



Romanian double definites: The view from demonstratives

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Abstract

Double definiteness is always optional in Romanian, and this raises the issue of its semantic contribution. Based on a corpus study, I argue that the semantic import of double definiteness is familiarity, understood as the presence, in the common ground, of a referent characterized as the maximal element satisfying the complex $N \wedge A$ property (where A is the denotation of the modifier and N the denotation of the NP). The corpus study also shows that the use of double definiteness is register-dependent, occurring more frequently in texts that make use of older forms (poetry, religious texts, fairy tales), where it may be used purely as a stylistic feature or to facilitate a non-restrictive reading. I compare Romanian double definites with recognitional (or evocative) demonstratives (which also involve familiarity) and with the bleached demonstratives licensed by relative clauses, arguing that double definites differ from both. I propose a semantic analysis of demonstratives that is meant to capture the property that recognitional demonstratives share with anaphoric and deictic demonstratives but not with double definites: salience. As for the ‘bleached’ demonstratives licensed by relative clauses, they differ from double definites in that they lack familiarity. Nevertheless, the syntax of double definites resembles that of demonstratives in that it involves an additional functional layer immediately below the definite Determiner.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Constructions that involve repeating a definite marker inside a Determiner Phrase (DP) with modification are of various types (see the overview in [Alexiadou, 2014](#)). The main divide is between obligatory definiteness spreading, which is a form of agreement (see Hebrew and Arabic) and optional multiple definiteness, which involves a special syntactic structure. In the case of the latter, an important distinction is made between languages where the unmarked pattern involves multiple definiteness (this is the case of the double definiteness marking with prenominal modifiers in Norwegian, Swedish and Faroese; see [Delsing, 1993](#); [Julien, 2005](#); [Coppock and Engdahl, 2016](#)) and languages where it involves a single definiteness marker. Romanian belongs to this latter type, on a par with Modern Greek. In Romanian, multiple marking involves the use of the strong definite article *cel* before a modifier, see (1):

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(1) casa (cea) nouă
 house-the the new
 'the new house'

Unlike Greek, in Romanian only one additional definiteness marker may occur. Therefore, the phenomenon has been called 'double definiteness', whereas for Greek, the term 'polydefiniteness' is used (see e.g. Lekakou and Szendrői, 2012).²

Since in Romanian the double definiteness construction is optional and marked, the question arises of the interpretive effects associated with this construction. The descriptions of these effects that can be found in the literature suggest a relationship with demonstratives (see Section 3.1 below). The marker *cel* indeed originates in a short variant of the distal demonstrative *acei* 'that' – hence the traditional label *articol demonstrativ-adjectival* ('demonstrative-adjectival article') – but in Modern Romanian *cel*-constructions can never be considered as mere morphological variants of demonstrative constructions. The main goal of this paper is to further scrutinize the interpretive effects associated with double definiteness (henceforth DD) and to evaluate whether they warrant considering the DD construction as a type of demonstrative construction (as proposed in Giurgea, 2014a) by looking deeper into the semantics of demonstratives. Due to the fact that DD in present-day Romanian is register-dependent, I conducted a corpus investigation in order to clarify the issue of the interpretive effects. I conclude that DD, in its basic use, involves *familiarity* (that is to say that the existence of the referent is part of a body of shared knowledge), but this type of familiarity, as will be seen further on, is distinct from that found with the so-called 'recognitional' or 'evocative' demonstratives. It may furthermore be enlightening to compare DD with a special use of demonstratives in configurations with restrictive relative clauses, in which they are semantically equivalent to definite articles. I will show that this use, which I call 'bleached', differs from DD in not carrying the assumption of familiarity.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 outlines the distributional properties of the DD construction and summarizes the syntactic accounts that have been proposed for them. Section 3 is concerned with the interpretation of DD. I first present the interpretive effects proposed in earlier studies (Section 3.1), and then, the results of my corpus research, followed by a consideration of whether the attested examples support the hypotheses offered in the earlier literature (Sections 3.2–3.5). Section 4 examines DD from the perspective of the semantics of demonstratives. I first discuss the semantics of demonstratives in general and of recognitional demonstratives in particular (Section 4.1), and then compare the semantics of recognitional demonstratives with that of the DD construction (Section 4.2). Bleached demonstratives are presented and compared with double definites in Section 4.3. The general conclusions derived from the comparison of double definites with demonstratives, and a semantic analysis of the DD construction, are presented in Section 4.4. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. ON THE SYNTAX OF THE DOUBLE DEFINITE CONSTRUCTION

2.1. The general distribution of *cel*: *Cel* as a strong definite article

Before discussing the DD construction, an overview of the general distribution of *cel* is in order, to support the claim that we are dealing with double definiteness.

In Romanian, definiteness is usually marked by special inflection that occurs on the first noun or adjective in the DP, see (2). The example (2a) shows that the definiteness marker is sometimes visible as a distinct *-l-* morpheme that carries its own agreement morpheme. In what follows, I will gloss it as '-the', for simplicity. *Cel* is inserted in D when the first constituent in the DP cannot host the inflectional definiteness marker, see (2b) for cardinals, (2c-d) for the null N and (2e) for ordinals preceded by *de* 'of'. Example (2b) also shows that fronting of N before the cardinal or low definiteness marking are not allowed in Romanian.³ Example (2c) contains a null N that results from ellipsis, while (2d) contains a 'non-anaphoric' null N, interpreted in this case as [-animate]):

² The 'multiple definiteness' patterns examined by Alexiadou (2014) do not include the co-occurrence of demonstratives with definite articles (obligatory in Greek and Northern Swedish, optional in Romanian, Spanish, Standard Swedish), because the demonstrative is not merely a definiteness marker. Nevertheless, given that demonstratives imply definiteness, their co-occurrence with definite articles might be viewed as a type of multiple definite marking.

³ Other languages with suffixal definiteness may choose one of these strategies in case of cardinals: Albanian uses inflectional definiteness on the noun that follows the cardinal, Icelandic uses fronting of the NP (with N carrying inflectional definiteness) before the cardinal, Bulgarian and Aromanian allow cardinals to carry a suffixal definite article.

(2) a. cărt-i-l-e celebr-e / celebr-e-l-e cărt-i
 book-P-DEF-FP famous-FP famous-FP-DEF-FP book-P
 'the famous books'

b. **cele** trei cărti / *trei-le cărti / *trei cărti-le / *cărti-le trei
 the.FP three books three-the books three books-the books-the three
 'the three books'

c. Nu toate cărtile lui trebuie citite ci doar **cele** celebre
 not all books-the his must read but only the.FP famous
 'Not all his books must be read, but only the famous ones'

d. aşa cum rezultă din **cele** de mai sus
 so as follows from the.FP of more up
 'As follows from the above (i.e., from what has been said)'

e. **cel** de-al doilea atac
 the of-ORD two-ORD attack
 'the second attack'

In (2b-e) *cel* can be considered a morphologically 'strong' form of the definite article (as opposed to the suffixal form featured in (2a)).

Cel is also a superlative marker, in which case it combines with a comparative. In this case, it can still mark definiteness if the superlative expression is initial in the DP, see (3a), but otherwise, it does not behave as a determiner, see (3b-c):

(3) a. cele mai bune cărti
 SUP(DEF).FP more good books(F)
 'the best books'

b. un [cel mai mare] număr
 a SUP.MS more large number
 'a largest number'

c. acest [cel mai celebru] vârf
 this SUP.MS more famous peak
 'this most famous peak'

2.2. Distributional properties of the DD construction

In the DD construction, *cel* precedes a modifier that must be postnominal. Compare Greek, where both orders are possible:

(4) a. (*cea frumoasă) cartea (cea frumoasă)
 the beautiful book-the the beautiful
 'the beautiful book'

b. (to oreo) to vivlio (to oreo) (Greek)
 the beautiful the book the beautiful (cf. [Alexiadou, 2014:20, ex.10](#))

Unlike in Greek, only one *cel*-marked modifier is possible:

(5) a. *cartea cea roşie cea mare
 book-the the red the big
 b. to vivlio to kokino to megalο (Greek)
 the book the red the big ([Alexiadou, 2014:19, ex. 9c](#))

The determiner of the DP must be the definite article. Demonstratives are disallowed, although they imply definiteness:

(6) a. * carte a (cea)sta/ aceea/ aia} cea nouă
 book-the this that that the new
 b. * această/ acea carte cea nouă
 this that book the new

Although Romanian has various ways of marking the DP as definite, in the DD construction only one of these patterns is allowed, namely, the one in which the definite article is suffixed to the *noun*. This rules out DD constructions initiated by an ordinal (7a), by definite-marked adjectives (7b), by the complex determiner *celălalt* 'the only' (7c), by *cel* + cardinals (7d), or by *al*-possessors (7e) (see [Cornilescu and Giurgea, 2013](#); [Giurgea, 2014a](#)):

(7) a. a doua carte (*cea vestică)
 ORD second book the famous
 b. frumoasa mașină (??cea nouă)
 beautiful-the car the new
 c. cealaltă mașină (*cea nouă)
 the-other car the new
 d. cei doi frați (*cei bogăți)
 the two brothers the rich
 e. al cărui chip (*cel frumos)
 GEN whose face the beautiful

The post-nominal *cel* + XP constituent may be separated from the noun by various constituents – adjectives, genitives, PPs (see (8a)). Only relative clauses are marginal in this position, see (8b):

(8) a. rochia {lungă/ Mariei/ de seară} cea nouă
 dress-the long Maria.GEN of evening the new long dress/Mary's new dress/ the new evening dress'
 b. ??rochia pe care i-am dat-o cea nouă
 dress-the DOM which 3S.DAT-have.1 given-CL.ACC the new
 Intended: 'the new dress I gave her/the new one among the dresses I gave her'

Genitives, PPs, participials and relative clauses may follow *cel*-modifiers:

(9) rochia cea nouă {a Mariei/ primită în dar/ de la Paris/
 dress-the the new GEN María.GEN received as gift from Paris
 pe care i-am dat-o Mariei}
 DOM which CL.DAT- have.1 given-CL.ACC María.DAT

'Mary's new dress / the new dress {received as a gift/from Paris/that I gave Maria}.'

The constituent that follows the *cel*-modifier can also be a complement of the noun, see (10).

(10) examinarea cea îndelungată a datelor
 examination-the the long GEN data-the.GEN
 'the long examination of the data'

This excludes an analysis of the *cel* + XP-constituent as an appositive DP, as in [Marchiș and Alexiadou \(2009\)](#), who propose a structure of the form [DP₁ [& [DP₂ *cel* XP]]]. *Cel*-modifiers are clearly DP-internal constituents because they can be followed by DP-internal material licensed by the preceding noun.

The modifiers introduced by *cel* are usually adjectives. Examples with PP modifiers or relative clauses exist (Cornilescu, 2004; Cornilescu and Nicolae, 2011), but they are rare (I have only found three PPs and two relative clauses in the Corola corpus); further attested examples (found on Google) are given in (11).

(11) a. casa cea de piatră
house-the the of stone
'the house in stone' (Cornilescu, 2004)

b. casa cea din față a fost la rândul ei cuprinsă de flăcări
house-the the of-in front has been at turn-the its engulfed by flames
'The house in front was also engulfed in flames'
(<https://www.botosaninews.ro/>)

c. băiatul cel care stă prin intersecțiile centrale cu suveniruri
boy-the the which stays by crossroads-the central with souvenirs
'the boy who sells souvenirs in the central crossroads'
(<https://www.servuscluj.ro/>)

The modifiers introduced by *cel* must be intersective entity-level modifiers – they must denote properties of entities. Therefore, relational/classificatory adjectives and complements of the noun are excluded (see Cornilescu, 1992, 2004; Cinque, 2004):

(12) a. *bomba cea atomică
bomb-the the atomic
b. *cucerirea cea romană
conquest-the the Roman
c. *dependența cea de părinți
dependence-the the of parents

Genitives are altogether excluded – even when they express possession (see (13)), a use which might be treated as intersective (see the predicative use in (14)):

(13) *casa cea a Mariei
house-the the GEN Maria.GEN

(14) Casa a devenit/ rămas a Mariei
house-the has become/ remained GEN Maria.GEN
'the house became/remained Mary's (owned by Mary)'

This distributional pattern can be accounted for by assuming that *cel* selects not just any adnominal constituents, but only reduced (or, exceptionally, even full) relative clauses (as proposed by Cinque (2004)). Genitives, however one chooses to analyze them, whether in dedicated nominal functional projections (see Giorgi and Longobardi, 1991), or as adjuncts, are never plausibly analyzable as reduced relatives.

Note that none of these restrictions on *cel* are found when *cel* is followed by noun ellipsis (the pattern in (2c)):

(15) a. cea {atomică/ romană/ a Mariei}
the.FS atomic Roman GEN Maria.GEN
'the atomic one/the Roman one/Mary's'

b. dependența de droguri și **cea** [NØ] de părinți
dependence-the of drugs and the of parents
'the dependence on drugs and that on parents'

This points to the conclusion that noun ellipsis does not involve a DD structure (*contra* Marchiș and Alexiadou, 2009; Cornilescu and Nicolae, 2011, 2012⁴).

