THE GRAMMATICALIZATION AND PRAGMATICALIZATION OF THE ROMANIAN INDEFINITE PRO-FORMS: A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

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Abstract

The present paper aims to explore, and address some issues concerning the Romance diachronic morphosyntax in the light of theoretical and methodological considerations on the grammaticalization and pragmaticalization phenomena, and the question of linguistic change. Building on the previous work concerning grammaticalization, we intend to reveal a pragma-linguistic scenario that accounts for the actual situation of the Romanian indefinite compounds. We consider this subject to be very particular, meaning that the historical development of these pro-forms is not a canonical case of grammaticalization or pragmaticalization.

Key words: grammaticalization, pragmaticalization, indefinite pro-forms, Romanian

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1. Introduction

Language change, with a focus on grammaticalization and pragmatisations, is considered to be an essential and universal feature of human language, and, by investigating the laws of language change, we learn a great deal about language in general. As concerns grammaticalization, it has been underlined that the same set of processes and mechanisms are responsible for all aspects of grammar. Thus, all grammatical morphemes have developed out of lexical morphemes, principally nouns and verbs, and all grammatical structures have developed out of more loosely organized constituents (Bybee 2003), as in the case of indefinite pro-forms that developed out of verbs. Above all the controversies relating to the origin of these pro-forms, there are still many questions unanswered regarding the evolution steps and the relation existing between the forms that have coexisted for long periods in language use.

The next four sections of the article define the subject of the present study and describe the forms of these Romanian linguistic items (Section 2), present the methodological framework and some considerations on the data (Section 3), investigate the indefinite pro-forms in three stages of the Romanian language evolution and underline the grammaticalization/pragmaticalization phenomenon (Section 4), and summarize the final considerations (Section 5).

2. Definition, form and etymology of the indefinite pro-forms

Indefinite pronouns are pronouns whose main function is to express indefinite reference. (Haspelmath 1997: 10-11) In our study we will use the cover term pro-forms proposed by Haspelmath, comprising pro-nouns, pro-adverbs and pro-adjuncts. (Vater 1975 apud Haspelmath 1997: 10)

Although the paradigm of these pro-forms in the Romanian language is large, we shall focus only on the indefinite pro-nouns and pro-adverbs constructed with

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oare/vare/ori/veri, as these forms have been involved in processes of grammaticalization and pragmetalization.

The pro-forms analysed here are structured as compounds:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vare/oare/ori/veri ('any' - proclitic element) + care, cine, ce, cât, ('which', 'who', 'what', 'how much' - relative pronouns)} \\
\text{vare/oare/ori/veri ('any' - proclitic element) + unde, când, cum, cât ('where', 'when', 'how', 'how much' - relative adverbs)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

From a large number of etymological debates on the roots of the indefinite particles we embrace the perspective that proposes the lat. volet (according to the alb. valle) as the historical origin of oare, while the term ori is the result of the transformation of vare/oare through some syntactic and phonetic criteria\(^2\) (Dimitrescu 1974). As it shall be demonstrated in our research, this hypothesis is confirmed by a large number of contexts in which oare appears with the disjunctive meaning ori.

Analysed from a diachronic perspective, indefinite pronouns are considered to arise from a limited number of sources, the most common being phrases with original meanings such as whatever it may be, it does not matter which, or it is the same which, which come to acquire the ‘free choice’ function and then spread first to the functions adjacent to it and then to more distant ones (O Dahl 2005).

3. Data and methodology

3.1. General considerations on the data

The corpus analysed in this paper includes 22 texts (religious and laic) in original and translation, comprising over 500,000 words and covering the period of 16\(^{th}\)-18\(^{th}\) c. For

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[“Ori does not come from voles (according to Rosetti), but it can be explained based on phonetic criteria as originating from vare/oare (according to Candrea, Densusianu – Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române, 1907-1914).”]

