

Comparative and  
Diachronic  
Perspectives on  
Romance Syntax



# Comparative and Diachronic Perspectives on Romance Syntax

Edited by

Gabriela Pană Dindelegan,  
Adina Dragomirescu,  
Irina Nicula  
and Alexandru Nicolae

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*A Festschrift for*  
***Martin Maiden***  
*in honour of his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday*



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## INTRODUCTION

This book brings together fifteen papers focusing on the morphosyntax of Romance varieties. The papers tackle different theoretical issues concerning current linguistic theory (relevant both for comparative and diachronic approaches) including parameters, features and their hierarchical organization, grammaticalization, word order changes, and the level of verb movement in different varieties. All the papers included here were presented at the workshop bearing the same title held at the University of Bucharest in November 2015.

We dedicate this book to Professor Martin Maiden in honour of his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday. In addition to his seminal contributions to Romance linguistics, Professor Maiden also undertook the challenging task of co-editing recent reference works such as *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages* (2010, 2013) and *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages* (2016), two comprehensive works which have reshaped the paradigm of Romance linguistics. More importantly, however, Professor Maiden is a very dear friend (and indeed one of the informal fathers) of the winter workshops in Bucharest (which accompany the Annual Conference of the Department of Linguistics). We believe that offering this book to him on the occasion of his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday is a fitting way of acknowledging his many significant contributions to Romance and Romanian linguistics and of thanking him for all his generosity.

*The Editors*



**PART I:**  
**THE NOMINAL DOMAIN**



# CHAPTER ONE

## INVERSION AND NOMINAL ELLIPSIS: A SPECIAL TYPE OF NOMINALIZATION IN ROMANIAN

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### 1. Objectives

The first section describes three syntactic structures of old Romanian, linked by common mechanisms of inversion in the order of constituents and nominal ellipsis: the genitive phrase, the partitive prepositional phrase and a combined genitive-incorporating partitive prepositional phrase, all occupying argumental positions, atypical for the syntactic composition of these phrases.

The second part deals with a special type of nominalization and compounding (the type *deaproapele* (“the fellowman”) [*de* + Adv + Det]), whose derivation has features in common with the first three constructions, but which has gone a step further in the process of recategorization. In contrast to the first three structures, in this construction inversion and ellipsis obligatorily associate with the phenomenon of recategorization of prepositional phrase headed by *de* as a noun. This is a complex phenomenon: lexically, the incorporation of the preposition takes place, therefore a process of compounding ([<sub>PP</sub> *de* [<sub>AdvP</sub> *aproape*]] > [<sub>DP</sub> *deaproapele*]); grammatically, a process of nominalization/substantivization takes place, with all its syntactic and inflectional effects.

### 2. Constructions ‘linked’ by inversion and nominal ellipsis

**2.1.** In old Romanian, a genitive can occur as a subject and as an object obligatorily preceded by the genitive/possessive marker *a(l)* (1a–c) and

optionally accompanied by the floating quantifier *toți* “all” (1d). The possessive phrase, which has the same distribution like the genitival phrase, has an identical behaviour (1f).

- (1) a.      și [GEN-P **ai**        **lui**]<sub>S</sub>    pre    el  
           and    AL.M.PL his        DOM   him  
           nu-l                                priimiră (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567: 1<sup>v</sup>)  
           not=CL.M.3SG.ACC        welcome.PS.3PL  
           “and his people did not receive him”
- b.      așa    [**pre** [GEN-P    **ai**    **lui**]]<sub>DO</sub>  
           so    DOM                    AL.M.PL his  
           nu-i                                va  
           not=CL.M.PL.ACC            AUX.FUT.3SG  
           părăși                    în nevoie (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567: 83<sup>v</sup>)  
           leave.INF                in need  
           “so he will not leave his people in need”
- c.      [GEN-P **Ai domnilor-voastre**]<sub>S</sub>    vor  
           AL.M.PL lordships=your        AUX.FUT.3PL  
           avea    leage    la domnu        nostru  
           have.INF trial    at lord        our  
           și    la noi (DÎ.1595: CII)  
           and    at us  
           “your lordship’s people will have a trial with our lord  
           and with us”
- d.      Și    se                                boteză  
           and    CL.REFL.ACC.3SG        baptize.PS.3SG  
           însuși și    [GEN-P **ai lui**    **[toți]**]<sub>S</sub>  
           himself and    AL.M.PL his        all  
           aciiăș (CPr.1566: 78)  
           here  
           “and he and all his people were baptized here”
- e.      Că,    iată,    dragii        miei,  
           because behold dear.DEF.VOC    my  
           [POS-P **al**        **mieu**]<sub>S</sub>    apropie  
           AL.M.SG        my    draws.near  
           cătră    mine (Ev.1642: 310)  
           towards me  
           “because, behold, my dear ones, my man is coming  
           closer to me”