2.3. Previous syntactic analyses

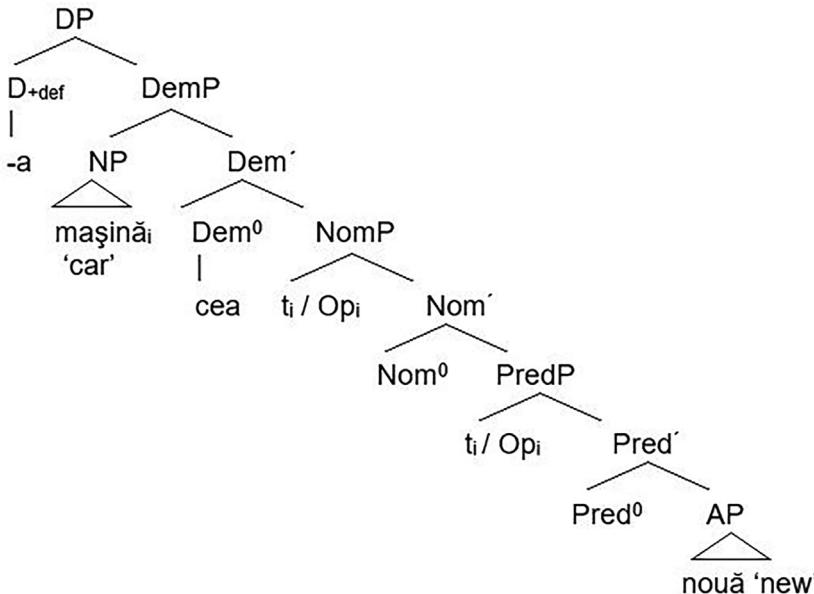
The idea that the XPs introduced by *cel* in the DD construction are reduced relatives goes some way towards accounting for their distribution, as we saw at the end of the previous sub-section, but cannot account for all the data – in particular, it explains neither the restriction to definite DPs with definiteness marking on the noun (see (7)), nor the restriction to one doubling definite expression per phrase (see (5a)). Note that in Greek, where definite-marked modifiers must also be intersective, and on this basis have been analyzed as reduced relatives (Alexiadou and Wilder, 1998; Campos and Stavrou, 2004; Panagiotidis and Marinis, 2011; Alexiadou, 2014), the number of such modifiers is not restricted to one (see (5b)). Furthermore, co-occurrence with demonstrative determiners is allowed (see Marchiș and Alexiadou, 2009: ex. 16). The special restrictions on the Romanian DD construction have received, within the generative framework, analyses that involve dedicated functional structure.

(i) Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011, 2012) use a split-DP (following Laenzlinger, 2005; Julien, 2005) and situate the modifiers introduced by *cel* in a functional layer intermediate between D_{outer} and D_{inner} . The definite noun licenses a null D_{inner} , *cel* spells out D_{outer} , and the surface order is derived by further movement of NP to $SpecD_{outer}$:

(16) $[DP_{outer} NP + def [[D_{outer} cel] [QP XP [DP_{inner} t_{NP+def} [[D_{inner} \emptyset] [NumP t_{NP+def} \dots \dots]]]]]]$
(based on Cornilescu and Nicolae, 2011:63)

(ii) Giurgea (2014a) proposes that *cel* is a special Dem(onstrative) head that selects a reduced (or sometimes full) relative. This DemP is selected by a definite D:

(17)



⁴ Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012), who adopt for DD construction the structure in (16) below, account for the difference between the *cel*-modifiers in DD and the remnants of ellipsis by proposing that in ellipsis the adnominal remnant moves to $SpecQP$ as part of a pied-pipped NP, to which the feature [+c(contrastive)] would percolate. But it remains unclear why the same derivation cannot occur when the N is overt: in the DD construction, i.e., when N is overt, the authors propose that the modifier is *externally merged* in $SpecXP$ (dubbed $SpecContrP$ in Nicolae, 2019b) and it bears a [+c(contrast)] feature. The question is why *movement* of a [+c] phrase is not an option in this case (in other words, why *movement* forces the deletion of the complement of D_{inner}).

The use of the label Dem was justified on the basis of certain claims regarding the interpretation of the DD construction, which will be examined in the next section.

In the analysis in (16), the restriction to intersective modifiers is explained by the semantics, which would require properties of entities in SpecQP. However, it is significant that the modifiers allowed have the *form* of adnominal modifiers: thus, locative PPs (which include both spatial and temporal location modifiers) have in Romanian the peculiarity of requiring *de* when adnominal, see (18a), as opposed to (18b). In the DD construction, *de* is required, see (18c) (this construction is rare, but examples can be found, see (11a-b)).

(18) a. casa *(de) la Paris
house-the of at Paris
'the house in Paris'
b. Casa lui este *(de) la Paris
house-the his is of at Paris
'His house is in Paris'
c. casa cea *(de) la Paris
house-the the of at Paris
'the house in Paris'

This fact can be explained under an analysis in which the adnominal *de* is a head specialized for locative reduced relatives (see Giurgea, 2014b). A reduced-relative analysis is supported by the fact that the adnominal *de* is not found if the PP is argumental (see (19)).

(19) sosirea (*de) la Paris
arrival-the of at Paris
Intended meaning: 'his arrival in Paris'

Giurgea (2014b) analyzes reduced relatives as PredPs embedded under a Nominalizer (see (17); for the use of PredP instead of CP for reduced relatives, see Campos and Stavrou, 2004, Giurgea and Soare, 2010). For *de*-locatives, the nominalizer is *de*. Note that *cel* cannot itself be the Pred or Nominalizer of the reduced relative, because, if it were, *de* could not appear.⁵

Both analyses in (16) and (17) derive the surface order by raising a + def-marked NP to the specifier of the head spelled out by *cel*. The restriction to definite-marked nouns is thus encoded via an attracting feature of *cel*.

Besides interpretation, for the use of the label Dem in (17) Giurgea (2014a) refers to the postnominal position of demonstratives, which is possible in Romanian (and preferred in the colloquial language), see (20)⁶:

(20) a. aceste două fețe de masă
these two faces of table
b. fețele acestea două de masă
faces-the these-AUGM two of table
these two table clothes'

However, it is clear that the Dem head used in the DD construction in (17), which selects a reduced relative, must be kept separate from the one involved in the postnominal demonstratives in (20b): in the latter construction, only the lexical noun can surface before the demonstrative (see (21a)), and a cardinal can follow, see (20b), whereas *cel*-modifiers, as we have seen, can be separated from the noun by various constituents (see also (21b)). The examples (20b) and (21a) show that postnominal demonstratives may even separate the parts of a lexicalized unit such as *față de masă* 'table cloth' (lit. 'face of table').

⁵ Cornilescu (2022) proposed a more elaborate version of the reduced relative analysis of DD in which *cel*, while starting as a Dem head inside the pivot of the relative, moves to the relativizing head *C_{+wh}*. This analysis cannot be accepted for the reason explained in the text: *cel* takes a constituent that already functions as a relative, not as a predicate (see *de*-locatives and finite relatives in (i)-(ii)), so it cannot be the relativizer itself: (i) a. casa cea de la Paris house-the the of at Paris 'the house in Paris'b. * Casa e de la Paris house-the is of at Paris(ii) a. cartea cea despre care ți-am vorbit book-the the about which you.DAT-have.1 spoken 'The book I told you about'b. * cartea e despre care ți-am vorbit book-the is about which you.DAT-have.1 spoken.

⁶ Postnominal demonstratives differ from prenominal demonstratives by showing an augment –a added to the endings, see (20b). The augmented forms also occur in noun-less DPs (the 'pronominal' use of demonstratives).

(21) a. față (*de masă) aceasta (de masă)
 face-the of table this of table
 b. față de masă cea roșie
 face-the of table the red

The second difference is that cardinals cannot follow or precede *cel*-modifiers – compare (22) with (20b). In fact, the postnominal demonstrative pattern in (20b) is the only one which allows cardinals to follow nouns inflected for definiteness (if there is no demonstrative, this order is forbidden and definiteness must be marked by the strong article *cel*, see (2b) above):

(22) cărțile (*două) cele noi (*două)
 books-the two the new two

The fact that only the (unmodified) noun head can occur before a demonstrative has been analyzed as the result of head-movement of N to D, with the demonstrative occupying SpecDemP (Cornilescu, 1992, 2005; Giusti, 1993; Nicolae, 2015, among others). Under this analysis, the ban on definite-marked adjectives preceding demonstratives (see (23)) is attributed to the fact that adjectives are not heads in the nominal projection spine, and as such they cannot undergo head-movement to D.

(23) frumoasele (*acestea) cărți
 beautiful-the these books

The fact that cardinals do not allow a prenominal definite noun unless a demonstrative is present (see (22) vs. (20b)) implies that the N-attracting D also selects for a projection that hosts a demonstrative in its specifier, see (24a).⁷ In other configurations with definite-marked nouns or adjectives, a different way of definiteness marking must be assumed, without N-to-D (see (24b-c)): either D_{+def} establishes Agree with N or AP (see Cornilescu and Nicolae, 2011, 2012; Nicolae, 2019a,b) or D_{+def} lowers at PF (see Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea, 2006). Both operations are blocked by intervening cardinals.

(24) a. [DP [N + D] [DemP Dem (t_N) [MeasP Card (t_N) [.. t_N..]]]]
 b. [DP D_{+def} [N AP]]
 c. [DP D_{+def} [FP AP [F [NP]]]]

Note now that the generalization according to which only the (unmodified) noun may precede a postnominal demonstrative allows a pattern in which what precedes the demonstrative is not a single head: two coordinated nouns marked with inflectional definiteness may appear before a demonstrative in a phrase that refers to a single individual, see (25), which refers to a specific person who is a colleague and a friend of ours. The singular reference indicates that the phrase is a single DP, rather than a coordination of DPs.

(25) [colegul și prietenul] acesta al nostru
 colleague-the and friend-the this GEN our
 'this colleague and friend of ours'

This supports an analysis in which N is not fronted by head-movement, but, rather, D attracts the smallest + N constituent to its Spec, requiring also that it be + def (see (26)).

(26) [DP [NP N_{+def}] [[D Ø_{+def}] [DemP Dem [MeasP/NumP .. t_{NP}..]]]]

Alternatively, the postnominal demonstrative can be analyzed as a D that attracts the smallest + N constituent to its Spec, requiring it also to be + def:

(27) [DP [NP N_{+def}] [[D Dem] [.. t_{NP}..]]]

However, as the co-occurrence of definite elements is rare in Romanian DPs (being limited to postnominal demonstratives and the DD construction), I consider it preferable to assume that the co-occurrence of N_{+def} and Dem reflects the

⁷ The fact that cardinals do not allow a prenominal definite N in (22) cannot be explained by assuming that cardinals block head-movement of N because they are heads: first, they do not block movement of N in constructions with demonstratives, see (20b); second, there is evidence that cardinals are phrasal, see e.g. *cele [mai puțin de zece] zile* 'the(FPL) less(MSG) than ten days(F)'.

existence of two functional layers, D and Dem. Note that the co-occurrence of the definite article with demonstratives is also found in languages with no inflectional definiteness (see e.g. Spanish or Greek), for which an agreement of the type in (27) above is out of the question.

Summing up, even if the analysis of *cel* in the DD construction as a Dem head (as in (17)) derives some support from the existence of postnominal demonstratives, the two constructions must be kept apart: postnominal demonstratives can occur above cardinals and attract the smallest + def N-constituent or occur under a D that attracts the smallest + N constituent. In the DD construction, *cel* takes a reduced or full relative clause complement and attracts the pivot of the relative, an NP that is not required to be minimal. This NP cannot contain cardinals, presumably because the N's + def feature must be visible for agreement purposes and cardinals block this relation (see (2b)). However, regardless of the particular label we may choose (Dem or D), the idea that *cel* is not a mere relativizer, but rather a functional head in the nominal extended projection, should be retained, because it accounts for the various restrictions on the Romanian DD construction, as opposed, for instance, to the Greek polydefinite construction.

A problem for the analysis that places *cel*-modifiers above a D-layer (see the D_{inner} in (15)) is the fact that the lower D cannot be interpreted as a definite (*contra Cornilescu and Nicolae, 2011*): *cel*-modifiers are often interpreted restrictively (see the attested example in (28)), and in such a case, uniqueness is not satisfied by a nominal description that excludes the *cel*-modifier – for instance, in (28), a definite description *rochia* 'the dress' would be infelicitous because the context includes four dresses.

(28) [context: people are invited to choose between four dresses that were presented in a TV show]

Rochia cea albă este cea mai frumoasă
dress-the the white is SUP more beautiful

'The white dress is the most beautiful' (<https://www.acasatv.ro/..>)

I conclude that it is the highest functional head that introduces the uniqueness/maximality standardly associated with a definite D. Therefore, I prefer to use the label D for the higher functional head and a different label for the lower one, as in (17), where the lower head is labeled Dem. In (17), the definiteness marker on the noun is a morphological reflex of the higher functional head, the definite D (for an alternative where *cel* is the higher head and the NP is a specifier carrying a + def agreement feature, see footnote⁸ above).

3. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE DOUBLE DEFINITENESS CONSTRUCTION

3.1. Previous studies

The interpretive effects associated with DD are not easy to pin down. In most cases, the use of *cel* is optional and the same interpretation obtains if *cel* is left out: in (29), the typical interpretation is restrictive for both variants. In (30), the interpretation is non-restrictive, and again *cel* does not make any difference⁹:

(29) Și-a pus pantalonii (cei) vechi
 REFL.3DAT-has put trousers-the the old
 '(S)he put on his old trousers.'

(30) Ce mai face mama mea (cea) dragă?
 what more does mother-the my the dear
 'How is my dear mother?'

The problem is enhanced by the fact that DD is on the decline in present-day Romanian. As we will see below, it is mostly used in the literary and religious registers, which better preserve old forms. Therefore, the speakers' intuitions may not be fully reliable.

It appears that in certain cases it is easier to get a non-restrictive interpretation with a *cel*-modifier than with a postnominal adjective not preceded by *cel* (for quality adjectives, it is the prenominal position that is specialized for a non-restrictive interpretation) – see the following examples from Giurgea (2005:58):

⁸ An analysis of the type in (27) was proposed for DD by Nicolae (2015:55), who analyzed *cel* as a D that attracts an NP marked +def to its specifier: (ii) $[_D P [NP fratele meu] [[_D cel] [_FP mic [. t_{NP}]]]]$ brother-the my the little Nicolae (2019a:203) turned back to D_{outer} - D_{inner} analysis in Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011).

⁹ The non-restrictive use, well represented with *cel*-modifiers, is another property by which Romanian DD differs from Greek polydefinites, which, according to Alexiadou (2014), always involve restrictive modification.

(31) a. Am intrat în sala mare (✓ restrictive, ?? non-restrictive)
 have.1 entered in hall-the big
 b. Am intrat în sala cea mare (✓ restrictive, ✓non-restrictive)
 have.1 entered in hall-the the big
 ‘We entered the big hall.’