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the comparison with the present-day Romanian, we used Romanian grammar and history of the language studies, such as GALR (2008), The Grammar of Romanian (RG 2013), Gramatica de bază a limbii române (GBLR 2010) and Studii de istorie a limbii române (SILR 2012). The data extracted has been organized into three periods, reflecting the conventional time division proposed by linguists: Old Romanian (16th–18th c.), Modern Romanian (19th – until the middle of the 20th c.), Contemporary Romanian and Present-day Romanian (second half of the 20th c. - 21st c.).

3.1. Methodology

3.1.1. Grammaticalization

Taking the definitions, the characterizations, and the identified parameters (Lehmann 1995), principles (Hopper 1991) and characteristics (Brinton and Traugott 2005), as a starting point, Beijering (2012) proposes a new approach to grammaticalization in which formal reanalysis (language change) and semantic reinterpretation are equally important. She distinguishes between two types of grammaticalization, viz. primary grammaticalization (Gzn1) (from lexical to grammatical status), and secondary grammaticalization (Gzn2) (from grammatical to (more) grammatical status) and proposes the following definition of grammaticalization:

Grammaticalization is a composite type of language change whereby lexical or already grammaticalized items, in certain linguistic contexts, undergo both semantic reinterpretation and formal reanalysis. It is accompanied by a subset of correlated primitive changes and side effects. Grammaticalization leads to a grammatical item, i.e. a linguistic item belonging to a minor category, with

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3 In this paper we take into consideration the following definition of reanalysis given by Beijering (2012: 37): Reanalysis is a covert operation that results in a new structural representation for a given linguistic string that is not immediately noticeable at its surface manifestation. There are different types of reanalysis that apply to different linguistic levels (hierarchical structure, constituent structure and category label), but there is no generally accepted terminology to refer to its subtypes.
relational meaning, secondary status, the prime function of which is to regulate grammatical structure and grammatical relations. (Beijering 2012: 47)

From this perspective, Gzn1 implies categorical reanalyses (formal reanalysis from major to minor category) and reinterpretation (semantic reinterpretation from referential to relational meaning), and it is accompanied by a set of primate changes, such as: loss of morphosyntactic properties (attrition) and loss of semantic substance (bleaching), and followed by side effects: increase in paradigmaticity, structural scope reduction, layering (synchronic variation of a given form), divergence (split), specialization, persistence, context expansion, increased type and token frequency and typological generality (cross-linguistic patterns). On the other hand, Gzn2 implies formal reanalysis from minor to minor category (categorial reanalyses), and semantic reinterpretation of relational meanings, being accompanied mandatorily only by loss of semantic substance (bleaching) and followed by side effects as: increase in paradigmaticity, decrease of paradigmatic variability, structural scope reduction, layering (synchronic variation of a given form), divergence (split), specialization, persistence, productivity increased type and token frequency. (Beijering 2012)

3.1.2. Pragmaticalization

Considering the proposed definitions (Erman and Kotsinas 1993, Diewald 2011) and the identified characteristics (Aijmer 1997) as a departure point, Beijering (2012) proposes a new definition of pragmaticalization (Pgzn):

Pragmaticalization can be thought of as the study of the origin and rise of discourse markers, as well as the gradual diachronic change leading to discourse markers. i.e. a linguistic item with conversational meaning, extrapropositional status, the prime function of which is to organize discourse structure. (2012: 56)

Thus, Pgzn implies hierarchical reanalyses, meaning formal reanalysis from propositional to extra-propositional status and semantic reinterpretation from
referential/relational meaning to conversational meaning (=inter)subjectification\(^4\), is accompanied by loss of semantic substance (bleaching) and gain of speaker’s perspective (subjectification) and is followed by a set of side effects: layering (synchronic variation of a given form), divergence (split), specialization, persistence, productivity (context expansion) and increased type and token frequency (Beijering 2012).

4. Romanian indefinite pro-forms: results

4.1. The Old Romanian language (16\(^{th}\) –18\(^{th}\) c.)

Starting with the first attested Romanian text – Psaltirea Hurmuzaki (1500) – we noticed the co-occurrence of the indefinite pro-forms, both composed with oare (vare) and ori. This fact demonstrates that all these compounds formed in an earlier stage of the Romanian language, meaning the Common Daco-Romanian (13\(^{th}\) - 14\(^{th}\) c.). These were used in spoken language or in texts that have not been conserved until present time, and this explains the free variation of the forms at the beginning of the Old Romanian language.

