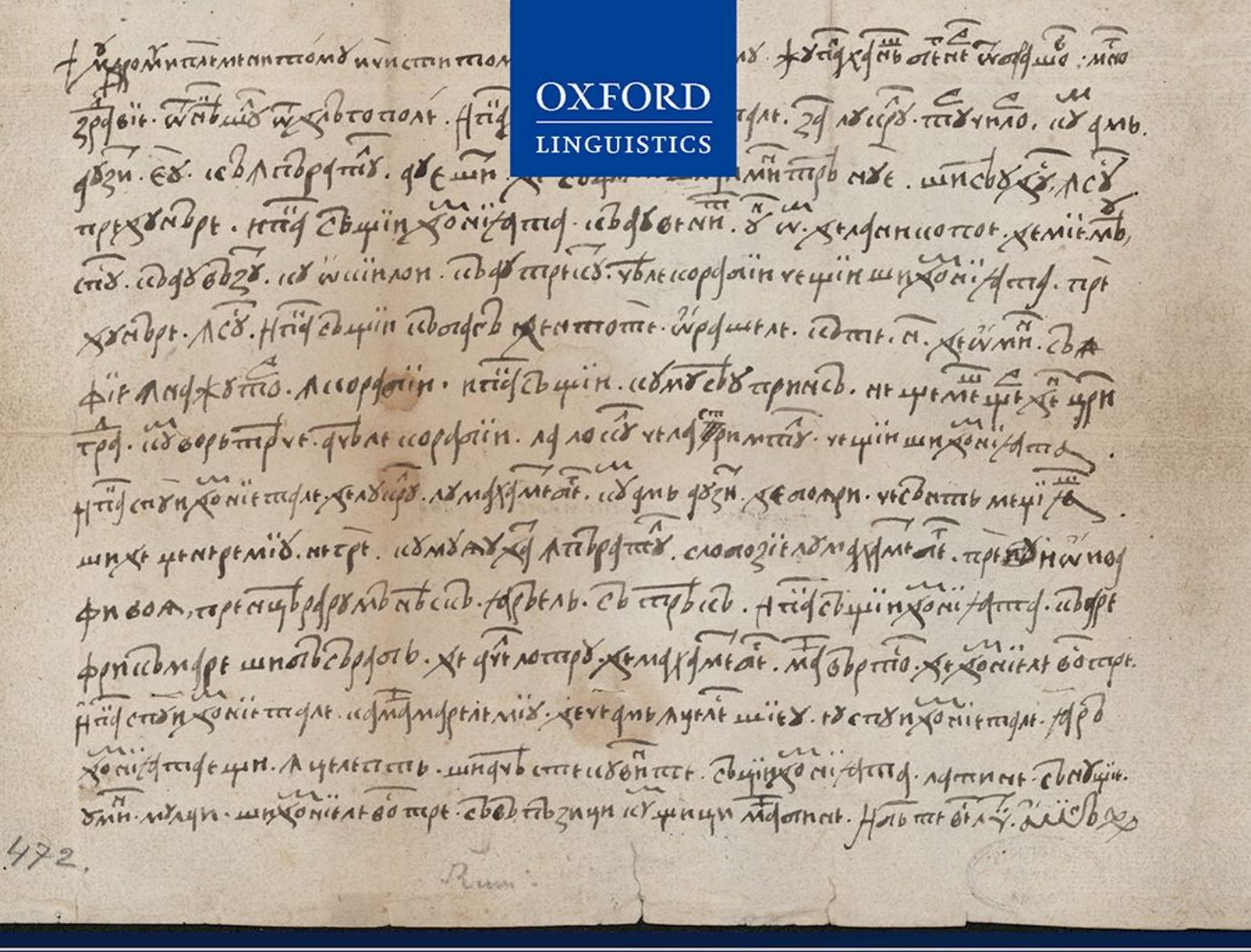

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THE OXFORD HISTORY of ROMANIAN MORPHOLOGY

Martin Maiden, Adina Dragomirescu,
Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, Oana Uță Bărbulescu, & Rodica Zafiu

The Oxford History of Romanian Morphology

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By

MARTIN MAIDEN, ADINA DRAGOMIRESCU,
GABRIELA PANĂ DINDELEGAN,
OANA UȚĂ BĂRBULESCU,
AND RODICA ZAFIU

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Preface

Romanian has long remained rather a 'Cinderella' among the Romance languages, being too often overlooked or simply misrepresented, despite widespread acknowledgement of its importance for Romance linguistics and linguistic theory. This situation, which has in part been due to the dearth of reliable descriptions of Romanian in languages easily accessible to international scholarship, is now changing (see, for example, Pană Dindelegan 2013b, 2016d; Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2013). The present *Oxford History of Romanian Morphology* is a further step in this direction: it is the first volume exclusively devoted to the historical description and interpretation of all of Romanian morphology. To the extent that standard histories of Romanian have addressed morphology at all, their treatment has often been at the level of description and presentation of forms. There is no shortage of often excellent in-depth diachronic discussions of particular morphological phenomena, as the References section in this book will testify; but they are usually to be found in articles scattered across specialist journals, or in chapters of edited volumes. Moreover, for the most part they are written in Romanian and are therefore inaccessible to most linguists. The lack of a comprehensive account of the historical morphology of the language is particularly serious because Romanian morphology often presents profound and problematic differences when compared with all or nearly all other Romance languages (see §1.1).

The origins of many of the distinctive developments of Romanian morphology are problematic, indeed controversial, and the interpretation of these phenomena deserves the kind of thorough historical presentation that this book aims to offer. Moreover, all these matters are relevant not only to the history of Romance linguistics but, more broadly, to morphological theory. It is a central aim of this book to make the phenomena described here accessible to all historical linguists.

The history of Romanian morphology is explored and documented here by taking account of, and synthesizing, all available historical and comparative sources, not least textual material from old Romanian. The recorded history of Romanian is frustratingly short (it does not go back beyond the end of the fifteenth century), and the early texts, written as they were mainly in the Cyrillic alphabet, often pose subtle problems of interpretation that require special philological expertise. Detailed examples culled from early texts are a central feature of the book, along with discussion of their importance, of the problems they present, and of how to address them. We also draw on an impressive range of modern comparative evidence, as furnished by a set of extremely rich Romanian linguistic atlases and by a large corpus of descriptive studies, both dialectological and historical.

The book is the result of fruitful collaboration between all five authors, and every part of it has been read and reread by each one of them. Some parts are genuinely the result of multiple input; but, even then, general indications about authorship can be made. Adina Dragomirescu is mainly responsible for §§4.1–4.6, 6.5.1–6.5.3, and 7.12–7.14; Martin Maiden for chapters 1 and 8 and for §§2.3, 2.5–2.7, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4.3, 6.5.3–6.5.5, and 6.6; Gabriela Pană Dindelegan for §§2.1–2.2, 2.4, 2.8–2.9, §3.6, and 7.1–7.11; Oana Uță Bărbulescu for chapter 5 and for §§3.1–3.6; Rodica Zafiu for §§3.7–3.8, 4.7, 6.1, 6.4.1–6.4.2, and 6.7–6.8. Maiden coordinated the entire volume, which is why his name comes first; the remaining names are ordered alphabetically, since no hierarchy or 'order of importance' was in operation among the authors.

We thank Manuela Tecușan for her patient and painstaking work in copy-editing this book. Our heartfelt thanks go, also, to Julia Steer and to Vicki Sunter of Oxford University Press for their constant encouragement, understanding, and patience as we put the book together.

Abbreviations, symbols, journal acronyms, and other conventions

For abbreviations and acronyms of the source texts cited in the book, see the Textual Sources section (pp. 479–86).

*	unattested form or construction whose existence is assumed
**	form or construction whose existence is denied
[ ]	Forms or constructions placed in square brackets are to be understood as representing 'speech sounds' (as opposed to orthographic representation). Unless explicitly stated, no position is taken as to the phonetic or 'phonemic' status of such representations.
´	An acute accent (not used in Romanian orthography) is occasionally employed in this book to mark the position of stress in words.
> *or* <	'X > Y' *or* 'Y < X' = 'Y is historically derived from X'
→ *or*←	'X → Y' *or* 'Y ← X' = 'Y is derived from X (in word-formation)'
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
Aro.	Aromanian
AUX	auxiliary
Bg.	Bulgarian
CL	*Cercetări de lingvistică*
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjugation
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DER	derived form
DOM	differential object marker
f.	and the immediately following page
F	feminine
FD	*Fonetică și dialectologie*
Fr.	French
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
Gk	Greek
GS	*Grai și suflet*
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INTERJ	interjection

INV	invariant
IPF	imperfect
IRo.	Istro-Romanian
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
LR	*Limba română*
M	modern; masculine
MeRo.	Megleno-Romanian
N	noun
NOM	nominative
O	Old
PL	plural
PLPF	pluperfect
pop.	popular
POSS	possessive
PP	past participle
PRF	perfect(ive)
PRS	present
PRT	preterite
REFL	reflexive
RLR	*Revue de linguistique romane*
Ro.	Romanian
RR	*Revue romane*
RRL	*Revue roumaine de linguistique*
SCL	*Studii și cercetări lingvistice*
SG	singular
SUFF	suffix
SUP	supine
TAM	tense, aspect, and mood
Tk.	Turkish
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
ZRP	*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*

1
Introduction

1.1 Aims and background

Despite the remarkable complexity of the morphological system of Romanian, no single work devoted to its historical description and interpretation exists. Of course, histories of the language do include accounts of its morphology, and these are often highly reliable.[1] What is more, there are plenty of separate treatments of specific morphological phenomena—many of them excellent, and most in Romanian. But the lack of a focused and comprehensive historical account is surprising, especially if we bear in mind that the morphology of Romanian often presents profound and problematic differences from those of other Romance languages. Here are some of the most salient distinctive traits to be considered in these pages:

- the morphological system of Romanian appears to possess a third gender, in addition to masculine and feminine—a gender called 'neuter', with distinctive morphological characteristics;
- it possesses an inflexional case system;
- unlike other Romance languages, it has an inflexional vocative;
- the morphological marking of number reaches such a level of unpredictability that, for most nouns (and for many adjectives), the form of the plural must be independently specified alongside that of the singular;
- there is a non-finite form of the verb that apparently continues the Latin supine;
- relatively recently, the infinitive has undergone a morphological split such that one form now functions purely as a noun, while the other remains purely a verb;
- the distinctive morphology of the subjunctive has largely disappeared (with systematic exceptions);
- striking morphological differences have emerged between auxiliary verbs and the lexical verbs they originate from;

[1] Manuals of the history of the language (e.g. Densusianu 1938; Rothe 1957; Graur 1968; Ivănescu 1980; Rosetti 1986; Sala 1999; Philippide 2011) often contain discussions of the subject, and there are important monographic studies dedicated to describing major aspects of historical morphology (e.g. Coteanu 1969a–h; Zamfir 2005–7). Some of the chapters of major encyclopaedic descriptions of the Romance languages (e.g. chapters 165–206 in Holtus et al. 1989) contain useful information. There is little that is available in English: some accounts of Romanian morphology, largely synchronically oriented, can be found in Mallinson (1986, 1988); Maiden (2016b–d); Dragomirescu & Nicolae (2016); and Loporcaro (2016). Reliable but elementary notions of historical morphology may be gleaned from Avram & Sala (2000). Many useful historical remarks may be found in Pană Dindelegan (2013b).

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- the morphology of both noun and verb is deeply permeated by the effects of successive sound changes, and this has created remarkably complex patterns of allomorphy.

The origins of many of these developments are problematic, often controversial, and it is to be hoped that their interpretation will benefit from the kind of thorough historical exposition that this book offers. Moreover, they are problematic in ways that are of interest from the broader perspectives of historical Romance linguistics as well as of morphological theory more generally. And we should repeat here that one of our aims in this book is to reach beyond the horizon of Romance linguistics, making the phenomena described here accessible to all students and scholars of historical morphology.

1.2 A brief outline of the history of the Romanian language

Romanian is the principal member of the Daco-Romance branch of Romance languages. This branch comprises four major sub-branches: the dialects known as 'Daco-Romanian', to which standard Romanian belongs, and the three dialects we call 'trans-Danubian', spoken south of the Danube, namely Aromanian (or Macedo-Romanian), Megleno-Romanian, and Istro-Romanian. That these varieties have a common historical origin is beyond doubt, but their prehistory, the details of the dialectal separation, and the geographical 'cradle' of Daco-Romance are all controversial and probably in the end unrecoverable (cf. Andreose & Renzi 2013: 287). Linguists generally assume that Romanian continues the Latin spoken in Dacia, since it is spoken over a geographical area that broadly corresponds to the Roman province of Dacia, occupied by the Romans for less than two centuries, from AD 106 to AD 271. Aromanian probably split off from the rest of Daco-Romance before the eleventh century, while Istro-Romanian and Megleno-Romanian seem to have become detached no earlier than the thirteenth century. Romanian is today the official language of Romania (and the mother tongue of 90% of its approximately 22 million inhabitants), and also the official language of the Republic of Moldova (where it is the mother tongue of about three-quarters of a population of 3.4 million).[2] Romanian is also the language of communities settled near the frontiers of Romania and the Republic of Moldova, in north-eastern Bulgaria, Serbia (Timoc Valley and Voivodina), Hungary, and the Ukraine. The emergence of Romanian as a written or official language was a slow and sporadic process, not completed before the nineteenth century. Until the sixteenth century the language of writing and of elevated discourse was mainly Old Church Slavonic. The basis of the modern standard language is the

[2] The 'Moldovan language', essentially indistinguishable from Romanian (see Popușoi 2013 for recent Russian influences), is basically a political invention. See e.g. Andreose & Renzi (2013: 309–10) and Varvaro (2013: 341).

dialect of Muntenia, the south-eastern representative of a dialectal continuum characterized by a high degree of mutual intelligibility—a continuum that includes the following varieties: Moldovan in the north-east, *maramureșean* in Maramureș (in the north-west), *crișean* in Crișana (in the west), *bănățean* in Banat (in the west), and Transylvanian (best seen as a transitional zone between the others).

