Formal Approaches to DPs in Old Romanian

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BRILL

The Parameter of Definiteness in Romanian: Diachronic and Synchronic Evidence

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This paper brings diachronic and synchronic evidence for the claim that the Parameter of Definiteness coined by Danon (2010) is active in the syntax of the Romanian nominal phrase. We analyze the status of the definiteness feature in the typology of grammatical features put forth by Kibort (2010), and show that definiteness is realized as a grammatical suffix and behaves like a morphosyntactic feature in Romanian as it is involved in syntactic agreement and, marginally, in licensing. The morphosyntactic nature of definiteness opens the way towards a proper parameterization. We then thoroughly discuss the patterns of definiteness realization which indicate that the definite article starts low, as a suffix on the noun (as chiefly shown by the "low definite article" of Old Romanian identified by Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a), and its (sometimes multiple) realization is driven by Agree.

1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to support, with diachronic and synchronic evidence coming from Romanian, the claim put forth by Danon (2010) (see also Ledgeway 2013) in the analysis of Hebrew, namely that there exists a *Parameter of Definiteness* whose specification accounts for some of the most radical disanalogies between the DP-syntax of languages like Hebrew and Arabic or, as claimed here, Romanian (see also Nicolae 2013d), specified as positive for this parameter, and languages like English or French, in which definiteness is a morphosemantic feature with a very reduced degree of narrow syntax significance.

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* This paper starts from the intuitions expressed in Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011a) and brings cross-linguistic evidence for the analysis advocated there, which is exclusively based on (Old) Romanian data. In the present paper, we provide additional diachronic and synchronic evidence for the claims advanced in Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011a), through a formal analysis of multiple definiteness agreement.

We will be mostly concerned with the analysis of Romanian definite DPs, focusing on the patterns of definiteness in Old Romanian (henceforth, OR) and Modern Romanian (henceforth, MR) and with the (highly diversified and syntactically distinct) patterns of multiple realization of the definite suffix within the same DP from the same double, synchronic and diachronic, perspective.

Other phenomena, for example the emergence of the genitival marker *al, a, ai, ale* (specific to Romanian in Romance, see Dragomirescu & Nicolae 2015a) or the suffixation of the definite article onto indefinite quantifiers (e.g. *unul* one. DEF, *altul* other.DEF), also bring support for our analysis. However, a proper account of these phenomena involves a thorough discussion of the syntax of Romanian genitives (for Rom. *al, ai, a, ale*) (see Cornilescu 1992, 2003) and of the syntax of nominal ellipsis (for Rom. *unul* and *altul*) (see Cornilescu & Nicolae 2012, Nicolae 2013a: ch. 3), two chores which are beyond our space limitations here, but are addressed in Giurgea (this volume).

Following previous literature, we adopt the DP-hypothesis (Abney 1989, Longobardi 1994), and assume that the DP consists of (at least) the functional projections in (1) (following Longobardi 2001; Giusti 2005; Borer 2005; Julien 2005; Stan 2009 and Tănase-Dogaru 2009 for Romanian).

(1)   DP   >   QP   >   NumP   >   NP

Adjectives are assumed to merge as specifiers of functional projections in the space above NP (Cinque 2010); however, the prenominal space in which the adjectives merge is not uniform (Cornilescu 2006, 2009a), and adjectives from different classes merge in distinct areas of the prenominal space (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011b).

The outline of the paper is as follows: section 2 is devoted to the introduction of the theoretical ingredients on which the analysis is based; section 3 presents the empirical data which indicate that the Romanian definite article starts out as a suffix on the noun; section 4 analyzes the patterns of (multiple) definiteness realization of Old and Modern Romanian; finally, section 5 draws the conclusions.

We start by introducing the theoretical ingredients necessary for the analysis, the most important of which are the following: (i) Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007) distinction between valuation and interpretability of features and their feature-sharing model of Agree; and (ii) a finer-grained typology of *features*, modelled on recent work by Corbett and his collaborators (see especially Corbett 2011, 2012; Kibort 2010; Kibort & Corbett 2010). We thus bridge the gap between two traditions of research, linguistic typology and generative grammar,

endeavouring to formally implement the typological results, a fact which opens the way to place them in a minimalist approach to parameterization (cf. Roberts 2012; Kayne 2013).[1]

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 *Interpretability and Valuation*

Minimalist research as well as linguistic typology regard features as being ordered pairs of type <Attribute, Value> (Adger & Svenonius 2011: 38) or <Feature, its Value> (Kibort 2010: 66). This perspective on feature is convergent with the Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) theory of Agree, which manipulates two featural dimensions: valuation and interpretability.

The framework assumed here, the second variant of Minimalism (Chomsky 2000 and ssq. work), disposes of the Spec-Head agreement operation and refines the conception on feature mechanics: features are no longer checked, but valued. The operation that drives feature valuation is Agree. Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) distinguish between *interpretable* and *uninterpretable* features, on the one hand, and *valued* and *unvalued* features, on the other hand. The syntactic derivation is driven by the need to delete uninterpretable features (Chomsky 2000, 2001). In Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007) framework, Agree is conceived as a form of feature sharing (see also Frampton & Gutmann 2006 for a similar proposal).

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1 In the current minimalist framework, there are two mainstream approaches to parameterization, not necessarily antagonistic (cf. Gallego 2011): the macroparametric approach (Baker 2008) and the microparametric approach (Roberts 2012; Kayne 2013). While not dismissing microparameters whose source are the lexical properties of functional items (The "Borer–Chomsky" Conjecture, formulated by Baker 2008: 353), the macroparametric approach advocates the existence of macroparameters whose source of variation is the grammatical component of the faculty of language, delineable by a major comparison of languages from different families (Baker 2008). By contrast, in the microparametric framework, macroparameters are not dismissed; rather, they come about as clustering effects (aggregates) of microparameters, and thus the source of parametric variation is still lexical (Roberts 2012). For example, assuming that the canonical UG ordering is head-complement (Kayne 1994), rigidly head-final languages (e.g. Japanese, Korean, Dravidian) are characterized by the presence of a head-final feature (i.e. a diacritic which triggers comp-to-spec movement) on all heads (Roberts 2012: 320–321).

(2)   **Agree (Feature sharing version)**   (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007)
       (i)   An unvalued feature F (a *Probe*) on a head H at syntactic location α
             ($F_α$) scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a *Goal*)
             at location β ($F_β$) with which to agree.
       (ii) Replace $F_α$ with $F_β$, so that the same feature is present in both
             locations.

Agree is initiated by some head at a location α (the Probe), provided with an
unvalued, uninterpretable or *interpretable* feature $F_α$; the c-command domain
is scanned for another instance of F, in some (Goal) phrase β, $F_β$, with which it
agrees. Conceived of as *feature sharing*, Agree consists in replacing $F_α$ with $F_β$,
so that the same feature is present in both locations. A link accessible through-
out the derivation is thus established.

   By combining *valuation* and *interpretability*, Pesetsky & Torrego (2007)
arrive at a fourfold typology of features, given below (feature participating in
Agree will bear the same numerical index; an empty pair of brackets signals
that a feature has not participated in Agree).

(3)   [*u*F] [1]: uninterpretable, valued   [*i*F] [1]: interpretable, valued
       [*u*F] [ ]: uninterpretable, unvalued   [*i*F] [ ]: interpretable, unvalued

Adger & Svenonious' (2011) propose a slightly different minimalist perspective
on features, according to which a valued feature is a feature whose attribute is
satisfied by a value chosen from a set of values, as in (4).

(4)   Valued feature:
       a. A valued feature is an ordered pair <Att, Val> where
       b. Att is drawn from the set of attributes, {A, B, C, D, E, . . . }
       c. and Val is drawn from the set of values, {a, b, c, d . . . }

If we correlate (3) with (4), there are two logical possibilities to supply a value
for an attribute: Agree or Merge. Note that the second option, Merge, is not
directly included in the system established by Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) (Ian
Roberts, *p.c.*), but has been however advocated by several authors, most promi-
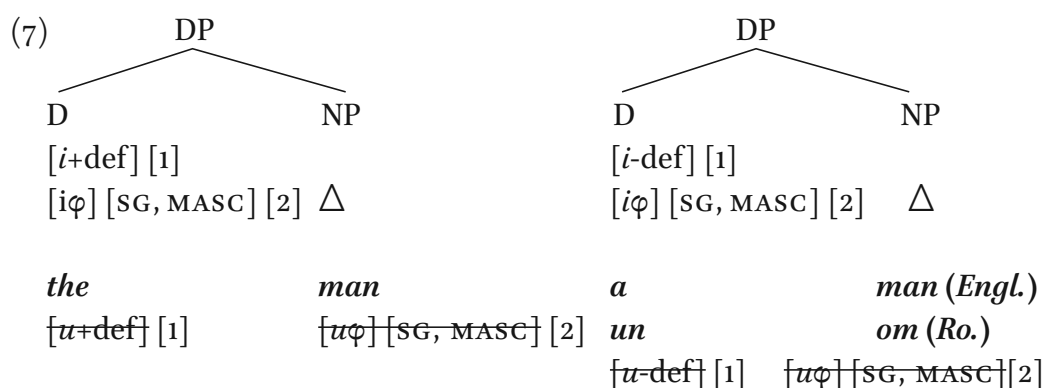nently by Rouveret (2012).

   Assume that, in UG, the D head is minimally endowed with an interpre-
table unvalued definiteness feature [*i*def _] and with interpretable unvalued
φ-features [*i*φ _].