- f. Eu sântu păstoriulu cela  
 I am shepherd.DEF CEL.M.SG  
 bunulu, și cunosc  
 good.M.SG.DEF and know.1SG  
 [POS-P **ale** **saleșu**]DO și-su cunoscutu  
 AL.F.PL his and=am know.PPLE  
 [PP de [POS-P **ale** **mealeșu**]AL.PREP OBJECT]  
 of AL.F.PL my  
 “I am the good shepherd and I know his things and I am  
 known for my things” (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 487)
- g. [PP ca [NP **nește** [GEN-P **ale** **unoru**  
 like some AL.F.PL some  
**striini**] Ø]] au pre  
 strangers have.3PL DOM  
 eale (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 486)  
 them  
 “but they treat them like those of strangers”

The occurrence of this construction – which is the result of ellipsis (the ellipsis of the head noun; for types of ellipsis, see Nicolae 2012; 2013), is facilitated by the frequent inversion of the order of constituents in old Romanian DPs, i.e. the genitive preceding the head noun (2a,b).

- (2) a. se duse de  
 CL.REFL.3SG go.PS.3SG that  
 chemă [DP [GEN-P **ai**<sub>k</sub> **lui**]<sub>i</sub> **robi**<sub>k</sub> <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]  
 call.PS.3SG AL.M.PL his slaves  
 și deade lor avuția  
 and give.PS.3SG them wealth.DEF  
 lui (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567: 107<sup>t</sup>)  
 his  
 “He went to call his slaves and gave them his fortune”
- b. Iară frații cei mici  
 and brothers.DEF CEL.M.P little.PL  
 cheamă-se [DP [GEN-P **ai**<sub>k</sub> **lui**]<sub>i</sub>  
 call=CL.REFL.3PL AL.M.PL his  
**ucenici**<sub>k</sub> <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>] (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 41)  
 apprentices  
 “and the little brothers are called apprentices”

An extremely interesting example is (1g), in which the indefinite article *nește* precedes a genitive, as an effect of head ellipsis and substitution by the genitive.

**2.2.** A similar phenomenon occurs in partitive PPs, which, in OR, admit the ellipsis of the quantified nominal head, whose effect is the occurrence of the prepositional partitive restriction in argumental position, subject (3a,b) or direct object (4a-d). In 16<sup>th</sup> century texts, the most frequent partitive preposition is *de* (3, 4), but also the other partitive prepositions (*den/din* “of”; *dentre/dintre* “of”), that introduce the partitive restriction, may occur as arguments, subjects (5a–c) and objects (6a–d). Usually, partitive prepositions select an NP whose head is in the plural (see (3a,b), (4a,b), (5a–c), (6c)); the selection of a singular form is also possible, with collective or mass nouns ((4c); (6a,b,d)); see also Pană Dindelegan (2016: 327).