Istro-Romanian is spoken in the north-eastern Istrian peninsula (Croatia), in some villages south of Mount Učka, and in Žejane, to the north of the mountain. The Istro-Romanians probably descend from pastoral communities that settled during the late Middle Ages in Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia, having entered Istria from the fifteenth century. The place of origin of their language and the question whether it branched off from varieties spoken in Romania or from other varieties spoken in the Balkans, or whether it represents a mixture of dialects are controversial (cf. Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 13–18). Documentary and toponymic evidence indicates that the Istro-Romanians were once more widespread in Istria, as well as on the nearby Adriatic islands of Krk and Rab. Today there may be no more than a couple of hundred speakers left in Croatia, most of them elderly and bilingual in Istro-Romanian and Croatian (Orbanić 1995; Filipi 2003).

The Aromanians are found in the Balkan area, particularly in Albania, in central and northern Greece and in south-western Macedonia (see Kahl 1999, 2006; Demirtaş-Coşkun 2001; Nevaci 2013). They number anywhere between 200,000 or 300,000 and 500,000 (see Dahmen 2005; Nevaci 2013: 18). Their main subdivisions are the pindean and grămostean varieties, spoken mainly in Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, and the fărşerot and grabovean varieties, spoken mainly in Albania.

Megleno-Romanian counts barely 5,000 speakers, all settled in villages in the Pella and Kilkis prefectures of northern Greece and in the Republic of Macedonia on the other side of the frontier, in the region of Huma (Umă). We know next to nothing about Megleno-Romanian before the beginning of the twentieth century. Some hold that it originates in southern Romanian dialects; others (see Atanasov 2002: 15–27), that it is an offshoot of Aromanian.

While the main focus of this book is the historical morphology of Romanian, the morphology of the other branches of Daco-Romance often throws considerable light on Romanian and displays developments that deserve our attention. For this reason frequent reference will be made to them all.

The dominant characteristics of the history of Romanian (and of Daco-Romance generally), particularly in its earliest stages, are isolation and obscurity. Cut off from other Romance languages by the Slav incursions of the fifth and sixth centuries (and, later, by the arrival of Hungarians towards the end of the ninth century), Romanian is almost totally inaccessible to direct linguistic analysis until the sixteenth century. The language seems not to have been set down in writing before the fourteenth century, and the earliest texts to have come down to us, written in the Cyrillic alphabet, date from no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. The earliest surviving document is *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki*, a copy, from about 1500, of a fifteenth-century

translation of the Psalms into Romanian. The earliest surviving document spontaneously written in Romanian is a letter of 1521, by a certain Neacşu de Câmpulung. These documents clearly continue a long-established written tradition and certainly cannot be considered to represent the first stages of written Romanian. The beginning of the written history of the language, at the opening of the sixteenth century, also marks the commencement of what is known as the 'old Romanian' period. The end of this period is conventionally dated to 1780.

Even before the time of the earliest surviving text, Romanian words (anthroponyms, toponyms, common names) are attested in documents written in Slavonic,[3] Latin, or Hungarian, the official languages in the Romanian lands at that time. Texts in the Cyrillic alphabet are clearly in the majority during the old period, but there are also Romanian texts in the roman alphabet (*Cartea de cântece*, printed in Cluj, and a version of the Lord's Prayer, composed by Luca Stroici and published in Kraków). The beginnings of the Romanian (ortho)graphic tradition can be traced back to the mid-fifteenth century, to judge both from the appearance at that time of certain graphical peculiarities that are not found in the writing of Slavonic words and from two variable graphemes that reflect, respectively, tradition and actual usage (see further Gheţie 1997b). The sixteenth-century texts are, overwhelmingly, translations of canonical religious writings, but there are also apocrypha, printed or in manuscript, most of them in Romanian, some bilingual (Slavo-Romanian, with intercalated translation). Lay literature is represented by a translation of *Florea darurilor*, a few medical recipes, and a popular magic text from *Codicele Bratul*. Sixteenth-century texts directly written in Romanian are few and far between, being represented by chancellery and private documents and by prefaces and epilogues to religious translations.

The linguistic isolation of Romanian from other Romance languages begins to diminish from the eighteenth century, mainly as a result of the activities of intellectuals. A new awareness of the linguistic and cultural heritage of Latin manifests itself linguistically in the introduction of structures, especially vocabulary, borrowed from Latin, French, and Italian. If modern written Romanian, especially in its higher and scientific registers, may be relatively easy to understand for a reader who knows French or Italian, this is because of these linguistic and especially lexical influences from recent centuries. In contrast, a sixteenth-century Romanian text is likely to be very difficult to understand. These influences will frequently be apparent in the following discussions of Romanian historical morphology.

1.3 The Romanian writing system

Our understanding of morphological history is perforce dependent on written sources. Moreover, the Romanian examples cited in this book are generally given in the

[3] There are also comments made in didactic writings (Gheţie & Mareş 1974).

standard Romanian orthography, except where the orthography crucially obscures morphological phenomena. Some observations on the writing system and its history are therefore in order.

As we have said, the earliest Romanian texts are written in the Cyrillic alphabet, according to a sometimes erratic system, which may create ambiguity about the phonological and morphological realities it represents. For the sixteenth century there are problems with the interpretation of Cyrillic letters, some of which have a bearing on morphological analysis, notably with respect to the realization of the continuants of historically underlying final *-*u* (associated especially with the marking of first-person singular in verbs and masculine singular in nouns and adjectives) and final *-*i* (associated especially with the marking of second-person singular in verbs and plural in nouns and adjectives). The issues are too complex to be explored in detail here and bear mainly on the history of the writing system. Suffice it to say that the graphic evidence may be ambiguous as to whether the relevant vowels are full vowels or devoiced vowels or have in fact been deleted despite being retained in orthography. There is also ambiguity regarding the value of the letters used to represent the diphthong [e̯a] and the central vowel [ɨ].

It is not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that one sees multiple, often untidy attempts to simplify the traditional orthography (see Onu 1989: 305–6). The same period witnesses the first attempts to write Romanian in the roman alphabet (see Stan 2012). Romanian texts with roman letters appear in Transylvania by the eighteenth century; they follow Polish, Hungarian, German, or Italian orthographic models. From the eighteenth century on, intellectuals belonging to the 'Transylvanian School' (see Onu 1989: 307–8), especially as represented by Petru Maior (1756–1821),[4] laid the foundations of modern Romanian orthography. Between 1828 and 1859, 'transitional' alphabets comprising both Cyrillic and roman letters were devised (Onu 1989: 309–10). A standardized orthography using the roman alphabet was intoduced in Wallachia and Moldova in the early 1860s. The Romanian Academy's first official orthography, which was of a broadly phonemic kind and promoted Wallachian norms of pronunciation, appeared in 1881. The twentieth century saw various spelling reforms (Stan 2012).[5] The current spelling system, which is used in this book, has the following characteristics.

Modern Romanian orthography is broadly phonemic and the relation between sounds and letters, at least at the segmental level, is transparent and predictable, as shown in Table 1.1.

[4] Petru Maior is also the inventor of the letter *ț*, which is apparently unique to Romanian among the world's writing systems.

[5] The Romanian of the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and subsequently of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, adopted Cyrillic as part of the linguistic policy of the Stalinist era (see Deletant 1996: 53, 58–9, 61). This was no reversion to the traditional Cyrillic script of Romanian; it was an adaptation of Cyrillic as used in the notation of modern Russian, with concessions to the peculiarities of Romanian phonology.

Table 1.1 Letter–sound correspondences in modern Romanian

letter	sound
a	[a]
ă	[ə]
â	[ɨ]
b	[b]
c	[k] (or [ʧ], see below)
d	[d]
e	[e]
f	[f]
g	[g] (or [ʤ], see below)
h	[h]
i	[i] (but see below)
î	[ɨ]
j	[ʒ]
l	[l]
m	[m]
n	[n]
o	[o]
p	[p]
r	[r]
s	[s]
ș	[ʃ]
t	[t]
ț	[ʦ]
u	[u]
v	[v]
x	[ks] or [gz]
z	[z]

This system nonetheless displays some mismatches between letter and sound, and certain of them are relevant to morphology:

i. The letter *i* may have purely diacritic value when it immediately follows *c* or *g* and is not followed by a front vowel letter, indicating the pronunciations [ʧ] and [ʤ]: *ciocan* [ʧoˈkan] 'hammer', *ciuguli* [ʧuguˈli] 'nibble', *giuvaer* [ʤuvaˈer] 'jewel', *treci* [treʧ] 'pass$_{2SG.PRS}$', *răngi* [rənʤ] 'crowbars'. A particularly important observation from the point of view of morphology is that word-final *i* (if it does not represent a stressed vowel) almost always marks a palatalized pronunciation of an immediately preceding consonant: *lupi* [lupʲ] 'wolves', *pari* [parʲ] 'poles', *școli* [ʃkolʲ] 'schools', *suni* 'you sound' [sunʲ], *rupi* 'you tear' [rupʲ]. After the letter *j* or *ș* it has no distinctive value (although it may serve as an orthographical marker of plural in nouns and adjectives, or of second-person singular in verbs): *mieji* [mjeʒ] 'kernels', *pași* [paʃ] 'steps', *ieși* [jeʃ] 'go out$_{2SG.PRES}$'. Final unstressed *-i* is always pronounced [i] after [Cr] clusters (e.g. *acri* 'sour$_{M.PL}$', *codri* 'woods'). When the unstressed vowel [i] occurs at the end of a word, it is normally represented in spelling as double *ii*: *lupii* [ˈlupi] 'the wolves',

parii [ˈpari] 'the poles', *paşii* [ˈpaʃi] 'the steps'. As these examples show, final *-ii* is prominent as a marker of the (masculine) plural definite article.

ii. Romanian does not orthographically indicate primary stress in words. Minimal pairs such as present tense [ˈkɨntə] '(s)he sings' vs preterite [kɨnˈtə] '(s)he sang', or [ˈmɨna] 'the hand' vs imperfect tense [mɨˈna] '(s)he drove', or present tense [fuʤ] 'you$_{2SG}$ flee' vs preterite [fuˈʤi] '(s)he fled', or [ˈia] 'the linen blouse' vs present tense [ja] '(s)he takes' are, homographically, *cântă*, *mâna*, *fugi*, and *ia*. In principle, it is possible to deploy a written acute accent to indicate stress (e.g. *fugí*).

iii. The letters *â* and *î* both have exactly the same pronunciation, namely [ɨ]. The letter *â* is currently used everywhere for [ɨ], except when it is the first or last sound of a word, in which case *î* must be used (including at the beginning of words forming parts of compounds): thus *înger* 'angel' but *sânge* 'blood'. This convention has the effect of producing purely orthographic allomorphy in the verb system (cf. infinitive *hotărî* [hotəˈrɨ] 'decide' vs gerund *hotărând* [hotəˈrɨnd], where there is in fact no difference in the phonological or morphological identity of the relevant vowel). Note also the etymologizing rather than phonemic spellings *sunt suntem sunteți* for present tense forms of the verb 'be' (reflecting Latin SUNT), despite the fact that their root is generally pronounced [sɨnt].

iv. The letters *c* and *g* stand for [k] and [g], except that before letters representing front vowels (*e* and *i*) they have, respectively, the values [ʧ] and [ʤ]: *cană* [ˈkanə] 'mug', *cină* [ˈʧinə] 'dinner', *fugă* [ˈfugə] 'flee$_{3SG.SBJV}$', *fuge* [ˈfuʤe] 'flee$_{3SG.PRS}$'.

v. The letter *h* is used as a diacritic between *c* or *g* and immediately following front vowel letters, in order to indicate that *c* or *g* represent velars: *China* [ˈkʲina] 'China', *cina* [ˈʧina] 'the dinner', *ghem* [gʲem] 'ball of wool', *gem* [ʤem] 'I moan'. Elsewhere, *h* always has the value [h]: *pahar* [paˈhar] 'glass', *duh* [duh] 'spirit'.

vi. The letters *e* and *o* represent the sounds [e] and [o], except in the digraphs *ea* and *oa*, which are read as opening diphthongs [e̯a] and [o̯a]: *pleacă* [ˈple̯akə] 'departs', *poate* [ˈpo̯ate] '(s)he can'.

1.4 Major typological characteristics of Romanian morphology

The brief typological outline that follows is intended to highlight some major characteristics of Romanian inflexional morphology. No detailed examples are given here, but readers will find plenty of them by following the trail of references to the relevant parts of the volume.

Romanian, like other Romance languages, displays inflexional morphology in its nouns, adjectives, pronouns, determiners, and verbs. While many word forms in these classes have a broadly agglutinative structure—at least in the sense that one can identify a 'root' that bears the lexical meaning followed by a desinence that carries grammatical meaning—the inflexional morphology is, to a high degree, 'fusional'.

The desinences are often cumulative (quite frequently one cannot separate clearly the carriers of particular grammatical meanings), and sometimes grammatical meanings may have no overt realization (e.g. 'zero' endings). There are pervasive, sometimes unpredictable patterns of root allomorphy, and these are present in Romanian to a notably higher degree than in other standard Romance languages. There are also alternations of stress. As in other Romance languages, the position of the stress is invariable in adjectives and pronouns, and almost always in nouns, too. In contrast (and, again, as elsewhere in Romance), verbs are characterized by systematic patterns of stress alternation between 'rhizotony' (stress falling on the lexical root) in some parts of the paradigm and 'arrhizotony' (stress not falling on the root) elsewhere in the paradigm.

Romanian inflexional morphology is also extensively characterized by syncretism, especially in the verb (§6.3). Root allomorphy frequently obeys recurrent and diachronically persistent patterns of paradigmatic distribution that cannot be directly correlated with any coherent morphosyntactic or morphosemantic values (§6.6). In the verb in particular, one also sometimes finds 'empty morphs', that is, systematic elements of linear structure located between the root and the grammatical desinences to which no lexical or grammatical value can be assigned (§6.2.4).

Pronouns, determiners, and virtually all nouns (and all adjectives in agreement) inflect for number (singular vs plural). The pronominal system also distinguishes first-person singular, first-person plural, second-person singular, first-person plural, second-person plural, third-person singular, and third-person plural forms. Finite forms of the verb inflect according to the number (singular or plural) of the subject.