(5)

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        DP
       /  \
      D    NP
 [idef _] []
 [iφ _] []
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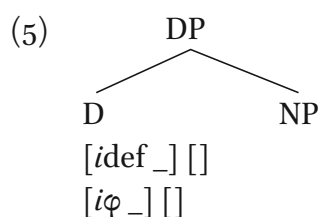
In structures with freestanding articles, the definiteness requirement on D is satisfied by the direct merger in D of the respective articles; e.g. the freestanding definite and indefinite articles of English (6a, b), or the freestanding indefinite article of Romanian (6c).

(6) a. ***the*** *man* (English)
     b. ***a*** *man*
     c. ***un*** *om*   (Romanian)
        a   man

These articles are lexically specified as uninterpretable valued [+ / − definite], as in (7), while the φ-feature requirements are satisfied via Agree with the head-noun.
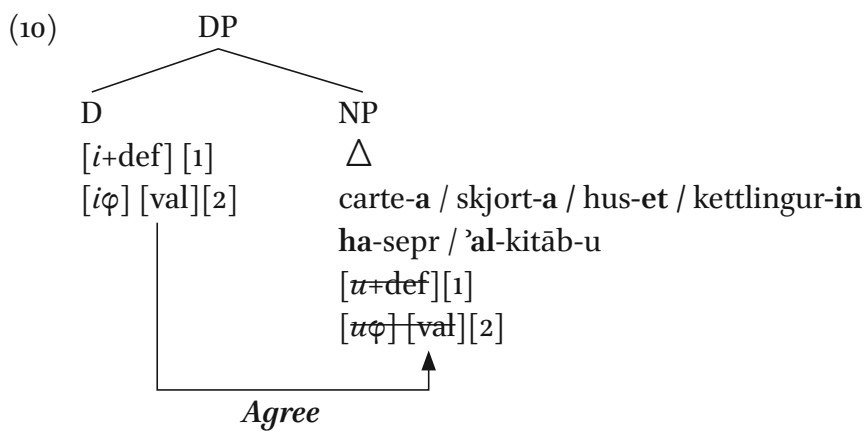
(7)

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        DP                              DP
       /  \                            /  \
      D    NP                         D    NP
 [i+def] [1]                    [i-def] [1]
 [iφ] [SG, MASC] [2]  △         [iφ] [SG, MASC] [2]   △


  the            man             a              man (Engl.)
 [u+def] [1]    [uφ] [SG, MASC] [2]   un         om (Ro.)
                                    [u-def] [1]  [uφ] [SG, MASC][2]
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Affixes may also mark definiteness,[2] either as suffixes, as in (8) for Romanian, Scandinavian varieties like Norwegian, Swedish, and Faroese (Julien 2005: ch. 2), or as a prefix, as in (9), for Hebrew (Danon 2010) or Arabic (Hoyt 2008). In these structures, the Agree relation established between the definite noun and the D head suffices to satisfy the requirements of D (Cornilescu & Nicolae

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2 The realization of definiteness by means of affixation is richly attested cross-linguistically; in the WALS map devoted to definite articles, Dryer (2005a) documents 84 languages with definiteness affixation.

2011a), as shown in (10). Agree may or may not involve movement of the affixed noun to Spec, DP; this is subject to parametric variation (see the discussion in Ledgeway 2013: section 3.3).

(8) a. *carte-**a*** Romanian
    book-DEF.F.SG
    'the book'

    b. *skjort-**a*** Norwegian
    shirt-DEF.F.SG
    'the shirt'

    c. *hus-**et*** Swedish
    house-DEF.N.SG
    'the house'

    d. *kettlingur-**in*** Faroese
    kitten-DEF.M.SG.NOM
    'the kitten'

(9) a. ***ha**-sepr* Hebrew
    DEF-book
    'the book'

    b. *'**al**-kitāb-u* Arabic
    DEF-book-NOM
    'the book'