- (3) a.       știe       tatălu               vostru   den  
 knows father.DEF.NOM your   from  
 ceriu   că       trebuiăște-vă   [<sub>PP</sub>       **de**  
 heaven that   need=CL.DAT.2PL       of  
**acealea**]<sub>S</sub> (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 216)  
 those  
 “your heavenly father knows that you need those”
- b.       după   potopu   au               fostu   [<sub>PP</sub> **de**  
 after   flood   AUX.PERF.3PL   been   of  
**toate bucatele**]<sub>S</sub> (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 51)  
 all   foods  
 “after the flood there were all kinds of food”
- (4) a.       Cum   au               fostu   zăsă  
 how   AUX.PERF.3SG   be.PPLE say.PPLE.F  
 noao, [<sub>PP</sub> **de toate legumile**]<sub>DO</sub>  
 us.DAT of all vegetables  
 să   mâncămu (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 51)  
 SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> eat.SUBJ.1PL  
 “how we were told, to eat of all kinds of vegetables”
- b.       [<sub>PP</sub> **di toate**]<sub>DO</sub> să   cumpere  
 of   all.F.PL SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> buy.SUBJ.3SG≡PL  
 “to buy a bit of everything” (DÎ.1600: XXII)

- c. vom mânca [PP de acest  
AUX.FUT.1PL eat.INF of this  
**strâns**]<sub>DO</sub> (Sind.1703: 100<sup>f</sup>)  
gathered  
“we shall eat of what we have gathered”
- (5) a. au picat și [PP **den**  
AUX.PERF.3PL fall.PPLE and of  
**săimeni** și **den** **căzaci**]<sub>S</sub>  
Turkish.soldiers and of Cossacks  
“some of the Turkish soldiers and some of the Cossacks  
fell” (CLM.1700–50: 267<sup>v</sup>)
- b. s-au strânsu [PP **din**  
CL.REFL=AUX.PERF.3PL gather.PPLE of  
**târgoveți** și **den** **slugile**  
townsmen and of servants  
neguțitorilor]<sub>S</sub> (CLM.1700–50: 176<sup>v</sup>)  
traders.DEF.GEN  
“some of the townsmen and of the traders’ servants  
gathered”
- c. Iar unii dzicè că [PP **dintre**  
and some said.3PL that of  
**dânșii**]<sub>S</sub> I-au  
them CL.ACC.M.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG=3PL  
otrăvit (NL.~1750–66: 279)  
poison.PPLE  
“and some said that one of them poisoned him”
- (6) a. să oprea<s>că de ici  
SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> stop.SUBJ.3SG=3PL of here  
nainte [PP **den bir**]<sub>DO</sub> (DÎ.1600: XXX)  
on of tax  
“but they should keep a part of the tax from now on”
- b. să însoare pre Pătrașco-vodă și  
SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> marry DOM Pătrașco=prince and  
să-i dea [PP **din**  
SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub>=CL.DAT.3SG give.SUBJ.3SG of  
**ruda** împăratului]<sub>DO</sub> (DÎ.1600: XXXII)  
relative emperor.DEF.GEN  
“to marry prince Pătrașco and to give him one of the  
emperor’s relatives as a wife”

- c. vindet<sub>IMP.2PL</sub> [PP **den** **averile** of fortunes.DEF  
voastre]<sub>DO</sub> (Ev.1642: 285)  
your  
“sell a part of your fortunes”
- d. să-și<sub>SUBJ</sub>=CL.REFL.DAT.3PL răscumpere pay.back.3PL  
[PP **den** **singele** ce le of blood.DEF that CL.DAT.3PL  
făcuse săimeanii do.PLUPERF.3PL Turkish.soldiers.NOM  
lor]<sub>DO</sub> (CLM.1700–50: 187<sup>v</sup>)  
their  
“to pay back some of the blood of the Turkish soldiers  
that he had shed”

As in the case of the genitive, the placement of the prepositional partitive restriction in an argumental position is the result of ellipsis: the nominal head is elided (the head of the partitive construction). As in the case of the genitive, ellipsis is favoured by the frequent anteposition of the partitive restriction (7a–c):

- (7) a. [DP [PP *dentr-a patra parte*]<sub>i</sub>  
of=A fourth part  
**giumățate** t<sub>i</sub>] (DIR.A.I.1601: 21)  
half  
“a half of the forth part”
- b. mergând [DP [PP *dintr-aceia*]<sub>i</sub>  
going of=those  
**unii** t<sub>i</sub>] (CIst.1700–50: 17<sup>f</sup>)  
some.M.PL  
“some of those going”
- c. au și peritu [DP [PP *den*  
AUX.PERF.3PL also died of  
*munteani*]<sub>i</sub> **câțva** t<sub>i</sub>] (CLM.1700–50: 229<sup>v</sup>)  
Wallachians some.M.PL  
“some of the Wallachians died”