Unlike other modern Romance languages, Romanian retains in its determiner system (demonstrative adjectives, definite and indefinite articles), in its demonstrative pronouns, and marginally in its nominal system (feminine singular nouns and adjectives) a vestigial inflexional case system comprising two case forms, one broadly associated with the subject and the direct object of the verb, the other broadly associated with the values of the genitive or the dative (see §2.4). Most pronouns distinguish inflexionally between the accusative and the dative (§3.5). Romanian is also distinctive among Romance languages in possessing desinences that mark the vocative, both in the singular and in the plural (§2.9).

Adjectives, determiners, and third-person pronouns inflect for gender (masculine vs feminine). There is a strong but imperfect correlation between the inflexional structure of nouns and the selection of masculine or feminine agreement (§2.3).

In common with other Romance languages but unlike Latin, Romanian makes a morphological distinction between full and clitic forms of personal pronouns (in the accusative and dative forms); these distinctions are mainly suppletive or near-suppletive. The clitic forms themselves display considerable allomorphy, as a function of their position in relation to their host or to each other (§3.2).

As in all Romance (and as in other Indo-European) languages, the inflexional paradigm of the verb is made up of finite forms (inflecting for person and number, but also for tense and mood and, vestigially, for aspect) and non-finite forms. In finite forms, the markers of person and number (cumulatively expressed) tend to occur

'rightmost' in the word; these endings also tend to display allomorphy according to tense, mood, and aspect (§6.4). It can be difficult to identify and isolate markers of mood (indicative vs subjunctive vs imperative) and of tense (chiefly present vs past, but also anteriority), which are often fused cumulatively, not only with each other but sometimes also with person and number markers. Inflexional distinctions of aspect, pervasive in Latin verb morphology, have been all but effaced; but, as elsewhere in Romance, the aspect distinction does persist in the distinction between the forms of the preterite tense and those of the imperfect tense (§6.4.2). Markers of tense, mood, and aspect, where they can be clearly isolated, appear between the root and the person and number endings. Unlike many Romance languages, Romanian does not have synthetic inflexional forms for the future or the future-in-the past (but see §6.4.2), nor does it mark differences of tense in the inflexional morphology of the subjunctive.

Like other Romance languages, Romanian inherits from Latin at least three non-finite verb forms: the infinitive, the gerund, and the past participle. The infinitive shows a distinctive morphological bifurcation in Romanian into a 'short' and 'long' form, the former being morphologically invariant, the latter reanalysed as a verbal noun and inflectible as a noun (§6.5.1). The gerund is a (usually) morphologically invariant element, mainly with clausal value (§6.5.4), and is probably derived from the ablative form of the Latin gerund. The past participle continues its Latin antecedent and can function both as a verbal adjective (usually with passive value) and as a constituent either of passive periphrases, in combination with the auxiliary verb 'be', or of perfective periphrases, in combination with auxiliary forms of the verbs 'have' or 'be' (§6.7). Romanian can be distinguished from other Romance languages, however, insofar as it may be seen to have preserved from Latin also a kind of verbal noun known as the 'supine' (§6.5.3).

Nouns, adjectives, and verbs are divided into a number of distinct inflexional classes, each noun, adjective, or verb usually belonging to one of them. In nouns and adjectives, such classes are linked to the identity of the number- (and case-)marking desinences. In verbs, the inflexional classes are primarily associated with the identity of a 'thematic vowel' that, in certain parts of the paradigm, comes immediately after the root (§6.2), although these classes have other structural correlates apart from the vowel.

Finally, derivational morphology in Romanian tends to be of a more agglutinative character than inflexional morphology. Typically, derived forms comprise a lexical root followed by a derivational affix, although the presence of that affix is often correlated with allomorphy in the root and with arrhizotony (§§7.1–7.9). Less common, but by no means rare, is derivation by prefixation, which is never associated with any root allomorphy or with any stress shift (§§7.10–7.11).

1.5 Major patterns of allomorphy in Romanian nouns, verbs, adjectives, and derivational morphology due to sound change

Few other Romance languages, and certainly no standard ones, have absorbed the effects of their phonological history into their morphology as fully as has Romanian.

Elimination ('levelling') of original alternations that arise from sound change certainly occurs, but Romanian morphology remains profoundly marked by allomorphy resulting from phonological change. We summarize below some of the most commonly encountered alternation types directly attributable to sound change, although the list is far from exhaustive. We then exemplify each type with material from nominal, verbal, or derivational morphology, as appropriate, remarking on the status of the historically underlying sound changes. Historical–phonological explanations are given here in outline only; many of the details appropriate to a fuller account of historical phonology are omitted. Where necessary, stress is marked by an acute accent in orthographical representations. The major morphological alternant sets are presented in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Major consonantal and vocalic alternation sets in Romanian

Consonantal			
C1.	(a) k ~ tʃ	(b) g ~ dʒ	(c) sk ~ ʃt
C2.	(a) n ~ j	(b) r ~ j	
C3.	(a) t ~ ʦ	(b) d ~ z (ʣ)	
C4.	(a) s ~ ʃ	(b) z ~ ʒ	
C5.	l ~ ʲ/i̯		
Vocalic			
V1.	a ~ ə		
V2.	o ~ u		
V3.	(a) o̯a ~ o	(b) e̯a ~ e	
V4.	(a) u ~ Ø	(b) i ~ j/Ø	
V5.	(a) i ~ ɨ	(b) e ~ ə	
V6.	(a) ə ~ e	(b) a ~ e	

Type C1 reflects proto-Daco-Romance palatalization and affrication of velar consonants before the front vowels [i] and [e].[6] Although these processes have long been extinct and examples of unpalatalized velars before front vowels abound in the modern language, modern Daco-Romance shows the effects of this palatalization extensively. Here are a few examples: PACEM > *ˈpake > *pace* [ˈpatʃe] 'peace'; OCCIDIT > *oˈkide > *ucide* [uˈtʃide] '(s)he kills'; QUINQUE > *ˈkinke > *cinci* [tʃintʃ] 'five'; LEGEM > *ˈlege > *lege* [ˈledʒe] 'law'; GINGIUAM > *dʒinˈdʒia > *gingie* [dʒinˈdʒie] 'gum'. The sequence *[sk] before a front vowel ultimately becomes [ʃt]: SCIMUS > *ˈstʃimu > *știm* [ʃtim] 'we know'; PISCEM > *ˈpeske > *pește* [ˈpeʃte] 'fish'. Typical resultant morphological alternations are presented in Table 1.3.

[6] For the tricky question of whether it is part of the same historical palatalization of velars attested in most other Romance languages (cf. Repetti 2016), such as Italian, see Skok (1926); Merlo (2014); and Maiden (2019a: 105–11).

Table 1.3 Alternation type C1

SG	PL
sac [sak] 'bag'	*saci* [satʃ]

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*zic* [zik] 'say'	*zic* [zik]
2SG	*zici* [zitʃ]	*zici* [zitʃ]
3SG	*zice* [ˈzitʃe]	*zică* [ˈzikə]

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*plec* [plek] 'leave'	*plec* [plek]
2SG	*pleci* [pletʃ]	*pleci* [pletʃ]
3SG	*pleacă* [ˈpl̯akə]	*plece* [ˈpletʃe]

	SG	PL	DER
M	*firesc* [fiˈresk] 'natural'	*fireşti* [fiˈreʃtʲ]	*fireşte* [fiˈreʃte] 'naturally'
F	*firească* [fiˈr̯easkə]		

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*plătesc* [pləˈtesk] 'pay'	*plătesc* [pləˈtesk]
2SG	*plăteşti* [pləˈteʃtʲ]	*plăteşti* [pləˈteʃtʲ]
3SG	*plăteşte* [pləˈteʃte]	*plătească* [pləˈt̯easkə]

	SG	PL	DER
M	*lung* [luŋg] 'long'	*lungi* [lunʤ]	*lungime* [lunˈʤime] 'length'
F	*lungă* [ˈluŋgə]		

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*fug* [fug] 'flee'	*fug* [fug]
2SG	*fugi* [fuʤ]	*fugi* [fuʤ]
3SG	*fuge* [ˈfuʤe]	*fugă* [ˈfugə]

The alternation types C2, C3, and C4 mainly reflect the palatalizing or affricating effects on an immediately preceding consonant of proto-Romance yod (cf. Repetti 2016: 658–62; Sala 1976: 122–35): UINEAM > *ˈvinja > *ˈviɲa > *vie* 'vine' [ˈviʲe]; FOLIA > *ˈfolja > *ˈfoʎa > *foaie* [ˈfo̯aʲe] 'leaf'; MEDIUM > *ˈmedju > ˈmjedzu > *miez* [mjez] 'kernel'; RADIA > *ˈradja > ˈraʣa > *rază* [ˈrazə] 'ray'; PRETIUM > *ˈpretju > *ˈpretsu > *preţ* [preʦ] 'price'.[7] As these examples show, in Daco-Romanian (but not in trans-Danubian dialects), original [ɲ] and [ʎ] have merged as a glide. An original, voiced dental alveolar affricate [ʣ] survives in many dialects of Moldova, Maramureş, and Banat, and in Aromanian, but has become [z] in standard Romanian, Megleno-Romanian, and Istro-Romanian: Ro. *vezi* [vezʲ] 'you see' vs Aro. [veʣ]. As it happens, the noun and the adjective have never encountered the right phonological circumstances for morphological *alternation* to arise as a result of the effects of yod, nor are there any alternations between derivationally related forms directly attributable to the effects of yod. This means that yod-related alternations are limited to the verb.

[7] Surprisingly, the regular effects of original *[kj] and *[gj], namely [ʦ] and [(d)z], do not participate in any alternations in the Romanian verb. Thus FACIEM > *ˈfakja > *faţă* 'face', BRACCHIUM > *ˈbrakju > *braţ* 'arm'; but from FACIO, FACIT, FACIAT we get not the expected **faţ* [faʦ], *face* [ˈfatʃe], ***faţă* [ˈfaʦə], but 1SG.PRS *fac* [fak] 'do', 3SG.PRS *face* [ˈfatʃe], 3SBJV *facă* [ˈfakə]. For the significance of finding a velar alternant instead of the expected affricate in such cases, see §6.8.3.

In modern standard Romanian, in fact, these effects of yod have been largely eliminated from the verb (see §6.6.4 for further discussion), but in earlier stages of the language and in many modern dialects they remain prominent in the form of a type of allomorphy characteristic of the first-person singular present and of the third-person singular and plural in the subjunctive. In Table 1.4, the older, 'iotacized'[8] allomorphs appear in parentheses.

Table 1.4 Alternation types C2 and C3

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*aud* (*auz* < *ˈaudjo < AUDIO) 'hear'	*aud* (*auz*)
3SG	*aude*	*audă* (*auză* *ˈaudja < AUDIAT)
3PL	*aud*	*audă* (*auză* *ˈaudja < AUDIANT)
	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*simt* (*simț* *ˈsentjo < SENTIO) 'feel'	*simt* (*simț*)
3SG	*simte*	*simtă* (*simță* < *ˈsentja < SENTIAT)
3PL	*simt*	*simtă* (*simță* < *ˈsentja < SENTIANT)
	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*vin* (*viu* < *ˈvenjo < UENIO) 'come'	*vin* (*viu*)
3SG	*vine*	*vină* (*vie* < *ˈvenja < UENIAT)
3PL	*vin*	*vină* (*vie* < *ˈvenja < UENIANT)

The alternation type C2(b) (r ~ j) is extinct in modern standard Romanian, and was always rare. It reflects (cf. Sala 1976: 87–8) both palatalization of [l] before yod, and rhotacization of original intervocalic [l] (e.g. SALIT > *sare* '(s)he jumps' (see Table 1.5).

Table 1.5 Alternation type C2b

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*sar* (*saiu* < *ˈsaljo < SALIO) 'jump'	*sar* (*saiu*)
3SG	*sare*	*sară* (*saie* < *ˈsalja < SALIAT)
3PL	*sar*	*sară* (*saie* < *ˈsalja < SALIANT)

The alternation type C3 has a second, historically more recent origin in a sound change peculiar to Daco-Romance, such that dentals undergo affrication before an immediately following [i]. As seen in (C4), sibilants in the same environment become palatalized as [ʃ]—quite systematically in the case of [s], only sporadically for the relatively rare [z]: SUBTILEM > *sub'tire > *subțire* [supˈʦire] 'thin'; DICEBAT > *ʤiˈʧea > *zicea* [ziˈʧa]; RESINAM > *reˈsina > *rășină* [rəˈʃinə] 'resin'. In fact any Romanian noun, adjective, or verb whose root ends in one of the consonants [t], [d], [s] will invariably display the alternants [ʦ], [z], [ʃ] when immediately followed historically by inflexional *-[i] (and in most cases before derivational suffixes in [i]). If the root ends in [st(r)], it will show the alternant [ʃt(r)] in those circumstances (see Table 1.6).

[8] 'Iotacized' (*iotacizat*) and 'iotacization' (*iotacizare*) are the terms used in Romanian linguistics for alternants that reflect the original effects of yod.