(32) a. muncitorimea americană bogată (✓ restrictive, ?? non-restr.)
 worker-coll-the.FS American rich
 b. muncitorimea americană cea bogată (✓ restrictive, ✓non-restr.)
 worker-coll-the.FS American the rich
 ‘the rich American workers/working class’

This does not mean that *cel*-less postnominal adjectives require a restrictive interpretation, see (30). A non-restrictive reading becomes more acceptable in (31a) if a further modifier or possessor is added, making the description specific enough:

(33) Am intrat în sala mare {de la parter / a teatrului} (✓ restrictive, ✓non-restrictive)
 have.1 entered in hall-the big of at ground-floor GEN theater-the.GEN
 ‘We entered {the big hall on the ground floor / the theater’s big hall.}’

The fact that *cel*-modifiers make a non-restrictive interpretation easier may be related to their stylistic status: since the DD construction has a literary flavor and in the literary register non-restrictive modification is more common, speakers may find it easier to get a non-restrictive interpretation if a *cel*-modifier is used instead of a regular modifier.

An attested example in which DD seems to be used to promote the non-restrictive interpretation is (34), from [Vasilescu \(2009\)](#), where it is clear that ‘bad’ in ‘bad dictatorship’ (*dictatura cea rea* ‘dictatorship-the the bad’) is not used to distinguish between several dictatorships, but merely qualifies the Romanian dictatorship the movie is about (from the point of view of the film director). The same probably holds about *intellectualul cel bun* ‘the good intellectual’, which refers to a character in the movie and is not contrasted with other intellectuals:

(34) Acum, apăsat parcă de jenă, dl. Veroiu se simte dator să facă un film „just”, unde înfierează (...) **dictatura cea rea** și simpatizează cu **intellectualul cel bun**. (C. T. Popescu, in *Adevărul*, June 11, 1994, <https://aarc.ro/articol/faust-somer>)

Now, as if under the pressure of embarrassment, Mr. Veroiu feels obliged to make a ‘just’ film, where he condemns **the bad dictatorship** and sympathizes with **the good intellectual**’

But *cel*-modifiers are very often restrictive. In that case, how do they differ from regular postnominal modifiers?

[Tasmowski - de Ryck \(1994:19\)](#) claims that *cel* in the pattern N-def *cel* Adj. refers to an entity familiar to both speaker and hearer and which is known, by both speaker and hearer, to be qualified by Adj. This view is endorsed by [Vasilescu \(2009\)](#), who describes the meaning of *dictatura cea rea* ‘dictatorship-the the bad’ in (34) as ‘the dictatorship, that dictatorship that we all consider bad’, or *revista cea alinătoare* ‘magazine-the the comforting’ as ‘the magazine, that magazine we all know to be comforting’.

[Cornilescu and Nicolae \(2011:60\)](#) also refer to familiarity, background knowledge or perceptual accessibility, but they apply these terms to the property introduced by *cel*:

(35) ‘Informally, modifiers introduced by *cel* express identifying properties (...). The property introduced by *cel* should be salient, contextually accessible. A property may be salient for various reasons: because it is perceptually accessible (*fata cea cu pălărie* ‘the girl with a hat’ (...)), because it is a familiar attribute of an object (...), or because it is a stereotypical property (a nickname, a generic attribute: *cerul cel albastru* ‘the blue sky’). The selected property is presented as familiar, actually as more familiar than any other accessible properties.’

In fact, familiarity (shared knowledge) does not apply to the property *per se*, but to its instantiation in an entity – more precisely, what qualifies as shared knowledge is the fact that the entity under discussion bears the relevant property. This sort of formulation of the interpretive effects of DD can be found in [Cornilescu & Giurgea \(2013:409\)](#):

(36) 'It seems that the double definiteness construction presupposes familiarity with the sub-set which the AP introduced by *ce*/ creates inside the NP class. Thus, for (162)b [*maşina cea nouă* 'car-the the new'] to be used, it is necessary that the speaker and hearer have some shared knowledge about the existence of a car which can be identified as being new, in opposition with other cars. This does not mean that the DPs with double definiteness must be discourse-given: they can be new in the discourse. What seems to be required is shared knowledge about the referent, which is not necessarily active in the context. [Ce/AP] constituents thus resemble demonstratives in their evocative use.'

According to [Alexiadou \(2014\)](#) (who refers to [Tsakali \(2008\)](#)), familiarity is also a condition on Greek polydefinites. However, if we apply to Romanian the tests for familiarity used by [Alexiadou \(2014\)](#), we get different results. In Greek, polydefinites dependent on a quantifier are not allowed:

(37) *?Kathe pedhi psahni tin kaliteri tin fotografia tu eaftu tu
every child is-looking-for the best the picture the self his
gia na tin kremasi ston tiho (Greek, [Alexiadou, 2014:25, ex.24](#))
for SBJV it hang on-the wall

'Every child is looking for the best picture of himself to put it on the wall'

In Romanian however, a double definite dependent on a quantifier is sometimes acceptable:

(38) Fiecare şि-*a* pus hainele cele noi
everybody 3REFL.DAT-has put clothes-the the new
'Everybody put on their new clothes.'

If it is shared knowledge that people in the relevant situation bought new clothes, the definite, although dependent, satisfies the familiarity condition as formulated in (36), because for each person *x* in the set quantified over, the object denoted by '*x*'s new clothes' is known to exist.

Another difference concerns the object position of I-level 'have', which disallows Greek polydefinites according to [Tsakali \(2008\)](#) and [Alexiadou \(2014\)](#), see (39), but allows DD constructions in Romanian, see (40):

(39) a. ehi tin kali (*ti) dulia pu tu askizi (Greek,
has the good the job that him.dat deserves [Alexiadou, 2014:26](#))
'He has the good job he deserves'
b. o Janis ehi tin megalı (*ti) miti tu patera tu.
the Janis has the big the nose the.GEN father his
'John has his father's big nose'

(40) a. Are slujba cea bună pe care o merită. (Ro.)
has job-the the good DOM which CL.ACC deserves
'(S)he has the good job (s)he deserves.'
b. Are nasul cel mare al tatălui lui.
has nose-the the big GEN father-the.GEN his
'He has his father's big nose.'

In these examples, there is however another possible explanation for the unacceptability of Greek polydefinites: according to [Kolliakou \(2004\)](#) and [Alexiadou \(2014\)](#), the def-marked modifier must be restrictive; but in (39), the definite-marked modifier is not necessary for determining the reference. In (39a), the modifier 'good' is not used to select among several jobs that person deserves, but rather the sentence is equivalent to 'He has the job he deserves and that job is good'. In (39b), where the object has a kind reading (referring to types of noses), 'his father's nose' individuates a unique type, and the modifier introduces a (salient) property of this type. Since Romanian DD is compatible with a non-restrictive use of the modifiers (see (30)-(32)), the examples (40) are not ruled out.

The intuitive formulations of the semantics of DD reviewed above are rather hard to prove. Given these difficulties in establishing the interpretive import of DD, I conducted a corpus investigation, which will be presented in what follows.

3.2. Attested examples of DD: A corpus study

I analyzed 408 examples from the Corola corpus (a corpus of contemporary Standard Romanian),¹⁰ in the part searchable via KorAP (<https://korap.racai.ro/>). The queries were strings of the form 'N+def – cel – A', 'N+def – cel – P' and 'N+def – cel – Relative'. 403 examples contain adjectives (including 5 resultative participles), 2 have relative clauses and 3 have PPs in *de* 'of' + NP. Other types of PPs were not found. Being interested in understanding the status of DD in the system of contemporary Standard Romanian, I did not consider examples that occurred in citations from 19th century authors, from older non-standard varieties (as can be found in ethnographic studies) or from biblical translations. This led to the elimination of 19 examples from an initial set of 427 examples.

In analyzing the examples, I first separated instances of lexicalized patterns *cel* + *mare/mic* 'big/small'. With certain nouns, the adjective *mare* preceded by *cel* is used with a superlative meaning 'the main, the most important, largest', e.g. *șeful cel mare* 'the big boss' is the highest in the hierarchy, *ziua cea mare* 'the big day' is the most important day, *premiul cel mare* 'the big prize' is the most valuable. Moreover, *cel mare* and *cel mic* are used to distinguish siblings by age: 'elder/younger'. In these situations, *cel mare/cel mic* are not paraphrasable with adjectives lacking *cel*, unlike what we have seen for run-of-the-mill *cel*-modifiers in Section 3.1¹¹:

(41) a. Cine a câștigat premiul ??(cel) mare?
who has won prize-the the big
'Who won the big prize?'
b. M-a chemat șeful ??(cel) mare.
me-has called boss-the the big
'The big boss called me.'
c. M-am întâlnit cu fratele ??(cel) mare/mic al Cristinei.
REFL.1S-have.1 met with brother-the the big/small GEN Cristina.GEN
'I met Cristina's elder/younger brother.'

If we eliminate the examples of lexicalized *cel mare/mic*, we find a clear preference for stylistically marked registers. The frequency of DD across genres and literary styles indicates that the construction had a wider use in the past and is therefore more frequent in the genres and registers prone to using older expressions (being influenced by the older literature). I identified the following text types with a higher frequency of DD: (i) poetry; (ii) religious texts written in the archaic style of the Church; (iii) texts written in the contemporary literary style but with a religious topic or referring to entities from the realm of the Christian religion; (iv) fairy tales, children's literature; (v) historical fiction; (vi) fiction written in a high, poetic style; (vii) non-fictional (essay, documentary, literary criticism, memorial) written in an embellished, ornate style. Table 1 shows the number of examples from these text types (the first two columns), as opposed to the examples found in texts that use a non-elaborated style, close to everyday language (displayed in the last two columns).

Table 1
DD constructions (other than with *mare/mic*) across genres and styles.

Stylistically marked:		Stylistically unmarked:	
Poetry	111	Dialogue, in fiction	6
Religious, archaic style	89	Dialogue, in non-fiction	4
Religious, contemporary language	15		
Fiction: fairy-tales	28	Fiction: others	17
Fiction: historical	19		
Fiction (other): ornate, embellished style	15		
Non-fiction: ornate, embellished style	18	Non-fiction: everyday language	23
Total	295		50
Percentage	85.5%		14.5%

¹⁰ On the Corola corpus, see Barbu Mititelu et al. (2018). The Corola corpus has lemmatization and morphological analysis, but no syntactic analysis. The part searchable via KorAP only contains written texts.

¹¹ With this special meaning, some rare examples can be found, on Google, where the modifier does not combine with a definite N:(i) un premiu cel mare accordat unui telefon cu vibe retroa prize the big awarded a.DAT phone with vibe retro (<https://www.mobilissimo.ro/>...) Such examples, which are not acceptable for all speakers, indicate a full lexicalization: *cel* here is no longer the DD *cel*. It can be analyzed as a special variant of the superlative *cel*, restricted to *mare* and to the classificatory use, which explains the obligatory postnominal position (on the syntax of 'classificatory' or 'relational' adjectives in Romanian, see Cornilescu and Giurgea, 2013).

Table 2
Lexicalized *cel mare/cel mic* across genres and styles.

Stylistically marked:		Stylistically unmarked:	
Poetry	3	Dialogue, in fiction	2
Religious, archaic style	1	Reported spoken language	2
Religious, contemporary language	2		
Fiction: fairy-tales	5	Fiction: others	20
Fiction: historical	1		
Fiction (other): ornate, embellished style	2		
Non-fiction: ornate, embellished style	0	Non-fiction: everyday language	26
Total	14		50
Percentage	22%		78%

If we compare this distribution to that of the lexicalized *cel mare* and *cel mic*, the difference is striking – see Table 2, which shows that these lexicalizations are common in everyday language. In the texts that are not stylistically marked, their total number (50) equals the total number of double definites with all other adjectives (see Table 1).

I have not included the few examples of fictional dialogue and reported spoken language in the stylistically marked category (see the first two types in the right part of Tables 1 and 2), but it should be mentioned that two of them may be considered stylistically marked, one occurring in an interview in an elevated style, and the other being reportedly said by a poet from the first half of the 20th century (Tudor Arghezi).

I have also classified the examples into restrictive and non-restrictive. In 21 cases (which all belong to the stylistically marked type), I have been unable to establish whether the use is restrictive or non-restrictive. The distribution of the other examples across the text types is shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Restrictive and non-restrictive readings of DD without lexicalized *mare/mic*.

	Non-restrictive	Restrictive
Poetry	52	48
Religious, archaic style	28	57
Religious, contemporary language	5	9
Fiction: fairy-tales	11	14
Fiction: historical	7	10
Fiction (other): ornate, embellished style	10	5
Non-fiction: ornate, embellished style	10	8
Total stylistically marked	123 (44.9%)	151 (55.1%)
Fiction: others	6	11
Non-fiction: everyday language	7	16
Dialogue, in fiction	2	4
Dialogue, in non-fiction	1	3
Total stylistically unmarked	16 (32%)	34 (68%)
Total	139 (42.9%)	185 (57.1%)
Lexicalized <i>cel mare/cel mic</i>	0	46

The results show that the non-restrictive examples are more frequent in the stylistically marked texts than in the unmarked ones, which is mainly the effect of the poetic style, in which the non-restrictive examples are above 50% (not only in poetry, but also in the prose texts with an ornate, embellished style). In the religious register, the restrictive examples predominate. Overall, the restrictive examples are more numerous than the non-restrictive ones, but the difference is not large (42.9% non-restrictive vs. 57.1% restrictive). The percentage of non-restrictive examples is significant, given that in Romanian the normal interpretation of (unmarked) postnominal adjectives is restrictive and the restrictive use of adjectives is, in general, more frequent. This seems to support Giurgea's (2005) claim that *cel*-modifiers are sometimes used to facilitate the non-restrictive reading (see ex. (31)-(32) above). Note that the examples built with the lexicalized *cel mare/cel mic* (not included in Table 3) are all restrictive. This is expected, given the comparative/superlative meaning described above.

3.3. Checking the familiarity hypothesis in the corpus examples

I checked the intuitions regarding the interpretation of DD presented in Section 3.1 against the examples extracted from the corpus. I considered only examples in prose, because in poetic texts it is often hard to establish the contextual

background needed for evaluating familiarity. Even for the prose examples, examining a larger context was sometimes necessary (fortunately, the source of many of the texts in Corola can be found on the Internet). I excluded the examples of lexicalized *cel mare/cel mic*, for which familiarity can safely be assumed, as we will see later (Section 3.4).

The results by and large confirm the idea that familiarity is involved, in particular in the restrictive use of DD.

