Modern Romance Split DP Systems in their Historical Context

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1   Introduction

Definite articles in modern Romance languages like Spanish or French developed from the Latin distal demonstrative *ille* and display *l-* forms:

(1) *ille* (pronoun)   >   *l-* (definite article)

(2) *el* niño   (Spanish)
    the.M boy

Romance definite articles also developed from the Latin emphatic pronoun *ipse* in Romance varieties such as Sardinian (Aebischer 1948, Vincent 1997, Ledgeway 2012) and display *s-* forms (Jones 1993, 34, his (3)):

(3) *ipse* (pronoun)   >   *s-* (definite article)

(4) *su* babbu de Maria   (Sardinian)
    the father of Maria

Ille and *ipse* yielded a double article system in Balearic Catalan. French Picard also has a double article system: one article developed from *ille*, and the other from the Latin emphatic interjection *ecce*.
        We claim that these systems correspond to a multi-layered DP structure that started to develop in the transition from Latin to early Romance. The more emphatic elements, *ipse* and *ecce*, grammaticalized into forms occupying a higher layer (DP1) and the demonstrative element *ille*, lacking emphasis, grammaticalized into a form occupying a lower layer (DP2):

(5) [DP1 (ip)se, (ec)ce ……. [DP2 (il)le [NP   ]]]

2   Two Definite Articles in Balearic Catalan and French Picard (synchronic)

Balearic Catalan and French Picard are two Romance languages that display two forms of the definite article contemporaneously. Balearic Catalan has an *s-* article (from Latin emphatic *ipse*) and an *l-* article (from Latin distal demonstrative *ille*):

(6) *Sa*   muntanya que veus   és molt alta.   (Balearic Catalan)
    the.F mountain that see.2PSG is very tall
    'The mountain that you see is very tall.'

(7) Anem a *la*   muntanya.
    go.1PPL to the.F mountain
    'Let's go to the mountain.'

Picard also has two articles: a *ch-* form (from Latin emphatic interjection *ecce*) and an *l-* form (from Latin distal demonstrative *ille*; Boulogne Picard from Haigneré 1901:264):

(8) *chele* école   (Boulogne Picard)
    'instruction'

(9) *l'*école
    'place where instruction is given (i.e., the school)'

The *s-* articles in Balearic Catalan "have truly deictic force and are able to identify both anaphorically and cataphorically definite referents" (Ledgeway 2012:100 and references cited there). This is also the case for the *ch-* articles in Picard (Boulogne Picard from Haigneré 1901:267, 286, 378; Amiens Picard from Debrie 1983:79):

- Common nouns:

(10) *es*   ca, *sa* casa   (Balearic Catalan)
     the.M dog the.F house

(11) *che* fu, *chele* porte   (Boulogne Picard)
     the.M fire the.F door

- Not surprisingly then we find these *s-* and *ch-* articles with relative clauses, adjectives, prepositional phrases and superlatives (see appendix for examples).

In contrast, in both languages *l-* is used with "intrinsically referential entities such as countries and proper names ..." and "... in conjunction with unique, abstract, and generic referents ..." (Ledgeway 2012:103):

- Proper names:

(12) a. *L'*Havana, *les*   Índies   (Majorcan Balearic Catalan)
        the-Havana the.F.PL Indies.PL
     b. *el*   senyor Vidal, *el*   rei   Lluís XIV, *el*   bisbe Miralles
        the.M mister Vidal the.M king Louis XIV the.M bishop Miralles
        'Mr. Vidal', 'king Louis XIV', 'the bishop Miralles'

(13) a. ... tout o est bel et bieu d'avoér signè la paix aveuc *l'*Italie, mais aveuc chés Boches?
                                                     (Abbeville Picard; PICARTEXT)
        '... all is well and good to have signed the peace treaty with Italy, but with the Germans?'
     b. D'abord, édpi qu'és premiére feume, *la* Reine Astrid a s'avouot tuèe in auto ...
        'First, since his first wife, Queen Astrid was killed in an auto accident...'

- Generic/Unique referents:

(14) *el* cel, *la* terra, *la* muntanya, *l'*hospital , *el* rei   (Majorcan Balearic Catalan)
     'the sky', 'the earth', 'the mountain', 'the hospital', 'the king

(15) *el* roi d' Suède, *la* mer, *le* pape, *le* lunne   (Boulogne Picard)
       'the King of Sweden', 'the sea', 'the Pope', 'the moon'

We find minimal pairs: *la Terra* 'earth' vs. *sa terra* 'land' in Majorcan Balearic Catalan; *che monde* 'earth' vs. *le monde* 'entirety of the world' in Boulogne Picard (Grimalt 2009; Ledgeway 2012; Haigneré 1901).