Basically, the forms identified in the corpus extracted for this period can be organized and analysed as follows:

A. Indefinite pro-nouns, also used in some contexts as pro-adjectives and connectors

a. Vare-series: vare (în) ce, vare cealea, vare (întru) care, vare (pre) cine, vare (pre) căţi, varece/voarece, varecare, varecine, varecit

b. Oare-series: oare (prin/in) ce, oare cine, oare care, oarecine, oarecare, oareşcare, oareşicare, oarece, oareces, oareşe, oarecât, oaricîte, oarecîteva

\(^4\) “Subjectification and intersubjectification are metonymic types of semantic change that lead to increased speaker-perspective, attitude or judgment (subjectification) and attention to speaker-addressee interaction (intersubjectification).” (Beijering 2012)

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c. Ori-series: ori (de) cine, ori (asupra) căruia, ori (in/de/pre) care, ori (de/la/in/cu/din/pre/supt) ce, ori (la) câte, oricine,oricare, orice, oricât
d. Veri-series: veri cine, veri (in/pentru/cu/de pe/din) ce, veri (intru/din) care, veri cite, vericine, verice, vericarii, vericarele, vericui

Taking the case of oarecine/varecine/oricine (‘anyone’), we will show that the pronouns (1) can also be used as pro-adjectives (2) (even in the same text), situation that is very peculiar considering the exclusive pro-nominal use of these forms in the Present-day Romanian language.

(1) când caută oarecine să se îm bogătească
when tries someone.NOM SĂSUB CL.REFL.ACC grow.rich.SUBJ.3SG
(FD.1592–1604: 499v)
‘when someone is trying to grow rich...’

(2) spune că era un om oarecine,
says that be.IMPERF.3SG a man.NOM whosoever.NOM
ce-l chema Gherminon (FD.1592-1604: 512r)
who=CL.ACC.M.3SG name.IMPERF.3SG Gherminon.NOM
’(he) says that there was a man whosoever named Gherminon’

In (3) we notice the free variation of varece and oarece (‘anything’) in the same phrase from a religious text:

(3) Şi tot varece avea, toţi porobocii
and all everything.NOM have.IMPERF.3SG all children.DEF.NOM
şi muierile fuseră prinşi, şi
and women.DEF.NOM be.PASS.PS.3PL captured.PPE.3PL and
prădară tot oarece era în casele
rob.PS.3PL all anything be.IMPERF.3SG in house.PL.DEF.ACC
lor (PO. 1582: 34/29)
their.GEN
‘And they captured everything they had, all their children and women, and robbed anything they had in their houses.’

There are cases in which the pro-noun functions as head of the NP (4) and is followed by a preposition (dentre, dintru, den), or as a noun (5), carrying an indefinite article:

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(4) [GN oarecine
dentre oameni] cu muiarea ta
someone.NOM of people.ACC with wife.DEF.ACC your.F.SG
au vrut să fie” (PO. 1582: 26/10)
AUX.PERF.3PL want.PPLE SĂ˛SUBJ be.SUBJ.3SG
‘someone (of the people) wanted to be with your wife’

(5) Întru aceale zile să născu,
In those.F.ACC days.ACC CL.REFL be.born.PS.3SGa
un oarecarile
someone.NOM
Numele lui - Noe (MPI.~fin.17th. c.: 8“)
name.DEF.NOM his.GEN Noah.NOM
‘Those days, someone was born, his name was Noah.’