**2.3.** A special type of ‘de’ partitive structure (see also Frâncu 1983; Giurgea 2013: 103; Pană Dindelegan 2016: 331) is the one that includes a genitive (8a) or a possessive phrase (8b,c). Examples like (9a–c) suggest

that the mechanism by which the partitive structure containing a genitive / a possessive occurs in argument position is the variation in word order resulting from the topicalization of the partitive structure. We can notice, in (8a,c), the coordination of an NP selected by a verb with a partitive prepositional phrase resulted of an ellipsis.

- (8) a. când va cădea cineva  
 when AUX.FUT.3SG fall.INF somebody.NOM  
 în boală, [au [PP **de** [GENP **ai**  
 in disease or of AL.M.PL  
**casei**]], au [DPMăcar și  
 house.DEF.GEN or even also  
**streinii**]]<sub>S</sub> (AAM.1713: 23<sup>v</sup>)  
 strangers.DEF.NOM  
 “when someone gets ill, either somebody in the family or  
 even strangers”
- b. au luat [PP **de**-[POSP **al**  
 AUX.PERF.3SG take.PPLE of=AL.M.SG  
**nostru**]]<sub>DO</sub> și  
 our and  
 ne- au dat  
 CL.DAT.1PL=AUX.PERF.3SG give.PPLE  
 [PP **de**-[POSP **al** **său**]]<sub>DO</sub>  
 of=AL.M.SG his  
 “they took from what is ours and they gave some of his  
 own” (DPar.1683: III/95<sup>v</sup>)
- c. strângându [[DP **oști**] și [PP **de**  
 gathering armies and of  
 [POSP **ai** **săi**]]<sub>DO</sub> (CLM.1700–50: 171<sup>f</sup>)  
 AL.M.PL his  
 “gathering armies and some of his people”
- (9) a. Și periră acolo [DP [PP **de-i**  
 and die.PS.3PL there of=AL.M.PL  
**lu** **Por**]<sub>I</sub> 4.000 de mii t<sub>i</sub>]  
 LUI.GEN Por 4000 of thousand  
 și [DP [PP **de-i** **lu**  
 and of=AL.M.PL LUI.GEN  
**Alexandru**]<sub>j</sub> 6.000 t<sub>j</sub>] (A.1620: 33<sup>r</sup>)  
 Alexandru 6000  
 “And 4000 of Por’s people and 6000 of Alexander’s died  
 there”

- b.      cã      lesne      iau      unii  
 because easy      take.3PL some.M.PL  
 [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> **de** [<sub>GENP</sub> **ale**                      **altora**]]<sub>i</sub>  
             of              AL.F.PL                      others.GEN  
 cuvinte t<sub>i</sub>]  
 words (CIst.1700–50: 39<sup>v</sup>)  
 “because some take some of other people’s words easy”
- c.      nu      numai      streini,              ce      și  
 not      only      strangers              but      also  
 [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> **de**              [<sub>POSP</sub> **a**      **noștri**]]<sub>i</sub>  
             of                      AL.INV      our  
**moldoveni**              t<sub>i</sub>]  
 Moldavians  
 “not only strangers, but also some of our Moldavians”  
 (NL.1750–66: 65)

The ellipsis of the nominal head is common to the three patterns (§§2.1; 2.2; 2.3), facilitated by the postposition of the head (see also Nicolae 2016: 568). There is a significant difference between the first (§2.1) and the last two patterns (§§2.2; 2.3): the first one occurs when there is an anaphoric component that conserves morphosyntactic features of the elided component (e.g. the possessive-genitive marker “*al*”), a structure that resembles the ‘*cel*’ nominal ellipsis structure (**cel** *frumos* ‘the beautiful one’; see Dragomirescu, Nicolae 2016), while the pattern with a partitive PP is characterized by the complete loss of the information of the elided component.