2

Bernstein, Ordóñez and Roca (2018) propose a mapping from each definite article to a separate D head in a multi-layered DP structure (cf. Zamparelli 1995; see also Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002); *s-* and *ch-* articles correspond to a higher DP1 and *l-* articles to a lower DP2:

(16) a. [$_{DP1}$ *s-* ……. [$_{DP2}$ *l-* [$_{NP}$]]]   (Balearic Catalan)

b. [$_{DP1}$ *ch-* ……. [$_{DP2}$ *l-* [$_{NP}$]]]   (Picard)

Some evidence for (16) comes from co-occurrence of two different articles in one nominal expression:

(17) *es l′*amo, *es l′*avi   (*s-* + *l-*)   (Balearic Catalan)
    'the mister', 'the grandfather'

(18) *ch' l'*esprit, *ch' l'*infant   (*ch-* + *l-*)   (Boulogne Picard)
    'the spirit', 'the child'

3   Semantic Mapping of DP1 and DP2

The multi-layered approach to DPs we've pursued finds a correlate in the Uniqueness Scale of Löbner (1985, 2011), further developed in Ortmann 2014 (p. 296), who proposes "a continuum of types of uniqueness" (Sichel to appear). 'Semantic uniqueness' involves reference due to a noun's inherent meaning ('the sun'). 'Pragmatic uniqueness' comes from the context, such as deictic or anaphoric ('the man'):

(19)   Scale of uniqueness: deictic SN < anaphoric SN < SN with establishing relative clause < definite associate anaphors < IN/FN[1] < proper names < 3rd person personal pronouns < 2nd and 1st person personal pronouns

Ortmann (p. 300) discusses languages like Fering (Northern Frisian) that display a split in their definite article systems, one lexical form corresponding to the upper functions of the scale and another to the lower ones.

- The Uniqueness Scale relates straightforwardly to our multi-layered DP analysis of Balearic Catalan and French Picard: the *s-* article in Balearic Catalan and the *ch-* article in Picard map to the higher part of the scale; the *l-* article of Balearic Catalan and Picard map to the lower part of the scale. Thus, there is a clear correspondence between the uniqueness scale and the multi-layered DP analysis: the deictic and anaphoric SNs correspond to DP1 and the IN/FNs correspond to DP2.

Ortmann's (2014: 297) implementation of the Uniqueness Scale makes two important predictions:
    a) Definite articles become more obligatory as we move higher up the scale, less obligatory as we move down the scale.
    b) Over time, the use of definite articles will spread downward along the scale, not upward.

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[1] Individual Nouns (INs; 'sun', 'prime minister'), Functional Nouns (FNs; 'father', 'head)'; Sortal Nouns (SNs; 'dog', 'stone', 'water') "classify the universe" (Ortmann 2014: 295).

4   The Development of Definite Articles in Catalan (diachronic)

Definite articles in Catalan derive from Latin *ipse* and *ille*. In Classical Latin *ipse* was used DP-externally as an adjunct emphatic pronoun related to a nominal expression to which it is not necessarily adjacent (from Hertzenberg 2011: 173, her (1)):

(20) Ancillae tuae credidi (…) tu mihi non credis   *ipsi*.   (Classical Latin)
      handmaid your believed.1SG you me not believe.2SG myself
      'I believed your handmaid and you won't believe me (myself)?' (Cicero, *Orat*.; 1st c.)

In contrast, most of the occurrences of the article derived from *ille* found in several medieval Latin texts (9th -10th c.) in Catalonia introduce unique referents: a particular road (*illam strata de Caridona*), river (*illo ribo de Clerano*) or toponym (*illa Guardia*).

Ipse undergoes morphological reduction and starts to appear in a DP-internal position, eventually yielding the present-day usage of the *s*- definite article in Sardinian and Balearic Catalan. *Ille* also undergoes a weakening process and loses its deictic content, a first step in its evolution towards the Romance definite article.

In the following subsections we will examine how these elements grammaticalize as D1 and D2 heads (recall (16)) in the history of Catalan.