(10)

```
                DP
              /    \
            D        NP
   [i+def] [1]        △
   [iφ] [val][2]   carte-a / skjort-a / hus-et / kettlingur-in
          |        ha-sepr / 'al-kitāb-u
          |        [u̶+̶d̶e̶f̶][1]
          |        [u̶φ̶] [v̶a̶l̶][2]
          |_____↑
              Agree
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Cross-linguistically,[3] indefiniteness may also be marked by grammatical affixes (11) (see Dryer 2005b); [$i$def _] valuation as [i-def] is assumed to proceed in a similar manner.

(11) *abül-**fekha***   Korowai
      man-INDEF(SPECIFIC)
      'a (certain) man'

However, not all features may be syntactically manipulated in the same manner. In the next section, we present Kibort's (2010) typology of grammatical features and discuss the variable status of the definiteness feature.

2.2   *Features. The Status of <u>Definiteness</u>*

Kibort (2010) puts forth a threefold typology of features and distinguishes between *morphosemantic / morphological / morphosyntactic* features, taking as criteria the availability of the respective feature to participate in agreement and government / assignment in a given language, and its semantic import.

   Morphosemantic features do not participate in agreement phenomena, but have semantic effects; semantic tense features likes [Past] / [Present] fall into this class. *Morphological features* do not participate in agreement phenomena and they do not have semantic implications; inflectional class features (e.g. [Conjugation I] of Latin verbs) are purely morphological features: they do not have semantic correlates, and they do not morphosyntactically infringe upon their dependents (i.e. there is no "agreement in conjugation" or the like).

   Morphosyntactic features are defined as features whose values are involved in either syntactic agreement or assignment / government. A few comments are in order with respect to the notion assignment / government. Kibort (2010) employs the concept *government*, also glossed as *assignment*, in the traditional GB sense: a governor is a head which assigns a certain grammatical value to a governee. This process is illustrated with Case assignment. As shown by Pesetsky & Torrego (2004, 2011) and Pesetsky (2013), Case assignment is actually resolved also by means of the Agree relation established by a nominal endowed with [uT] features against a [iT]-bearing head (a verb, a preposition, etc.). Thus, if both syntactic agreement and assignment / government are driven by Agree, then Kibort's definition of morphosyntactic features can be simplified as follows:

(12) *Morphosyntactic* features are features whose values are involved in Agree.

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3   The map in Dryer (2005b: 160–161) documents 31 languages in which the indefinite article is affixal, all of them outside Europe.

This perspective on features neatly corresponds to Corbett's (2011: 448) definition of canonical morphosyntactic features:

(13)   A canonical morphosyntactic feature is one that has robust formal marking and is manipulated by the rules of syntax.

The affixal status of the definite article (in Romanian, Norwegian, Swedish, Faroese, Hebrew and Arabic) (see section 3.1 below for evidence that the Romanian definite article is a suffix and not a (second position) clitic) proves important in deciding whether the definiteness feature is morphosyntactic, as the inflectional realization of a certain feature is indicative of its status, as noted by Corbett (2011: 458): "another perspective on canonical [morphosyntactic] features [...] is that they be realized by canonical inflectional morphology". Affixation represents a canonical mechanism of encoding morphosyntactic information.

From this featural perspective, we can now turn to *definiteness*. It has been observed that "definiteness is a particularly difficult feature since the need for it, or not, in various languages is the source of some disagreement" (Kibort & Corbett 2010: 2).

In Kibort's (2010: 83) survey of the status of grammatical features across the world's languages, definiteness is qualified as rarely participating in agreement; participation in assignment / government is not attested.

Danon (2010) advocates the existence of a *parameter of definiteness* distinguishing languages like Hebrew and Arabic (in Danon's formulation; we may add to this list at least Romanian, Norwegian, Swedish, and Faroese[4]), in which definiteness is a *morphosyntactic* feature, from languages like English and French, in which there is definiteness marking, but the definiteness feature is morphosemantic. Danon characterizes morphosyntactic definiteness as being a *privative / monovalent* feature: thus, the alternation is between having a [+definite] feature and lacking it, not between [+definite] and [-definite]. Lacking morphosyntactic definiteness is not equivalent to being semantically indefinite; semantic definiteness is supplied by freestanding articles or other definite determiners.

The discussion above indicates that there is an important correlation between the realization of a grammatical feature and its status in the typology of grammatical features, which opens the possibility of a proper parameteriza-

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4   This Romanian-Scandinavian similarity was first noticed by B.P. Hașdeu (1879 [1984]).

tion. With respect to definiteness, the affixal status of the definite marker alongside its morphosyntactic manifestation (participation in syntactic agreement) qualifies definiteness as a morphosyntactic feature in a given language. This correlation is supported empirically: a language like Bulgarian, in which the definite article is a second position clitic (see Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2006 and references therein), displays neither *syntactic definiteness agreement* of the sort found in Old Romanian, see (14) (Croitor 2008) and Modern Romanian, see (15) (Nicolae 2013a: ch. 3; cf. also Iordan 1956), Hebrew, see (16) (Wintner 2000) and Arabic, see (17) (Hoyt 2008); nor *double definite constructions* in which definiteness is marked by different elements (an affixal article and a freestanding article / a demonstrative determiner), found in Old Romanian, as in (18) (Stan 2013) and in Modern Romanian, as in (19) (Nicolae 2013b), or in Scandinavian, as in (20) (Julien 2005).

- Definiteness agreement

(14) a. *păntru sufletul răposatului jupânului Predei*
     for   soul.DEF late.DEF.GEN master.DEF.GEN Preda.GEN
     'for the soul of the late master Preda' (DÎ.1600: LVI)

    b. *zidul cetății marei și frumoasei*
     wall.DEF city.DEF.GEN big.DEF.GEN and beautiful.DEF.GEN
     'the wall of the big and beautiful city, (Cantacuzino, *apud* Croitor 2008)

(15) a. *bietul bărbatul meu*
     poor.DEF man.DEF my
     'my poor husband'

    b. *muncitorul ală vrednicul*
     worker.DEF that hardworking.DEF
     'that hardworking worker'

(16) ***ha**-sepr **ha**-gado* (Hebrew)
    DEF-book DEF-big
    'the big book'

(17) *'**al**-kitāb-u **l**-kabīr-u* (Arabic)
    DEF-book.M.SG-NOM DEF-big.M.SG-NOM
    'the big book'

• Double definites

(18) *popa   cela   greşitul*[5]
      priest.DEF   that   make-mistake(PPLE).DEF
      'that priest who made a mistake' (CPrav.1560–1562: 9ʳ)

(19) *cartea   cea / aceea   interesantă*
      book.DEF   the that   interesting
      'the / that interesting book'

(20) a. *den   gul-e   skjort-a*   (Norwegian)
         DEF   yellow-w[6]   shirt-DEF
         'the yellow shirt'

      b. *det   gul-a   hus-et*   (Swedish)
         DEF   yellow-w   house-DEF
         'the yellow house'

      c. *tann   svart-i   kettlingur-in*   (Faroese)
         DEF   black-w   kitten-DEF
         'the black kitten'

Recent theorizing indicates that affixation (in our case, the suffixation of the definite article) is a pre-syntactic phenomenon; in other words, lexical items may bear the definite affix at Merge. This idea is well-captured by Faarlund (2009), as in (21), and is further supported by Kibort (2010), who clearly indicates that inflection (and, implicitly, affixation) is a *lexical* property (22).

(21) "inflectional forms of the word are created by morphosyntactic feature specification, rather than just added as separate morphemes"
                (Faarlund 2009: 623, building on Stump 2001 and Corbett 2006)

(22) "the 'rule' that determines which elements have to realize particular inflections is found in the *lexicon* in the form of a generalization over the relevant part of speech or a subclass within a part of speech"
                                                        (Kibort 2010: 69)

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5 Old Romanian also has the option of active past participles with subject externalization; this option is lost in Modern Romanian, being replaced by a relative clause strategy (see Dragomirescu & Nicolae 2015b).

6 "w" stands for *weak inflection* in the Scandinavian examples.

To sum up, the hypothesis that we entertain, which will be supported throughout the paper, is that the *parameter of definiteness* proposed by Danon (2010) translates as the ability of lexical items to be specified as [+definite] at Merge.[7] The highly diversified patterns of definiteness agreement in Romanian will be shown to follow from this assumption in conjunction with the regular syntax of Romanian DP-internal constituents (adjectives, demonstratives and possessives).

3 On the Status and Merger of the Romanian Definite Article