Table 1.6 Alternation types C3 and C4

SG *perete* 'wall' PL *pereți* [peˈretsʲ]

M.SG *lat* 'broad' M.PL *lați* [latsʲ] DER *lățime* [ləˈʦime] 'breadth'

	PRS	SBJV	PRS	SBJV	DER
1SG	*cânt* 'sing'	*cânt*	*simt* 'feel'	*simt*	*simțitor* 'feeling, sensitive'
2SG	*cânți* [kɨntsʲ]	*cânți*	*simți* [simtsʲ]	*simți*	
3SG	*cântă*	*cânte*	*simte*	*simtă*	
1PL	*cântăm*	*cântăm*	*simțim*	*simțim*	
2PL	*cântați*	*cântați*	*simțiți*	*simțiți*	
3PL	*cântă*	*cânte*	*simt*	*simtă*	

M.SG *crud* 'raw' M.PL *cruzi* [kruzʲ] DER *cruzime* 'rawness'

SG *ied* 'kid' PL *iezi* [jezʲ] DER *iezișor* 'kidling'

	PRS	SBJV	DER
1SG	*aud* 'hear'	*aud*	*auzitor* 'hearing, hearer'
2SG	*auzi* [aˈuzʲ]	*auzi*	
3SG	*aude*	*audă*	
1PL	*auzim*	*auzim*	
2PL	*auziți*	*auziți*	
3PL	*aud*	*audă*	

SG *pas* 'step' PL *pași* DER *depăși* 'surpass'

	PRS	SBJV	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*las* 'leave'	*las*	*ies* 'go out'	*ies*
2SG	*lași* [laʃ]	*lași*	*ieși* [jeʃ]	*ieși*
3SG	*lasă*	*lase*	*iese*	*iasă*
1PL	*lăsăm*	*lăsăm*	*ieșim*	*ieșim*
2PL	*lăsați*	*lăsați*	*ieșiți*	*ieșiți*
3PL	*lasă*	*lase*	*ies*	*iasă*

M.SG *treaz* 'awake' PL *treji*[treʒ] DER *trezi* 'to awaken'

M.SG *viteaz* 'hero' PL *viteji* [viˈteʒ] DER *vitejie* [viteˈʒie] 'heroism'

M.SG *nostru* 'our' M.PL *noștri*

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*mustru* 'reprimand'	*mustru*
2SG	*muștri*	*muștri*
3SG	*mustră*	*mustre*

Type C5—that is, the alternation between [l] and [ʲ] (or [i̯] word-finally)—reflects palatalization of proto-Daco-Romance [l] (in word-initial position or derived from *[ll])[9] before an immediately following [i] (see Sala 1976: 230), becoming first [ʎ] (a phase preserved in trans-Danubian dialects), and then a glide in most Daco-Romanian varieties (e.g. LINUM > *ˈlinu > *ʎin > *in* [ʲin] 'flax'; GALLINAM > *galˈlina > *gəˈʎinə > *găină* [gəˈʲinə] 'hen'). The morphological effects of this change are limited; indeed they are restricted to nominal morphology, where some (but by no means all) words in root-final [l] display the alternant [ʲ] ([i̯] in word-final position) before the original plural desinence -[i] (see Table 1.7).

[9] Single intervocalic *[l] became [r]: e.g. SALIT > *sare* 'jumps'.

Table 1.7 Alternation type C5

SG	PL
vale 'valley'	*văi* [vəi̯]
cale 'road, path'	*căi* [kəi̯]
cal 'horse'	*cai* [kai̯]
chel 'bald'	*chei* [kʲei̯]
-el (masculine diminutive suffix)	*-ei* [-ei̯]
el 'he'	*ei* 'they$_{M}$' [ʲei̯]

The alternation type V1 (a ~ ə) has two quite distinct phonological origins and, correspondingly, two different morphological patterns of distribution. It occurs mainly as the result of a regular proto-Daco-Romance change of *[a] into [ə] in unstressed positions (e.g. CAPISTRUM > *ka^{ˈ}pestru > *căpăstru* [kə^{ˈ}pəstru] 'halter', COMPARAT > *^{ˈ}kompara > *cumpără* [^{ˈ}kumpərə] 'buys'; see Table 1.8).

Table 1.8 Alternation type V1

drag 'dear'	DER *drăgúț* (diminutive)	
pas 'step'	DER *depășí* 'surpass'	
car 'cart'	DER *cărucior* 'wheelchair, trolley'	
	PRS	PRS
1SG	*car* 'carry'	*sar* 'jump'
2SG	*cari*	*sari*
3SG	*cără*	*sáre*
1PL	*cărắm*	*sărím*
2PL	*căráți*	*săríți*
3PL	*cără*	*sar*

Type V1 (a ~ ə) also arises in Daco-Romanian as a reflex of the original alternation type V3 (b), namely e̯a ~ e, where these vowels were further subject to centralization, under the conditions described further down for type V5. Thus original [e̯a] (e.g. older *speală* 'he washes') and [e] (e.g. *spel* 'I wash') become respectively [a] and [ə] after labials (see Table 1.9).

Table 1.9 Alternation type V1 via V3(b)

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*spăl* 'wash'	*spăl*
2SG	*speli*	*speli*
3SG	*spálă*	*spéle*
1PL	*spălắm*	*spălắm*
2PL	*spăláți*	*spăláți*
3PL	*spálă*	*spéle*

Type V2 (o ~ u) reflects regular Daco-Romance raising of *[o] to [u] in unstressed position (e.g. COGNÓSCO > *cunosc* 'I know'; FORMÍCA > *furnică* 'ant'; ÁMBULO > *umblu* 'I walk'; see Table 1.10).

Table 1.10 Alternation type V2

	PRS	SBJV	IPF	DER
1SG	*mor* 'die'	*mor*	*mureám*	*muritór* 'mortal'
2SG	*mori*	*mori*	*mureái*	
3SG	*moáre*	*moáră*	*mureá*	
1PL	*murím*	*murím*	*mureám*	
2PL	*muríți*	*muríți*	*mureáți*	
3PL	*mor*	*moáră*	*mureáu*	

SG	PL
sóră 'sister'	*suróri*

M.SG	DER
copt 'baked'	*cuptór* 'oven'
róșu 'red'	*rușíne* 'shame'

The alternation type V3 (o̯a ~ o and e̯a ~ e) reflects regular Daco-Romance opening diphthongization of stressed mid vowels before original non-high vowels (see e.g. Sala 1976: 195–201; Loporcaro 2011: 128–9). While the historical nature of the processes involved is problematic, what matters for our purposes is that there was diphthongization of stressed mid vowels, except where an unstressed high vowel followed in the next syllable (e.g. AD + PROPE > *a^{ˈ}prope > *aproape* 'near'; STET > *ste > *stea* 'stand$_{\text{3SG.SBJV}}$'; MERGO > *^{ˈ}mergo > *^{ˈ}mergu > *merg* 'I go'): unstressed mid vowels remain undiphthongized. For some Daco-Romanian varieties, including standard Romanian, the history of this phenomenon is further complicated by the fact that, from at least as early as the fifteenth century (see Rosetti 1986: 364), there has been subsequent reclosure of the diphthong [e̯a] (but not of [o̯a]) before an unstressed [e], so that, for example, old Romanian *leage* 'law' later became *lege*. Thus, in modern Romanian, the [e̯a] alternant no longer appears when followed by [e]. Some examples of the diphthongal alternation in Romanian morphology are presented in Table 1.11. Note that consonant-final forms of the masculine singular and the first-person singular (and, in some verbs, the third-person plural) of the present indicative originally ended in *-u* (e.g. *cotu*, *cocu*).

Table 1.11 Alternation type V3

SG *floáre* 'flower'	PL *flori*	DER *floricícă* 'little flower'
SG *cot* 'elbow, ell'	PL *coáte* 'elbows', *coți* 'ells'	
SG *om* 'person'	PL *oámeni*	DER *omenésc* 'human'
M.SG *copt* 'baked'	M.PL *copți*	
F.SG *coáptă*	M.PL *coápte*	

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*coc* 'bake'	*coc*
2SG	*coci*	*coci*
3SG	*coáce*	*coácă*
1PL	*coácem*	*coácem*
2PL	*coáceți*	*coáceți*
3PL	*coc*	*coácă*

SG *fereástră* 'window' PL *feréstre* DER *ferestrícă* 'little window'

SG *seáră* 'evening'	PL *seri*
M.SG *des* 'thick'	M.PL *deși*
F.SG *deásă*	F.PL *dése*

	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*plec* 'leave'	*plec*
2SG	*pleci*	*pleci*
3SG	*pleácă*	*pléce*
1PL	*plecắm*	*plecắm*
2PL	*plecáți*	*plecáți*
3PL	*pleácă*	*pléce*

Type V4 (Table 1.12) reflects a deletion of word-internal and particularly word-final unstressed [u] detectable in Daco-Romanian as early as the thirteenth century (see Rosetti 1986: 370). This development can be observed especially in word-final position, but is still blocked in modern Romanian after *muta cum liquida* (i.e. after consonant + [l] or [r]). Type V4(b) is, in part, a parallel type and affects unstressed [i] in word-final position (see also Sala 1976: 64). Although preserved orthographically, in modern Romanian this [i] is generally reduced to [ʲ], surviving as a full vowel [i] only after *muta cum liquida* and disappearing completely after [ʧ], [ʤ], and [ʃ]. The phonetic and phonological status of word-final postconsonantal [ʲ] is problematic: E. Vasiliu (1989: 2–3) represents this sound as [ʲ̥], an 'asyllabic sound with palatal timbre lacking glottal vibration and resembling a simple palatal aspiration whose duration is shorter than that of the semi-vowel [j]'.

Table 1.12 Alternation type V4

SG *lup* 'wolf'	*lupul* 'the wolf'	PL *lupi* [lupʲ] 'wolves'	*lupilor* [ˈlupilor] 'of the wolves'						
SG *codru* 'wood'	PL *codri* [ˈkodri]	DER *codruleț* 'little wood'							
SG *sac* 'bag'	*sacul* 'the bag'	PL *saci* [saʧ]	*sacilor* [ˈsaʧilor] 'of the bags'	DER *săculeț* 'little bag'					
SG *pas* 'step'	*pasul* 'the step'	PL *pași* [paʃ]	*pașilor* [ˈpaʃilor] 'of the steps'						
	PRS	PRS	PRS						
1SG	*rup* (< *rúpu*) 'tear'	*usúc* (< *uˈsuku < *ekˈsuko) 'dry'	*áflu* 'find out'						
2SG	*rupi* [rupʲ]	*usúci* [uˈsuʧ]	*áfli* [ˈafli]						
3SG	*rúpe*	*usúcă*	*áflă*						
1PL	*rúpem*	*uscắm*	*aflắm*						
2PL	*rúpeți* [ˈrupeʦʲ]	*uscáți* [usˈkaʦʲ]	*afláți* [aˈflaʦʲ]						
3PL	*rup* (< *rúpu*)	*usúcă*	*áflă*						

Type V5 reflects 'centralization', a phenomenon whereby some or all front vowels ([i], [e], [e̯a]) acquired centralized articulations (respectively as [ɨ], [ə], [a]) when preceded by certain consonants (see Table 1.13). Centralization of front vowels (see Sala 1976: 76–80, 190) is produced by 'intensive' or 'fortis' [r̯] (reflexes of [rr] or of word-initial [r]: e.g. RIUUM > *ˈrivu > *ˈr̯ivu > *râu* [rɨu] 'river', RESPONDET > *r̯es'punde > *răspunde* [rəsˈpunde] 'answers'). There are relatively few detectable effects of this change in nominal morphology (but compare the older and dialectal plural ending *-ă* -[ə] in the plural of nouns with roots in -[r]: SG *car* 'cart' - PL *cară* for *care*, discussed in §2.3.3). The phenomenon has left a prominent mark on verb

morphology (cf. §6.2.6), as can be seen by comparing two verbs that are otherwise conjugationally identical, but one of which contained the triggering environment for centralization (*urî* [uˈrɨ] 'hate' from < *oˈr̯ire).

Table 1.13 Alternation type V5 involving centralization triggered by historical[r̯]

	PRS	SBJV	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*plătesc* 'pay'	*plătesc*	*urăsc* 'hate'	*urăsc*
2SG	*plăteşti*	*plăteşti*	*urăşti*	*urăşti*
3SG	*plăteşte*	*plătească*	*urăşte*	*urască*
1PL	*plătim*	*plătim*	*urâm*	*urâm*
2PL	*plătiţi*	*plătiţi*	*urâţi*	*urâţi*
3PL	*plătesc*	*plătească*	*urăsc*	*urască*

Centralization was also sporadically triggered in Daco-Romanian (Sala 1976: 191) by sibilants and by the affricates [ʦ] and [(d)ʒ]: thus SGˈʦ̡arə - PL *ʦeri > *ţară* 'country' ~ *ţări*.

Type V6 is a kind of centralization limited to Daco-Romanian (cf. Sala 1976: 106–7, 191). It affects mid front vowels; is triggered by immediately preceding labial consonants; but is crucially blocked where the immediately following vowel is a front one (e.g. *ˈpera > *peară* > *pară* 'pear' but *ˈpeske > *peşte* 'fish'; *veˈtranu > *bătrân* 'old' but *veˈkinu > *veˈʧinu > *vecin* 'neighbour'; *ˈvesku > *vâsc* 'mistletoe' but *ˈveneri > *vineri* 'Friday'; *peˈduklu > *păduche* 'louse' but *peˈdestru > *pedestru* 'one who goes on foot'). Some morphological effects of centralization by labials are observable in Table 1.14.

Table 1.14 Alternation type V6 involving centralization triggered by labials

SG *fată* 'girl'	PL *fete*	DER *fetiţă* 'little girl'
SG *masă* 'table'	PL *mese*	DER *măsuţă* 'little table'

SG *număr* 'number'	PL *numere*
M.SG *proaspăt* 'fresh'	M.PL *proaspeţi*
F.SG *proaspătă*	F.PL *proaspete*

	PRS	SBJV	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*văd* 'see'	*văd*	*supăr* 'upset'	*supăr*
2SG	*vezi*	*vezi*	*superi*	*superi*
3SG	(*veade* >) *vede*	*vadă*	*supără*	*supere*
1PL	*vedem*	*vedem*	*supărăm*	*supărăm*
2PL	*vedeţi*	*vedeţi*	*supăraţi*	*supăraţi*
3PL	*văd*	*vadă*	*supără*	*supere*

Type V7 (Table 1.15) reflects what is, in effect, a rule of 'decentralization' (absent from Megleno-Romanian and northern and western Aromanian: cf. Puşcariu 1937: 254): central vowels are fronted when they are immediately preceded by a front vowel or by yod (including [kʲ] and [gʲ]). This phenomenon has notable consequences for the inflexional ending *-ă* -[ə] and the gerund ending *-ând* -[ɨnd], which never occur in the relevant environments and are replaced by the corresponding front vowels. The effects of this phonological modification, which remains 'live' in modern Romanian, can best be appreciated by comparing nouns, adjectives, and verbs that lack the relevant environment with ones that have it.

