of-in sons-the of Ham
'the sons of Ham will reign'
d. să dea **dentru** avuțiia lui (*Şeapte taine*: 194)
should give of richness-the his
'he should give (part of) his wealth
e. Acesta au avut 4 feciori, **dintru** carii iaste unul şi Irod
this has had 4 sons, of-among whom is one-the and Irod
'This (one) had 4 sons, among whomone was Herod'
(Antim, *Scrieri*: 70)

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f. s-a rădica unul **dintre** dânşii
SE-will raise one-the of-among them
mai cumplit şi mai rău (Dosoftei, *Parimiile*: 290)
more atrocious and more wicked
'there will be one of them more wicked and barbarous'

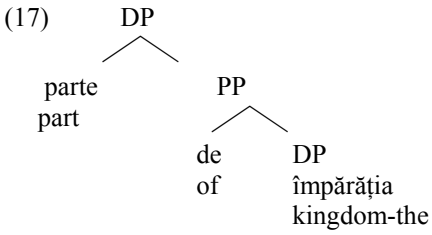
g. erai un om **între** ceilalți oameni (Ilie Miniat: 323)
were one man among other people
'you were a man among the others'

3. ANALYSIS

As stated before, partitive *de* is attested in old Romanian before partitive *din* is formed out of *de* (of) and *în* (in):

(16) Deaci de vă veți pocăi şi carii vor face bire să-i dau parte
so if you will repent and which will do good subj.-him give part
de împărăția mea şi raiul şi blagosloviia mea
of kingdom-the my and heaven-the and benediction-the my
'So, I will give a part of my kingdom and heaven and benediction to those of you who will repent and do good deeds' (*Legenda duminicii* − MS. BAR 5910, quoted in Nedelcu 2009:102)

Old Romanian featured a Double-DP (D-DP) structure with partitive *de* while Modern Romanian employs the D-DP structure with the partitive prepositions *din* and *dintre*, so that the structure of (16) is (17):

(17)


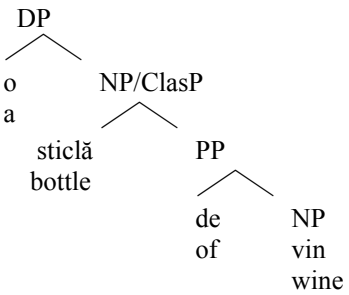
Thus, Old Romanian observed the partitive constraint (see Ladusaw 1982), i.e. the second nominal in the partitive structure denotes an individual.

Partitivity in Old Romanian was parameterized on *de* (see also Biberauer and Roberts 2012); in Modern Romanian, partitivity is parameterized on *din* and *dintre*.

Modern Romanian uses a single-DP structure with *de* (with pseudopartitives); the structure of a pseudopartitive is that in (18) (see Tănase-Dogaru 2012).

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(18)



The only remnant 'de' Double-DPs are the possessive partitive (19) and the demonstrative partitive (20):

(19) un prieten de-al meu
a friend of-AL mine
'one of my friends'

(20) dați-mi două **de**-astea şi trei **de**-alea
give me two of these and three of those

3.1. The replacement of *de* in partitives

In Latin, the partitive is a value of the genitive case as in (21); the inflectional partitive has been gradually replaced by prepositional means of indicating the part-of relation.

One can speak about a surviving partitive value in French as in (22), where *du* is a partitive article:

(21) parum frumenti (Latin)
little wheat-gen
'very little wheat'

(22) boire du lait (French)
drink part. milk
'drink (some) milk'

Pană Dindelegan (2012:195) discusses a very interesting case of Old Romanian partitives, strikingly similar to that in (22):

(23) cine va mânca de pâine (Coresi, *Tetraevanghelul*: 146)
who will eat of bread
'Who will eat bread'

In Old Romanian, *de* was a true partitive preposition, corresponding to the Latin inflectional partitive-genitive; constructions such as (23) were Double-DP structures which translate into bare Single-DP structures in Modern Romanian.

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In Latin, the structure corresponding to present-day Romanian pseudopartitives consisted of a Nom.N1+GenN2 sequence. This inflectional genitive seems to have evolved into a prepositional genitive.

(24)	a.	cadus vini	b.	mica panis
		jar wine-Gen		crumb bread-Gen
		'jar of wine'		'crumb of bread'

Romanian disposes of an inflectional genitive, while in other Romance languages the genitive is prepositional, marked by *de* 'of' (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, 2013). When Romanian developed an inflectional genitive, the prepositional genitive, based on the same preposition *de* as in all Romance, *became very limited and specialized* (see Cornilescu 2004 for details).

Romanian has developed a *morphological distinction* between 'anchoring genitives', always DPs, and 'non-anchoring (Prepositional) genitives', always syntactic.