3.1 *The Suffixal Status of the Definite Article*
A series of distributional, inflectional as well as phonological characteristics indicate that the Romanian definite article is a suffix (Lombard 1974: 2; Halpern 1992; Ortmann & Popescu 2000; Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2006; Nicolae 2012a), not a second position clitic (Renzi 1993).

3.1.1 Distribution
(i) In Modern Romanian, with the exception of the definiteness agreement constructions in (15), the definite article occurs in a constant position, i.e. on the first noun (23a) or adjective (23b) in the group. Its distribution is thus limited, being hosted only by constituents of a certain type, i.e. [+N] constituents.

(23) a. *fata*   *frumoasă* c. **fată* *frumoasa*
   girl.DEF   beautiful   girl   beautiful.DEF

  b. *frumoasa* *fată* d. **frumoasă* *fata*
   beautiful.DEF girl   beautiful girl.DEF
   'the beautiful girl'

A formal implementation of the suffixation of the definite article onto prenominal adjectives will be discussed in section 4.1 below.

 (ii) In coordination, the article attaches to both conjuncts, an unexpected repetition for a clitic (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2006).[8]

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7 In a HPSG framework, Barbu (2004: 84, fnt. 48) also suggests that definite affixation is a Lexicon property. With reference to Swedish, Hankamer & Mikkelsen (2005) also adopt the idea that definite affixation is a pre-syntactic process.

8 Consider again the contrast with the Bulgarian definite article, which is a second position clitic (Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2006): the Bulgarian article occurs only once, on the highest adjective.

(24) a. *frumosul*   *și*   *marele*   *oraș*
      beautiful.DEF   and   big.DEF   city
      'the big and beautiful city'

    b. **frumosul*   *și*   *mare*   *oraș*
      beautiful.DEF   and   big.DEF   city

By contrast, with stacked prenominal adjectives, the definite article surfaces on the highest one:

(24) a. *frumosul*   *mare*   *oraș*
      beautiful.DEF   big   city
      'the big beautiful city'

    b. **frumosul*   *marele*   *oraș*
      beautiful.DEF   big.DEF   city

(iii) The article is not always string-second in DP, since degree words may intervene between the D position and the adjectives to which the article attaches:

(25) *atât*   *de*   *lungile*   *drumuri*
     such   of   long.DEF   roads
     'the very long roads'

(iv) In contrast to clitics, which exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems. The Romanian definite article attaches to nouns and Φ-complete adjectives. Suffixation is blocked with cardinal numerals, which are φ-deficient

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(i) a. *novata*   *i*   *interesna*   *kniga*   (Bulgarian)
      new.DEF   and   interesting   book
    b. **novata*   *i*   *interesnata*   *kniga*
      new.DEF   and   interesting.DEF   book
(ii) a. **noua*   *și*   *interesantă*   *carte*   (Romanian)
      new.DEF   and   interesting   book
    b. *noua*   *și*   *interesanta*   *carte*
      new.DEF   and   interesting.DEF   book

(26a), and definiteness valuation is satisfied by the merger of the freestanding definite article *cel* ('the') in D.

(26) a. **cincile*   *fete*
         five.DEF   girls

     b. ***cele***   *cinci*   *fete*
        DEF   five   girls
        'the five girls'

With "quantifying adjectives" (quantifiers with adjectival morphology) (Pană Dindelegan 2003; Cornilescu 2009b), both patterns of definiteness valuation are available:

(27) a. *foarte*   *puținii*   *elevi*   *de*   *aici*
         very   few.DEF   schoolchildren   of   here

     b. ***cei***   *foarte*   *puțini*   *elevi*   *de aici*
        DEF   very   few   schoolchildren   of here
        'the very few schoolchildren here'

The property which appears to be relevant is φ-completeness. Except for certain simple numerals which may encode gender distinctions (see Stan 2010 for extensive discussion), Romanian numerals are morphologically defective: they can neither bear the definite suffix (26), nor be inflected for Case; in the Genitive and Dative, quantified phrases headed by numerals are introduced by the prepositions *a* and, respectively, *la* (28).

(28) *a /*   *la*   *trei*   *copii*
     GEN   DAT   three   children
     'of / to the three children'

In languages in which numerals are not morphologically impoverished (e.g. Modern Standard Arabic), they can bear Case inflection (29a) and be affixed by the definite article (29b) (Bardeas 2009: 37–38).

(29) a. *fataataani*   *iṭnataani*   (Arabic)
         girls.F.NOM   two.F.NOM
         'two girls'

b. *an-nisaaʔu*   *aṭ-ṭalaaṭatu*
   DEF-women.F.NOM   DEF-three.NOM
   'the three women'

3.1.2   Inflection
(i) Allomorphy. The definite article changes its form depending on the gender
of the noun's stem and on the last phoneme. For example, masculine nouns
whose final segment is the singular inflectional ending *-e* (30a) take the allo-
morph *-le* (30b), while singular masculines with a final consonant (31a) reac-
tivate the ancient singular inflectional ending *-u* and take the allomorph *–l*
(31b).

(30) a. *frat-e*
         brother-SG

      b. *frat-e-le*
         brother-SG-DEF

(31) a. *băiat*
         boy

      b. *băiat-u-l*
         boy-SG-DEF

Singular feminine nouns present an even more complex situation: the singular
inflectional ending *-ă* (32a) is replaced by the definite allomorph *-a* (32b); the
definite allomorph *-a* directly attaches (32d) to nouns whose singular inflec-
tional ending is the full vowel *-e* (32c) (but not to those ending in a yod+[e]
sequence like *odaie* [odaje] 'small room'); by contrast, in the case of feminine
nouns whose singular is marked by a silent allomorph (33e), the definite article
allomorph is *–ua* (33f).

(32) a. *fat-ă*
         girl-SG

      b. *fat-a*
         girl-DEF

  c. *cart-e*
   book-SG

  d. *cart-e-**a***
   book-SG-DEF

  e. *pijama-Ø*
   pyjama-SG

  f. *pijama-Ø-**ua***
   pyjama-SG-DEF

The suffixation of article onto prenominal adjectives strengthens the claim that the article is an allomorph of the stem on which it surfaces, not a clitic which raises to the topmost position of the DP. Singular masculines ending in a consonant take the allomorph *-l* (33a); when preceded by adjectives whose singular inflectional ending is *-e* (corresponding to the nouns in (30)), the definite allomorph is *-le* (34b).

(33) a. *băiat-u-**l***   *tenac-e*
    boy-SG-DEF   tenacious-SG

  b. *tenac-e-**le***   *băiat*
   tenacious-SG-DEF   boy
   'the tenacious boy'

(ii) Genitive-Dative inflection. The definite article may shares the Genitive-Dative inflectional endings with demonstrative, indefinite and relative pronouns. Compare the paradigms in (34) and (35).

(34) a. *băiat-u-**lui***   (35) a. *băieț-i-**lor***
    boy-SG-DEF.GEN/DAT   boy-PL-DEF.GEN/DAT.PL

  b. *acest-**ui***   b. *acest-**or***
   this-GEN/DAT.SG   these-GEN/DAT.PL
   *un-**ui***   *un-**or***
   one-GEN/DAT.SG   ONE-GEN/DAT.PL
   *căr-**ui***   *căr-**or***
   which-GEN/DAT.SG   which-GEN/DAT.PL

3.1.3 Phonological Evidence

The suffixation of the definite article has the effect of turning semi-vocalic endings into full vowels, thus altering the syllabic structure of nouns (36).

(36) a. *leu* [leŭ] → *leul*[le-ul]
　　　 lion.SG　　　 lion.DEF

　　 b. *lei* [leĭ] → *lei*[le-i]
　　　 lion.PL　　 lion.PL.DEF

Definite affixation also has the reverse effect, that is, it may turn full vowels into semivowels (37).

(37) *floare* [floare]→ *floarea* [floarĕa]
　　 flower.SG　　　　 flower.SG.DEF

One other phonological effect of definite affixation is stress shift (38).

(38) *ra̱dio* → *radio̱ul*
　　 radio.SG　 radio.SG.DEF

3.1.4 Summary

The tests presented in this section indicate that the Romanian enclitic definite article is a suffix, not a second position clitic. According to Corbett's (2011) definitions, this item qualifies as the marker of the morphosyntactic [definiteness] feature. The lexical base to which the enclitic article attaches consists of adjectives and nouns (most inflectional classes of adjectives overlap with the inflectional classes of nouns; Brăescu 2013).

3.2 *The Article Starts Out as a Suffix on the Noun*

There are numerous diachronic and synchronic empirical facts indicating that the Romanian definite article starts out as a suffix on the noun, and its (sometimes multiple) realization on adjectives represents a syntactic agreement phenomenon driven by Agree. Such an approach, developed in this section, allows one not only to properly account for definiteness agreement, but also to account for the situations in which definiteness agreement is not available, ultimately providing a correct characterization of the distribution of definiteness in Romanian.

3.2.1   The Low Definite Article of Old Romanian

The first piece of evidence indicating that the definite article starts out as a suffix on the noun is the "low definite article" of Old Romanian, first discussed by Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011a). This construction is attested since the 16th century texts, and is present both in original documents and in translations.

In this construction, the noun suffixed by the definite article may be preceded by constituents that in Modern Romanian count as interveners in definiteness valuation. These constituents are of several types: prenominal non-definite adjectives (39), prenominal genitives (40), and prenominal quantifiers (41); there are instances in which more than one constituent precedes the definite noun (42).