Table 1.15 Alternation type V7

casă 'house'	DER *căsoaie* 'big house'
fie(*-ta*) '(your) daughter'	DER *fiică* 'daughter' (originally diminutive of *fie*)

M.SG *grec* 'Greek'	F.SG *greacă*	M.SG *vechi* [vekʲ] 'old'	F.SG *veche* [ˈvekʲe]
INF	*căra* 'carry'	*tăia* 'cut'	*veghea* [veˈgʲa] 'be awake'
GER	*cărând*	*tăind*	*veghind* [veˈgʲind]

	PRS	SBJV	PRS	SBJV	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*car*	*car*	*tai*	*tai*	*veghez*[10]	*veghez*
2SG	*cari*	*cari*	*tai*	*tai*	*veghezi*	*veghezi*
3SG	*cară*	*care*	*taie*	*taie*	*veghează*	*vegheze*
1PL	*cărăm*	*cărăm*	*tăiem*	*tăiem*	*veghem* [veˈgʲem]	*veghem*
2PL	*cărați*	*cărați*	*tăiați*	*tăiați*	*vegheați*	*vegheați*
3PL	*cară*	*care*	*taie*	*taie*	*veghează*	*vegheze*

INF	*prinde* 'catch'	*scrie* 'write'	DER *prinzător* 'catcher'	*scriitor* (< *scrietor*) 'writer'
GER	*prinzând*	*scriind*		

	PRS	SBJV	PRS	SBJV
1SG	*prind*	*prind*	*scriu*	*scriu*
2SG	*prinzi*	*prinzi*	*scrii*	*scrii*
3SG	*prinde*	*prindă*	*scrie*	*scrie*
1PL	*prindem*	*prindem*	*scriem*	*scriem*
2PL	*prindeți*	*prindeți*	*scrieți*	*scrieți*
3PL	*prind*	*prindă*	*scriu*	*scrie*

[10] Note that this verb, unlike the two with which it is compared, takes the 'augment' (§6.2.4) in the present and in the subjunctive.

2
Nouns and adjectives

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Sketch of basic morphological structure of the noun and adjective

The prototypical structure of Romanian nominal and adjectival forms comprises *stem* + *inflexional ending* (or *desinence*); the *stem* is the bearer of lexical information,[1] and the *inflexional ending* encodes the grammatical features of *gender*, *number*, and *case*. Stress falls on the stem, any inflexional ending being unstressed.

The inflexional ending is frequently 'cumulative'. So are the final *-ă*, *-e*, and *-i* in *casă curată* (house$_{.\text{F.SG.NOM-ACC}}$ clean$_{.\text{F.SG.NOM-ACC}}$), (*unei*) *case frumoase* (a$_{.\text{F.SG.GEN-DAT}}$ house$_{.\text{F.SG.GEN-DAT}}$ beautiful$_{.\text{F.SG.GEN-DAT}}$), *nori negri* (cloud$_{.\text{M.PL.NOM-ACC-GEN-DAT}}$ black$_{.\text{M.PL.NOM-ACC-GEN-DAT}}$). Syncretisms occur in the paradigms of nouns and adjectives; compare (*unei*) *case frumoase* ((a$_{.\text{F.SG.GEN-DAT}}$) house$_{.\text{F.SG.GEN-DAT}}$ beautiful$_{.\text{F.SG.GEN-DAT}}$) and (*nişte*) *case frumoase* ((some) house$_{.\text{F.PL.NOM-ACC-GEN-DAT}}$ beautiful$_{.\text{F.PL.NOM-ACC-GEN-DAT}}$), where the desinence *-e* encodes in the first phrase the values [feminine singular genitive–dative], and in the second the values [feminine plural nominative–accusative–genitive–dative].

Two situations characterize nouns and adjectives bearing the suffixed definite article: (1) the inflexional ending is not analysable in forms in which the article replaces the desinence, since there is cumulative expression of definiteness with gender and number (see *casa* house$_{.\text{DEF}}$, *frumoasa* (*casă*) beautiful$_{.\text{DEF}}$ house, where *-a* cumulatively marks [singular feminine nominative–accusative definite]); (2) the inflexional ending is analysable as desinence + article when the article attaches to the desinence (e.g. *codr-u-l* forest$_{\text{-SG NOM-ACC.DEF}}$, *cas-e-i* house$_{\text{-SG.GEN-DAT.DEF}}$, *frumoas-e-i* (*case*) beautiful$_{\text{-SG.GEN-DAT.DEF}}$ (house), *frumoas-e-le* (*case*) beautiful$_{\text{-PL.NOM-ACC.DEF}}$ (houses)): here *gender*, *number*, and *case* are expressed both by the desinence and by the article, the article also marking definiteness.

[1] The element bearing lexical information may also be termed the 'root'.

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2.1.2 Morphological similarities and asymmetries between nouns and adjectives: number, gender, and case

Nouns and adjectives share numerous characteristics attested throughout the history of Romanian. These characteristics involve features (gender, number, and case) as well as inflexional markers (both with respect to their inventory and to their cumulative properties). With a few exceptions, each inflexional ending can appear in nouns and adjectives alike, as in example (1):

(1) a N.M.SG codr**u**, socr**u** ~ N.M.PL codr**i**, socr**i**
'forest', 'father-in-law'

a' ADJ.M.SG mândr**u**, negr**u** ~ ADJ.M.PL mândr**i**, negr**i**
'proud', 'black'

b N.M.SG bo**u** [bo**u̯**], le**u** [le**u̯**] ~ N.M.PL bo**i** [bo**i̯**], le**i** [le**i̯**]
'ox', 'lion'

b' ADJ.M.SG gre**u** [gre**u̯**], răr**u** [răr**u̯**] ~ ADJ.M.PL gre**i** [gre**i̯**], răr**i** [răr**i̯**]
'hard', 'bad'

c N.F.SG cas**ă**, fat**ă** ~ N.F.PL cas**e**, fet**e**
'house', 'daughter'

c' ADJ.F.SG bun**ă**, frumoas**ă** ~ ADJ.F.PL bun**e**, frumoas**e**
'good', 'beautiful'

The vocative inflexional endings M.SG *-e*, M.SG *-(u)le*, M/F.PL *-lor* attach to the noun and to the adjective (see (2a–d); also §2.9.1), sometimes spreading to all the components of the vocative phrase VOC + ADJ (see (2a–c); the inflexional ending *-o* has special status, as discussed in §2.9.1).

(2) a Diavol**e** înturecat**e**[2]
devil$_{.\text{VOC.M.SG}}$ dark$_{.\text{VOC.M.SG}}$
'You dark devil!'

b prea luminat**e** și cinst**ite** și
too enlightened$_{.\text{VOC.M.SG}}$ and honoured$_{.\text{VOC.M.SG}}$ and
milostiv**e** Doamn**e**[3]
merciful$_{.\text{VOC.M.SG}}$ Lord$_{.\text{VOC}}$
'Most enlightened and honoured and merciful Lord!'

c O, va<i> de voi, oamen**iloru** păcătoș**ilor**
oh woe of you$_{.\text{PL}}$ people$_{.\text{VOC.PL}}$ sinful$_{.\text{VOC.M.PL}}$
și necurați**ilor**[4]
and unclean$_{.\text{VOC.M.PL}}$
'Oh woe to you, sinful and unclean people!'

[2] CS$_{\text{XI}}$.1583–619. [3] ȘT. [4] CLRV (1535–55).

d Milos**ule**, lung răbdători**ule**, totputearnice
merciful$_{.VOC.M.SG}$ long patient$_{.VOC.M.SG}$ almighty$_{.VOC.M.SG}$
Doamne[5]
Lord.$_{VOC}$
'Oh, merciful, very patient, almighty Lord!'

Not only are the inflexional endings common to nouns and adjectives, but so are their patterns of syncretism (see the syncretism between the feminine genitive–dative singular and both the forms of the feminine plural, which in Romanian is specific to the inflexion of feminine nouns and feminine adjectives alike (see (3a) and (3b); for details, see §2.6).

(3) a contra unei boli grele
against a$_{.GEN}$ illness$_{.GEN.F.SG}$ severe$_{.GEN.F.SG}$
'against a severe illness'

b despre boli grele
about illness$_{.ACC.F.PL}$ severe$_{.ACC.F.PL}$
'on severe illnesses'

Irregular inflexional patterns, such as *rândunică* ~ *rândunele* 'swallow ~ swallows', created by replacing, in the singular form, the diminutive suffix *-ea* with *-ică*, are attested in the inflexion of both classes (see §§2.2.3, 7.2.1.1); an adjective such as *măricică* big$_{.DIM.\ F.SG}$ ~ *măricele* big$_{.DIM.\ F.PL}$ illustrates this pattern. For the adjective as for the noun, the pattern is found in old Romanian (see (4a) vs (4b)).

(4) a puținică și deșartă lume[6]
little$_{.DIM.F.SG}$ and vain$_{.F.SG}$ world
'small and vain world'

b puțineale și reale dzilele
few$_{.DIM.F.PL}$ and bad$_{.F.PL}$ days$_{.DEF}$
vieței meale[7]
life$_{.DEF.GEN}$ my$_{.F.SG}$
'the few and bad days of my life'

Another common feature of nouns and adjectives that is specific to Romanian is their ability to take the enclitic definite article, together with the ability of the affixal definite article to take part in the inflexion of both classes; the article hosted by the prenominal adjective can double the definite article found on the noun, as can be seen in (5a) and (5b).

[5] DPar. [6] Märg. [7] PO.

(5) a sunt amu ale lui Hristos, [blându**lui**
are now *al*$_{.\text{GEN.F.PL}}$ *lui*$_{.\text{GEN}}$ Christ kind$_{.\text{DEF.GEN.M.SG}}$
Domnu**lui** nostru][8]
Lord$_{.\text{DEF.GEN}}$ our
'They belong now to Christ, our kind Lord.'

b voia [luminatu**lui** craiu**lui**
wish$_{.\text{DEF}}$ lighted$_{.\text{DEF.GEN.M.SG}}$ duke$_{.\text{DEF.GEN.M.SG}}$
leşescu][9]
Polish
'the wish of our wise Polish duke'

The old pattern with double articles is progressively eliminated [ADJ-ART + N-ART] ((5a) to (5c)), and the enclisis of the article to adjectives becomes severely restricted: nowadays it is used only with prenominal adjectives [ADJ-ART + N], as in (6).

(6) a interesantu**l** film
interesting$_{.\text{THE}}$ film
'the interesting film'

b împotriva nervosu**lui** coleg
against nervous$_{.\text{THE.GEN}}$ colleague
'against the nervous colleague'

The two classes also have in common a rich inventory of phonological alternations, with similar phonological restrictions and with similar values. Their similar morphological value is noteworthy: the alternations supplementarily encode the morphological categories of noun and adjective (see §1.5).

Case marking applies only to feminine nouns and adjectives, and only in the singular. The contrast between example (7c) and examples (7a) and (7b) shows that the genitive of the noun *frâmseațe* 'beauty' and of the adjective *sufletească* 'spiritual' is encoded not only by the inflexional ending and the definite article (*-(e)i*) but, additionally, by phonological alternations (consonantal [sk] ~ [ʃt] and vocalic [e̯a] ~ [e]).

(7) a cu mare frâmseațe[10]
with great beauty

b veselie sufletească[11]
joy spiritual$_{.\text{F.SG}}$
'spiritual joy'

c noirea sufleteștiei frâmseți[12]
renewal$_{.\text{DEF}}$ spiritual$_{.\text{DEF.GEN.F.SG}}$ beauty$_{.\text{GEN.F.SG}}$
'the renewal of spiritual beauty'

[8] CC². [9] DÎ XVIII. [10] CC². [11] CC². [12] CC².

The common features listed above allow the recategorization of the adjective as a noun. Recategorization is realized through the ellipsis of the head noun and through the use of the adjectival modifier (which is frequently prenominal and suffixed by the definite article) in positions specific to nouns. This type of recategorization is attested throughout the history of Romanian, but is especially frequent, with particular means of realization, in old Romanian ((8a–d); see Nicolae 2016a and the references therein). Any inflexional form of the adjective—singular, (8a); plural, (8b); masculine, (8c); feminine, (8b); genitive–dative, (8a); vocative, (8d)—may undergo the recategorization process.

(8) a cumu se protiveaşte reacele
as CL.REFL.3SG matches cold.DEF.NOM.M.SG
caldului şi albului negrulu[13]
warm.DEF.DAT.M.SG and white.DEF.DAT.M.SG black.DEF.NOM.M.SG
'as the cold matches the warm and the black matches the white'

b Cu mânile ucideai săracii
with hands.DEF kill.IPF.2SG poor.DEF.M.PL
şi săracele[14]
and poor.DEF.F.PL
'you were killing the poor with your hands'

c şi micii şi marii, şi derepții
and small.DEF.M.PL and big.DEF.M.PL and righteous.DEF.M.PL
şi păcătoşii, (. . .) şi bogații şi mișeii
and sinful.DEF.M.PL and rich.DEF.M.PL and poor.DEF.M.PL
vor sta toți asemenele[15]
AUX.FUT.3PL stay.INF all similarly
'Small and the great, righteous and sinful, rich and poor will be all the same.'

d E voi, dragilor, pomeniți graiurele
and you.PL dear.VOC.PL mention.IMP.2PL languages
de ainte zile[16]
of before days
'And you, dear ones, keep the memory of the old languages alive.'

Besides the symmetries discussed above, there are also significant differences between the two classes. Although the common grammatical categories are realized in the same way (as far as the inventory and the inflexional endings are concerned), they differ to a great extent with respect to their content or significance: in the case of the adjective, they are realized via agreement. The capacity to host the enclitic definite article is common to the noun and the adjective. However, while the noun is able to

[13] CC[2]. [14] CS_V: 1590–1602. [15] CS_V: 1590–1602. [16] CB.

take the definite article without restrictions, the adjective can host the definite article only if the nominal head is present. In the absence of the head, the adjective hosting the definite article undergoes nominalization, as in (9)—and see also (8).

(9) Cu mânile ucideai săracii ~~copii~~
with hands$_{.DEF}$ kill$_{.IPF.2SG}$ poor$_{.DEF.M.PL}$ children$_{.M}$
şi săracele ~~copile~~[17]
and poor$_{.DEF.F.PL}$ children$_{.F}$
'You killed the poor ones with your hands.'