First, let us look at some examples illustrating what I understand by 'familiarity'. The referent described by $N \wedge A$ (where A is the property denoted by the *cel*-modifier and N is the property denoted by the remaining descriptive part of the noun phrase) can be part of the shared knowledge of the discourse participants – see (42)–(43). In (43), the fact that the speaker's group (we) coincides with the former neighbors indicates that the existence of former and present neighbors is part of the current context:

(42) La noi bombele au distrus totul, la voi **legile cele noi.**
at us bombs-the have destroyed all.ms at you laws-the the new
'In our country it's the bombs that destroyed everything, in yours – it's the new laws.'

(Claudiu M. Florian: *Vărstele jocului, Strada Cetății*, Editura Editura Cartea Românească, 2012, p. 109, <https://revistaderecenzii.ro/claudiu-m-florian-varstele-jocului-strada-cetatii-editura-carta-romaneasca-2012-pag-109/>)

(43) Cu **vecinii cei noi** abia dacă se salută(...). Cu **vecinii cei vecchi** adică cu noi n-au cum să se vadă.
with neighbors-the the new hardly if REFL greet.3 with neighbors-the the old that-is with us not-have.3P how SBJV REFL see.3
'When they meet the new neighbors, they hardly greet each other (...). The old neighbors, namely us, they cannot meet.' (confluente.ro no. 2343, May 31, 2017)

Sometimes the DP is anaphoric and the fact that the referent possesses the quality denoted by the *cel*-modifier is mentioned in the previous text or can be inferred from it:

(44) [Context: Față și barba le erau negre ca tăciunele, dar spre deosebire de Moș Crăciun și de curierii săi, care aveau ochi albaștri și senini, ochii acestora erau de diferite culori, care trădau răutatea și dușmănia.
'Their face and beard were black as embers, but, unlike Santa Claus and his messengers, whose eyes were blue and clear, their eyes were of various colors, which revealed malice and enmity']
Unul dintre **moșii cei negri** părea să fie cel mai mare
one from old-men the black seemed SBJV be SUP more big
printre noii-veniți.
among new-the-come.PTCP.MP
'One of the black old men seemed to be the leader of the newcomers.'

(45) [Context: am cutreierat magazinele până am găsit îmbrăcămîntea să-mi placă. Am lăsat toate hainele mele într-o ladă specială a magazinului, (...)
'I went through all the shops until I found the clothing I liked. I left all my clothes in a special case of the shop.'][
M-am îmbrăcat cu **hainele cele noi.**
REFL.1S-have.1 dressed with clothes-the the new
'I dressed in my new clothes.' (confluente.ro, no. 2169, December 8, 2016)

The fact that the concept described by $N \wedge A$ is instantiated in a particular referent can be part of the shared knowledge of a larger community – see (46), which mentions a stage in the development of the much-feared Romanian political police during communism, called *Securitatea* (the Department of State Security). This first stage, which took place under the first communist dictator, Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, was later considered excessively harsh (during the 'de-Stalinization'

phase of communism), hence the label “the bad Securitate”, for which the DD construction is used (*Securitatea cea rea*). The fact that this was a well-known label is shown by the use of quotes:

(46) dezvăluirea și dezbaterea crimelor Securității nu mai
 disclosure-the and debating-the crimes-the.GEN Security-the.GEN not more
 erau tocmai pe placul autorităților comuniste chiar dacă
 were exactly on liking-the authorities-the.GEN communist even if
 era vorba despre Securitatea cea rea, “nepatriotică” din
 was talk-the about Security-the the bad unpatriotic from
vremea **lui Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej**
 time-the GEN Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej

‘The disclosure and discussion of the crimes of the (Department of State) Security was no longer fully approved by the communist authorities, even if this referred to the ‘bad’, ‘unpatriotic’ Securitate of the times of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.’
 (Mircea Morariu, <https://adevarul.ro>)

Definites that involve associative anaphora (bridging) rely on the expectation, based on world knowledge, that a certain nominal concept is instantiated in the described situation. For instance, in (47), no gates were previously mentioned, but the setting of the story is a house in a Romanian village, with a yard. It is known that such houses have big gates for carts. This may account for the use of DD in the DP referring to the big gates:

(47) deschiseră **porțile cele mari** și traseră căruța în curte
 opened.3P gates-the the big and pulled.3P cart-the in yard
 ‘They opened the big gates and pulled the cart into the yard.’
 (<https://luceafarul.net/printesa-si-patefonul>)

Note that in such cases a demonstrative could not be used – the referent is not salient enough to allow the use of a demonstrative (neither *porțile acelea mari/acele porți mari* ‘those big gates’, nor *porțile acestea mari/aceste porți mari* ‘these big gates’ can replace *porțile cele mari* in (47)). Demonstratives are not normally used in bridging contexts (see Himmelmann, 1996). Wolter (2006) claims that they are possible only if there is a contrast with another referent described by the same NP:

(48) Gentian jerked the plug out of the drain and climbed out of the tub. The cat leapt into the sink and began biting at **that plug**. (Wolter, 2006:51, ex.117)

In bridging contexts demonstratives are also possible with certain relational nouns, such as those introducing an authorship relation, which allow anaphoric articles in German (Schwarz, 2009) – see (49), which shows that the Romanian counterpart of one of Schwarz’s examples allows a demonstrative:

(49) De câte ori lui Ion îi place deosebit un **tablou** într-un
 of how-many times OBL ion CL.DAT likes especially a painting in-a
 muzeu cumpără după aceea o biografie a **aceluia pictor**.
 museum buys after that a biography GEN that.GEN painter
 ‘Every time Ion very much a painting in a museum very much, he buys a biography of the/that painter afterwards.’ (modeled after Schwarz, 2009, ex. 279)

In (47), there is no contrast between the gates referred to and other gates and the noun does not introduce an authorship relation. Therefore, demonstratives are not felicitous.

This contrast shows that double definites cannot be fully equated with evocative demonstratives.

If the expectation of the instantiation of the N&A-concept in a certain situation is sufficient to license DD, it comes as no surprise that DD can be found with definites that do not have fixed reference (are not ‘specific’), but covary with a situation or individual variable – see *rudele cele apropiate* ‘the close relatives’ in (50), occurring in a generalization about certain communities:

(50) Uneori **rudele** cele **apropiate** poartă haine negre de
 sometimes relatives-the the close wear clothes black of
 doliu un an de zile sau tot restul vietii.
 morning a year of days or all rest-the life-the.GEN
 'Sometimes the close relatives (...) wear black mourning clothes for a whole year or for the rest of their lives'

(https://confluente.ro/ion_nalbitoru_1428427502.html)

Here are other examples of DD constructions that I have found in such contexts: *hainele cele bune* 'the good clothes' (i.e. the clothes used in public or for special occasions, gala clothes), *grijile cele domestice* 'the domestic worries (household preoccupations)', *gândurile cele rele* 'the bad thoughts'. It is not always easy to distinguish this type from generic definites (Romanian, unlike English, does not have a special null determiner for generics, using the definite article instead). DD is well represented with generics, which is expected to the extent that the existence of the classes defined by the N&A-description is part of the common ground: see e.g. *copiii cei cuminti* 'good (i.e. obedient) children', *bolile cele grele* 'serious diseases', *libertatea cea adevărată* 'true freedom'.

Sometimes the use of DD highlights the fact that the N&A-description is a well-known metaphor, e.g. *somnul cel lung* 'the long sleep', *drumul cel bun* 'the good road/way' meaning 'the path to follow in life', or part of a metaphor – e.g. *vîtelul cel gras* 'the fatted calf', with reference to the parable of the lost son from the Gospel of Luke:

(51) [context: about the national football team]
 le datorăm, la întoarcerea în țară, tăierea **vîtelului** **cel**
 them.DAT owe.1P at returning-the in country cutting-the calf-the.GEN the
gras.
 fat
 'We owe them, when they return to the country, the slaughter of the fatted calf.'
 (https://adevarul.ro/blogurile-adevarul/romania-mecul-unei-generatii-1716819.html#google_vignette)

In the religious register, we find examples of more or less stereotypical descriptions of this sort, whose name-like behavior (and divine referent) is signaled by the use of capitals, e.g. *Păstorul cel bun* 'the good Shepherd', *Mielul cel bland* 'the gentle Lamb'. Familiarity with the N&A-description as referring to a particular entity may also explain why DD constructions often occur as names or name-like descriptions of characters in fairytales (e.g. *broscuța cea isteață* 'the clever little frog', *iepurașul cel sprinten* 'the fast rabbit'), sometimes in titles (e.g. *Fetița cea orfană* 'the little orphan girl', *Greierul cel fermecat* 'the enchanted cricket', *Fata cea isteață* 'the clever girl'). DD can also occur in metaphors based on well-known fictional characters, e.g. *lebăda cea neagră* 'the black swan'.

Most of the examples I have examined fall into one of these types, especially in the case of restrictive readings: as can be seen from Table 4, out of 120 examples of restrictively used DD constructions, only for 7 is familiarity unlikely to hold (see (52) for an example of this type). Four of them come from the same author, a writer who makes frequent use of DD, and the other three come from a religious author who, likewise, uses DD very often.

Table 4

Testing the familiarity hypothesis.

	Restrictive DD	Non-restrictive DD	Total
Familiarity is certain or likely	108 (87.1%)	51 (74%)	159
Unclear cases	9 (7.3%)	3 (4.3%)	12
Familiarity is doubtful	7 (5.6%)	15 (21.7%)	22

(52) Dar lungirea liniștei dintre cei doi nu împiedica but lengthening-the silence-the.GEN between the two not prevented vorbele cele neroste în gândul lui Ghită Prislea. words-the the unspoken in thought-the GEN Ghiță Prislea
'But the extended silence between the two did not prevent the unspoken words in Ghiță Pâslă's thought'

(Gheorghe Pârlea, *Din tinerețea lui Ion Ionașcu*, confluente.ro, no. 472)

It can be concluded that in such cases we are dealing with an overuse of DD for stylistic purposes.

In the case of non-restrictive *cei*-modifiers, we expect familiarity to be less common: since the modifier does not serve to establish reference, it is superfluous if the fact that the referent has the property A already belongs to the common ground. Of course, already familiar information can be expressed for various reasons: it can be assumed not to be active in the hearer's mind, it can serve an argumentative purpose, it can have an expressive or evaluative function.

Sometimes, the property introduced by the *cel*-modifier may be considered familiar because it was mentioned before or may be inferred from the preceding text:

(53) [Context: Găsim în schimb alte urme proaspete ca de vulpe. 'We find, however, other fresh tracks like those of a fox.'
– Te pomenești că vulpea a furat mănușa pe care n-o mai găsim! zise Corina.
'What if the fox has stolen the glove we can't find! – said Corina']
Ne luăm după urmele cele proaspete ale vulpii.
REFL.1P take.1P after tracks-the the fresh GEN fox-the.GEN
'We follow the fresh tracks of the fox.'
(Viorel Darie, *Diamante în zăpadă*, confluente.ro, nr. 1088, Dec. 23, 2013)

On other occasions, the property can be considered part of the shared knowledge (see the term 'stereotypical properties' used by [Cornilescu and Nicolae \(2011\)](#): *codrii cei întunecăți ai Nordului* 'the dark forests of the North', *masivele cele falnice ale Munților Himalaya* 'the towering masses of the Himalaya mountains', *tătarii cei săngeroși* 'the bloody Tatars' (introduced to motivate the panic of the inhabitants), *Moșul cel darnic și bun* 'the bountiful and good Santa', *anii cei negri ai comunismului* 'the dark (lit. 'black') years of communism'.

Sometimes, the property is familiar to the character whose thoughts are presented in the text:

(54) Privi mobila sufrageriei, de absolut orice piesă
watched.3s furniture-the dining-room-the.GEN of absolutely any piece
de acolo își aducea aminte când anume o cumpărare, și
of there 3REFL.DAT remembered when exactly it had-bought and
vitrina cea mare, frumos ornamentată cu pahare, și (...)
display-cabinet-the the big beautifully decorated with glasses and
'He looked at the furniture in the dining room – he recalled absolutely every piece in there, he remembered exactly when he had bought it – the large display cabinet beautifully decorated with glasses and (...)'
(Eugen Oniscu, *Reîntors în libertate*, confluente.ro, no. 2257, March 6, 2017)

In the register, non-restrictive *cei*-modifiers may also occur in vocatives (or appositions to vocatives) with an affective import. The property may be familiar or inferable from the context – thus, (55) is used as a comment on an event where Grigoriță showed absent-mindedness:

(55) Grigoriță savantul **mamei** cel distrat nu e rău că
Grigoriță scholar-the mother-the.GEN the absent-minded not is bad that
ți s-a întâmplat una ca asta!
you.DAT REFL-has happened one like this
'Grigoriță, mommy's absent-minded scholar, it's not bad that something like this happened to you!' (Corola-publishinghouse/Memoirs/1522_a_2820)

In the high register we may also find non-restrictive *cel*-modifiers with generics, often denoting stereotypical properties – e.g. *bucuriile cele negrăite ale Duhului Sfânt* ‘the unspeakable joys of the Holy Spirit’, *tainele cele adânci ale cunoașterii de sine* ‘the deep mysteries of self-knowledge’.

But non-restrictive *cel*-modifiers can also be used to introduce genuinely new information, as is clear in the following example:

(56)	Nerun	rămase	uimit	de	măreția	conacului	în	care
	Nerun	got	amazed	by	grandeur-the	mansion-the.GEN	in	which
	intrase.		Se	tot	holba	la	tavanele	cele
	had-entered		REFL	over-and-over	stared.IMPF.3s	at	ceilings-the	the
	înalte	ale	saloanelor	prin	care	trecea.		
	high	GEN	halls-the.GEN	through	which	passed.IMPF.3s		

‘Nerun was amazed by the grandeur of the mansion he had entered. He kept

staring at the high ceilings of the halls he was going through.’(confluente.ro

nr. 1395, Oct. 26, 2014)

Such cases can be taken to illustrate the use of DD to enhance the non-restrictive reading of postnominal modifiers, mentioned in Section 3.1 above (see (31)-(32)). I found 15 examples of this sort, where the property is likely to be new. Most of them (14) are found in texts belonging to the literary register. Only one occurs in a text written in the casual register (a journalistic text).