(39) a. *cu*   [_{DP}*cinstită carte**a*   *mării*   *tale*]
         with   honoured   letter.DEF   highness.DEF.GEN   your
         'with your highness' honoured letter' (DÎ.1596: CVI)

      b. *tu   tinde   cumilă   cătră noi*   [_{DP}*svântă   mân**a*   *ta*]
         you   extend   with mercy   towards us   holy   hand.DEF   your
         'extend your holy hand towards us with mercy' (FT.1570–1575: 3ᵛ)

      c. *că   văzuiu   *[_{DP}*luminată   faț**a*   *ta*]
         that   see.PS.1SG   bright   face.DEF   your
         'that I saw your bright face' (A.1620: 58ʳ)

      d. *s-au   oploșit   în* [_{DP}*vicleană   făgăduinț**a*   *lui*]
         REFL=has   sheltered   in   sly   promise.DEF   his
         'he took shelter in his sly promise' (CLM.1700–1750: 186ᵛ)

      e. *iară*   [_{DP}*ascunsŭ   giudéțu**l*   *lui   Dumnedzeu*]
         and   hidden   judegement.DEF   GEN   God
         toate   gândurile   omenești   le   strămută
         all   thoughts.DEF   human   CL.ACC.3PL   moves
         'and God's hidden judgement troubles all human thoughts' (CLM. 1700–1750: 242ʳ)

      f. *să   potoale   Vasilie vodă*   [*sunate   zarve**le*]
         SUBJ   mitigate   Vasilie prince   noisy   quarrels.DEF
         'in order for Prince Vasilie to mitigate the noisy quarrels' (CLM. 1700–50: 234ᵛ)

(40) a. *au   aflat   cap   și   începătura   moșilor*[. . .]
         have.3=   found   head   and   beginning   ancestors.DEF.GEN
         ca să   nu   se   înéce   [DP *a toate   țărâle*
         so SUBJ   not   REFL   drown   GEN all   countries.DEF
         anii   trecuți]
         years.DEF   passed
         'They found the origin and the beginning of their ancestors so that the
         history of all countries may not be drowned into oblivion' (ULM.~1725:
         A-1 f.2)

      b. *Umblăm   după*   [DP*a lumii   înșelătoare   fața*]
         go.1PL   after   GEN world.DEF.GEN   deceitful   face.DEF
         'We are after the world's deceitful face' (CVL.1672: 34ᵛ)

(41) a. *deade   Dumnezeu*   [DP   *zeace   cuvintele   sale*]
         gave   God   ten   words.DEF   his
         'God gave his ten commandments' (CCat.1560: 4ʳ)

      b. *arătarea   [a dooa   venireei   lui*]
         showing.DEF   second   coming.DEF.GEN   his
         'the showing of his second coming' (CC².1581: 536/16)

      c. *însă   [câte trei   morții*]   *nu sunt   închipuiri*
         but   each three   deceased.DEF   not are   illusions
         'but the three deceased each are not illusions' (AD.1722–1725: 131ʳ)

(42) *închinra-se-vor   înraintea-i   [DP*toată   a moșilor   limba*]
      bow=REFL=will   before=DAT.1SG   all   GEN ancestors   people.DEF
      'all the ancient people will bow before him' (PH.1500–1510: 18ʳ)

The low definite article occurs overwhelmingly in configurations in which the
definite noun is followed by a genitival phrase, a demonstrative adjective or
another DP-internal modifier. Occurrence without postnominal dependents is
rare, but not unattested (see (39f), (40b), (41c), (42)).

    Prenominal adjectives may take over the definite article in Old Romanian
(43), similarly to Modern Romanian, and the multiple realization of the defi-
nite article is richly attested in Old Romanian as well (44) (Croitor 2008).

(43) *păn   nu s-au   săvârșit*   [DP*sfânta   slujbă*]
      until   not REFL=has   ended   sacred.DEF   service
   'until the sacred service ended' (CLM.1700–1750: 161ᵛ)

(44) *naintea   sfântul**ui***   *papei*
before   holy.DEF.GEN   Pope.DEF.GEN
'before the holy Pope' (DÎ.1593: XCII)

As such, with non-definite prenominal adjectives, the realization of the suffixal definite article onto the post-adjectival noun is syntactically required for economy reasons: in Old as well as in Modern Romanian, post-nominal inflectional genitival phrases need not be introduced by the genitival marker *al* if they are strictly adjacent to the definite article (affixed onto a noun or an adjective); similarly, post-nominal demonstratives are also licensed in the presence of the definite article to their left. Thus, in the phrases in (40), it might be that prenominal adjectives undergo definiteness agreement with the noun and satisfy [*i*def _] on D via Local Agree, but the definite article is realized onto the lower noun for syntactic reasons.

However, a larger picture, which takes into consideration quantifiers and prenominal genitives points to the fact that in Old Romanian it is indeed possible to value definiteness across an intervening phrasal constituent which may itself value definiteness (the prenominal genitive, the cardinal and ordinal numeral) or take over the definite suffix (the prenominal adjective).

Consider the DP in (41a) and its derivation given in (45): definiteness valuation takes place via Long Distance Agree, across the intervening quantifier in D. Definiteness agreement of the quantifier and the lower realization of the definite suffix is not an option, as Romanian quantifiers are incompatible with the definite suffix or with other inflectional markers (see example (26) and the discussion surrounding it).

(41) a. <u>*zeace*</u>   *cuvinte**le***   *sale*
ten   words.DEF   his

(45)
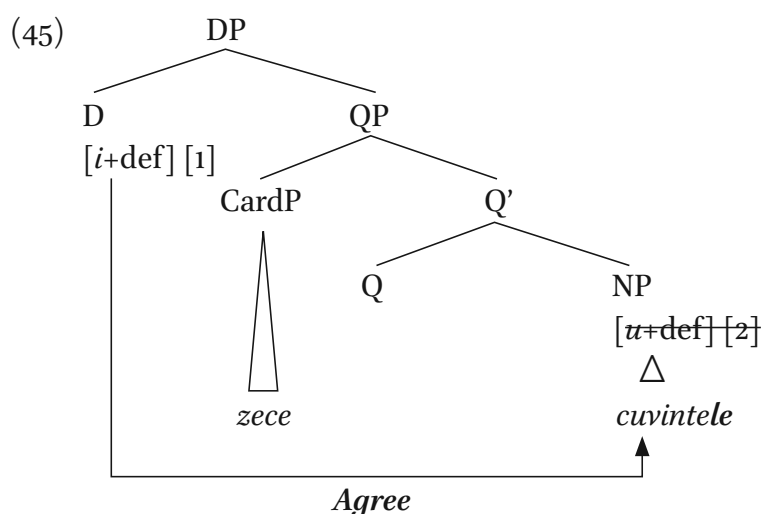
Agree

Given such facts, all the examples in (39)–(42) above, including those with a non-definite prenominal adjective, may be interpreted as displaying Long Distance Agree: a phrase situated between the probe in D (the [*i*def _] feature of D) and the goal lower down in the structure (the [*u*+def] feature of the noun) does not give rise to defective intervention effects. Cross-linguistically, there are other cases of definiteness agreement across an intervening phrase; consider (46) from Icelandic, which features the same Long Distance Agree option.

(46) *gamli   maður-**inn***
      old   man.DEF
      'the old man' (from Stroh-Wollin 2009: 4)

The conclusion that Agree could operate long distance in Old Romanian is further supported by the existence of Long Distance Movement in Old Romanian (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011a). Long Distance Movement is shown by the existence of constructions in which specifiers can be crossed over by phrasal constituents. The examples in (47) below feature long phrasal demonstratives preceded by complex phrasal constituents; (48) illustrates prenominal determiner genitives (see Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011c on the determiner genitive of Old Romanian) crossed-over by complex adjectival phrases; in (49), an adjective suffixed by the definite article by-passes a cardinal numeral and reaches Spec, DP. Note also that the demonstrative adjective in (47a) and the prenominal genitives in (48) are the sole bearers of definiteness in the respective DPs; they too value definiteness by Long Distance Agree.

(47) a. *arătându-i*   [$_{DP}$*mare   treabă   **aceasta**]
         showing=him.DAT   big   affair   this
         'showing him this big affair' (CLM.1700–1750: 166^{v})

      b. *pă*   [$_{DP}$ *ticălosul   pământu   **acesta**] *să   vină*
         DOM   wretched.DEF   earth   this   SĂ come.SUBJ
         'that he should come on this wretched earth' (Greceanu.1711: 99)

      c. până la   *domniia   lui   aceasta*
         until   reign.DEF   his   this
         'until this reign of his' (CLM.17s00–1750: 203^{v})

(48) a. [DP*frumos   mirositoare   **a dragostei**   *flori*]   *a*   *răsări*
         sweetly   smelling   GEN love.DEF.GEN   flower   FUT spring
         'the sweet-smelling flower of love will spring' (Cantemir.1705 II: 4)

   b. *pre*   [DP*mai mare*   **a vicleșugului**   *căptușală*]ᵢ
      PE   more big   GEN guile.DEF.GEN   hiding
      *o*ᵢ   *făcea*
      it.ACC   made.IMPERF.3SG
      'he resorted to a deeper hiding of his guile' (= 'he hid his guile deeper')
      (Cantemir.1705 I: 307)

(49) *cântecele*   [DP*sfinților*   **trei**   *feciori*]
     songs.DEF   sacred.DEF.GEN   three   sons
     'the song of the three sacred sons' (CP¹.1577: 307ᵛ)

If internal merge is preceded by Agree (Chomsky 2000), then the examples (47)–(49) featuring movement across a phrasal specifier further testify to the availability of Long Distance Agree in the Old Romanian DP.

In conclusion, the low definite article of Romanian indicates that the definite article starts out as a suffix on the noun. The Long Distance Agree option of Old Romanian allows the definite article to value the [$i$def _] feature of D across a potential intervener, and to remain on the noun when it is syntactically required to license post-nominal genitives, demonstratives or other modifiers (more rarely, it may remain on the noun even without being syntactically required to do so).

The overall diachronic change from Old to Modern Romanian is the loss of the Long Distance Agree option in DPs. Thus, the low definite article of Old Romanian (examples (39)–(42)) has been totally eliminated; relics may be found in frozen phrases characteristic of the ecclesiastical style. The construction in (39), which features a non-definite adjective preceding a definite noun, has been replaced by structures in which the definite article surfaces on the prenominal adjective of the type illustrated in (43). Low definite article structures featuring a prenominal quantifier have been replaced by structures in which definiteness valuation is fulfilled by the freestanding definite article *cel* (Nicolae 2013a: ch. 3); the Modern Romanian examples in (50a) and (50b) correspond to the Old Romanian DPs in (41a) and (41b).