The most salient difference between nouns and adjectives involves *genus alternans* (see for details §2.3). For nouns, *genus alternans* is specific to a rich subclass of items. By contrast, there is no subclass of adjectives belonging to *genus alternans*; when an adjective agrees with a noun from the *genus alternans* class, it takes the masculine form in the singular, as in (10a), and the feminine form in the plural, as in (10b).

(10) a un cuvânt-Ø putred-Ø[18]
a word$_{.SG}$ rotten$_{.M.SG}$
'a rotten word'

b real-e cuvint-e[19]
bad$_{.F.PL}$ word$_{.PL}$
'bad words'

This is not the end of the asymmetry, for there is an inflexional plural marker (*-ure/-uri*)[20] that attaches itself, as in (11a), mainly to *genus alternans* nouns (see §2.3), but never to adjectives; therefore, when it attaches to an adjective, the adjective is recategorized as a noun (it undergoes substantivization); for old Romanian, see (11b); for modern Romanian, see (11c).

(11) a [[$_{ADJ}$ greale] [$_{N}$ lucruri]][21]
difficult things

b [$_{N}$ greuri][22]
'difficult things'

c adâncuri, cenuşiuri, griuri, albastruri
'deeps' 'ash-greys' 'greys' 'shades of blue'

Of the vocative inflexional endings, *-o* attaches to feminine nouns, but also to a few masculines (e.g. *popo* 'you priest!') (for details, see §2.9.1); when it is attached to adjectives, these are recategorized as nouns (*Frumoaso!* 'Beauty!'; *Iubito!* 'Sweetheart!'; *Nemiloaso!* 'You merciless woman!').

[17] CS$_V$: 1590–1602. [18] CC[1]. [19] CC[1]. [20] Or a complex ending (*-ur-i*; §2.1.4).
[21] CazV. [22] CDicţ.

In spite of the similar behaviour of nouns and adjectives with respect to phonological alternations, there is one alternation that is specific to the noun only: [a] (*a*) ~ [ə] (*ă*) (affecting stressed vowels).[23] This alternation is not found in adjectives under the same phonological and morphological conditions (see $mare_{\text{N.F.SG}}$ 'sea' ~ $mări_{\text{N.F.PL}}$ 'seas' vs (*casă*) $mare_{\text{ADJ.F.SG}}$ '(house) big' ~ (*case*) $mari_{\text{ADJ.F.PL}}$ '(houses) big'). This difference is ancient; for old Romanian, compare examples (12a), (12b), and (12c).

(12) a Era corabiea în mijlocul mării$_{[N]}$[24]
was ship$_{.\text{THE}}$ in middle$_{.\text{THE}}$ sea$_{.\text{THE.GEN}}$
'The ship was in the middle of the sea.'

b picăturile mării$_{[N]}$[25]
drops$_{.\text{THE}}$ sea$_{.\text{THE.GEN}}$
'the drops of the sea'
vs

c și mai mari$_{[ADJ]}$ de aceastea arăta-va
and more big$_{.\text{PL}}$ of these show$_{.\text{INF=AUX.FUT.3SG}}$
lui lucrure[26]
him things
'And he will show him things more important than these.'

2.1.3 The role of 'animacy' and of 'mass' meaning in the history of nominal morphology

2.1.3.1 Animacy traits

Since the earliest surviving texts in Romanian, the specific marking of animacy has been obvious: the class of [+animate] nouns, especially nouns referring to persons, displays special inflexional, syntactic, and morphosyntactic features, which set these nouns apart from [-animate] nouns. Animacy correlates with the morphological phenomena discussed in what follows.[27]

2.1.3.1.1 The proclitic marking of oblique cases in the singular

Most of the [+personal] nouns encode the oblique cases through the prenominal marker *lui/lu*[28] (originating in the definite article). This feature characterizes (sub)classes that occupy a high position in the animacy hierarchy (Comrie 1989: 185–97), namely:

[23] In some words, the presence of this alternation in the stressed vowel entails the same alternation in pretonic [a]: e.g. *talangă* 'cowbell' ~ *tălăngi*. This alternation affects virtually all paroxytonic feminine nouns in stressed [a], and it is always associated with the inflexional ending *-i* (Brâncuș 2007a; §1.5).

[24] CT. [25] cazv. [26] CT.

[27] Other syntactic phenomena, such as differential object marking with *pe*, will not be analysed here (see Nicula Paraschiv 2016: 123–43).

[28] In non-standard modern Romanian and in old Romanian, the proclitic marker also has the form *lu* (§2.4.3.2); the two forms have the same value.

(i) masculine proper names (*lui Ion* 'to/of John', *lui Lupu* 'to/of Lupu', *lui Vasile* 'to/of Vasile') and feminine invariable proper names (*lui Kati* 'to/of Kati', *lui Carmen* 'to/of Carmen');
(ii) kinship nouns in fixed possessive constructions, regardless of the gender of the referent (*lui frate-său* 'to/of his brother', *lui taică-su* 'to/of his father', *lui bunică-su* 'to/of his grandfather', *lui maică-sa* 'to/of his mother', *lui soru-sa* 'to/of his sister');
(iii) proper names of animals, mostly masculine (*lui Grivei* 'to/of Grivei', *lui Azorel* 'to/of Azorel', these being dog names);
(iv) by extension, feminine proper names that are normally variable (*lui Maria* 'to/of Maria', *lui Ioana* 'to/of Ioana'); cf. standard *Mariei*, *Ioanei*;
(v) by extension, in the non-standard register, common personal nouns with a unique referent, known or easily identifiable in the communicative setting, regardless of gender (*lu' domnu'* 'to/of the gentleman', *lu' doamna* 'to/of miss', *lu' doctoru'* 'to/of the doctor', *lu' doctora* 'to/of the woman doctor');
(vi) by extension, in the non-standard register, pronouns with a personal referent, regardless of gender in the singular (*lu' ăsta* 'to/of this guy (M)', *lu' asta* 'to/of this woman (F)', *lu' dânsu'* 'to/of him', *lu' dânsa* 'to/of her') and even in the plural (*lu' câțiva* 'to/of a few (people)').

Although the phenomenon is ancient (see (13a) and (13b)), it is not general but shows a high degree of diachronic and diastratic variation. Regardless of period and register, in the standard language common inanimate nouns are always incompatible with proclitic marking (***culoarea lu' peretele* colour$_{.DEF}$ LUI$_{.GEN}$ wall$_{.DEF}$, ***contra lu' răspunsul dat* against LUI$_{.GEN}$ answer$_{.DEF}$ given), but this is not always the case dialectally (see §4.2.3.2).

(13) a zilele lui Alexandru vodă[29]
days$_{.DEF}$ LUI$_{.GEN}$ Alexandru duke
'the days of Duke Alexandru'

b Și dzâsă lui maică-sa[30]
and say$_{.PRT.3SG}$ LUI$_{.DAT}$ mother-his
'and he said to his mother'

2.1.3.1.2 Desinential marking of the vocative

Since the earliest surviving Romanian texts, the vocative (§2.9) has always been very extensively attested, either in forms syncretic with the nominative or in forms where it has a specific inflexional marking. The vocative endings originate in different etymological strata of the language (they are inherited from Latin, borrowed from Slavonic, or developing internally within Romanian), so that the strong morphological marking

[29] DÎ IV. [30] DPar.

of the vocative—and, implicitly, of the feature [+animate]—has played an important role throughout the history of Romanian.

2.1.3.1.3 Kinship nouns in possessive constructions

Kinship nouns, which occupy a high position in the animacy hierarchy (Comrie 1989: 185–97), show special behaviour regardless of historical period,[31] as they appear in possessive constructions with special syntactic and inflexional features (Nicolae 2013f: 341–2). A kinship noun and a possessive adjective may form a fixed construction in which the possessive adjective acts as a clitic and attaches itself to the bare form of the noun, as in (14a) and (14b). For comparison, see the prototypical possessive construction in (15), where the kinship noun has a suffixed definite article and combines with a non-clitic variable possessive. When the article is absent and the clitic is present, as in (14a) and (14b), the possessive clitic acts as a definite determiner (and the entire syntagm functions as a definite phrase: Nicolae 2013f: 342, 2016b: 125).

As far as inflexion is concerned, the entire phrase is invariable or indeclinable, having the same form in the genitive—(14a)—and in the dative—(14b); compare (14) with the prototypical phrase in (15), where the dative is marked by the enclitic definite article (*fratel**ui*** 'brother'$_{.\text{DEF.DAT}}$).

(14) a pre numele maică-sa[32]
on name$_{.\text{DEF}}$ mother$_{=\text{POSS.GEN.INV}}$
'on the name of his mother'

b și-l deade maică-sa[33]
and$_{=\text{CL.ACC.3SG.M}}$ give$_{.\text{PRT.3SG}}$ mother$_{=\text{POSS.DAT.INV}}$
'and he gave it to his mother'

(15) zi fratelui mieu[34]
say$_{.\text{IMP.2SG}}$ brother$_{.\text{DEF.DAT}}$ my
'say to my brother'

The possessive construction with kinship nouns is a high-frequency construction that has been extremely richly attested from the earliest texts on (Densusianu 1938: 384–5; Șovar 2012; Nicolae 2016a: 339–40). For example: *cumnată-mea* sister-in-law=my$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *cumnatu-său*[35] brother-in-law=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *fiiu-său*[36] son=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *fie-sa*[37] daughter=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *finu-său* godson=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$;[38] *frate-său* brother=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$;[39] *ginere-său*[40] son-in-law=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *giupânu-său*[41] master=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *hină-sa*[42] goddaughter=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *mătuși-sa*[43] aunt=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *mumă-sa*[44] mother=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *moșu-său*[45] older.brother=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *moașe-sa*[46] older.sister=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *muiere-sa* wife=his$_{.\text{POSS}}$,[47] *nănașu-său*[48] godfather=his/her$_{.\text{POSS}}$; *nănașe-sa*

[31] This phenomenon is also attested in the southern and central Italian dialects (Salvi 2011: 337).
[32] DVS. [33] DPar. [34] CT. [35] Prav. 1581. [36] CC^2. [37] MC. [38] LD$_{\text{VI}}$.
[39] CC^2. [40] Prav. 1581. [41] DRH.A.$_{\text{XXIII}}$. [42] DRH.B.$_{\text{XXIII}}$. [43] DRH.B.$_{\text{XXIX}}$.
[44] MC. [45] CDicț. [46] MC. [47] DPar. [48] PA.

godmother=her/his$_{.POSS}$;[49] *nepoată-sa* niece=his/her$_{.POSS}$;[50] *noru-sa* daughter-in-law=his/her$_{.POSS}$;[51] *soru-sa*[52] sister=his/her$_{.POSS}$, *soacră-sa* mother-in-law=his/her$_{.POSS}$;[53] *socru-său*[54] father-in-law=his/her$_{.POSS}$; *soțu-său* companion=his/her$_{.POSS}$;[55] *tată-său* father=his/her$_{.POSS}$;[56] *unchiu-său*[57] uncle=his/her$_{.POSS}$, *vară-sa* cousin.F=his/her$_{.POSS}$.[58] It also correlates with the existence of a rich inventory of kinship relations, for which Romanian possesses special, lexicalized terms, sometimes without equivalent in other Romance languages (e.g. *cumătru*$_{.M}$ ~ *cumătră*$_{F}$ 'father/mother of one's godchild' (*cumătră-sa*);[59] *cuscru*$_{.M}$ ~ *cuscră*$_{.F}$ 'father/mother of one's child's spouse' (*cuscru-său*);[60] *fiastru*$_{.M}$, ~ *fiastră*$_{.F}$ 'stepson/daughter' (*fiiastră-mea*);[61] *fârtat* 'sworn brother' (*fârtatu-său*);[62] *maștehu*$_{.M}$ ~ *maștehă*$_{.F}$'stepfather/mother' (*maștehă-mea*)),[63] and with the existence of lexical variants (e.g. *mumă-sa*; *mâni-sa*; *maică-sa*; *îmă-sa* 'his mother'),[64] including ones inherited from Latin (*tată* ~ *tătâne* 'father' (< TATANIS); *mamă* ~ *mămâne* 'mother' (< MAMMANIS); e.g. *frate-său/frățâni-său* 'his/her brother', *tată-său/tătâni-său* 'his/her father', *mumă-sa/mumâni-sa* 'his/her mother').[65]

The possessive is frequent in the singular but also attested in the plural; see, for old Romanian, *tătâni-vostru* 'your father'; *soru-noastră* 'our sister', *frate-nostru* 'our brother'.[66] This pattern of clitic possessive and bare noun is possible only for kinship nouns or nouns associated with the kinship relation, such as *vecinu-său* 'his neighbour'; *domnu-său* 'his master'; *doamnă-sa* 'his lady';[67] it is not available for inanimate nouns.

2.1.3.1.4 Decline of allomorphy with feminine proper nouns

In contrast to feminine common nouns ending in *-că*, *-gă*, feminine proper names with the same phonological shape preserve their velar consonants in the genitive–dative; contrast (16a) and (16b).[68]

(16) a Florica ~ Floricăi [floˈrikə̯i̯]; Olga ~ Olgăi [ˈolgə̯i̯]

b frică ~ (unei) frici [friʧ]
fear ~ of/to a fear
vacă ~ (unei) vaci [vaʧ]
cow ~ of/to a cow
ferigă ~ (unei) ferigi [ˈferiʤ]
fern ~ of/to a fern'

This different behaviour of feminine proper names for humans is attested in the oldest Romanian texts; contrast (17a–d) with (17f). In old Romanian, the same phenomenon also characterizes masculine anthroponyms (17e) (see Frâncu 2009: 37).

[49] LD$_{VI}$. [50] CC^2. [51] PO. [52] DÎ XXXII. [53] CC^2. [54] PO. [55] CC^2.
[56] CC^2. [57] CazV. [58] CC^2. [59] CPrav. [60] NL. [61] Prav. 1581. [62] A.
[63] Prav. 1581. [64] CC^2; Ev.; CazV. [65] CC^2. [66] CC^2; PO. [67] CC^2; FD.
[68] A similar behaviour characterizes feminine toponyms (e.g. *Volga* Volga ~ *Volgăi* Volga$_{.GEN=DAT}$, *Praga* Prague ~ *Pragăi* Prague$_{.GEN=DAT}$).