Summing up, the data support the proposal that in contemporary Romanian, DD primarily conveys familiarity (as described above) and has a secondary function of indicating non-restrictive modification, predominantly observed in the literary register. Moreover, DD can be used with special stylistic import, related to its more extensive use in the older language. This explains the high frequency of DD in poetry and religious texts.

A tentative generalization about the present-day use of DD, based on the Corola corpus and on some Google searches, is that it tends to be limited to reference to particular entities. Most examples with generics and dependent definites in a generic context come from stylistically marked texts. No example of DD has been found in the scientific texts in the Corola corpus and all the examples found in legal texts occur in citations of laws from the 19th and early 20th century. Given that these text types favor the generic use of definites, the absence of DD may be taken to show that in present-day Romanian the construction is typically confined to particular reference.

3.4. Familiarity extended to alternatives

The basic use of DD, which can be found in the colloquial register, often involves, besides familiarity, a further aspect that I have not yet discussed, which may be called contrastivity: the shared knowledge contains not only an object described by (N \wedge A), but also other objects described by (N \wedge Alt(A)), where Alt(A) refers to alternatives to the A property – often an antonym.¹²

Will illustrate this idea with an example found on a recent facebook post: The author of the post had left his car in the Bucharest airport car park, while he was away on a short trip, and discovered upon returning that the parking fees were outrageous. When he complained, the parking employee explained that he had left his car in the *expensive* parking lot (here the DD construction is used: *Parcarea cea scumpă* ‘car-park-the the expensive’), signaling that the background knowledge of the airport personnel (unfortunately, not shared by the customer) contains two car parks that differ in price (a more expensive one and a cheaper one)

(57)	Nu	scrie	prea	clar	prețul	într-adevăr,	dar	aici	e	20	lei	pe	oră,
	not	writes	too	clearly	price-the	indeed	but	here	is	20	lei	per	hour
	că		at	lăsat	mașina	la	parcarea	cea	scumpă.				
	because		have.2P	left	car-the	at	car-park-the	the	the	expensive			

‘The price is indeed not very clearly written, but here it’s 20 lei per hour, because you left your car in the expensive car park.’

(<https://www.facebook.com/...>)

¹² Contrastivity was mentioned by Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012) in their analysis of DD, but they describe it as holding between attributes of the referent of the DP, the property introduced by the *cel*-modifier being the most suitable for identification. I believe that the property most suitable for identification is actually the one that we know to be *absent* for other entities in the N-domain, so the contrast is not just between properties, but between *individuals* bearing those properties.

We may thus consider that sometimes familiarity does not concern only the referent described by $N \wedge A$, but rather a partition of the N -set that uses A and alternatives to A as discriminating properties. Among the examples presented so far, this situation is arguably found in (43), (44), (45), (46), (47).

The lexicalized use of DD with *mare* and *mic* for selection by age between siblings belongs to this type, because familiarity obviously involves all the siblings – if we know who the elder child is, we know about the existence of the other children. Familiarity is also found with the other lexicalized uses of *mare*, e.g. *șeful cel mare* ‘the big boss’ requires shared knowledge about the organization of an institution, *ziua cea mare* ‘the big/great day’ requires a context which provides a reason for considering a certain day crucial, *Războiul cel Mare* ‘the Great War’ is a standard designation of a certain event (note also the capitals), etc.

The preference for using DD for what I have called familiar partition (i.e. N -entities characterized by alternatives to A that are equally well-established in the common ground) may explain why, in the regional varieties examined in the linguistic atlas of Romania (see [ALR SN VI](#)), reflecting the language of the 1930s, DD constructions are preferred for the name of the thumb (although now the standard variety of Bucharest, my native speech, does not use DD: *degetu' mare* ‘finger-the big’): in the map *degetul cel mare* ‘finger-the the big’, i.e. ‘the thumb’, 53 points have DD and only 6 have *degetul mare* ‘finger-the big’ (among the DD cases, *degetul cel mare*, with various regional variants, occurs in 49 places; 2 have *degetul cel gros* ‘finger-the the thick’, one has *degetul cel scurt* ‘finger-the the short’ and one has *degetul cel scurt și gros* ‘finger-the the short and thick’). These data are revealing for the productivity of DD because the question was indirect, i.e. DD did not appear in the question.

3.5. On the non-restrictive use of DD

An issue that still needs to be addressed is the non-restrictive use. Granting that familiarity is the basic meaning, found in the everyday language, how did DD come to be sometimes used to facilitate the *non-restrictive* reading of a modifier (see (31), (32), (56))? One possible reason may have to do with the stylistic specialization of DD: since *cel*-modifiers are more frequent in the literary registers and these registers make more frequent use of non-restrictive modifiers, speakers may be led to associate the non-restrictive use with DD. Another facilitating factor may have been the anaphoric use of DD (see (44), (53)): familiarity makes DD suited for anaphoric definites, and in this case the referent can often be identified by the use of the N alone, without the modifier, which means that the modifier is used non-restrictively. Finally, a construction which might have contributed to this specialization is the DD construction with proper names. I have not introduced these data so far because in the case of proper names it is not easy to distinguish DD constructions from the pattern ‘Proper Name + Identifying Apposition’. Identifying appositions, also known as ‘close appositions’, are not separated by a comma and serve to pick out one referent from several bearers of the name, see (58). In an example such as (59a), we cannot be sure that *cel* + XP does not represent a second DP in a close apposition configuration, because *cel* is also the form of the definite article used before a null N , see (59b).

(58) Mihai doctorul
Mihai doctor-the
'Mihai the doctor'

(59) a. Mihai cel mic s-a întors.
Mihai the small REFL-has returned
'The young/small Mihai came back.'

b. Cel mic s-a întors.
the small REFL-has returned
'The young/small one came back.'

Note now that proper names of persons, which do not need the definite article in argument positions, disallow postnominal attributive adjectives without *cel*, see (60)¹³:

(60) *Mihai mic
Mihai small

¹³ See [Miron-Fulea et al., \(2013:732-737\)](#) for discussion. Examples such as *loana mică* ‘the little loana’, mentioned in [Nedelcu \(2013\)](#), rely on the possibility of treating the *-a* ending as a suffixal definite article, in which case the noun acquires the distributional properties of common nouns. With masculine proper names that do not end in an ending analyzable as a definite morpheme, an adjective (without *cel*) following the N can only be interpreted as a small clause predicate – e.g., the string in (60) can only be interpreted as ‘Mihai when he was a little child’.

Therefore, postnominal adjectives need DD in order to occur with proper names. This includes modifiers used non-restrictively:

(61) Dumnezeu cel atotputernic și milostiv
God the almighty and merciful

This may have provided a further series of contexts where DD is associated with a non-restrictive reading. Register is still relevant, because this kind of restrictive modification is mainly found in the literary register (the colloquial language prefers binominal constructions with epithets, e.g. *prostul de Mihai* 'stupid-the of Mihai').

4. DOUBLE DEFINITENESS COMPARED TO DEMONSTRATIVES

4.1. On *recognitional* (evocative) demonstratives

We have seen that in its basic use, the interpretive contribution of the DD construction, as opposed to a simple definite, is to indicate the fact that the existence of a referent described by the (N \wedge A) property is part of the common ground.

Demonstratives, in particular the distal demonstrative, can also be used, in a similar way, to indicate shared knowledge about the referent. For instance, (62) can be used out-of-the-blue (with no previous discourse) and without relying on the presence of a (perceivable) dog in the communication situation (i.e., the demonstrative DP is neither anaphoric nor deictic).

(62) I couldn't sleep last night. **That dog (next door)** kept me awake.
(Gundel et al. 1993:278, ex. 5)

Gundel et al. (1993) claim that the necessary and sufficient condition for the use of *that dog* in (62) is familiarity, which they characterize as follows: 'The addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in memory' (Gundel et al. 1993:278). Note that the definite article could also have been used in this situation. In the full version *the dog next door kept me awake*, it is possible that the hearer has no previous knowledge of the existence of a dog next door. The definite is not familiar and the presupposition of existence that definites introduce (see Elbourne, 2005, 2013, among others) is accommodated. But if the short version *the dog* is used, familiarity becomes necessary, because the context does not provide a situation in which a unique dog exists. In both cases, the issue arises of why *that* is used instead of *the*. An interesting discussion can be found in Himmelmann (1996:233), who calls this use 'recognitional' (another term is 'evocative', see Nash, 1984; Zulaica Hernández, 2017).¹⁴ According to Himmelmann, *that* is restricted to situations where the shared knowledge about the referent is "specific, personalized knowledge that is assumed to be shared by the communicating parties due to a common interactional history or to supposedly shared experiences". Indeed, (62) seems appropriate if the disturbing dog had occurred in other conversations between the discourse participants. By contrast, *the* can rely on general world knowledge. This is why, as Himmelmann notes, only *the* can be used in Hawkins's (1978) 'larger situation use' (e.g. *the president*) and in associative anaphora (*a/the bus... the driver...*; see however (48)-(49) above). Recognitional demonstratives may also be used for referents introduced at a distant point in the conversation and not referred to since (this makes the activation status of the referent similar to that of referents mentioned in previous conversations). An example of shared experience, rather than mention in a previous conversation, is (63) (the original example, taken by Himmelmann (1996) from Auer (1984), is in German, but the English translation is sufficient to illustrate the point):

(63) I'm wondering what happened to **that internal phone we used to have**

The recognitional use extends beyond referents found (or mentioned) in past interactions of the discourse participants. Himmelmann (1996), citing Auer (1984), notes that recognitional demonstratives are often used when the speaker suspects that the information provided is insufficient for the hearer to identify the referent, feeling 'incapable of coming up with an appropriate expression for the intended referent' (Himmelmann, 1996:234) – see (64), which occurs in the English corpus analyzed by Himmelmann, where *those wooden things* refers to the paddle ball:

(64) *those wooden things* that you hit with a ball. (Himmelmann, 1996:234)

¹⁴ Specialized forms for the recognitional use are documented in several Australian languages, see Nash (1984) and Bittner and Hale (1995), who use the term 'evocative', and also Himmelmann (1996) and references therein.

Demonstratives of this type are often used as 'a sort of fill-in when the speaker is searching for a more appropriate expression', or 'at the end of a series of attempts to find an appropriate phrasing, signalling that the speaker is not fully content with these attempts'. They often occur with the tags *you know?* *you remember?* and may occur with rich descriptive material, such as relative clauses, as in (64) above.

We may conclude that recognitional demonstratives, as opposed to familiar definites, require a more active participation of the hearer, who is invited to scan his memory in order to find the intended referent. Auer (1984) states that the demonstrative 'marks explicitly the (...) necessity to fill in features of context. (...) The speaker underlines that what he or she says verbally is not enough and that additional information has to be taken from the context.' (Auer 1984: 636, in Himmelmann, 1996:230). We find here a similarity to the deictic use of demonstratives: in the standard deictic use, the hearer is invited to direct his attention to a part of the surrounding world where the referent is found (often with the help of a pointing gesture). It has indeed been noticed that if a referent present in the communication situation is salient enough, the definite article is sufficient for reference, see (65), whereas if the hearer is not assumed to be aware of the presence of the object, the demonstrative is necessary, see (66):

(65) [context: a single bucket, visible to the discourse participants]

The/That/This bucket is full of water (Wolter, 2006:72)

(66) I have to review (that/?#the) book over there, hidden under those papers

(Wolter, 2006:71)

If several referents characterized by the same nominal description are present in the immediate context and the speaker wants to refer to just one (or some) of them, the use of demonstratives is necessary, often accompanied by pointing. The definite article alone, even if accompanied by pointing, is excluded:

(67) a. I like that/this painting [pointing at a painting] but not that/this painting

[pointing at another painting].

b. # I like the painting [pointing at a painting] but not the painting [pointing at another painting] (Wolter, 2006:70-71)

This shows that deictic demonstratives invite the hearer to focus on a specific part of the surrounding environment, as a necessary step towards identifying the referent. This recalls the invitation to scan the memory that characterizes recognitional demonstratives. Moreover, the [+/-proximal] feature that, in the deictic use, indicates distance in space from the deictic center, is not devoid of meaning in the other uses, but rather refers to the distance in time between the current discourse situation and the situation that contains the referred entity: as Himmelmann (1996) notes, the recognitional use is by and large restricted to the distal form, whereas for the anaphoric use, proximal forms predominate. This suggests that the same mechanism of situating the referent in an accessible location is found in all these uses, the difference coming from the cognitive mechanism used to access this location – perception, for the deictic use, recollection, for the recognitional use.

A semantic analysis that includes the idea that demonstratives locate the referent was proposed by Ahn (2019, 2022). She adopts the point of view of most recent studies according to which demonstratives are definite descriptions that involve an additional meaning component with respect to DPs headed by the definite article (see King, 2001; Roberts, 2002, 2003; Elbourne, 2005, 2008, 2013; Wolter, 2006; Simonenko, 2014, forthcoming; Blumberg, 2020; Nowak, 2021). She represents this additional meaning component as an additional argument of the determiner, which provides a property that is intersected with the NP-property in the restriction of the supremum operator, which is the operator common to all definites.¹⁵ This version of the definite determiner is called 'bin-sup' because it takes two property arguments which together form its restriction:

(68) [DP [[Dbin-sup] NP] R] (modeled after Ahn, 2022:1359, tree (36))

$\llbracket \text{[Dbin-sup]} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \lambda R. \lambda x. \forall y [(P(y) \wedge R(y)) \leftrightarrow y \sqsubseteq x]$ (Ahn, 2022:1359, (37))

¹⁵ Using the supremum is necessary for definite plurals and mass nouns, see Sharvy (1980). The uniqueness presupposition of singular definites follows from the fact that for a singular count property P, there is no y included in x that satisfies P other than x itself.