(50) a. **cele**   *zece*   *cuvinte*   *ale sale*
        the   ten   words   GEN his
        'his ten words'

    b. ***cea*** *de-a doua*   *venire*   *a lui*
       the   second   coming   GEN his
       'his second coming'

The loss of this option also affected the constructions based on Long Distance Movement. Phrasal movement across demonstratives of the type exemplified in (47) is no longer permitted (see (51b), (51b')), except for the restricted case of affective adjectives which authorize multiple definiteness realization in Modern Romanian (discussed in section 4.3 below); the standard option of Modern Romanian is head-movement of definite nouns across the phrasal demonstrative (51a) (Cornilescu 2005).

(51)   a. *treaba*   *aceasta*   *mare*
         affair.DEF   this   big
         'this big affair'

       b. *[*treaba*   *mare*]   *aceasta*   b'. *[*marea*   *treabă*]   *asta*
         affair.DEF   big   this   big.DEF   affair   this

Structures of the type (48) and (49) have been completely lost in Modern Romanian.

3.2.2   Morphologically Defective Adjectives and Definiteness Realization
Let us now turn to the Modern Romanian data indicating that the definite article merges low, as a suffix on the noun.

     Romanian possesses a restricted class of morphologically defective (i.e. φ-defective) adjectives with superlative meaning and evaluative semantics which cannot take over the definite suffix: *ditamai, ditai, cogeamite, coșcogeamite* 'huge, very big'. Despite being obligatorily prenominal, these adjectives cannot be inflected for definiteness (52b) like regular, non-defective adjectives (52a) and trigger definiteness realization on the post-adjectival head noun (52c). However, they do not block definiteness valuation, and thus contrast with cardinal numerals, which count as interveners in definiteness valuation by a definite noun (53a) and call for the insertion of the freestanding definite article *cel* 'the' (53b).

(52)   a. *frumosele*   (φ: F.PL +def)   *case* (F.PL)
         beautiful.DEF   houses
         'the beautiful houses'

    b. *cogeamite*le   (φ: –, *def)   *case* (F.PL)
       very-big.DEF   houses

    c. *cogeamite*   (φ: –)   *case*le (F.PL, +def)
       very-big   houses.DEF
       'the very big houses'

(53) a. **două*   *case*le
        two   houses

    b. ***cele***   *două*   *case*
       the   two   houses
       'the two houses'

Definiteness realization on the lower noun with defective adjectives also constitutes evidence that the definite article merges as an affix on the noun.

3.3 *Summary*

In this section, we brought evidence for two distinct but related claims: (i) the Romanian definite article is part of the inflection of Romanian nominals; in other words, Romanian nominals may be lexically specified for definiteness; (ii) of the two possible candidates that may be suffixed by the definite article at Merge, i.e. nouns and adjectives, it appears that nouns enter the derivation in this manner, and the realization of the definite article on adjectives represents a syntactic agreement phenomenon.

4   Definiteness: Spell Out and Agreement

The results of the previous section allow us to investigate, in this section, how definiteness is substantiated in Old and Modern Romanian DPs. In particular, the conclusion that definiteness is involved in syntactic agreement phenomena driven by the Agree is taken as an indication that definiteness is a morphosyntactic feature in Romanian—which is the line of analysis we pursue.

4.1 *Spelling Out Definiteness on Prenominal Adjectives*

As already mentioned, the definite article may surface on prenominal adjectives, in both Old (54a) and Modern Romanian (54b).

(54) a. *păn   nu   s-au   săvârşit* [DP*sfânta   slujbă*]
         until   not   REFL=has   ended   sacred.DEF   service
         'until the sacred service ended' (CLM.1700–1750: 161ᵛ)

      b. *frumosul   copil*
         beautiful.DEF   child
         'the beautiful child'

In what follows, we illustrate definiteness marking on prenominal adjectives with Modern Romanian examples; the distributional features discussed below are characteristic of Old Romanian as well.

Definiteness marking on prenominal adjectives represents a phenomenon of *agreement* in definiteness. The position of the adjectival head in the DP is highly relevant: not all configurations with adjectival modification allow definiteness agreement. Actually, only *attributive* (qualifying or intensional) *prenominal* adjectives can undergo definiteness agreement (55). In the Modern Romanian DP, the definite article generally surfaces only once, on the highest [+N] constituent, see (55b–c); DP-internal adverbials (i.e. [-N] categories) can precede the constituent with the enclitic definite article and do not trigger (defective) intervention effects, see (55a). Note that intensional adjectives (like *former, poor*, etc.) are exclusively prenominal, see (55d, e).⁹

(55) a. (*foarte*) *frumosul*   *trandafir*
         very   beautiful.DEF   rose
         'the very beautiful rose'

      b. **frumos   trandafirul*
         beautiful   rose.DEF

      c. **frumosul   trandafirul*
         beautiful.DEF   rose.DEF

---

9 Certain prenominal adjectives like *sărac* may also be post-nominal, but the reading is different; e.g., post-nominal *sărac* 'impecunious' versus prenominal evaluative *sărac* 'poor, pitiable'; evaluatives are exclusively prenominal, e.g. *fost* ('former'), *viitor* ('future') or *biet* ('pitiable).

d. *fostul*   *șef*
    former.DEF   boss
    'the former boss'

e. *șeful   *fost*
    boss.DEF   former

Post-nominal adjectives, be they qualifying (56a) or relative (56c), are excluded from definiteness agreement, see (56b, d).[10]

(56) a. *trandafirul*   *frumos*
      rose.DEF   beautiful
      'the beautiful rose'

     b. *trandafirul   *frumosul*
      rose.DEF   beautiful.DEF

     c. *comedie*   *americană*
      comedy.DEF   American
      'the American comedy'

     d. *comedia   *americana*
      comedy.DEF   American.DEF

Predicative adjectives do not undergo definiteness agreement either (57):

(57) a. *Trandafirul*   *este*   *frumos.*
      rose.DEF   is   beautiful
      'The rose is beautiful'

     b. *Trandafirul   *este*   *frumosul.*
      rose.DEF   is   beautiful.DEF

     c. *Trandafir   *este*   *frumosul.*
      rose   is   beautiful.DEF

---

10   The class of *relative* adjectives includes *thematic* (e.g. **British** *victory*) and *classifying* (e.g. **romantic** *poem*) adjective (see Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011b for details).

Focusing on prenominal adjectives, we point out that there is a relevant difference between coordination and stacking (see also Scott 2002): with stacked prenominal adjectives, the article surfaces only once, on the highest adjective, as in (58a) versus (58b) and (58c), whereas, with coordinated adjectives, the article surfaces on both conjuncts (59).

(58) a. *mare**le**   bătrân   continent,   Europa*
         big.DEF   old   continent   Europe
         'the big old continent, Europe'

     b. **mare**le*   bătrânu**l**   continent,   Europa*
         big.DEF   old.DEF   continent   Europe

     c. **mare   bătrânu**l**   continent,   Europa*
         big   old.DEF   continent   Europe

(59) a. *lung**a**   și   călduroas**a**   vară*
         long.DEF   and   warm.DEF   summer.DEF
         'the long and warm summer'

     b. **lung**a**   și   călduroas**ă**   vară*
         long.DEF   and   warm   summer.DEF

     c. **lung**ă**   și   călduroas**a**   vară*
         long   and   warm.DEF   summer.DEF

The relevance of the disparity between stacking and coordination proves relevant, as stacking involves hierarchical structure (Scott 2002), whereas coordination is essentially a phenomenon of symmetry (Munn 1993).

In order to derive definiteness agreement, we assume that definiteness is among the agreement features of the adjective. This affirmation finds support first and foremost in the inflectional behaviour of adjectives (see Brăescu 2013: 410–414). Modern Romanian possesses four inflectional classes of adjectives: four-form adjectives, three-form adjectives, two-form adjectives, invariable adjectives. All these adjectival inflectional classes dissolve into the inflectional classes of the noun, as also remarked by Brăescu (2013: 410): "[a]djectives share a series of inflectional affixes with nouns, and the variation of the stem generally displays morpho-phonological alternations common to both classes". The inflectional relation between adjectives and nouns is actually a set-superset

relation: there is no adjectival inflexion which is not present in the noun set of inflexions, but not vice versa.[11] On morphological grounds, the assumption that definiteness is among the agreement features of the adjective is thus well supported. The definiteness feature on adjectival heads will be *unvalued uninterpretable* [definite] and the feature set contains the unvalued uninterpretable [φ] and [definiteness].
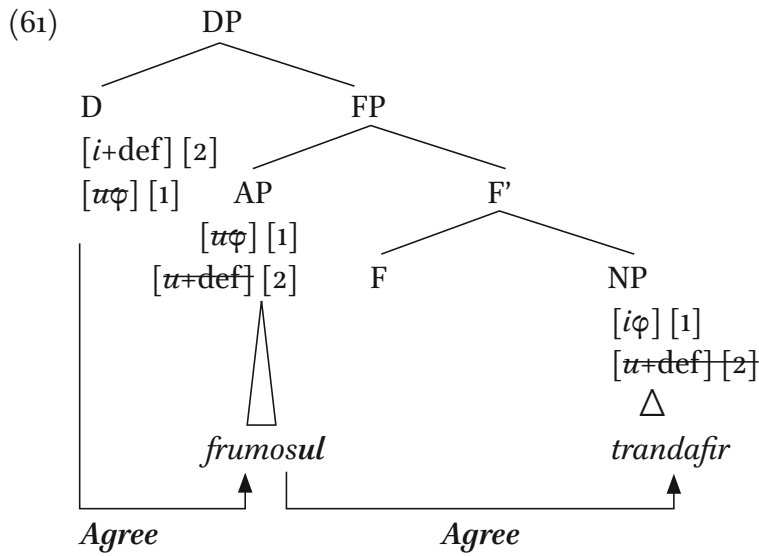
According to Cinque (2010), prenominal adjectives merge as specifiers of functional projections. Consider example (55a), repeated here, whose internal structure is given in (60)(only the relevant features are present in the tree). The noun enters the derivation with the suffixed definite article.

(55) a. *frumosul*   *trandafir*
        beautiful.DEF   rose
        'the beautiful rose'

(60)