The prevalent syntactic function of the pro-noun is that of sentence connector, taking sometimes a relative value (6):

(6) Nime nu ştie cine iaste Fiiul, fără
nobody.NOM not knows who.NOM is Son.DEF.NOM without
numai Tatăl şi varecui va vrea
only Father.DEF.NOM and anyone.DAT AUX.FUT.3SG want.INF
Fiiul să-i arate. (NT.1648: 234/82‘)
Son.DEF.NOM SĂ˛SUBJ=CL.DAT reveal.SUBJ.3SG
‘No one knows who the Son is, except the Father, and anyone whom the Son wants to reveal himself’

As far as the pro-adjectival use is concerned, the texts revealed two situations: one in which the pro-form is located in front or after the modified noun (7), and another one in which the pro-adjective takes a fixed position - in front of the noun with a preposition (de, la, în, cu, din, pre, supt, asupra) interposed between the two elements of the compound pro-form (8):

(7) să-i arate oareşcare semnu.ACC al
SĂ˛SUBJ=CL.DAT show.SUBJ.3SG some.ACC sign.ACC AL.M.SG
dragostii [...] (Fil. ante 1837: 16)
love.DEF.GEN
’to show him some sign of love’

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Certain writers prefer the second case, an example being Dosoftei, who, in *Psaltirea in versuri*, makes use of 23 interposed constructions out of 33 contexts with pro-forms.

In some of the contexts in which the pro-forms function as connectors of headed relative clauses, the head is represented by the quantifier *tot* (9):

(9) \[ \text{Tot varecine va auzi råde-va} \]
\[ \text{all anyone.NOM AUX.FUT.3SG hear.INF laugh.INF=AUX.FUT.3SG} \]
\[ \text{cu mine (PO. 1582: 21/6)} \]
\[ \text{with me} \]
\[ \text{‘all anyone who shall hear would laugh of?/with? me’} \]

In addition, there are some examples in which the pro-form, having a quantificational value, is doubled by another (pseudo)quantifier: *alt* (‘other’) (10), *puțin* (‘little’) (11)

(10) \[ \text{E alții amu și alte oareceș} \]
\[ \text{and others.NOM now and other.F.PL something} \]
\[ \text{striga. (CPr. 1563: 92)} \]
\[ \text{scream.IMPERF.3PL} \]
\[ \text{‘Now, others were screaming some (other) things.’} \]

(11) \[ \text{Păsați iară și cumpărați oarece puțină hrană (PO. 1582: 43/2)} \]
\[ \text{go.IMP.2PL again and buy.IMP.2PL some little food.ACC} \]
\[ \text{‘Go again and buy some food.’} \]

Considering the co-occurrence of the pro-forms constructed with *oare + care/cine*, we noticed that, apart from their pro-nominal or pro-adjectival use, the forms reveal gender (*oarecarea* for the feminine (12)/ *oarecarele* for the masculine (13)), number (*oarecare* for the singular (14)/ *oarecarii* for the plural (15)) and case (*oarecine* (16)/ *oarecui* (17)) distinctions undertaken only by their relative compound.

(12) \[ \text{i-au arătat lui o parte} \]
\[ \text{CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3PL show.PPLE he.DAT a part} \]
oarecarea de norod (Biblia Blaj: 22/41)

some.DEF.F.SG of people

‘…they showed him some part of the people.’

(13) De corabiia aceasta un înțeles oarecarele la about boat.DEF.ACC this.F.ACC a wise.man.NOM some.DEF.M.SG to arătare veste (MPI.~ mijlocul sec. XVII: 10r)

vision.ACC tell.PRES.3SG

‘When foreseeing the boat, some wise man tells them about it’

(14) oarecare înger s-au atins

some angel.NOM CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG touch.PPLE de dânsul (Biblia Blaj: 19/5)

of him.ACC

‘some angel touched him’

(15) Deci de vor grăi oarecarii că fu

so if AUX.FUT.3PL say.INF anyone.M.PL that was repădat... (MPI.~ middle of the 17th c.: 2’)

repulsed.PPLE

‘So, if anyone will say that he was repulsed…’

(16) Atinse-se de Mine oarecine, că Eu

touch.PS.3SG=CL.REFL of Me.ACC someone that I.NOM cunoscuiui că eși puteare den Mine (NT.1648: 229/7v)

know.PS.1SG that come.out.PS.3SG power.NOM out.of Me.ACC

‘someone touched me because I felt a power coming out of me’