For the deictic use, Ahn proposes that the R slot is occupied by a phrase that contains a pointing gesture and a location:

(69) $[\text{DP} [\text{D}_{\text{bin-sup}} \text{NP}] \rightarrow \text{A}]$ (modeled after Ahn, 2022:1367, tree (55))
 $\llbracket \rightarrow \text{A} \rrbracket = \lambda x. x \text{ is at } \text{A} \text{ at } w_0$
 $\llbracket \rightarrow \rrbracket = \lambda a. \lambda x. x \text{ is at } a \text{ at } w_0$ (Ahn, 2022:1367, (57))
 $\llbracket [\text{that linguist}] \llbracket \rightarrow \text{A} \rrbracket \rrbracket = \text{the maximal entity that is a linguist and at A}$

Her idea is that pointing, although it belongs to a different modality (namely gestures), may combine with linguistic signs in the particular case of demonstratives, as shown by data of the type in (67). For anaphoric demonstratives, a different structure is proposed: in this case, the additional slot is occupied by an anaphoric index n and R is interpreted as 'be identical to n ' (on anaphoric indices projected in syntax, see Elbourne, 2005; Schwarz, 2009). The recognitional use, not discussed as a separate type, would probably be treated like the anaphoric one.

Given the similarities noted above between the recognitional and deictic uses, I would generalize the analysis to the recognitional and anaphoric uses of demonstratives, by replacing the pointing relation with a more general relation of access via a cognitive mechanism, of which oriented perception should be a particular case.

Building on Wolter (2006), who proposes that demonstratives differ from DPs with the definite article by being evaluated with respect to a non-default situation, I propose that demonstratives place the referent in a situation that is accessible to the Addressee via a cognitive mechanism (perception, possibly oriented, for the deictic use, recollection for the recognitional use, short-term memory access for the anaphoric use).

The underlying assumption is that NPs, like all predicates, have a situation argument, which is responsible for contextual domain restrictions as well as for the temporal and modal interpretation of the NP, and this argument is saturated by D – see Schwarz (2009) for an overview of the arguments in favor of this hypothesis.

According to Wolter (2006), default situations are those associated with main predicates. She proposes that, besides the situations bound by operators and the current discourse situation, the world of evaluation can also serve as a default situation. This account is too coarse to cover all the uses of the definite article. First, between the situation described in the main predicate and the entire world there are other possible intermediary levels at which a definite can be interpreted, which include the main predicate situation but are smaller than the entire world, see e.g. (70a), where *the war* is arguably not included in the main clause situation but belongs to an extension of it, being the war ongoing in Europe at the moment of speech. The fact that the main clause situation and the *war*-situation must be different is shown in (70b), where the quantifier is interpreted with reference to the particular meeting situation¹⁶:

(70) a. We met yesterday at the Red Pub. We discussed the war.
b. Everybody_{s1}/The_{s1} people had_(s1) the same opinion about the_{s2} war.

My proposal is that Wolter's (2006) notion of 'non-default situation', which is arguably too general, can be made more precise by using the idea of accessibility. Moreover, the contrast in (67) suggests that the situation of evaluation of demonstratives may be conceived of as a part of the situation provided by the linguistic context (in (67), the hearer is requested to focus on a part of the current situation). I propose that demonstratives add a second situation argument, in which the referent is located. This argument is characterized as being a part of the situation argument bound by D and as being accessible to the Addressee via a cognitive relation R. This characterization can be represented as a presupposition, as in (72) below, where s' is the additional situation argument and s represents the situation variable that will be bound by D:

(71) $[[s_1 \text{ D}_{\text{def}}] [[s_2 [R\text{-Dem}] \text{NP}]]]$
(72) $\llbracket \text{Dem} \rrbracket^c = \lambda R. \lambda s'. \lambda P. \lambda x. \lambda s: s' \leq s \wedge R(s')(\text{Addressee}(c))(w^0). x = \sigma y. P(y)(s')$

¹⁶ Here is another example in which DPs with the definite article require their own evaluation situation, which is neither the same as that of the main predicate nor the entire world: (i) [Context: a university department whose members consist of linguists and philosophers. In one particular year two people are coming up for tenure, a linguist and a philosopher, but the department is only allowed to recommend one of them. To the shame of this department. . .] Every linguist voted for **the linguist** and every philosopher for **the philosopher**. (Cooper, 1995 ex. 19, in Schwarz, 2009:114, ex. 136) In this example, every linguist and every philosopher are arguably evaluated with respect to the situation of the main predicate, *vote*. But *the linguist* cannot be evaluated with respect to this situation. It must be evaluated with respect to another situation, provided by the context (if this other situation is an extension of the main predicate situation, we may treat *the linguist* as anaphoric, in which case 'be identical to the discourse referent x' ensures that the referent is distinct from the linguists who voted and may be unique).

In (72), P will subsequently be saturated by the nominal property. The denotation of Dem , with a specified R and s' , applies to the denotation of NP and yields the property of being the maximal sum satisfying the NP -property in the situation s' , where s' is included in the situation bound by D and is accessible via the cognitive mechanism specified by R – for the latter, see the three uses in (73) below:

(73) (i) deictic use: $R = \lambda s. \lambda x. \lambda w. x \text{ can perceive } s \text{ at } w$
(ii) recognitional use: $R = \lambda s. \lambda x. \lambda w. x \text{ can recall } s \text{ at } w$
(iii) anaphoric use: $R = \lambda s. \lambda x. \lambda w. s \text{ is in } x \text{'s short memory at } w$

Note that in (71)–(72) I use an additional functional layer below D for demonstratives, as proposed by [Simonenko \(2014, forthcoming\)](#). Demonstratives lower than D can indeed be found in some languages such as Romanian, Spanish, or Hungarian. For demonstratives situated in D , as in English demonstrative DPs and in Romanian DPs containing prenominal demonstratives, we would have to assume that Dem raises to D .

The proximal/distal features apply to the location of the additional situation argument (s' in (72)). The fact that these features are found in anaphoric and recognitional uses is a strong argument for extending to these uses the analysis that includes a location. Given the decomposition of Dem in (71), the proximal/distal features can be represented as first-merged with the additional situation argument (see s_2 in (74)), denoting partial identity functions that restrict this argument according to the distance of its location from the deictic center:

(74) $[[s_1 D_{\text{def}}] [[[\text{proximal/distal-}s_2] [R\text{-}\text{Dem}]] [\text{NP}]]]$

(75) $[\text{distal}]^c = \lambda s: \text{Location}(s) \text{ is remote from Deictic-center}(c).s$
 $[\text{proximal}]^c = \lambda s: \text{Location}(s) \text{ is close to Deictic-center}(c).s$

Anaphoric demonstratives also have covarying interpretations, such as the donkey-anaphora reading in (76) and the bound variable reading in (77):

(76) a. Every time I meet [a linguist]_i, **[that linguist]**_i looks happy.
(Ahn, 2022:1346, ex.5)
b. Everyone who bought a sageplant_i bought eight others beside **that sageplant**_i.
(Heim, 1990)

(77) Mary talked to [no senator]_i before **[that senator]**_i was lobbied.
(Elbourne, 2008:410)

These cases are treated in Ahn's system by using indices. But they can also be treated using the situation-based analysis proposed here, in (71)–(73). An account of the covarying reading of definites – in particular donkey anaphora – based on the situation parameter of the DP has been proposed by [Heim \(1990\)](#) and further elaborated in [Elbourne \(2005, 2013\)](#), [Schwarz \(2009\)](#), among others. According to these authors, in examples of the type in (76), the quantifier binds a situation variable¹⁷ and the definite DP is evaluated with respect to this bound situation variable – e.g. the semantic interpretation of (76) can be expressed informally along the following lines: 'for all (minimal) s in which I met a linguist, s can be extended to an s' such that the unique linguist in s looks happy in s' '.

In order to apply the analysis proposed in (71)–(72) to bound readings, we have to assume that situations quantified over are retrievable from short-term memory. For a formal implementation (which goes beyond the scope of this article), I think that dynamic semantics may offer a solution: if quantifiers introduce subordinate contexts that may embed discourse referents (see Kamp and Reyle, 1981), we may treat situations in the scope of a quantifier as discourse referents embedded in such a subordinate context. Some interesting data noted by [Elbourne \(2008\)](#) support the analysis suggested here. According to these data, even in what appears to be a bound variable use, the +/-proximal feature is not entirely meaningless, which means that the demonstrative still somehow locates the referent. Elbourne notes that, although the use of the distal is acceptable in (77) and (78a), the proximal is preferred in (78b):

¹⁷ For evidence that determiner *every* binds not only an individual variable, but also a situation variable, see the detailed discussion in [Schwarz \(2009\)](#).

(78) a. Mary talked to no senator without declaring afterwards that {that senator/ this senator} was the one who would cosponsor her bill
 b. Mary talked to no senator without thinking at the time that {this senator/ that senator} was the one who would cosponsor her bill.
 (Elbourne, 2008:432, ex. 86)

Elbourne argues that in (78), the +/-proximal features are evaluated with respect to the attitude holder Mary. By assuming that the proximal/distal features receive the entries in (75), we may explain Elbourne's contrast if the deictic center is shifted to the perspective of the attitude holder. Importantly, what is characterized as close to or remote from the deictic center is (a part of) the individual situation in the scope of the quantifier.

Under this analysis, the fact that recognitional demonstratives do not normally occur in bridging (associative anaphora) and larger situation uses is accounted for by the competition with the definite article, and, in the pronominal use, by the competition with personal pronouns: when the identification of the situation in which the maximal N-referent is found is straightforward, because it is the current situation or an extension thereof, there is no need to signal the accessibility of a sub-situation via a cognitive mechanism. Therefore, the additional component of meaning (and, presumably, also of structure) that demonstratives contribute is avoided for reasons of economy (see Wolter, 2006; Patel-Grosz and Grosz, 2017 for explanations of this type).

4.2. DD vs. Recognitional demonstratives

Turning now to DD constructions, we have seen that they differ from demonstratives in being allowed in bridging contexts and in larger situation uses. For instance, in (47) above, reproduced for convenience in (79a), where the referent of the definite is contextually new and its existence in the situation described is part of world knowledge, a demonstrative is not appropriate (see (79b)).

(79) a. Deschiseră **porțile** **cele** **mari** și **traseră** **căruta** **în** **curte**
 opened.3P gates-the the big and pulled.3P cart-the in yard
 'They opened the big gates and pulled the cart into the yard.'
 b. #Deschiseră {**porțile** **acelea/acestea** **mari/** **acele/aceste** **porți** **mari}** și...
 opened.3P gates-the those/these big those/these gates big and

Likewise, the doubling definite in (80) (from the Corola corpus), which is a dependent definite in a generic context, and is based on world knowledge, cannot be replaced by a demonstrative DP:

(80) a. locuitorii care ies la promenadă sâmbătă seara, îmbrăcați
 locals-the who go-out to promenade Saturday evening-the dressed
 în **hainele** **cele** **bune** (...)
 in clothes-the the good
 'the locals that go out for a walk on Saturday evening, dressed in their good clothes' (confluente.ro no. 1262, June 15, 2014)
 b. # locuitorii care ies la promenadă sâmbătă seara, îmbrăcați
 locals-the who go-out to promenade Saturday evening-the dressed
 în {**acele/** **aceste** **haine** **bune/** în **hainele** **acelea/** **acestea** **bune}
 in those these clothes good in clothes-the those these good**

Even in some examples of DD where the referent is familiar, given a particular body of shared knowledge, demonstratives would not be appropriate. The parking place example in (57), reproduced in (81), is a case in point. In this case, a recognitional demonstrative would induce the presupposition that the hearer knew about the existence of the two kinds of car parks, which is obviously not the case here. The car park employee used DD on the basis of knowledge about Bucharest airport that he shared with other people, but not necessarily with the addressee (the customer):

(81) a. Ați lăsat mașina la parcareea cea scumpă.
 have.2P left car-the at car-park-the the expensive
 'You left your car in the expensive parking place.'

b. # Ați lăsat mașina la parcareea {aceea/aia} scumpă/ acea
 have.2P left car-the at car-park-the that expensive that
 parcare scumpă.
 car-park expensive

These contrasts show that the special meaning associated with DD cannot be conveyed by means of a Dem with the semantics in (71)-(72).

An anonymous reviewer finds (80b) and (81b) acceptable with the colloquial postnominal demonstratives *ăla/aia* 'that.ms.AUGM/FS.AUGM'. I do not share these intuitions – for me, as well as for other colleagues I asked, *ăla/aia* trigger a recognitional or anaphoric reading. It is possible that this difference in intuitions comes from the fact that in some regional varieties *ăl(a)/ai(a)* has replaced *cel* completely. Indeed, in the volume of the Romanian Linguistic Atlas dedicated to nominal morpho-syntax (ALR SN VI), we find the forms *ăl/al* instead of *cel/cea* in typical double definites such as *degetul cel mare* 'the big finger' (i.e., 'the thumb') in many regional varieties (maps 1604, 1605, 1609). In some varieties, *ăl/al* is used even for superlative *cel* and for *cel* with N-ellipsis (maps 1608, 1617). I hypothesize that under the influence of this use of *ăl* instead of *cel*, the augmented form *ăla* has come to be interpreted as a colloquial variant of the *cel* used in the DD construction. On the origin of the short distal demonstratives *ăl(a)/a(i)a*, which arguably replaced *acel(a)/acea(i)a* on the model of proximal demonstratives where *ăst(a)/asta* replaced *acest(a)/aceasta*, see Giurgea (2013).

4.3. DD and demonstratives licensed by relative clauses

We have seen that the semantic contribution of DD cannot be fully equated with that of recognitional demonstratives. However, the literature on English demonstratives discusses an additional type, which is similar to the DD construction insofar as the demonstrative DP is paraphrasable with a DP headed by the definite article and obligatorily contains a full or reduced relative clause. A new definite for which the restriction alone is sufficient for establishing reference normally does not employ a demonstrative, see (82a). In order to use the demonstrative in this case, there must have been previous mentions of the inventor of the computer in the interactions of the discourse participants (in which case the demonstrative will be recognitional or anaphoric). Otherwise, the demonstrative is infelicitous. However, if the restriction takes the form of a relative clause, the demonstrative becomes acceptable, see (82b). The same holds for definite descriptions containing superlatives, see (82c-d). (82c) would only be acceptable if the DP were anaphoric or the demonstrative had a recognitional use ('the shortest poem we talked about'), which is not required for (82d):

(82) [context: out-of-the-blue]

- a. * That inventor of the computer was a genius.
- b. That person who invented the computer was a genius.
- = Whoever invented the computer was a genius (Wolter, 2006:115)
- c. * The students memorized that shortest poem.
- d. The students memorized that poem which was shortest (ibid. 145)

I will call this use 'bleached', alluding to the fact that the semantic difference between Dem and THE is suspended. Wolter (2006) notes that this use can be found not only with finite or non-finite relative clauses, but also with postnominal PPs and APs, which may be analyzed as reduced relatives:

(83) a. That person at the top of the list will be offered the job.
 b. We catalogued those stars visible (Wolter, 2006:143, ex. 60 and 65)

This bleached use is not covered by the semantics proposed in Section 4.1. The attempts to include it in a unified analysis of demonstratives capture the difference between the bleached use and the other uses in the form of an additional parameter that demonstratives have: thus, Ahn (2019, 2022) proposes that the second argument of the bin-sup operator defined in (68) above can be a (full or reduced) relative clause, as in (84). A very similar analysis is proposed in Nowak (2021).