(17) a partea Anuşcăi[69]
part$_{.\text{DEF}}$ Anuşca$_{.\text{F.GEN}}$
'Anuşca's part'

b Scriş eu popa Ştefan (. . .) anu<me>
write$_{.\text{PRT.1SG}}$ I priest Ştefan namely
Voicăi[70]
Voica$_{.\text{F.DAT}}$
'I, priest Ştefan, wrote to Voica'

c jupâneasei lui, Margăi[71]
wife$_{.\text{DEF.GEN-DAT}}$ his Marga$_{.\text{F.GEN-DAT}}$
'of/to his wife, Marga'

d li-au dat
CL.ACC.3PL=AUX.3SG given
aceii mueri, Veronicăi[72]
that woman$_{.\text{DAT}}$ Veronica$_{.\text{F.DAT}}$
'he gave them to that women, Veronica'

e hitlenşugul Focăi[73]
cheating$_{.\text{DEF}}$ Foca$_{.\text{M.GEN}}$
'Foca's cheating'

but

f veşmintele besearecei[74]
clothing$_{.\text{DEF}}$ church$_{.\text{DEF.F.GEN}}$
'the clothing of the church'

The absence of other kinds of otherwise normal root allomorphy (cf. §1.5) is also observed in feminine proper names; contrast (18a) with (18b).

(18) a Floarea ~ Floarei[75] Liliana ~ Lilianei
Floarea ~ of/to Floarea Liliana ~ of/to Liliana

vs

b floare ~ florii buruiană ~ buruienii
flower ~ of/to the flower weed ~ of/to the weed

2.1.3.1.5 Profusion and productivity of 'personal' suffixes

Throughout its history, Romanian has made use of numerous suffixal markers to encode sex distinctions as well as ethnic distinctions (for ethnic suffixes, see §§7.4, 7.5) into personal nouns. The following features are relevant to these markers:

[69] DÎ LX. [70] DÎ XI. [71] DRH.B. [72] Cron. [73] MC. [74] DÎ LXII.
[75] The common noun *floare* 'flower' has the vocalic alternation [o̯a] ~ [o] (*floare ~ flori*).

(i) the high productivity of personal sex-marking suffixes and of ethnic suffixes;
(ii) the existence of more than one marker for the same value (these suffixes often form series of two or three variants), which creates synonyms—for example, in old Romanian, *jiupăneasă ~ jupaniță*[76] 'wife'; *logodnică*[77] *~ logodniță*[78] 'fiancée'; *dumnedzoe*[79] *~ dumnezeiță*[80] 'goddess'; in modern Romanian, *ospătară ~ ospătăriță ~ ospătăreasă* 'waitress'; *ministră ~ ministreasă ~ ministroaică* (Zafiu 2004) 'woman minister';
(iii) the hyper-marking obtained by associating two or three suffixes with similar values (*-ean + -că*; *-an + -ean + -că*; *-oa(i)e + -că*; *iudeiancă*[81] 'Jewish woman'; *africăneancă*[82] 'African woman'; *turcoaică*[83] 'Turkish woman'). Alexandru Niculescu (2003) highlights, as a special feature of feminine ethnonyms, the parallel usage of two or more suffixes differentiated by etymology, age, and stylistic register (*americană ~ americancă* 'American woman', *australiană ~ australiancă* 'Australian woman', *grecoaie ~ grecoaică* 'Greek woman', *turcoaie ~ turcoaică* 'Turkish woman'; *bulgară ~ bulgarcă ~ bulgăriță ~ bulgăreasă ~ bulgăroaie ~ bulgăroaică* 'Bulgarian woman').

2.1.3.1.6 Summary of the feature 'animate'

Taken independently, none of the features inventoried here so far is decisive, but the aggregate they form indicates that Romanian is morphologically sensitive to animacy. From a diachronic and synchronic point of view, Romanian shows great variation in marking such features. This variation is explained by the dynamics of the features themselves and by the position that each feature occupies in the animacy hierarchy. The type of variation related to the latter explains the differences between personal proper names and kinship nouns on the one hand and animate non-human common nouns on the other.

2.1.3.2 Mass traits

The inherent semantic feature of being a mass noun influences the grammar of those nouns that have it: mass nouns contrast with regular, 'countable' nouns in their inflexional (see also Nedelcu 2013c: 260–1) and morphosyntactic (Pană Dindelegan 2016c: 331) features.

The value [-countable] in mass nouns is inflexionally reflected in the fact that most of them have no plural (they are *singularia tantum* nouns: see (19a–b)) or some, exceptionally, have no singular (they are *pluralia tantum* nouns: see (20a–b)).

(19) a

unulu	amu	auru	dăruindu,	şi altulu argintu,
one	now	gold	giving	and other silver
e	altulu	păine[84]		
and	other	bread		

'one giving gold, another silver, and yet another bread'

[76] DÎ LXXXIX, XXIX. [77] DVS. [78] PA. [79] CazV. [80] CDicț. [81] CV. [82] CDicț. [83] CDicț. [84] CC².

b Miiare, lapte din pământ vor
honey milk from earth will
izvorî[85]
spring$_{.INF}$
'Honey and milk will spring from the earth.'

(20) a era tremişi în cetate să cumpere
they.were sent in town COMP buy
bucate[86]
fare$_{.PL}$
'they were sent into town to buy food'

b Şi le-au trimis de saţâu
and CL.DAT.3PL=AUX.3PL sent of satiety
merinde[87]
food$_{.PL}$
'And they sent food to sate them.'

To form a plural for mass nouns, masculine or feminine, the ending *-uri* is used (see §2.3.1). This ending can be attached to mass nouns of either gender, but the plural it gives rise to is always feminine, so that mass nouns whose singular is masculine will display gender alternation. As far as function is concerned, the ending *-uri* in this usage might be viewed as a derivational suffix; indeed Maiden (2014b: 41) suggests that such plurals have a derivational rather than strictly inflexional relation to the corresponding singulars, taking meanings such as 'different sorts of X', 'objects made of X'. Use of *-uri* specifically to mark the plural of mass nouns occurs only in dialects north of the Danube and was first observed in the seventeenth century, its earliest attestation being from 1620 (Frâncu 1982b; see (21a)); in the subsequent period, examples become more frequent and diversified (e.g. (21b)). There are several cases of pluralization. The ending *-uri* may attach itself to the stem of feminine mass nouns,[88] making the whole word express a rather different meaning from the one it has in the singular, for example 'sorts, varieties of a certain material', as in (21a–b), or take on a deprecatory connotation, as in (21c).

(21) a Şi carne o dede tătarilo*r*
and meat CL.ACC.F.3SG gave Tartars$_{.DAT}$
de o m<â>ncară, şi ziseră că <este>
that CL.ACC.F.3SG ate and said that is
mai dulce de toate cărnurile pre lume[89]
more sweet than all meats in world
'He fed meat to the Tartars and they said that it was sweeter than all the meats in the world.'

[85] DPar. [86] CC^2. [87] DPV.
[88] For an inventory of feminine nouns in plural *-uri*, see Maiden (2014a: 44–5). [89] A.

b *cărnuri* (← *carne* 'meat'); *dulcețuri* (← *dulceață* 'jam'); *ierburi* (← *iarbă* 'herb');[90] *mătăsuri*[91] (← *mătase* 'silk'); *povăruri*[92] (← *povară* 'weight'); *sălături*[93] (← *salată* 'salad'); *unsoruri*[94] (← *unsoare* 'oil'); *verdețuri*[95] (← *verdeață* 'verdure'); *zoiuri*[96] (← *zoaie* 'suds')

c *delicatețuri* 'delicacies (ironic)' (← *delicatețe* 'delicacy'), *gentilețuri* 'acts of amiableness (ironic)' (← *gentilețe* 'amiableness'), *politețuri* 'act of rudeness, impoliteness (lit. acts of politeness)' (← *politețe* 'politeness'), *străinătățuri* 'places abroad (ironic)' (← *străinătate* 'foreign land'), *tandrețuri* 'acts of tenderness (ironical)' (← *tandrețe* 'tenderness')

In addition, *-uri* (*-ure*) may attach to the stem of a masculine mass noun, resulting in a rather different meaning: 'objects made of that material', as in (22a–c), or 'sorts of', as in (22d).

(22) a Au nu cu arginture te-ai
INT not with silver$_{.PL}$ CL.REFL.ACC.2SG=AUX.PERF.2SG
tocmitu cu mine?[97]
bargained with me
'Was it not with silver coins that you bargained with me?' (cf. SG *argint*)

b Când vei vrea să
when you.will want COMP
speli arginturile
you.wash silver$_{.PL.DEF}$
'when you will want to wash the silverware' (cf. SG *argint*)

c *metaluri* 'metal objects'(← *metal* 'metal')

d *vinuri* 'types of wine' (← *vin* 'wine')[98]

Similar cases of derivational plurals have been discussed in connexion with other Romance varieties (Asturian, Leonese, Neapolitan) and have received the same interpretation or a different one (see Ramat & Ricca 2016: 61). One should mention that in no other variety does this phenomenon appear to have the productivity and regularity it has in Daco-Romanian.

Another feature of mass nouns that, within Romance, is restricted to Romanian is their ability to function as bare NPs in argument positions (see (19a–b)). Like Spanish, Portuguese, and southern Italian dialects (see Ramat & Ricca 2016: 52–3), Romanian lacks a partitive article (Pană Dindelegan 2016c: 331). However, in old Romanian, in contrast to modern Romanian, in addition to constructions without article,

[90] CBuc. [91] CDicț. [92] CDicț. [93] CBuc. [94] CDicț. [95] Cron. [96] CDicț.
[97] CT. [98] CBuc.

such as (23a), there are also constructions with partitive *de* in argument positions, such as (23b). The latter have disappeared from the standard language.

(23) a Cerşu elu să bea apă[99]
asked he COMP drink water
'He asked to drink water.'

b Să bea de apa ce-i
COMP drink$_{.SBJV.3SG}$ of water$_{.THE}$ that-to.him
voi da eu[100]
I.will give I
'Let him drink the water that I will give him.'

In summary, the semantic feature of mass influences the grammar of the noun, giving rise to inflexional and morphosyntactic restrictions. Romanian has developed a special mechanism (plural marking with *-uri*) for changing the character of the lexeme in the transition from singular to plural.

2.1.4 Morphological segmentation: difficulties and solutions

The inflexion of the nominal system is relatively impoverished by comparison with that of the verb; and forms have a simple structure, being limited to two components—stem + inflexion (*cas-ă* 'house', *cas-e* 'houses')—or at most three, when the definite article is also present (*cart-e-a* 'the book', *cărț-i-le* 'the books') (see §2.1.1). Both of these characteristics facilitate the analysis and segmentation of nominal forms. In forms such as *socr**i*** 'fathers-in-law', *bo**i̯*** 'oxen', *cas**e*** 'houses', *dureri* 'pains', *teatr**e*** 'theatres', it is easy to separate stem and inflexional ending; comparison with singular forms alone (*socr**u*** 'father-in-law', *bo**u̯*** 'ox', *cas**ă*** 'house', *durer**e*** 'pain', *teatr**u*** 'theatre') indicates a unique solution for the segmentation of the plural forms, namely *socr-i*, *bo-i̯*, *durer-i*,[101] *teatr-e*.

In certain situations the morphological segmentation is not as straightforward as it may seem, and thus more than one analysis may be proposed. The problems of segmentation seem also to reflect the speakers' perspective, since certain speakers interpret one and the same inflexion in different ways. The interpretative difficulties fall into several classes, more or less straightforward:

(i) Invariant forms (e.g. masculine *un/niște pui* 'a/some chicken(s)', feminine *o/niște învățătoare* 'a/some female teacher(s)', *un/niște nume* 'a/some names') raise the question whether the final vowel belongs to the stem, so that the

[99] CC^{2}. [100] CazV.

[101] For *dureri* 'pains', the final *i* is phonologically different from that of *socri* 'fathers-in-law'. In the Romanian linguistic literature, there is debate over the phonological interpretation of final *i*, which is a full syllabic vowel (in *socri* [ˈsokri]) or a glide (in *dureri* [duˈrerʲ]); in both cases, it has been taken to represent an inflexional ending.

ending is a syncretic Ø, or represents the syncretic inflexional ending: SG=PL *puiØ* or SG=PL *pu-i*; SG=PL *învățătoare-Ø* or SG=PL *învățătoar-e*; SG=PL *nume-Ø* or SG=PL *num-e*.

(ii) Forms ending in the affricate consonants ([ʧ], [ʤ]) or in the palatal stops [c], [ɟ] may be invariant (*arici* 'hedgehog', *vraci* 'doctor', *genunchi* 'knee', *ochi* 'eye'), or variable (*drac ~ draci* 'devil', *drug ~ drugi* 'bars', *bici ~ bice* 'whip'), with some discrepancies between the written and the phonetic form.

(iii) A special segmentation problem is raised by the feminine type SG *foaie* [foaie] ~ PL *foi* [foi] 'sheet', SG *baie* [baie] ~ PL *băi* [bəi] 'bath', which, from a synchronic perspective, allows for two analyses: the singular is realized as *-ie* and the plural as *-i*, or the singular is realized as *-e* and the plural as Ø (Guțu Romalo 1985: 135). From a diachronic and phonological perspective, the second variant is preferable, if we take into account the role played by *i* in eliminating the palatalized *l* from the stem (FOLIA 'leaves' > *foal'e*> *foai-e*; PL *foi-Ø*).

(iv) Special irregular paradigms, such as *rândunică ~ rândunele* 'swallow', can be segmented in three ways:
   (a) SG rândun-ică ~ PL rândun-ele;
   (b) SG rândunic-ă ~ PL rândunel-e; or
   (c) SG rândun-ică~ PL rândune-le.

   The choice between these analyses is tantamount to a choice of the locus of irregularity: this can be the inflexional ending (regular stem and irregular inflexion) or the stem (regular inflexional ending and irregular stem).