```
                    DP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
              D             FP
           [idef] []    ┌────┴────┐
           [uφ] []     AP         F'
                    [uφ] []    ┌───┴────┐
                    [udef][]   F        NP
                       △              [iφ] []
                                      [u+def] []
                                        △

                    frumos          trandafirul
                    beautiful       rose.DEF
```
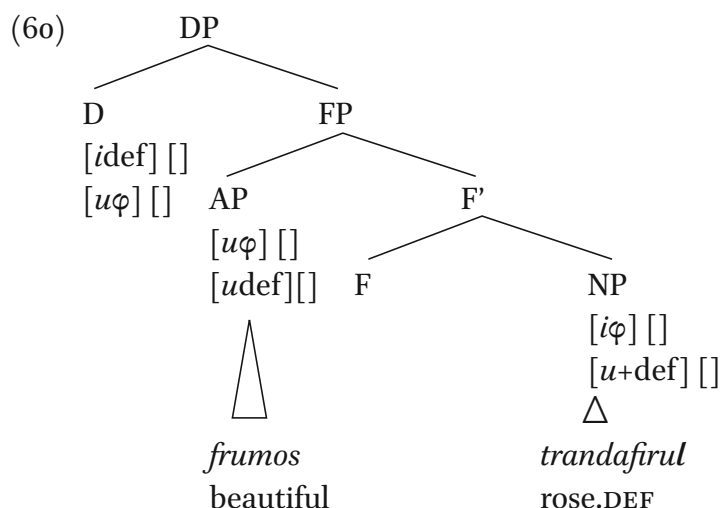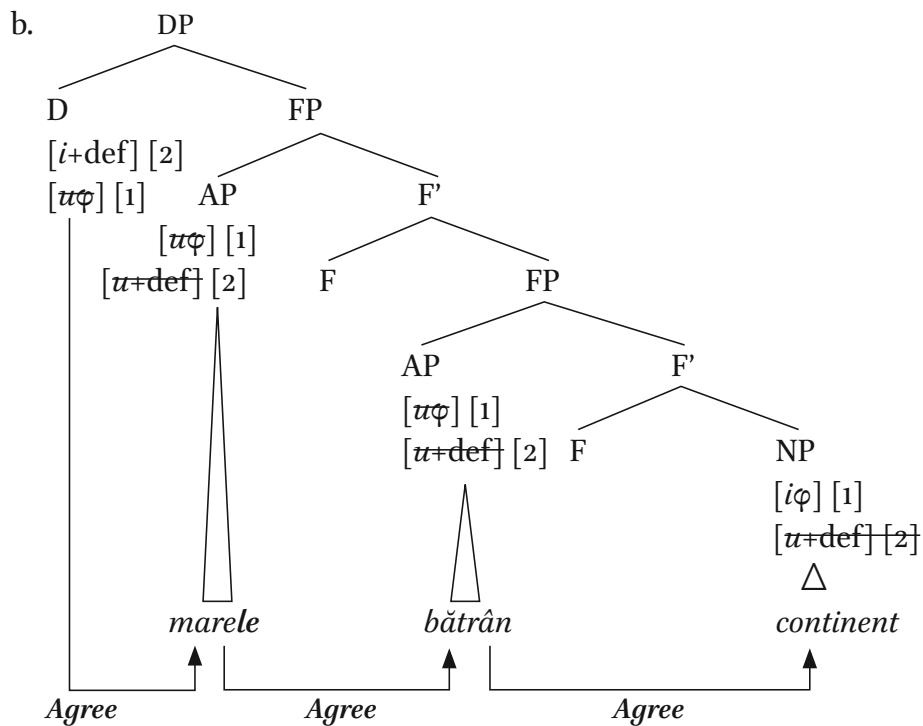
In this configuration, the adjective c-commands the noun and takes over the values of the matching features on the noun. In its turn, the adjectival head equipped with matching features is probed by the features on the D-head: Agree between the higher c-commanding D-head and the lower c-commanded adjective ensures that the features of D get valued, and the uninterpretable features on the adjective and the noun get deleted, so the derivation converges.

---

11   As also remarked by Brăescu (2013: 410): "there also exist dissimilarities between the inflection of the noun and that of the adjective: some inflectional endings [of nouns] (*-uri* for plural, *-o* for vocative) never occur with adjectives".

(61)

DP
├─ D
│   [*i*+def] [2]
│   [*u*φ] [1]
├─ FP
    ├─ AP
    │   [*u*φ] [1]
    │   [~~*u*+def~~] [2]
    │   frumos*ul*
    └─ F'
        ├─ F
        └─ NP
            [*i*φ] [1]
            [~~*u*+def~~] [2]
            trandafir

Agree   Agree

The derivation of stacked adjectives featuring the definite article on the DP-initial adjective (62a) is similar (62b) (only the final step of the derivation is shown): successive Agree relations ensure that the [+definite] specification is transmitted upwards from the definite noun to the highest prenominal adjective; Agree between D and the highest prenominal adjective ensures well-formedness.

(62) a. *marele   bătrân   continent,   Europa*
         big.DEF   old   continent   Europe
         'the big old continent, Europe'

b.

DP
├─ D
│   [*i*+def] [2]
│   [*u*φ] [1]
├─ FP
    ├─ AP
    │   [*u*φ] [1]
    │   [~~*u*+def~~] [2]
    │   *marele*
    └─ F'
        ├─ F
        └─ FP
            ├─ AP
            │   [*u*φ] [1]
            │   [~~*u*+def~~] [2]
            │   *bătrân*
            └─ F'
                ├─ F
                └─ NP
                    [*i*φ] [1]
                    [~~*u*+def~~] [2]
                    continent

Agree   Agree   Agree

This analysis makes important predictions that are supported by our data:

(i) Predicative postcopular adjectives do not display definiteness agreement. If we agree that copular sentences involve a small clause (den Dikken 2006 and references therein) in which the specifier is occupied by a DP subject and the complement position is occupied by the predicative adjective, then at no point in the derivation, prior to the valuation of D features, does the predicative adjective c-command the noun. Therefore, Agree between the adjective and the noun fails, and definiteness agreement does not take place. This holds for both Modern (Dragomirescu 2013) and Old Romanian (Guruianu 2005: 31–35; Carabulea 2007; Frâncu 2009: 162–165; Dragomirescu mss. for the 16th–18th centuries; Zafiu 2012: 303–305 for the 19th century).

(ii) It is important to distinguish between the presence of the definite article and the valuation of definiteness. While definiteness is phonologically realized only once, on the highest [+N] constituent of the phrase, it is present on all [+N] heads in the extended projection of the noun. Evidence for the presence of the definiteness feature on all [+N] heads is given by the existence of multiple realization of the definite article, both in Old Romanian (section 4.2) and in Modern Romanian (section 4.3).

4.2   *Multiple Definiteness Marking in Old Romanian*

So far, the analysis accounts for the relatively high frequency of multiple definite constructions in Old Romanian, and for the distribution of multiple definites (Croitor 2008; Stan 2013): the multiple marking of definiteness takes place in structures with prenominal adjectives, i.e. in A + N structures (63a,b) or in stacked adjectival A + A + N structures (63c); the structures of the form N + A in which both the N and the A bear the article are very rare (attested only with DPs in the Genitive Case) (64).

(63) a. *și   naintea   [sfântului   papei]*
        and   before   saint.DEF.GEN   pope.DEF.GEN
        'and before the saint pope' (DÎ.1600: XCII)

   b. *Pănă la   [cumplita   domniia   lui Aaron   vodă]*
        until at   terrible.DEF   reign.DEF   GEN Aaron   prince
        'until Prince's Aaron terrible reign' (CLM.1700–1750: 159ʳ)

   c. *moaștiile   a   [sfintei   prepodobnei   Paraschevei]*
        relics.DEF GEN saint.DEF beautifully-adorned.DEF Parascheva.GEN
        'the relics of the holy beautifully-adorned Parascheva' (CLM.1700–1750: 235ʳ)

(64) *zidul*   [*cetăţii*   *marei*   *şi*   *frumoasei*]
      wall.DEF   city.DEF.GEN   big.DEF.GEN   and   beautiful.DEF.GEN
      'the wall of the big and beautiful city' (Cantacuzino, *apud* Croitor 2008)

The fact that the multiple realization of the definite article occurs almost exclusively with prenominal adjectives verifies the mechanism proposed above to derive the realization of the definite article in Modern Romanian: the definiteness feature percolates upwards via Agree from the lower definite noun to the higher c-commanding adjectives, being thus present as an agreement feature on all prenominal [+N] heads. Rare examples like in (64), where multiple definiteness marking occurs with post-nominal adjectives, are not problematic: if DP-internal adjectives merge as specifiers of prenominal FPs (Cinque 2010), then the structures featuring post-nominal adjectives are derived via movement of the definite noun across the adjective. Thus, before the completion of the DP-phase and the valuation of definiteness, the adjective and the noun are in a c-command configuration, ensuring definiteness agreement.

The contrast between Old and Modern Romanian lies in the spell out of the definite article. In Old Romanian, the article may be phonologically realized on all these heads, while in Modern Romanian spell out is restricted to the DP-initial adjectives. This is presumably related to the diachronic shift form analyticity to syntheticity present throughout the history of Romance and Romanian, characterized in the nominal domain by a tendency towards the single marking of the grammatical categories on the first element of the DP (Repina 1971; Stan 2008).[12]

The multiple spell out of the definite article briefly discussed here was present throughout the entire period of Old Romanian (Croitor 2008: 213). Certain relics survive at the beginning of the 19th century (Nicolae 2012b: 117).

4.3   *Multiple Definiteness Spell Out in Modern Romanian*
In this section, we show that the multiple spell out of the definite article is still available in some contexts in Modern Romanian. This is highly significant, as it validates the idea that definiteness agreement targets all the prenominal [+N] heads in the extended projection of the DP.

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12   In the verbal domain, the change from syntheticity to analyticity is most prominently visible in the replacement of the Latin synthetic verb forms by the modern Romance analytic verb forms; in the adjectival domain, the change from synthetic to analytic has affected the marking of intensity, with the synthetic markers being replaced by analytic marker (see Ledgeway 2012: ch. 2 for details).

The multiple spell out of the definite article in Modern Romanian is triggered by post-nominal demonstratives and by post-nominal genitives or possessive adjectives. The examples below illustrate two different patterns: the first pattern, in (65), features a **definite** A + a **definite** N + a post-nominal demonstrative / possessive adjective or genitive DP; the second pattern, in (66), illustrates a **definite** N + a post-nominal demonstrative + a **definite** A.

(65) a. *săracul* *băiatul* *ăla*
   pitiable.DEF boy.DEF that
   'that pitiable boy'

  b. *bietul* *bărbatul* *meu* / *ei* / *Mariei*
   poor.DEF man.DEF my her(GEN) Mariei.GEN
   'my poor husband'

(66) a. *muncitorul* *ăla* *vrednicul*
   worker.DEF that hardworking.DEF
   'that hardworking worker'

  b. *fata* *asta* *mica*
   girl.DEF this little.DEF
   'this little girl'

In the remainder of this section, we focus on the post-nominal demonstrative constructions, and keep in mind that the same analysis can be extended to the possessive adjective / genitive DP pattern, which is derivationally similar (modulo the different projection hosting the genitive / possessive adjective).

The relevant interpretative characteristic of both patterns in (65a), (66) is that they are pragmatically marked: in both cases, the nominal phrase expresses the speaker's evaluation. Intensive research on the Romanian demonstratives has shown that, from a *functional perspective* (Tasmowski 1990; Manoliu 2000; Cornilescu 2005; Vasilescu 2009), the post-nominal demonstrative is an emphatic element (possibly endowed with a specificity feature), and thus behaves like a focus. The presence of evaluative adjectives in these structures is thus not surprising.

As shown by previous research (Cornilescu 1992; Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998; Cornilescu 2005), the derivation of the simple post-nominal demonstrative construction (67) standardly relies on head-movement of the definite noun across the demonstrative in the case of Romanian.

(67) a. *muncitorul*   *acesta*
     worker.DEF   this
     'this worker'

b.

                           DP
                         D'
             D   FP
             [*i*def]
             [*u*φ]   DemP   F'
             [+EPP]
                   Dem   F   NumP
                   [*u*+def]
                   [*u*φ]   Num   NP
                                    N
                                  [*u*+def]
                                  [*i*φ]
                                  muncitorul
             acesta
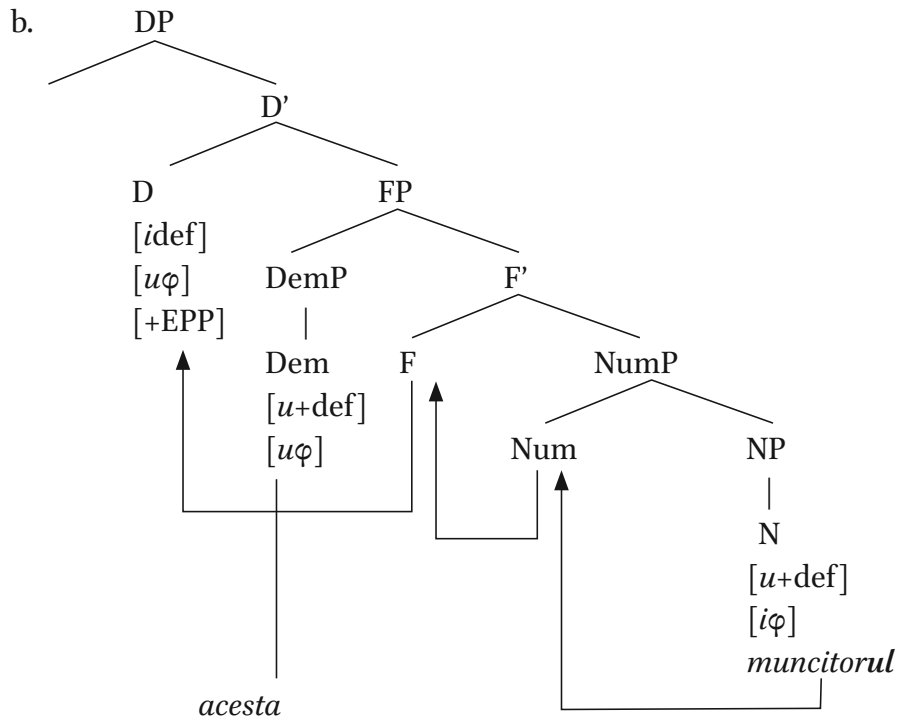
Without going into details regarding the derivation of the two definiteness agreement patterns presented above, it follows from structure (67b) that both are derived by movement across the demonstrative. The essential point is that only adjectives that are or may be prenominal (intensional and qualifying adjectives) are allowed to occur in these constructions.

The first pattern (**definite** A + **definite** N + post-nominal demonstrative) in (65a) allows only intensional, evaluative adjectives which are restricted to the prenominal position (*biet* 'piteous', *pretins* 'alleged'), see (68), or which display intensional, evaluative meanings only in prenominal position (*sărac* 'piteous' versus 'poor, penniless, impecunious'), as in (69).

(68) a. *bietul*   *băiat*
     piteous.DEF   boy
     'the pitiable boy'

    b. **băiatul*   *biet*
     boy.DEF   piteous

(69) a. *săracul*   *băiat*
         piteous.DEF   boy
         'the piteous boy'

   b. *băiatul*   *sărac*
         boy.DEF   penniless
         'thepenniless / impecunious boy'