(84) [[Dthat] [NP person]] [CP who invited the computer]]
 [[that]] = $\lambda P. \lambda R. \sigma x. (P(x) \wedge R(x))$ (modeled after Ahn, 2022:(63))

Wolter (2006), who places the difference between THE and Dem in the situation argument, proposes that in the bleached use postmodifiers are attached above the DP and come with their own situation argument, which is identified with the situation argument of the demonstrative D, see (85)a. The DP is shifted by the type-shifter proposed by Bach and Cooper (1978) so as to include the denotation of the modifier in the restriction of D, see (85)b (in (85), the indices refer to the situation arguments):

(85) a. $\lambda_1. [\text{DP} [\text{DP} \text{ that}_2 \text{ person}] [\text{DP} \mathbf{s}_2 \text{ responsible}]] [\mathbf{s}_1 \text{ [is insane]}]]$
 b. $[\text{that person}] = \text{Bach-Cooper} (\lambda x. \text{person}(x)(s_1)) = \lambda R. \lambda x. (\text{person}(x)(s_2) \wedge R(x)(s_2))$ (modeled after Wolter, 2006:157, (99))

As we have seen in Section 4.1, in Wolter's account demonstrative DPs differ from DPs with the definite article by being evaluated with respect to non-default situations, which is represented by using an unbound situation argument. But why is s_2 in (85) not interpreted as a salient situation provided by the context, like in the other uses of demonstratives? Wolter claims that s_2 is constructed based on the semantic value of the modifier, being 'the minimal proper subpart of the value of the bound situation variable corresponding to the (entire) denotation of the predicate *responsible*' (Wolter, 2006:158). This way of constructing the situation argument is arguably stipulative. It is unclear why it cannot be used in demonstrative descriptions without DP-adjoined modifiers, such as *that good person* or *that discoverer of fire*. If it were, the bleached use of demonstratives would be general, rather than restricted to DPs with full or reduced relative clause modifiers. Moreover, as I explained in Section 4.1, Wolter's account of demonstratives is problematic in general.

The main idea behind Ahn's (2019, 2022) and Nowak's (2021) proposals is that demonstratives introduce an element that further restricts the property argument of the iota/maximality operator, i.e. a property that is intersected with the NP-property (an idea originating in King, 2001). This element is a covert property that introduces an identity relation with a salient referent (in the anaphoric use in Ahn, 2019, 2022, in both the deictic and anaphoric uses in Nowak, 2021) or locates a perceptually accessible referent using a gesture (see Ahn's proposal for the deictic use in (69) above), or is overtly expressed by a (full or reduced) relative clause, which yields the bleached use. It is indeed true that the bleached use is only possible with *restrictive* relatives. Appositive relatives never license bleached demonstratives. This supports the idea that the common property of demonstratives in all their uses is the existence of an *additional restriction* applied *immediately before combining the nominal property with the σ-operator*.¹⁸

Simonenko (forthcoming) uses a more complex structure, with a further functional layer RP immediately below DP, for demonstratives as well as for 'strong articles' in languages with semantically differentiated strong and weak forms of the definite article (in these languages, strong forms are used in anaphoric definites, see Schwarz, 2009, 2019).¹⁹ Simonenko proposes that regular demonstratives and anaphoric definites have an index argument in the specifier of RP, by means of which the reference to a salient contextual antecedent is achieved. R introduces the property of being identical with the value of the index (see (86), first proposed in Simonenko, 2014):

(86) a. $[\text{DP} \text{ D} [\text{RP} i [\text{R NP}]]]$ (Simonenko, forthcoming.: (21)-(22))
 b. $[\text{R}] = \lambda P. \lambda y. \lambda x. P(x) \wedge x = y$.

For the bleached demonstratives and anaphoric articles used with relative clauses, Simonenko proposes that the $[\text{RP} i [\text{R NP}]]$ constituent occurs in the internal head of the relative clause (she assumes a raising relative structure) and the index i is bound by the relative operator. The surface order is obtained by moving the internal head to a position adjoined to the relative CP plus relabeling the RP-CP constituent as RP (see (87), which renders Simonenko's (forthcoming) figure 2):

(87) $[\text{DP} \text{ D} [\text{RP} [\text{RP} \text{ R NP}] [\text{CP} \text{ which}_i [\text{VP} \lambda i. [\text{V} [\text{DP} \text{ D} [\text{RP} i [\text{RP R NP}]]]]]]]]$

¹⁸ Nowak (2021) proposes a stronger form of the idea of restrictiveness: for all uses of demonstratives, he claims that the additional argument selects a proper subset from the NP-set. In other words, *that NP* comes with an anti-uniqueness presupposition, requiring that there be an NP satisfier that is not in the denotation of the *that*-DP. However, it has been shown that the anti-uniqueness presupposition is too strong. DPs in which uniqueness is satisfied by virtue of the description alone do sometimes admit demonstratives, for example in anaphoric contexts, see Ahn (2022). For further arguments against an anti-uniqueness presupposition, see Blumberg (2020).

¹⁹ In Romanian, the strong article *cel* is not of this type, but its use is governed by syntax (see (2) above): the strong article and the inflectional definiteness marker are in complementary distribution and do not show any meaning differences.

The D inside the internal head is interpreted as *iota*, following [Fox's \(2002\)](#) proposal for the interpretation of copies: a [D NP] copy bearing the index *i* is interpreted as 'the unique entity having the NP property and identical to the value of *i*'. D qualifies thus as a definite article, satisfying the requirement that RP should be selected by a definite D.

The analysis of regular demonstratives that I proposed in (71)-(74) resembles Simonenko's analysis by using a functional layer below D (as opposed to the Ahn-Nowak analysis, in which the demonstrative is a D with an additional argument). But instead of an index in the specifier of this additional projection, I used an additional situation argument. This situation is related to the addressee by a cognitive accessibility relation (see (71)-(72), resumed under (88) below).

(88) a. $[[s_1 D_{\text{def}}] [s_2 [R\text{-Dem}]] [\text{NP}]]$
b. $[\text{Dem}]^c = \lambda R. \lambda s'. \lambda P. \lambda x. \lambda s: s' \leq s \wedge R(s')(A\text{ddressee}(c))(w^0). x = \sigma y. P(y)(s')$

In order to implement Simonenko's proposal, we should use an index argument instead of the situation argument and interpret Dem (which corresponds to Simonenko's R) as introducing identity, see (89). The notation Dem_{rel} is used for this special variant of Dem:

(89) a. $[[D_{\text{def}}] [i [\text{Dem}_{\text{rel}}]] [\text{NP}]]$ (the internal head of the relative)
b. $[\text{Dem}_{\text{rel}}] = \lambda R. \lambda y. \lambda P. \lambda x. \lambda s. P(x)(s) \wedge x = y$

Alternatively, Dem_{rel} can be treated as a relativizer head in a raising relative structure, corresponding to the head that takes relative clauses as complements and attracts the NP pivot into its specifier (see the head labeled X in [Bhatt's \(2002\)](#) raising analysis of relatives, for which [Giurgea and Soare \(2010\)](#) propose the label Nom):

(90) $[[\text{Dem}_{\text{rel}} + D_{\text{def}}] [\text{Dem}_P [\text{NP person}]_i [\text{Nom}_P t_{\text{Dem-rel}}^0 [\text{CP} [\text{who } t_i \text{ invented the computer}]]]]]$

Simonenko's analysis is particularly suitable for the use of anaphoric articles with relative clauses, in languages which have special forms for anaphoric definite articles (such as some West Germanic varieties, see [Schwarz, 2009](#)): (i) in this case, the additional structural component (represented as a functional layer below D) only introduces an index, instead of a sub-situation as I proposed for regular demonstratives; (ii) the use of anaphoric forms with relative clauses is *obligatory*. With demonstratives, the use of a bleached Dem instead of the definite article is optional and might be language-specific (as we shall see, the bleached use in Romanian is more restricted than in English). For these two reasons, I believe that the bleached use of demonstratives relies on a variety of Dem (labeled Dem_{rel}) and should not follow as a consequence of the syntax and semantics proposed for demonstratives in general.

Concerning the relation with the Romanian DD construction, we should first notice that the syntax is quite similar if we adopt (90) for bleached demonstratives. In both cases we have a D that selects a relative clause construction – for the DD construction, see (17), resumed in (91):

(91) $[D_{+\text{def}} [\text{Dem}_P \text{NP} [[\text{Dem } ce] [\text{Nom}_P t_{\text{NP}} [\text{Nom}^0 [\text{Pred}_P t_{\text{NP}} [\text{Pred}^0 \text{AP}]]]]]]]$

The similarity between ce_{DD} and the bleached Dem used with relative clauses can also be represented in [Cinque's \(2020\)](#) system, where relative clauses are specifiers of functional projections. In this case, a raising structure is not necessary. Under the assumption that the optional functional heads that introduce relatives are visible for selection, Dem_{rel} can be specified as selecting a $F_{\text{rel}}P$ – see the simplified representations in (92), in which the CP-specifier of FP is linearized to the right. In Cinque's system, which assumes Kayne's (1994) LCA, the surface order is derived by positing an additional X layer and movement of the complement of F to SpecXP (on the empirical equivalence between this system and one using linearization parameters, see [Abels and Neeleman, 2009](#)):

(92) a. $[\text{Dem}_{\text{rel}} + D_{+\text{def}} [\text{Dem}_P t_{\text{Dem-rel}} [FP [F_{\text{rel}} \text{NP}] CP_{\text{rel}}]]]$
b. $[D_{+\text{def}} [\text{Dem}_P \text{NP} [ce_{\text{DD}} [FP F_{\text{rel}} t_{\text{NP}}] \text{PredP}]]]$

Regarding the interpretation of these constructions, we should notice that the familiarity that we argued for in [Section 3.3](#) for DD has not been claimed with respect to bleached demonstratives. But studies on bleached demonstratives have mostly focused on English (except for [Simonenko, forthcoming](#), who argues that this pattern also exists in Dutch, French, Russian and Persian). We should first establish whether this pattern exists in Romanian and, if it does, how similar it is to the DD pattern.

Based on my intuitions as well as on a search in the Corola corpus, I have come to the conclusion that the pattern exists, but is more restricted than in English. First, it is impossible with PPs and APs:

(93) [context: no previous mention or perceptual contact with the person at the top of the list; attributive reading – ‘whoever will be at the top of the list’]

a. That person at the top of the list will be offered the job.

(Wolter, 2006:143,ex.60)

b. #Acea persoană din fruntea listei va primi postul. (Ro.)
that person of-in top-the list-the.GEN will receive job-the

(94) [context: no previous mention of stars that are visible]

a. We catalogued those stars visible (Wolter, 2006:143, ex.65)

b. # Am catalogat {acele stele vizibile/ stelele acelea vizibile} (Ro.)
have.1 catalogued those stars visible stars-the those visible

Secondly, even in some of the examples with a finite relative given in the literature, the demonstrative is not appropriate in the Romanian version. For instance, with reference to a particular individual and no contrast, as in (82a), Romanian disallows the demonstrative: (95) is not appropriate unless the definite description was mentioned in some previous verbal interactions of the discourse participants or is inferable from such previous interactions.

(95) [context: out-of-the-blue; no previous discussions on the invention of the computer]

#Acea persoană care a inventat calculatorul a fost un geniu.
that person who has invented computer-the has been a genius
'That person who invited the computer was a genius.'

Nevertheless, clear examples of the bleached use in Romanian do exist, with finite relative clauses. For instance, in (96), the context shows that we are not dealing with a recognitional use, because the following text makes explicit what the attributes that give urban status are:

(96) [Context: Ce schimbări apar în țesutul urban? 'What changes occur in the urban network?']

Stingerea sau transformarea radicală tocmai a acelor
extinction-the or transformation-the radical precisely GEN those.GEN
atribute care le conferă statutul urban.
attributes which them.DAT confers status-the urban

'The extinction or transformation of precisely those attributes that give them urban status'[Continuation: În orașele de la Dunăre care se confruntă cu o sărăcie foarte mare, am observat că spațiile comerciale erau în general închise și că piața era locul cel mai activ, zona unde puteai să iezi cu adevărat. Apoi, dezafectarea generatoarelor de cultură și loisir; precum cinematografele sau casele de cultură (...)'In the cities on the Danube that face very severe poverty, I noticed that the commercial spaces were generally closed and the market was the most active place, where you really could get something. Then, the decommissioning of culture and leisure generators, such as cinemas or cultural centers (...)]