### 3. Adverb nominalizations; *deaproapele* (“the fellowman”), a special type of nominalization

Many studies dedicated to old Romanian signal the frequency of nominalized adverbs (see, for example, Densusianu 1961 [1938]: 198, where the locatives (*mai*)*susul* “higher.DEF”, (*mai*)*giosul* “lower.DEF”, the tense adverbs *apoi* “afterwards.DEF”, *apoi* “then.DEF”, *apoi* “then.DEF”; *astăzile* “today.DEF”, the quantitatives *multa* “much.DEF”, *destulul* “enough.DEF” are listed as nominalized adverbs (10). In some studies on old Romanian, the discussion of adverb nominalization takes place in a larger context of adjective and participle nominalization (Stan 2012; 2013: 27–8; Dragomirescu, Nicolae 2016; the latter make a terminological distinction between *nominalization*, realized by attaching the enclitic determiner, and *nominal ellipsis*, realized with the determiner *cel*, a free

morpheme (*noua* vs **cea nouă** “the new one”; *derepții* vs **cei d(e)repti** “the righteous”).

- (10) a. începu de la **apoi**  
 start.PS.3SG from afterwards.PL.DEF  
 până la întâii (CT.1560–1: 42<sup>v</sup>)  
 until first.PL.DEF  
 “he started from the last ones to the first ones”
- b. voru fi întâii  
 AUX.FUT.3PL be.INF first.PL.DEF.NOM  
**apoi** și **apoi**  
 afterwards.DEF and afterwards.DEF.NOM  
 întâii (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581 : 201)  
 first.PL.DEF  
 “the first ones will be the last and the last ones will be the first”

**3.1.** A syntactic pattern similar to the ones discussed under §2 is the one in which the nominal head is elided, when it is accompanied by an adverbial modifier of the noun, introduced by the preposition *de* and placed, just like in the other elliptical phrases, in argumental position (11a,b):

- (11) a. Dumnedzău învață să agiutorim  
 God teaches SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> help.SUBJ.1PL  
 [[fratele nostru]<sub>DO</sub> și  
 brother.DEF our and  
 [**deaproapele** nostru cel  
 fellowman.DEF our CEL.M.SG  
 sărac]]<sub>DO</sub> (CazV.1643: 228<sup>f</sup>)  
 poor  
 “God teaches us to help our brother and our poor fellowman”
- b. Iară [**de-aproapele** nostru]<sub>S</sub> iaste tot  
 and fellowman.DEF our is all  
 omul ce-i trebuiaște milă  
 man that=CL.DAT.3SG need.3SG pity  
 și agiutoriu de la noi  
 and help from us  
 “and the fellowman is anyone that needs our pity and help” (CazV.1643: 344<sup>f</sup>)

One can notice that, in this context, a different *de* is used, which is not partitive *de*, but a functional *de*, specialised for introducing nominal modifiers. The construction is based on an adverbial modifier of the noun, of the type (12):

- (12) a. era *rudă* **de aproape** lu  
 was relative of close LUI.DAT  
 Hristos (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567: 198<sup>r</sup>)  
 Christ  
 “he was a close relative of Christ”
- b. ca nește *frați* **de-aproape**  
 like some brothers of=close  
 “like close brothers” (CazV.1643: 293<sup>r</sup>)

Usually, adverbial modifiers of the noun occur postnominally (12), but, like all the other constituents that are subordinate to the archaic NP, they can also occur prenominally (13a-c), a word order that facilitates the licensing of ellipsis.

- (13) a. carea o am  
 which.DEF.ACC CL.ACC.F.3SG AUX.PERF.1SG  
 arătat cătră acest  
 show.PPLE towards this  
 adevărat și **de aproape**  
 true and of close  
*priiaten* (SVI.~1670: 116<sup>f</sup>)  
 friend  
 “which I have shown to this true and close friend”
- b. întru ceale **de-apoi**  
 in those of=afterwards  
*dzâle* (DPar.1683: I/4<sup>v</sup>)  
 days  
 “in those later days”
- c. Socotind prorocul acea  
 judging prophet.NOM that  
**de-apoi a ta,** Hristoase,  
 of=afterwards AL.F.SG your Christ.VOC  
*venire* (DPar.1683: III/109<sup>v</sup>)  
 coming  
 “as the prophet was thinking of your last coming, Christ”



**3.2.** Differently from the situations discussed above, in these contexts, inversion and ellipsis go one step further, being obligatorily accompanied by the phenomenon of recategorization of the *de*-PP phrase as a noun. This phenomenon is complex: lexically, it presupposes a process of P-incorporation, i.e. a process of compounding ([<sub>PP</sub> *de* [<sub>AdvP</sub> *aproape*]]) > [<sub>DP</sub> *deaproapele*]), resembling the one in *dâns(ul)* “he” (*de* + *însu*); grammatically, nominalization takes place, with all of its syntactic and inflectional effects.