4.1 The development of DP1

After losing their deictic force and emphatic force respectively, both *ipse* and *ille* maintained their anaphoric value and recovered referents previously introduced in the discourse. We consider this anaphoric property to be codified in the DP1 position. We represent the overlap between *ipse/ille* and definite articles as follows:

(21) a. *ipse*   Latin →   *s*- article   Medieval Catalan
       [+anaphoric, +emphatic]   [+anaphoric]

     b. *ille*   Latin →   *l*- article   Medieval Catalan
        [+anaphoric, +deictic]   [+anaphoric]

That is, *ipse* and *ille* coexisted in Latin as two determiner-like elements expressing anaphoric relations, leading to competition between them. In Medieval Catalan, the two articles co-occurred in the same text with the same meaning:

(22) a. Met.se   en convenenza ab *zos* cavalers e   ab   *los* homes   (Medieval Catalan)
        put.REFL in agreement   with the knights and with the men
        'He gets into an agreement with the knights and the men'
                                        (*Greuges dels homes de Sant Pere Graudescale*; 12th c.)
     b. la sanc   de Jhesu Crist (…) En la   sogona vegada *sa* sua sanc
        the blood of J. C.   in the second time   the his blood
        fo   escampada (…) En la   terça manera Jhesu Crist *la*   sua sanc escampà quant …
        was spread   in the third way   J. C.   the his blood   spread when
        'the blood of Christ (…) in the second time the his blood was spread (…) in the third time
        Christ the his blood spread when …   (*Vides de Sant Rosselloneses*; 13th c.)

This type of competition is the same as between *illum* and *ipsum* in Latin texts from Catalonia during the same centuries, giving way to the two systems found today in some dialects of Catalan:

(23) [DP1 *s-/l-* ……. [NP   ]]   Medieval Catalan

(24) a. [DP1 *l-* ………. [NP   ]]   present-day mainland Catalan
       b. [DP1 *s-* ……. [NP   ]]   Balearic Catalan

Internal and external factors intervened in this loss: a) the two determiners compete for the same D position (Kroch 1989, 1994); b) different contact situations and the historical context played a crucial role.

4.2 The development of DP2

In present-day Balearic Catalan, DP2 is spelled out as *l-* (semantic uniques and kind reference), the lower part of Löbner and Ortmann's scale. The pattern with *ille* for semantic uniques and *ipse* for pragmatic uniques was already present in Medieval Latin:

(25) a. *ipsas* parrochias de *illo* Obago   (Medieval Latin)
         the   parishes   of the Obago
     b. et   est *ipsa* terra ad *illum* Camporuvio
         and is   the land to the Camporuvio
         'and the land belongs to Camporuvio' (*Bisbat d'Urgell*; 9th c.; examples from Moran 1984: 42-43)

The form *ille* was preferred with toponyms (26a) and with descriptive noun phrases (26b), those that denote a unique referent. No anaphoric or deictic relation is needed to identify the referent:

(26) a. *illa* Noz, *illa* Corre, *illa* Curriz, *illa* Tentellagine   (Medieval Latin)
         the Noz, the Corre, the Curriz, the Tentellagine
     b. *illa* parrochia d'Alasso
         the parish   of-Alasso
         'Alasso's parish'   (*Bisbat d'Urgell*; 9th - 10th c; from Moran 1984: 42-43)

Since *ille* (contrary to *ipse*) was used in these unique contexts in old Catalonian documents like this one, we conclude that the definite article derived from it will eventually occupy the head of DP2.

4.3 Absence of articles in Medieval Catalan

Across languages definite articles often remain unexpressed in certain syntactic contexts depending on the noun's interpretation. Ledgeway (2012:97) observed that in Old French, Old Spanish, Old Gascon and Old Tuscan "the article still retained considerable identifying force, as witnessed by the fact that in early texts it is generally excluded with unique, abstract, and generic referents which, by definition, cannot be singled out." We see the same pattern in Old Catalan with generic and unique referents (bare nouns indicated in italics):

(27) a. *saviea*   volia   ésser gran, en ell, per manera de gran fortalea e …
                                                                   (Medieval Catalan)
         wisdom wanted.3SG be   big   in him by way   of big   strength and
         'wisdom was intended to be big in him by means of big strength and …'

b. Lo philosoph   dix que *lamp*   es cremament soptós de …
   the philosopher said that lightning is burning   sudden of ...
   'The philosopher said that the lightning is a sudden burning of …'

(Llull, *Llibre de meravelles;* 14th c.)