(<https://republica.ro/o-arhitecta-a-mers-in-60-de-orase-romanesti-abandonate-ca-sa-caute-un-tratament-la-depresia-postcomunista>)

Other clear examples are DPs occurring in generic sentences, see the boldfaced DPs occurring in definitional characterizations in (97) and (98):

(97) Pentru mine, prieteni sunt acele persoane cărora le pasă de
for me friends are those persons who.^{pl.dat}  ^{cl.dat}  ^{3p} ^{de}
mine, și invers – îmi trezesc **sentimente** de **bucurie,**
me and conversely me.DAT arouse.3P feelings of joy
compătimire, durere
compassion pain

'For me, friends are those people who care about me and, vice versa, make me feel joy, compassion, pain'
(https://confluente.ro/paul_leibovici_1440321839.html)

(98) [Context: Umorul nu există în lucruri. Există însă în modul în care le privim (...) Este îmbibat însă de-o renunțare la orice reacție violentă.
'Humor is not in things, it is in the way we look at them (...) It is imbued, however, with a renunciation of any violent reaction']

Reacția	se	restrâng	la	exaltarea	acelor	elemente	care
reaction-the	REFL	limits	to	exaltation-the	those.GEN	elements	which
sunt	respingătoare	din	punct	de	vedere	etic,	amorale
are	repugnant	from	point	of	view	ethical	amoral
urâte	din	punct	de	vedere	fizic	astfel încât	să
ugly	from	point	of	view	physical	so-that	SBJV

'The reaction is limited to the exaltation of those things that are ethically repugnant, amoral and deformed, physically ugly, so as to appear ridiculous'

(https://confluente.ro/Dialoguri_privilegiate_al_florin_tene_1327906821.html)

In these examples, if we replace the relative by an AP or PP modifier, the demonstrative is no longer felicitous, the only possible paraphrase being with the definite article – see e.g. (96'):

(96') stingerea sau transformarea radicală tocmai a {atributelor / extinction-the or transformation-the radical precisely GEN those.GEN
#acelor atribute} de oraș
those.GEN attributes of city
'the extinction or radical transformation of precisely {the/#those} attributes of a city'

The bleached use is impossible with postnominal demonstratives. For instance, in the context in (97) a postnominal demonstrative is infelicitous, implying reference to a specific group of people known by the hearer (an anaphoric or recognitional use):

(97') # Prietenii sunt persoanele acelea cărora  pasă de mine
friends are persons-the those who.pl.DAT CL.DAT cares of me

This intuition is confirmed by the absence of examples of postnominal bleached demonstratives in the Corola corpus (I examined the interpretation of the strings of the type 'Definite Noun – Distal Demonstrative – Relative Pronoun' and did not find any instance of bleached use).

Since the colloquial register mostly uses short postnominal demonstratives (*ăla*, *aia* etc.), it follows that the bleached use is specific to the high register. DD, by contrast, although more frequent in the high register, is nonetheless also found in the colloquial register, see [Sections 3.2–3.4](#) above.

Another difference is that the familiarity which characterizes the normal use of the DD construction (see [Section 3.3](#)) is absent with bleached demonstratives. This can be seen from the fact that the relative clauses are often very long (see (98)) and describe properties that are unlikely to be part of shared knowledge as descriptions of familiar referents – see (96) and (98). In (96), what the 'attributes that provide urban status' are is explained by the text that follows.

4.4. Conclusions of the comparison and a semantic analysis of DD

We have seen that DD cannot be fully assimilated to any of the known uses of demonstratives, but presents similarities with two uses, the recognitional and the bleached use. The similarities and differences pertinent to these uses are summarized in the following [Table 5](#):

Table 5
DD compared to demonstratives that are non-deictic and non-anaphoric.

	DD	Recognitional demonstratives	Bleached demonstratives
reference to accessibility by the hearer (via previous experience)	–	+	–
familiarity (presence in shared knowledge)	+	+	–
necessary presence of a modifier	+	–	+
this modifier is necessarily restrictive	–	n/a	+

It is significant that both the recognitional and the bleached uses display distal forms (in languages with a binary proximal vs. distal opposition). The distal form is semantically motivated for recognitional demonstratives, which direct the hearer's attention to a situation remote from the deictic center. The use of distal forms for bleached demonstratives might have a historical explanation: the bleached use may have emerged from the recognitional use, which is similar to the former in that the referent is not present in the communication situation or recently mentioned.²⁰ Synchronously, the use of distal forms for bleached demonstratives may be analyzed by taking distal forms in general to be unmarked with respect to distance (the + distant interpretation in deictic cases resulting from an implicature; see Wolter, 2006). Note also that, crosslinguistically, distal forms are those typically reanalyzed as definite articles, barring cases where the language has a form unmarked for distance, see Greenberg (1978: 61), Himmelmann (1997: 96–98). In Romanian, the strong definite article *cel*, which also occurs in the DD construction, comes from a short variant of the distal demonstrative *ace*.

Regarding the interpretation, the DD construction seems to be halfway along the process of bleaching, since it preserves (to some extent) a familiarity feature. For bleached demonstratives, the only difference with respect to the definite article is the requirement that the modifier highlighted by the construction should be restrictive.

Let us now turn to the semantic analysis of DD. The contrasts presented in Section 4.2 above show that the special meaning associated with DD cannot be accounted for by using a Dem of the type in (71)–(72). Unlike regular demonstratives, DD does not introduce a sub-situation standing in a cognitive accessibility relation to the Addressee.

Assuming the structure in (91)/(92), the semantic contribution of *cel*, descriptively characterized as familiarity, can be formalized as a presupposition that the existence of a (maximal) instantiation of the descriptive part of the DP belongs to the common ground. This presupposition is represented as a definedness condition in (99)–(100). Assuming that the NP in the specifier of *cel* does not reconstruct, *cel* will introduce intersection, see (99):

$$(99) \quad \llbracket [cel_{DD}] \rrbracket^c = \lambda P. \lambda Q. \lambda x. \lambda s: (\exists z. z = \sigma x (P(x)(s) \wedge Q(x)(s))) \in CG(c). (P(x)(s) \wedge Q(x)(s))$$

If the NP reconstructs, the denotation will be as follows:

$$(100) \quad \llbracket [cel_{DD}] \rrbracket^c = \lambda P. \lambda x. \lambda s: (\exists z. z = \sigma x P(x)(s)) \in CG(c). P(x)(s)$$

The fact that the property obtained after combining *cel*_{DD} with its arguments must subsequently be used as the argument of a sigma-operator is encoded in syntax, by the fact that *cel*_{DD} is selected by the definite D:

$$(101) \quad \llbracket [DP [s-D_{def}] [NP [cel / [AP]]]] \rrbracket^c = \sigma x. (\llbracket [AP] \rrbracket^c(x)(s) \wedge (\llbracket [NP] \rrbracket^c(x)(s)) \\ \text{defined iff } (\exists z. z = \sigma x (\llbracket [AP] \rrbracket^c(x)(s) \wedge (\llbracket [NP] \rrbracket^c(x)(s))) \in CG(c))$$

The hypothesis of a familiarity presupposition explains why DD is not felicitous in cases such as (102), where there is no particular expectation that some of the apples introduced in the first sentence should be red:

$$(102) \quad \begin{array}{llllllll} \text{Maria} & \text{a} & \text{pus} & \text{pe} & \text{masă} & \text{mere.} & \text{Fetița} & \text{a} & \text{mâncat} \\ \text{Maria} & \text{has} & \text{put} & \text{on} & \text{table} & \text{apples} & \text{girl-the} & \text{has} & \text{eaten} \\ (\#cele) & & & & & & & & \text{only} \\ \text{the} & & & & & & & & \text{apples-the} \\ & & & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

'Maria put apples on the table. The girl only ate the red apples.'

In (102), the definite can be used because the existence of apples in the current situation is guaranteed by the previous sentence, and the fact that there were red apples among them can easily be accommodated. Thus, the definedness condition of the sigma operator introduced by the definite is satisfied. By contrast, using *cel* requires that the existence of red apples in the current situation be already part of the common ground, which is not the case. The role of DD, under the present analysis, is to eliminate cases where the existence of the referent is not already part of the common ground.

The closeness in meaning between DD constructions and DPs with a single definite article explains why the DD construction has regressed in recent times, as we have seen in Section 3.2. Likewise, for some speakers the familiarity presupposition of DD was lost, and probably these speakers came to use DD as a stylistic variant of the construction with the regular definite article (see the cases discussed at the end of 3.2).

²⁰ Himmelmann (1996:239) suggests this explanation for what he calls 'establishing-modifier construction', the type *those who/that which*, i.e. the bleached use in DPs without an overt N (more precisely, he envisages the possibility that this type represents 'a further, grammaticalized sub-type of the recognitional use'). The use of demonstratives with the meaning of the definite article in DPs without an overt N was left out of the present discussion, because in such cases we might be dealing with 'strong forms' of the definite article (like Ro. *cel*; see also Fr. *celui*).

The narrower use of the construction, in which the familiarity presupposition extends to objects characterized by alternatives to A (see [Section 3.4](#) above), can be formalized by employing a rule that treats the modifier and the rest of the NP as distinct arguments and refers to alternatives to the property introduced by the modifier, see (103) (where P is saturated by the denotation of the modifier, Q is saturated by the denotation of the rest of the NP, and Alt(P) is a contextual set of properties to which P belongs, together with other mutually exclusive properties):

$$(103) \quad \llbracket cel_{DD} \rrbracket^c = \lambda P. \lambda Q. \lambda x. \lambda s. : \forall R \in \text{Alt}(P) (\exists z. z = \sigma x (R(x)(s) \wedge Q(x)(s))) \in \text{CG}(c). \\ \lambda x. (P(x)(s) \wedge Q(x)(s))$$

In this case, the syntactic structure of the DD construction is fully exploited by the semantics: the modifier introduced by *cel* must be a distinct argument of *cel* (rather than being first combined with the NP, as in (100)), because the interpretation makes reference to alternatives obtained by replacing the denotation of this modifier with other properties.

As we have seen in [Sections 3.2 and 3.5](#), the frequency of the non-restrictive use of DD suggests that we may be dealing with a second conventionalized meaning of this construction. If we want to represent this formally, separating the modifier component of meaning is necessary, because the modifier is the element that provides the additional information about an already identified entity. Using [Potts's \(2005\)](#) representation of appositional modifiers as part of an additional meaning dimension, which is separated by the symbol '●' from the at-issue meaning, we may write the special entry for non-restrictive cel_{DD} as in (104). For the non-stylistically-marked use, found in examples such as *anii cel negri ai comunismului* 'the dark years of Communism', the familiarity presupposition should be maintained (see also Table 4 in [Section 3.3](#), which shows that even in the non-restrictive use, the examples with familiarity are predominant):

$$(104) \quad \llbracket cel_{DD\text{-non-restr.}} \rrbracket^c = \lambda s. \lambda P. \lambda Q. P(\sigma x. Q(x)(s))(s) \in \text{CG}(c). \lambda x. Q(x)(s) \bullet \\ P(\sigma x. Q(x)(s))(s)$$

In the extended use (found in stylistically marked texts), in which the property introduced by the modifier is not familiar, the meaning can be captured by removing the definedness condition from (104):

$$(105) \quad \llbracket cel_{DD\text{-non-restr-styl.}} \rrbracket^c = \lambda s. \lambda P. \lambda Q. \lambda x. Q(x)(s) \bullet P(\sigma x. Q(x)(s))(s)$$

5. CONCLUSIONS

The Romanian double definiteness construction resembles the bleached demonstratives used with relative clauses in that it is a specialized device for introducing what may be called a *highest* or *last* restriction in a definite DP. That is, after applying this restriction, the nominal property necessarily combines with the maximalizing operator introduced by the definite article. Like bleached demonstratives, DD is never obligatory, cannot be iterated inside a DP and involves the presence of intersective modification. Drawing on previous research on the Romanian DD construction, I have captured these properties by assuming a functional layer below D, headed by the article *cel*, which selects a reduced (or, more rarely, full) relative.

Double definites and bleached demonstratives differ in semantic import. Bleached demonstratives are only used to stress the fact that a relative is not non-restrictive. Therefore, their semantic import is likely to be proper restrictiveness, i.e., the requirement that $[N \cap \text{Rel}]$ should be properly included in N (where Rel and N are the sets corresponding to the denotations of the relative clause and the rest of the NP, respectively), as proposed by [Simonenko \(2014\)](#) and [Nowak \(2021\)](#).²¹ Romanian DD constructions may have a non-restrictive use, in which case the $[N \cap A]$ set and the N set are identical (where A is the denotation of the modifier and N the denotation of the NP). The semantic import of DD was identified as familiarity, understood as the presence in the common ground of the referent characterized as being the maximal element satisfying the complex $N \wedge A$ property. Moreover, at least for certain cases, familiarity extends to referents characterized by N and properties alternative to A.

In order to pin-point the semantic contribution of DD, a corpus study was necessary, because the use of this construction in the contemporary everyday language is rather limited. The results by and large support the existence of the familiarity import and also indicate that the use of DD is register-dependent: as the frequency of the construction has decreased in the recent history of Romanian, it has come to occur more often in certain registers that exploit older forms (poetry, religious texts, fairy tales, historical novels) and has even come to be used, occasionally, as a pure stylistic device, with no familiarity presupposition.

²¹ These authors extend this requirement to demonstratives in general, which however does not seem to be correct, see fn. 20.

The familiarity meaning brings DD close to the ‘evocative’ or ‘recognitional’ use of demonstratives, which is not deictic or anaphoric, but signals shared knowledge about the referent. A closer look has revealed that double definites cannot be fully assimilated to recognitional demonstratives, though. The latter involve an invitation to an active participation of the addressee in establishing reference, via recollection, relying on previous speaker-hearer linguistic interactions or on supposedly shared experiences (see [Himmelmann, 1996](#)), whereas DD simply signals the presence of the referent in the common ground. Unlike recognitional demonstratives, DD is compatible with bridging and [Hawkins's \(1978\)](#) larger situation uses. In order to capture this difference, I have proposed (building on [Wolter, 2006; Ahn, 2019, 2022](#)) that recognitional demonstratives, like deictic and anaphoric ones, involve the maximalization of the property in a sub-situation of the situation argument of the NP, and this sub-situation is related to the Addressee by a cognitive accessibility relation. I have placed this meaning component in a Dem layer below D. This meaning component is absent in the Romanian DD construction as well as in bleached demonstratives. Both these constructions also have a functional layer below the definite D (for which the Dem label can be maintained), but this layer does not contain a salient sub-situation argument.

Glosses used in this article

ACC	accusative
AUGM	augment (used with certain determiners before [NØ] and with postnominal demonstratives)
CL	clitic
COLL	collective (suffix creating collective nouns)
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
F	feminine
DOM	differential object marker
GEN	genitive ending, preposed genitive marker
IMPF	imperfect
M	masculine
ORD	ordinal numeral marker
P	plural
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
S	singular
SBJV	subjunctive
SUP	superlative marker

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Ion Giurgea: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization.

Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

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ALR SN = Petrovici, E. (coord.), *Atlasul lingvistic român*, serie nouă. Editura Academiei, Bucharest, 7 vol., 1956–1972.

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