Beyond these situations, the analysis of which has been generally agreed (see the analysis adopted in §2.2), the history of certain plural forms is more complicated, with important consequences for their interpretation and for the possible differing segmentations. This is the case with feminine nouns whose singular form ends in a stressed vowel (or a stressed diphthong) and whose plural ends in *-le* (*zi ~ zile* 'day', *stea ~ stele* 'star'), and with *genus alternans* nouns ending in *-uri* (*timp ~ timpuri* 'time', *gând ~ gânduri* 'thoughts'). Both patterns have been inherited from Latin (STELLA ~ STELLAS; TEMPUS ~ TEMPORA) and have then been extended to other nouns, first to nouns of Latin origin with other inflexional features, and then to nouns of other origins. The two types have in common the difference in syllable count in the singular (one) and in the plural (two) (*stea* [stea] ~ *ste.le*, *timp ~ timpuri* [ˈtim.purʲ]), but this feature can be explained in different ways: for feminines, the geminate *ll* disappears from the stem as a result of an expected phonological change, which accounts for the different phonological shape of the singular and the plural. For *genus alternans* nouns (±2.3.1), the imparisyllabic nature of the type of Latin noun from which they derive (e.g. TEMPORA) is preserved in the difference in number of syllables between the singular and the plural. This difference yields the following analyses:

(i) SG zi-Ø ~ PL zi-le *or* SG zi-Ø ~ PL zil-e
(ii) SG timp-Ø ~ PL timp-uri *or* SG timp-Ø ~ PL timpur-i
or
(III) SG timp-Ø ~ PL timp-ur-i

Analysis as *timp-uri*, *zi-le* is preferred by Romanian linguists working in a synchronic perspective (e.g. Guțu Romalo 1968: 57). The segmentation in (i) forces us to recognize a new inflexional ending, *-le*, which is specific to the plural of Romanian feminine nouns and has no parallel in other Romance languages, and yet another one, *-uri*, for the plural of *genus alternans* nouns. Both are yielded by reanalysis of the plural inflexion in contrast with the singular, which has a smaller number of syllables (see the analyses in §§2.2, 2.5). The strongest argument for the segmentation in (i) comes from the linguistic consciousness of present-day speakers: many of the (very) recent loanwords from English and French form the plural with *-uri*, an ending that speakers often take to be both a noun marker and a plural marker and often separate graphically from the stem through hyphen. Here are a few examples of French loanwords: *aide-mémoire-uri* 'checklists', *aperçu-uri* 'surveys', *acquis-uri* 'acquis communautaires (PL)', *clou-uri* 'points of interest', *grisaille-uri* 'shades of grey', *maquis-uri* 'maquis', *parti-pris-uri* 'biases', *tête-à-tête-uri* 'tête-à-têtes', *tiramisu-uri* 'tiramisus', etc.—and a few examples of English loanwords: *body-uri* 'jerseys', *brunch-uri* 'brunches', *derby-uri* 'derbies', *display-uri* 'displays', *duty-free-uri* 'duty-free shops', *garden-party-uri* 'garden parties', *hobby-uri* 'hobbies', *love-story-uri* 'love stories', *puzzle-uri* 'puzzles', *remake-uri* 'remakes'.

The analysis *timpur-i*, *zil-e* has the advantage of ensuring a smaller inventory of plural inflexional endings for Romanian (only *-e* and *-i*), also attested in other Romance languages. The consequence of this analysis is the recognition of different stems in the singular and in the plural (SG *zi-* vs PL *zil-*; SG *timp-* vs PL *timpur-*), with differences which go beyond phonological alternations. Maiden (2016a) notes a 'structural asymmetry' between the singular and the plural, suggesting that it is not the inflexion that is irregular but the stem. The following arguments support this interpretation:

(i) It is transparent and expected from a diachronic point of view; the segment *-ur-* in the stem corresponds to the Latin segment -OR-.
(ii) It ensures a unique analysis for the class in *-uri*, for irregular masculine nouns such as SG *om* ~ *oameni* 'person', SG *oaspe* ~ PL *oaspeți* 'guest', SG *jude* ~ PL *judeci* 'judge', for irregular feminine nouns such as SG *soră* ~ PL *surori* 'sister', SG *noră* ~ PL *nurori* 'daughter-in-law', and for the irregular noun SG *cap* ~ PL *capete* 'head', all of these being inherited from the Latin imparisyllabic declension (§2.7.1). Moreover, all these cases are explained by the same analysis (SG *om-Ø* vs PL *oamen-i*; SG *oaspe-Ø* vs PL *oaspeț-i*; SG. *sor-ă* vs PL *suror-i*; SG *cap-Ø* vs PL *capet-e*), according to which the irregularity belongs to the stem.

(iii) The stem is identical to the lexical root of the derived forms, a fact that makes it easier to analyse derived forms (see *stel-e* 'stars', as well as *stel-uță* 'little star', *în-stel-at* 'starry'; *zil-e* 'days', as well as *zil-nic* 'daily', *zil-ier* 'day worker', *în-zil-i* 'to give days'; *timpur-i* 'times', as well as *timpur-iu* 'early'; *gândur-i* 'thoughts', as well as *în-gândur-a* 'cause anxiety', *în-gândur-at* 'anxious').

(iv) Speakers do not always assign to these endings the value of plural markers, as shown by the tendency to create analogical singulars that include *-ur-* and *-le-* but where these have clearly lost any particular plural value (examples from Byck & Graur 1967):
   (a) SG *ram* 'branch' ~ PL *ramuri* → *ramură* 'branch', SG *vrasc* 'twig' ~ PL *vrascuri* → *vrascură* 'twig', SG *râu* 'river' ~ PL *râuri* → *râură* 'river', SG *frig* 'cold' ~ PL *friguri* → *frigură* 'cold', SG *pic* 'drop' ~ PL *picuri* → *picur* 'drop'[102]
   (b) SG *sarma* 'cabbage roll' ~ PL *sarmale*' → *sarmală* 'cabbage roll', SG *za* 'chain' ~ PL *zale* → *zală* 'chain'.

The analysis *timp-ur-i* is discussed by Maiden (2016a, 2016f). It identifies two distinct plural formatives (*-ur-* and *-i*). This interpretation takes into account the diachronic data, namely that, in the sixteenth century, in the complex ending *-ure*, the plural marker *-i* replaces just the older formative *-e* rather than the whole formative *-ure* (*-ure* > *uri*: *timpure* > *timpuri* 'times'). The change *-e* > *-i* follows the same pattern as in other feminine nouns (e.g. *bălți* 'swamps', *boli* 'illnesses', *gropi* 'pits', *răni* 'wounds', *roți* 'wheels', *tălpi* 'soles', which replaced older *balte*, *boale*, *groape*, *rane*, *roate*, *talpe*; also numerous other non-standard forms, e.g. *băniți* 'bushels', *catarămi* 'buckles', *crătiți* 'pans', *făbrici* 'factories', *hăini* 'clothes', *înghețăți* 'ice-creams', which are used in alternation with the older and still standard forms in *-e*). Such double marking of the plural via co-present inflexional endings would support the idea that the Romanian plural is supplementarily marked or, alternatively, that it is characterized by 'multiple exponence'; this would mean that plural marking is not limited to the inflexional component but also occurs in the stem, greatly complicating the task of segmentation.

When the singular feminine noun ends in the diphthong [e̯a] (*stea* 'star', *măsea* 'molar'), there are problems related to the analysis of the singular, which can be segmented in two ways: SG *stea-*Ø or *ste-a*. Adopting the type *ste-a* implies accepting, for feminines, a new singular ending, *-á* (stressed), alongside *-ă* (unstressed). In this book, the *stea-*Ø type analysis is preferred, because it offers a unified analysis for the pattern *stea*, *măsea*, which ends in a stressed diphthong, and for the pattern *zi* 'day', *basma* 'kerchief', which ends in a stressed vowel. The alternation [e̯a] ~ [e], which is assumed in the analysis of the type *stea-*Ø, is also attested in other cases of feminine inflexion (SG *creastă* 'crest' ~ PL *creste*).

[102] In the creation of such new forms, *genus alternans* is lost, the nouns affected becoming either wholly masculine or wholly feminine.

2.2 Patterns of desinential number marking and the history of the desinences

2.2.1 Introduction

Belonging as it does in the 'eastern' group of Romance languages, which are characterized by vocalic desinences in the plural (Italo-Romance, Dalmatian, and Daco-Romance; see Maiden 1996: 147–8 and references therein; Maiden 2016c: 697–700), Romanian uses the desinences *-i* and *-e* for the plural of nouns and adjectives (e.g. *codri* 'forest$_{.M.PL}$' *deși* 'thick$_{.M.PL}$', *case* 'house$_{.F.PL}$' *frumoase* 'beautiful$_{.F.PL}$'). Each plural desinence expresses gender and number cumulatively (in the forms *codri* and *case*, for instance, the desinences *-i* and *-e* express respectively the masculine plural and the feminine plural of the noun; and they convey the same information for the adjective in forms such as *deși*, *frumoase*).[103]

Plural marking is primarily realized through desinences (SG *codru* 'forest' ~ PL *codri*, SG *casă* 'house' ~ PL *case*, SG *lucru* 'thing' ~ PL *lucruri*) and, additionally, through root allomorphy. The plural desinence may alternate with a phonetically realized singular desinence (SG *codr-u*, *cas-ă* vs PL *codr-i*, *cas-e*), or may attach itself to the root when a singular desinence is not phonetically realized (SG *pom-Ø* 'tree', *scaun-Ø* 'chair' vs PL *pom-i*, *scaun-e*).[104]

Under the influence of the historical plural ending *-i* there occurred palatalization and/or affrication of the final consonant of the root, leading to the alternation between the consonant of the plural and that of the singular (*brad* 'fir tree' ~ *brazi*, *poet* 'poet' ~ *poeți*, *urs* 'bear'~ *urși*) or between a non-palatalized and a palatalized consonant cluster (*artist* 'artist' ~ *artiști*). (For the extent of the phenomenon of allomorphy in the realization of the plural, for masculine and feminine nouns and adjectives, see the discussion in §§1.5, also 2.2.4.) This phenomenon, purely phonological in origin, has parallels in Ladin and Friulan (Iliescu 2007: 228) but is more regular and systematic in Romanian, where it plays an extremely important role in inflexion—a fact that singles out this language in the Romance family. In Romanian, plural marking is frequently realized both through the ending and through the root.

Of the features case, gender, and number, it is number that is the most consistently expressed in nominal inflexion. This is manifest in the frequent double marking of number (ending + alternation/alternations), in the rarity of syncretism (invariance), and in the clear tendency to restrict invariance (see §2.8).

[103] The case category has a special marking only for feminine singular nouns and adjectives (see §2.4).

[104] The perspective of a synchronic description does not coincide perfectly with that of a diachronic description or with that of a diatopic description. In old Romanian, and in modern conservative dialectal areas, instead of *-Ø* in the singular, phonetically non-null realizations occur, pronounced as asyllabic, whispered [ᵘ], such as: SG *pom* [ᵘ] 'tree', *scaun*[ᵘ] 'chair'. Even in standard modern Romanian, there are contexts (before the enclitic article) in which the singular desinence, for the same nouns, is realized as vocalic [u] (*pom-u-l*, *scaun-u-l*).

Cases of reduction in the number of plural markers do occur, and they go in two directions. (1) There are northern Daco-Romanian linguistic areas with a 'hard' pronunciation of consonants, where masculines realize the number opposition through consonant alternation alone (*bărbat* 'man' ~ *bărbaț*, *urs* 'bear' ~ *urș*); in the same dialectal areas, in the case of nouns ending in the consonants *ț* [ts] and *ș* [ʃ], the number opposition is neutralized (SG=PL *cârnaț* 'sausage', *călăraș* 'horseman'). (2) There is a tendency for modern literary Romanian to lose some alternations; thus the older plural forms *burgheji* 'bourgeois', *chineji* 'Chinamen', *engleji* 'Englishmen' featured the alternation *z* [z] ~ *j* [ʒ] until a late date,[105] but modern standard Romanian has lost this alternation. When this happens, the plural information is provided solely by the desinence. So single marking (on the inflexion and, more rarely, on the root) is possible, but double marking (on the inflexion and on the root) is much more typical of Romanian.

The selection of plural endings is generally unpredictable. Here only masculine and feminine plurals will be discussed, while plurals in nouns of the *genus alternans* class is discussed separately, in §§2.3, 2.4. Variation in the inflexional marking of plurals of nouns from this class also displays a high degree of unpredictability.

2.2.2 The masculine

Masculines have only one plural inflexional morpheme, *-i* (see (24)), regardless of the nature of the corresponding singular ending: Ø (*pom*Ø 'tree', *urs*Ø 'bear'), vocalic -[u] (*codru* 'forest', *socru* 'father-in-law'), semivocalic *-u* (*bou̯* 'ox', *leu̯* 'lion'), *-e* (*frate* 'brother', *perete* 'wall')—or, more rarely, the vocalic ending *-ă* [ə], an ending characteristic of feminine nouns but that occasionally occurs in masculine animate nouns such as *popă* 'priest', *tată* 'father'. The plural marking can be realized just with an ending (see (25a)) or with both an ending and an alternation, which may be consonantal, as in (25b), vocalic, as in (25c), or both, as in (25d).

(24) pomØ 'tree' ~ pomi [pomʲ], codru 'forest' ~ codri [ˈkodri], dumnezeu̯ 'god' ~ dumnezei [dumneˈzei̯], perete 'wall' ~ pereți [peˈretsʲ], popă 'priest' ~ popi [popʲ], tată 'father' ~ tați [tatsʲ]

(25) a leu 'lion' ~ lei, elev 'pupil' ~ elevi
b părinte 'parent' ~ părinți, urs 'bear' ~ urşi, vițel 'calf' ~ viței
c cumătru 'godfather of one's child' ~ cumetri, păr 'pear tree' ~ peri
d sfânt 'saint'~ sfinți

[105] For the competition between *chinezi* 'Chinamen' ~ *chineji*, *burghezi* 'bourgeois' ~ *burgheji*, in the first half of the twentieth century, see Pană Dindelegan (2015b: 442).