(17) întră în casa oareci de-l

enter.PS.3SG in house.DEF.ACC someone.GEN that=CL.ACC.3SG chiema Iust (NT.1648: 344/159r).

call.IMPERF.3SG Iust.NOM

‘(He) entered someone’s house whose name was Iust’

An intriguing case is represented by the use of the form specialized for the masculine with a feminine noun (18):

(18) Și era acolo o muia oarecarele,

And be.IMPERF.3SG there a woman.NOM some.DEF.M.SG
The veri-series was first identified in our data from the 17th c., in the Bible from 1688 (Bucharest) (19).

(19) Invățătoriule, vom ca verice vom ceare
Master.VOC want.PRES.1PL that everything AUX.FUT.1PL ask.INF
să faci noao. (BB.1688: 782)
SĂSUBJ accomplish.SUBJ.2SG us.DAT
‘Master, we want You to accomplish everything we will ask you for’

In the 18th c., in some religious texts, these pro-forms appear in free variation with the oare- and ori-series. So, the veri-compounds carry all possible values: with prepositions interposed (20), or having pronominal (21)/adjectival (22) value.

(20) De aciia să ne ferim, veri cu ce
Therefore SĂSUBJ CL.ACC.1PL stay.away.SUBJ.1PL any with what
mijloc am putea de păcate (AD.1722–5: 101/96r)
way.ACC AUX.COND.1PL can.INF of sins.ACC
‘That is why we should stay away of sins, in every way we can’

(21) Că vericari din voi nu veţi purta de grijă să
that anyone of you not AUX.FUT.2PL care.INF SĂSUBJ,
faceți așa (AIS.1705: 380/39r)
do.SUBJ.2PL like.this
‘That any of you who will not be careful to do like this...’

(22) A zecea poruncă zice să nu pohtim
tenth.FEM Commandment.NOM says SĂSUBJ not crave.SUBJ.1PL
verice lucru strein (AD.1722 – 5: 33/30v)
any thing.ACC foreign
‘The 10th Commandment says that we should not crave for anything that is not ours.’

Our research on the old period of Romanian language revealed the early use of the indefinite pro-form as a general extender (23), forms that generalize during the next
periods of language formation. This singular case can represent the first sign of the pragmaticalization process of such pragmatic markers as the use of the marker implies that there is more to be said, but the author resorts to shared knowledge.

(23) avem și oarecâteva dobitoace
have.PRES.1PL also some animals.ACC
și alte câte oarece (Bert.1774: 236)
and others some few
‘we also have some animals and some other stuff/things’

B. Pro-adverbs and connectors

a. Vare-series: varecum, vareunde, vareîncotro, varecât, vare cu cât,
b. Oare-series: oarecând(u), oarecum, oareunde, oare unde, oare-încătruo
c. Ori-series: oricum, oriunde, oricând
d. Veri-series: veriunde, vericât

As our data confirms, interrogative pronouns represent one of the derivational bases of the indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997) (24), the same being the case of the indefinite pro-adverbs (25):

(24) Oare cine-i mai mare întru Împărății ceriurelor?
INT who.NOM=IS more big in kingdom.DEF.ACC
čeriurelor?
skies.DEF.GEN (NT.1648: 150/22′)
‘Who is there bigger in God’s kingdom?’

(25) Oare cum vă pare voao de a
INT how CL.ACC.2PL feel.PRES you.DAT about AL.F.SG.GEN
lui tăceare? (Sind.1703: 81r)
his.GEN silence.ACC
‘How do you feel about his silence?’

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5 Pragmatic markers are 'surface phenomena'. On a deeper level they are reflexive i.e. they mirror the speaker’s mental processes as envisaged in 'the fabric of talk-in-interaction' commenting on what goes on in the speaker's mind (Redeker 2006) (Aijmer 2013: 4).
The indefinite value of these pro-adverbs overlaps their original meaning expressing time (vare/oare/ori + când(u))(26), place (vare/oare/ori + unde, vareincatro, oare-incâtruo) (27), manner (vare/oare/ori + cum) (28) or quantity (vare + cît) (29).