The syntactic diagnostics which signal the loss of autonomy of the preposition and its incorporation as part of a lexical word in this structure are the following:

- occurrence of the structure as a S (see (11b), (14a,b)) and a DO (see (11a)); see also its occurrence as an IO (14c), where it can be coordinated with a prototypical indirect object); as a DO, *deaproapele* is constructed, like all personal nouns of this period, either with (15b,c) or without the differential marker *pre* (15a);
- occurrence in the genitive (16a,b);
- association with another preposition – any lexical preposition (*cu* “with”, *cătră* “towards”, *spre* “towards”) (17a,b); a decisive argument is its association with another instance of *de*, the first one being selected by the head (17c):

- (14) a. Cine iaste [**de-aproapele**  
 who is of=close.one.DEF.NOM  
 nostru]<sub>S</sub>? (CazV.1643: 292<sup>v</sup>)  
 our  
 “Who is our fellowman?”
- b. A treia arată că  
 AL.F.SG third shows that  
 [**de-aproapele**]<sub>S</sub> nu să cheamă  
 of=close.one.DEF not CL.REFL call.3SG  
 omul (...) (CazV.1643: 341<sup>v</sup>)  
 man.DEF  
 “The third one shows that our fellowman is not called a man”
- c. de folos iaste [[lui Dumnedzău]<sub>IO</sub>  
 of use is LUI.DAT God  
 și [șie]<sub>OI</sub> și [**de-aproapelui**  
 and himself and of=close.one.DEF.DAT

- său]<sub>IO</sub>]<sub>IO</sub> (CazV.1643: 208<sup>f</sup>)  
his  
“it is useful to God and to himself and to his fellowman”
- (15) a. Să iubești [de-aproapele tău]<sub>DO</sub>  
SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> love.SUBJ.2SG of=close.one.DEF your  
ca sângur pre tine  
as yourself DOM you  
“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself”  
(ȘT.1644: 58)
- b. Pentru ce tu baț  
for what you beat.2SG  
[pre de-aproapele]<sub>DO</sub>? (DPar.1683: III/35<sup>v</sup>)  
DOM of=close.one.DEF  
“Why are you beating your fellowman?”
- c. Sau [pre deaproapele său]<sub>DO</sub>  
or DOM of.close.one.DEF his  
îl pizmuiăște (CPV.~1705: 62<sup>v</sup>)  
CL.ACC.M.3SG envy.3SG  
“or he envies his fellowman”
- (16) a. să apuce hotarul  
SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> grasp.SUBJ.3SG border.DEF.ACC  
[GENP deaproapelui său] (Prav.1646: 54)  
of.close.one.DEF.GEN his  
“in order to take over the land of his fellowman”
- b. glasului [GEN-P de-aproapelui]  
voice.DEF.GEN≡DAT of=close.one.DEF.GEN  
“(to) the fellowman’s voice” (DPar.1683: III/2<sup>f</sup>)
- (17) a. iubovul către Dumnezeu și  
love.DEF towards God and  
[PP către [DP deaproapele său]]  
towards of.close.one.DEF his  
“the love for God and for his fellowman”  
(VRC.1645: 2<sup>v</sup>)
- b. va vătăma foarte mult  
AUX.FUT.3SG hurt.INF very much  
[PP spre [DP deaproapele fieșcui]]  
towards of.close.one.DEF everyone.GEN  
“he will hurt everyone’s fellowman a lot”  
(Prav.1646: 170)
- c. nu i să  
not CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL.3SG

face milă [<sub>PP</sub> *de*  
 becomes pity of  
 [<sub>DP</sub> **de-approapele** său]] (DPar.1683: III/20<sup>f</sup>)  
 of=close.one.DEF his  
 “he will not have pity for his fellowman”