The inflectional genitive and the *de* genitive show different morpho-syntactic and semantic properties (see Cornilescu 2010):

(25)	a.	citirea	cât mai des	**a autorilor clasici**
		reading.the	more frequently	of classical authors
	b.	citirea	frecventă	**de romane polițiste**
		reading.the	frequent	of crime fiction

(26)	Anchoring Gens	Non-anchoring Gens
	a. inflectional	a. prepositional
	b. DP	b. NP
	c. referential, < e>-type denotation	c. <e, t> denotation

The morphosyntactic specialization of the genitive in Romanian led to the disappearance of partitive *de* in constructions like *unul de noi* 'one of us'.

Concerning the question of why Romanian lost the construction, while all other Romance kept it, we will adopt the hypothesis, that partitive *de* was lost as a by-product of the specialization of genitive *de* (Cornilescu 2006).

As a result of this analysis, genitive *de* only selects NPs interpreted as properties. *De* is replaced in proper partitives because the complement of de must be specific/definite and interpreted as individual, which was rendered impossible as a result of the specialization of the genitive.

3.2. Quirky cases

If we consider the examples in (27), it becomes apparent that lower numerals in Old Romanian functioned in a way very similar to partitive constructions:

(27)	a.	că şi Petru apostol,	când botedză într-o dzi
		that and Peter apostle	when baptized in-one day
		3 de oameni (*Şeapte taine*: 179)	
		3 of people	

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'Peter the apostle baptized 3 people one day'
b. trei oameni (Modern Romanian)
three people
c. trei dintre oameni
three of-among people
'three of the people'

Cardinal-noun constructions in Romanian enter two distinct types of syntactic configurations: spec-head for cardinals from 'one' to 'nineteen' and head-complement for cardinals from 'nineteen' onwards:

(28) a. două fete
two.fem girls.fem
b. douăzeci de fete
twenty of girls
'twenty girls'

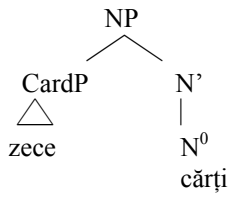
There are syntactic differences between lower and higher cardinals crosslinguistically (see Corbett 1978, Franks 1994, a.o.). While lower cardinals behave 'adjectivally', higher cardinals seem to behave 'nominally'. Corbett (1978) proposes two *universals* accounting for the crosslinguistic behavior of cardinals: (i) simple cardinal numerals fall between adjectives and nouns; (ii) if they vary in behavior it is the higher which will be more noun-like (Corbett 1978: 368).

Romanian cardinals evince two different types of syntactic structures (Tănase-Dogaru 2012 following Danon 2011, Stan 2010).

The first type of structure is one in which a projection of the numeral occupies a specifier position, this being the case of Romanian cardinals from 1 to 19:

(29) zece cărți
ten books

[NP [CardP zece] cărți]

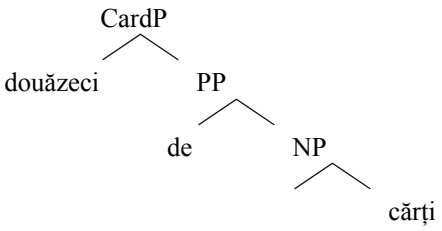


The second type of structure is one in which the cardinal heads a recursive DP structure, this being the case of Romanian cardinals from 19 onwards:

(30) douăzeci de cărți
twenty of books
twenty books

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[CardP douăzeci [PP de [NP cărți]]]



A final example of quirky pseudo-partitive constructions in Old Romanian is given in (31):

(31) a. cându **noi nici unul** n-au fost în Țarigrad (DÎR – 1593: 184)
when us not one not-have been to Țarigrad
'when neither of us has been to Țarigrad'

b. iară **alalte rude** cine am, **nimini** să n-aibă
and other relatives who (I) have nobody subj not-have
lucru cu bucatele meale (DÎR 1591-1600: 101)
business with things-the mine
'and of the other relatives that I have, nobody should have anything to do with my things'

c. iară **alte rude** ale meale, **nimini** să
and other relatives of mine nobody subj.să
n-aibă niciun lucru (DÎR 1591-1600: 101)
not-have no thing
'and no other relative of mine should have anything to do with this'

These constructions represent a distinct and interesting case of Old Romanian pseudo-partitives because the partitive preposition is missing. Tănase-Dogaru (2012) analyzes Modern Romanian pseudo-partitives as topicalized constructions, topicalization being a process leading to the disappearance of the preposition.

(32) Ceai, a băut toată lumea câte o ceaşcă (*de)
tea, has drunk all world distr. a cup (*of)
'Tea, everybody drank a cup'

Our corpus, therefore, registers pseudo-partitive constructions in Old Romanian, where N2 is topicalized, which represents yet another argument in favor of the base-generated order N1 de N2.

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4. CONCLUSIONS

There are two structures available with Romanian (pseudo)partitives: the Double-DP structure and the Single-DP structure. While Old Romanian featured the Double-DP structure with partitive *de*, Modern Romanian employs the D-DP structure with the partitive prepositions *din* and *dintre*.

The Single-DP structure is confined in Modern Romanian to pseudopartitive constructions (Tănase-Dogaru 2012); the possessive partitive (Cornilescu 2006) and the demonstrative partitive are remnant 'de' Double-DPs.

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