In present-day Catalan these same examples would require the definite article, and even Medieval Catalan texts show that these kinds of referents alternate between absence and presence of an accompanying definite article:

(28) a. ... que si l   malfeytor *la justícia* contendrà   (Medieval Catalan)
         that if the criminal   the justice stop.FUT.3SG
         '... if justice stops criminals'   (*Usatges de Barcelona*; 13th c.)
     b. … hac   dites estes paraules et   moltes altres *del   lamp*
         have.1SG said these words   and a.lot.of other of.the lightning
         '... I have said these words and many others about lightning'

(Llull, *Llibre de meravelles*; 14th c.)

Oblique contexts also favor the absence of the definite article in Medieval Catalan (see appendix).

All these contexts correspond to our DP2:

(29) [DP1 ……. [DP2 ø/*l*-   [NP   ]]]   Medieval Catalan

4.4 Interim Conclusion

In earlier stages of Catalan, DP1 had to be filled and DP2 could remain empty in generic, unique and oblique contexts. Diachronically then, DP1 fills before DP2. Recall that this is one of Ortmann's predictions.

(30) [DP1 *s-*/*l*- ……. [DP2 ø/*l*-   [NP   ]]] Medieval Catalan

(31) a. [DP1 *s*-……. [DP2 *l*-   [NP   ]]]   present-day Balearic Catalan
     b. [DP1 *l*-……. [DP2 *l*-   [NP   ]]]   present-day mainland Catalan

The change illustrates two ways of resolving the competition between the *l*- and *s*- definite articles:

a) in mainland Catalan the evolution led to the suppression of the *s*- form and the generalization of the *l*- form;

b) in Balearic Catalan the distinction was maintained and led to the double definite article system we find today.

5   The Status of *ch*- in Old Picard

Recall that for us present-day Picard *ch*- corresponds to DP1 and *l*- to DP2.

(32) [DP1 *ch*- ……. [DP2 *l*- [NP   ]]]   (present-day Picard)

In the limited work on Old Picard *ch-*, the adopted view is that it developed from the Latin emphatic interjection *ecce* only in the 17th century (Panwitz 2018, citing Eloy 1986).

However, we find evidence that at an earlier stage both *ch-* and *l-* shared a demonstrative/anaphoric function, recalling the patterns seen for Medieval Catalan and suggesting that the Picard forms competed for DP1. Brébion (1907: §16) provides an example from the early 14th c. of *ch-* in its article function:

(33) Si avint qu'il assanla *ches* gens de *ches* mestiers   (Old Picard)
     'If before that he assembled the people of the trades/jobs'   (*Chronique Artésienne*)

So we wonder if Picard *ch-* as definite article was in use earlier than the 17th c. The use of *ch-* in other examples from *Chronique Artésienne* (1295-1304) suggest that it was:

(34) a. Et li quens de Savoie, que estoit de par le roy, se retraist et porta *ches* nouveles au roy
        que li Flamenc avoient dit.
        'and the count of Savoie, who was by the king, returned and carried the news to the king
        that the Flemish had said'

    b. et demoura Willaumes de Julers en *chele* bataille que estoit si drue et si espesse
       ens u camp
       'and stayed Willaumes de Julers in the battle that was so close/tight and so thick
       in the battlefield'

        Many instances of *ch-* in the *Chronique Artésienne* involve a demonstrative element in textual anaphora, a function that bridges demonstratives and definite articles We saw this pattern for Medieval Latin *ipse* and *ille*, and here we see the same general system for the descendants of *ecce* (35) and *ille* (36) (late 13th and early 14th c.):

(35) a. ... pluiseurs *viles* et viletes dessi Aloes - et Loeces; et les gens de *ches viles* s'assanlerent,
        '…many towns and small towns below Aloes - and Loeces; and the people of the/those
         towns gathered'

    b. Crois en *.x. jours* - : en telle manière que se li Flamens venoient courre sus le roy dedens
       ches .x. jours,
       'Believe in ten days in that manner that if the Flemish came to run over the king in
        the/those ten days'.

(36) ... et rendi *le vile* du Dent (...) Et ne demoura en *le vile* homme ne femme ...
     '... and surrendered the town of Dent (…) And stayed in the town not a man or woman ...'
                                                        (1300, *Chronique Artésienne*, p. 33)

This suggests that *ch-* and *l-* are in competition for DP1, and at some point *ch-* wins out.