The derivation of the first multiple definiteness pattern in (65a) can be accounted for as follows: the prenominal adjective c-commands the noun and agrees with it, and thus takes over the morphosyntactic specification for definiteness. Subsequently, there is phrasal movement of the [definite A + definite N] sequence across the demonstrative, yielding the word order A > N > Dem. The obligatory presence of the definite article on both constituents is due to economy considerations (similar to those responsible for the realization of the low definite article in Old Romanian; see section 3.2. above): on the one hand, post-nominal demonstratives are licensed only in the presence of the definite article to their left (thus, the definite article has to surface on the noun in order to license the post-nominal demonstrative); on the other hand, the locality condition for Agree forces the article to surface on the prenominal adjective as well, in order to satisfy featural requirements on D (Local Agree).

The second pattern, in (66), with the sequence **definite** N + post-nominal demonstrative + **definite** A) allows for typical qualifying adjectives which may be placed both prenominally (70b) and post-nominally (70a), with no differences in meaning; however, prenominal adjectives encode *speaker evaluation*.

(70) a. *muncitorul*   *vrednic*
         worker.DEF   hardworking

   b. *vrednicul*   *muncitor*
         hardworking.DEF   worker
         'the hardworking worker'

In prenominal position, as in (70b), these adjectives take over the definite article, c-commanding the noun. The prenominal configuration (71b) feeds the multiple definiteness configuration in (66). As in the simple [definite noun + demonstrative] construction in (67), there is head movement of the definite noun across the definite adjective and across the demonstrative, yielding the order [definite N > Dem > definite A]. The mechanics of this derivation is more

complex: in order for the definite noun to crossover the adjective placed in Spec, FP, an equidistant derivation in the sense of Lasnik (2009) has to apply. The noun undergoes movement to the F^0 head (in whose Specifier we find the definite adjective). At this point, the adjective and the noun are in the same minimal domain and equidistant from the target of movement,[13] since head movement extends the domain of a head (Chomsky 1995;[14] Roberts 2011). A natural question at this point is why the reverse order, [definite A > Dem > definite N], is not possible (as in (71)). In other words, what makes the definite noun a better candidate for movement than the definite adjective, since they are both equidistant to the target?

(71) *vrednicul   ală   muncitorul
      hardworking.DEF   that   worker.DEF

The solution adopted by Cornilescu (2005) in the derivation of the post-nominal demonstrative construction can be successfully extended to the construction analyzed here as well. For example, in (72), the two candidates for movement have a different structural status: the noun is a head, while the demonstrative is phrasal (for evidence that post-nominal demonstratives are phrasal, while prenominal demonstratives are heads, see Cornilescu 2005; Nicolae 2013c). The preference for head movement (N^0) over phrasal movement (AP movement in this case) follows from an economy principle requiring the piping of only as much material as is needed for convergence (*Pied Pipe Less Weight*, Stateva 2002; or *Attract / Move Smallest*, Akiyama 2004).

(72) muncitorul   ăla   vrednic
      worker.DEF   that   hardworking.DEF
      'that hardworking worker'

Mention should also be made of the fact that the post-nominal adjective structure in (70a) feeds a construction without definiteness agreement (this is because post-nominal adjectives do not c-command the noun, so there is no agreement).

    More interestingly, the two minimally different structures correlate with the expected interpretative contrast: while the structure with multiple

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13   As in Lasnik (2009): "If α, β are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from γ".
14   Chomsky (1995) formulates this idea with respect to verbal head movement.

definiteness marking in (66a) expresses focus and speaker evaluation, the structure in which the definite suffix is expressed once, as in (72), expresses only focus. This interpretative contrast validates our assumptions with respect to which structure lies at the basis of the post-nominal demonstrative patterns: structure (70a), with a post-nominal adjective which does not express speaker evaluation, constitutes the basis for (72) (in which the definite suffix is realized only once), while the basis for (66a) is (70b), a structure in which the adjective expresses speaker evaluation.

To conclude, the multiple spell out of the definite article is triggered by the presence of the post-nominal demonstrative in the structure, which are licit only in the presence of the definite article to their left. Compare the examples in (73).

(73) a. *muncitorul*   *acesta*
          worker.DEF   this
          'this worker'

      b. *muncitor   *acesta*
          worker.DEF   this

The same reasoning applies to constructions of type in (65b), where the definite article surfaces both on the prenominal adjective and on the post-adjectival noun when the A + N sequence is followed by a possessive adjective. It is well known that, in Romanian, possessive adjectives or genitival DPs may be introduced directly only in the presence of the definite article to their left (74a); in the case of non-adjacency (resulting either from the fact that the selecting head is indefinite (74b) or from the presence of an intervening constituent (74c)), the insertion of the genitival marker *al* is required.

(74) a. *caietul*   *fetei*   */ meu*
          notebook.DEF   girl.DEF.GEN   my
          'the girl's / my notebook'

      b. *un*   *caiet*   ***al***   *fetei*   */* ***al*** *meu*
          a   notebook   GEN   girl.DEF.GEN   GEN my
          'a notebook of the girl / of mine'

      b'. *un   *caiet*   *fetei*   */ meu*
          a   notebook   girl.DEF.GEN   my

c. *caietul*   *de*   *matematică*   **al**   *fetei*   / **al** *meu*
notebook.DEF   of   mathematics   GEN   girl.DEF.GEN   GEN my
'the girl's / my mathematics notebook'

c'. **caietul*   *de*   *matematică*   *fetei*   / *meu*
notebook.DEF   of   mathematics   girl.DEF.GEN   my

All these facts amount to the conclusion that the multiple spell out of the definite article in the post-nominal demonstrative construction and in the possessive adjective / genitival DP construction is due to economy considerations: in the former construction, the lower definite article licenses the post-nominal demonstrative, while in the latter, it permits the direct insertion of the possessive adjective / genitive DP, without the mediation of the genitival marker AL. Constraints of the similar type also license the low definite article of Old Romanian (section 3.2.1 above): recall that the spell out of the definite article on a lower noun occurs overwhelmingly in the presence of post-nominal genitive / possessive or of a post-nominal demonstrative (see the statistics in Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011a: 208). At the same time, the strengthening of the locality conditions on the application of Agree requires that the definite article be spelled out on the first [+N] constituent of the DP whenever possible.[15] The multiple marking of the definite article is, of course, possible due to its presence on all the [+N] constituents of the DP which c-command the noun.

4.4 *Summary*

In this section, we have discussed the following phenomena: definiteness marking on DP-internal prenominal adjectives and multiple definiteness marking in Old and Modern Romanian. We have shown that these data can be easily accommodated by the analysis put forth in the previous section: the definite article starts low, as a suffix on the noun, and its propensity towards the left edge of the DP is syntactically driven by Agree.

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15   Violations of this condition occur in two situations, discussed in the previous sections: (i) with prenominal quantifiers, which block definiteness valuation and call for the insertion of the freestanding article *cel* (see (26) in section 3.2.1); (ii) with φ-defective adjectives, which cannot inflectionally realize the definite article, but do not block definiteness valuation (see (52) in section 3.2.2).

5   Conclusions

In this paper, we argued for the following analysis:

(i) The definite article is a suffix in Romanian; nouns are lexically equipped with the definite suffix at Merge. From this perspective, the traditional idea that there exists a "definite declension" in Romanian (see Rizescu 1966: 85–88) is justified.

(ii) The realization of the definite article on prenominal adjectives, a pattern characteristic for both Old and Modern Romanian, represents a syntactic agreement phenomenon, driven by Agree. The fact that definiteness is manipulated by the basic rules of syntax indicates that it is a morphosyntactic feature in the sense of Kibort (2010), Danon (2010), Corbett (2011, 2012).

(iii) The multiple spell out of the definite article signals that, despite the typical presence of the article on the first [+N] constituent of the DP, the article is computed on all the [+N] heads in the extended projection of the noun. A second, lower spell out of the definite article is required syntactically, to introduce post-nominal demonstratives and genitive DPs / possessive adjectives without the mediation of the genitival marker AL. From this perspective, the definite article is involved in "licensing": Romanian thus helps complete Kibort's (2010) characterization of definiteness as a morphosyntactic feature, as it illustrates an option (participation in government / licensing) which, according to Kibort (2010: 83), is not attested.[16]

The morphosyntactic status of definiteness allows one to properly parameterize this feature. The view on parameterization adopted here is the microparametric one (see footnote 2); the source of parametric variation is the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture:

(75) The Borer–Chomsky Conjecture   (Baker 2008: 353)
    All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g. the functional heads) in the lexicon.

Thus, definiteness is a lexical property of nominals, present as a private morphosyntactic feature in the lexical make up of Romanian nominals (and also, Hebrew, Arabic, Norwegian, Swedish, etc.). All the languages specified for this

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16   Recall that the table in Kibort (2010: 83) qualifies definiteness as **rarely** participating in agreement; the participation of definiteness in government/licensing is described as **not attested.**

parameter present a cluster of properties: definiteness agreement, double defi-
nite constructions, multiple definiteness spell out.

(iv) The main diachronic change from Old to Modern Romanian in the
nominal domain is the restriction of Agree, from Long Distance Agree to Local
Agree. This change has led to the disappearance of the low definite article of
Old Romanian (see section 3.2.1 above) and to the general condition that deter-
miners occupy the DP-initial position. Another consequence of this change is
the emergence of the freestanding article *cel* in contexts in which φ-defective
quantifiers act as defective interveners and block definiteness valuation (see
the discussion surrounding example (50)). Yet another consequence is the dis-
appearance of the structures based on Long Distance Movement (illustrated in
(47)–(49)): if Move is preceded by Agree (Chomsky 2000), then the disappear-
ance of Long Distance Movement is predicted by the disappearance of Long
Distance Agree.

Acknowledgements

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