As an inflectional cue for nominalization, we mention the association with the enclitic article (18a,b):

- (18) a. iubeaște [**de-approapele** tău]<sub>DO</sub>  
 love.IMP.2SG of=close.one.DEF your  
 “love your fellowman” (CazV.1643: 274<sup>f</sup>)
- b. Tot însul [**de-approapelui**]<sub>IO</sub>  
 all man.NOM of=close.one.DEF.DAT  
 s-ajute (DPar.1683: III/8<sup>f</sup>)  
 SĀ<sub>SUBJ</sub>=help.SUBJ.3SG  
 “all men should help their fellowmen”

As a noun, *deaproapele* does not have a plural form; other nominalizations *de(n)apoiuri* (of-after-PL “the things that follows”), *alsăuri* (*al*-his(POSS.ADJ)-PL “his belongings”) have a plural form, marked by the inflexion *-uri*, usually used as a nominalization device.<sup>1</sup>

**3.3.** The nominalization *deaproapele* belongs to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with a peak in the period 1640–1700. After 1700, its occurrence is ever increasingly rarer, as its nominal form is limited to the non-prepositional construction of the adverb (*aproapele*).

The form *deaproapele* is predominant in Moldova, in texts such as CazV.1643, ȘT.1644, Prav.1646, DPV.1673, DPar.1683; for example, in just one text (CazV.1643), the *de*-pattern occurs 14 times as a DO, 4 times

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<sup>1</sup> Adverbial nominalization, irrespective of the nominalization pattern, selects common inflectional markers: the enclisis of the definite determiner and the neuter plural marker *-uri*: *lăuntruri* (inside.PL “insides”, CP<sup>1</sup>.1577: 14r); *nontrurile* (inside.PL.DEF ‘the insides’, DPar.1683: IV.48<sup>v</sup>); *napoiurile* (back(wards).PL.DEF “the backward parts”, DPar.1683: IV.53<sup>f</sup>). It is interesting that other special nominalizations, some of which are accidental, have an *-uri* plural form, showing that *-uri*, even in his earliest occurrences, also had the supplementary function of *nominal categorizer*; see, for example, the nominalization of the possessive: *alsăuri* (*al*-his(POSS.ADJ)-PL), *alsăurile* (*al*-his(POSS.ADJ)-PL.DEF) “(the) belongings” (DPar.1683: III.127<sup>f</sup>; AD.1722–5: 121<sup>f</sup>); for the role of the inflexion *-uri* as a nominal categorizer, see Pană Dindelegan (2002: 38–9; 2009: 23).

as a S, 3 times as an IO, 5 times as a PP, one time as a predicative, 4 times as a genitive. Without being as frequent, the form *deaproapele* is not completely absent from Wallachia (a few examples occur in Mărg.1691 or in NÎnv.~1700) or from Transylvania (see, in CDicț.1691–7: 413, synonyms *rudă* “relative”, *priiatin* “friend”, *deaproapele* “the close one”; see also CPV.~1705: 62<sup>y</sup>).

## 4. Conclusions

**Four old Romanian nominal constructions** show the same mechanism of inverted word order and ellipsis, which makes possible the occurrence of non-prototypical constituents as arguments (the genitive phrase, the partitive prepositional object, the partitive prepositional object that incorporates a genitive phrase and an adverbial prepositional modifier; see also the placement of the genitive phrase on the right-hand side of the indefinite determiner *nește* (1g)).

**Only one** of these constructions (a prepositional modifier of the noun) undergoes a further change, taking part in a process of compounding (the incorporation of the preposition *de*) and of nominalization (the result is *deaproapele* “the close one.DEF”).

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the pattern *deaproapele* [*de+Av+Art*]<sub>N</sub> has a high frequency in Moldova; rarely, it occurs in Wallachia and in Transylvania; afterwards, the structure *deaproapele* becomes obsolete, being replaced by its nominalized correspondent *aproapele*, without preposition ([*Av+Art*]<sub>N</sub>), still currently attested.

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