        As expected, given our multi-layered DP system and recalling the earlier discussion of the present-day system, examples involving modification with adjectives favor *ch-* in the *Chronique Artésienne*, a DP1 context:

(37) a. par *ches presentes letres*   (Old Picard)
        'by the/those present letters'

    b. *chele dolereuse desconfiture*
        'the/that painful discomfort'

7

The *l*- forms also display systematic patterns, appearing as the only possibility with nouns related to the nobility as well as with unique common nouns, both DP2 contexts:

(38) a. *li/les prinche(s), li viscontes,   le/li duc,   li quens,   le contesse,   li roy,   le/la royne*,
     'the prince',   'the viscount', 'the duke', 'the count', 'the countess', 'the king', 'the queen'
   b. amiraus de *le mer*...
      '... admirals of the sea ...'   (1304, *Chronique Artésienne*, p. 79)

- The evolution of *ch*- in Old Picard illustrates grammaticalization of an emphatic form (*ecce*) different from the Old Catalan one (*ipse*). Despite probable historical differences, the end result is remarkably similar in the modern languages, consistent with both the multi-layered DP analysis and the Uniqueness Scale. This parallel cross-linguistic evolution suggests general processes are at play and bears out Ortmann's predictions.

Grammaticalization of Latin *ipse* and *ille*, and now also *ecce*:

(39) a. *ipse*   →   *ipse*   →   *ipse*
       (emphatic pronoun)   (noun modifier)   (article)
   b. *ille*   →   *ille*   →   *ille*
       (deictic pronoun)   (noun modifier)   (article)
   c. *ecce*   →   *ecce*   →   *ecce*
       (emphatic interjection)   (noun modifier)   (article)

6   Conclusions

- We examined two languages with double definite article systems and traced the evolution of the present-day forms to Latin *ipse* and *ille* for Balearic Catalan, and Latin *ecce* and *ille* for Picard.

- This evolution receives a natural explanation in a multi-layered approach to DP structure: a higher layer, DP1, corresponds to anaphoric uses of the definite article; a lower layer, DP2, corresponds to uses such as those associated with generics and uniques. Ortmann (2014) offers a semantic template for the syntactic analysis and predicts the path of change: DP1 to DP2.

- For Romance languages with single article systems, such as French (*l*-) and Sardinian (*s*-), we predict that *l*- and *s*- began as DP1 elements and then extended their reach to contexts lower on the Uniqueness Scale.

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Appendix

- Relative clauses in present-day Balearic Catalan and Picard:

(1) *sa*   dona   que mira sa   porta   (Balearic Catalan)
    the.F woman that looks the.F door
    'the woman that looks at the door'   [*Arbre que mira farola*, song by J. M. Oliver]

(2) *Eche* nocheau k't'o vu il é t abiyé in maske.   (Amiens Picard)
    'The reveler that you have seen (he) is disguised.'

- Adjectives in present-day Balearic Catalan and Picard:

(3) *ses*   màquines perfectes   Macintosh   (Balearic Catalan)
          the.F.PL machines perfect.F.PL Macintosh
          'the perfect Macintosh computers'   [*Astronauta rimador*, song by Antònia Font]

(4) *ech* pauvre garcon   (Boulogne Picard)
    'the poor (= pitiable) boy'

- Prepositional phrases in present-day Balearic Catalan and Picard:

(5) *es*   músics   de jazz   (Balearic Catalan)
    the.M.PL musicians.M of jazz
    'jazz musicians'   [*Patxanga*, song by Antònia Font]

(6) … parmi *chés* wardeux d'vaques   (Boulogne Picard)
     among the herders of cows
     'among the cow herders'

- Superlatives in present-day Balearic Catalan and Picard:

(7) *sa*   dona   més feliç   (Balearic Catalan)
    the.F woman most happy
    'the happiest woman'

(8) *ch'* pus riche   (Boulogne Picard)
    the most rich
    'the richest'

- Examples of absence of articles in oblique contexts in Medieval Catalan:
(9) a. avant no gós   affermar o procurar de metre   (Medieval Catalan)
        before not dared confirm or procure of put
        alcun misatge *ab   senyor*
        some message with master
         'before s/he dared to confirm or procure giving some message to the master'
                              (*Manual de consells de la Ciutat de Valencia*; 14th c.)
    b. vos tremetem una letra qui ·s´adreça   *a mestre Jacomí*
        you send.1PL a   letter that is.directed to master Jacomí
        'we send you a letter addressed to master Jacomí'

                                                      (*Epistolari Ferran I*; 13th c.)