(26) oarecînd ț-am făcut mult bine,
whenever CL.DAT.2SG=AUX.PERF.1SG do.PPLE much good
adu-ți aminte! (AA. 1708: 65’)
bring.IMPER.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG to.mind
‘remember the time when I did you so much good’

(27) Eu, oriunde șî la ce bătaie am fost,
I.NOM anywhere and to what fight.ACC AUX.PERF.1SG be.PPLE
niciodată nu m-au biruit (Fil. ante 1837: 10)
ever not CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.3PL defeat.PPLE
‘Anywhere and in any fight I was involved, I have never been defeated’

(28) E cea giupâneasă socoti să-i facă
And that.F woman.NOM think.PS.3SG SĂSUBJ=CL.DAT.3SG do.SUBJ.3SG
moarte oarecum lu Amon (FD.1592-1604: 562v)
death.ACC somehow LuI.DAT Amon
‘And that woman thought to kill Amon in any way’

(29) Pasă, vare cît ai vinde, șî
try.IMPER.2SG as.much.as AUX.COND.2SG sell.INF and
dă mișeilor (CC1.1567: 114)
give.IMPER.2SG poors.DEF.DAT
‘As much as you’d sell, try to give to the poor, too’

Due to the fact that these forms were not yet tied, they appeared in free variation and there are contexts in which the pro-adverb oarecum (30) is used as periphrastic marker:

(30) Și aceasta nebuniia vine în patru lucrure
and this.F.SG craziness.DEF.NOM comes in four things.ACC

6 Our translation of the opération de reformulation. (Rossari 1994)
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oarecum: Întâiu, easte că nu caută nice u(n)
as.follows first is that not considers not one
lucru (FD.1592-1604: 529v)
thing.ACC
‘And this craziness has four causes, as follows: the first one is that he does not
consider anything’

The same reason seems to explain the contexts (31) in which this pro-adverb maintains
its modal meaning, being in relation with a correlative (așa):

(31) Oare cum au chemat Adam toate jîgăniile
any.how AUX.PERF.3SG name. PPLE Adam.NOM all.F.PL
jîgăniile așa li-e numele. (PO.1582: 2/19)
animals.DEF. ACC like.that CL.DAT. 3PL=îs name. DEF. NOM
‘anyhow Adam calls the animals that shall be their name’

Our data revealed singular cases in which the indefinite pro-adverb is used as a pro-
adjective, as in (32):

(32) easte o fire oarecum și trage omul supt
is a nature somehow and drags man.DEF. ACC under
fire (FD.1592-1604:469r)
nature. ACC
‘(that) is some kind of being that drags the man under its power’

There are also situations in which the indefinite pro-adverb oarecând (with a temporal
meaning) is doubled by the relative time adverb când (33):

(33) - Ba, fătul mieu, că tu ai
BA NEG son.VOC my.M.SG that you.NOM AUX.PERF. 2SG
fost ca oarecînd cîndu-și legă omul
be. PPLE like anytime when=CL. REFL tie. PS. 3 SG man. DEF. NOM
mâgariul (AA.1708: 68v)
mule.DEF. ACC
‘- You, my son, were in the situation of the man that anytime when he tied the
mule...’

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As compared to the large number (56 occurrences) of pro-nouns and pro-adjectives above mentioned, we discovered only one case of preposition interposed in the indefinite pro-adverbal construction (34):

\[(34)\]  
\[\text{vare cu cît} \]  
\[\text{vei cheltui mai mult, eu} \]  
\[\text{any with how.much} \]  
\[\text{AUX.FUT.2SG spend.INF} \]  
\[\text{more much I.NOM} \]  
\[\text{voiu plăti ție.} \]  
\[\text{you.IOD} \]  
\[\text{(NT.1648: 235/82)} \]  

‘As much as you will pay, I will pay it back to you.’

Among these pro-forms, there is the indefinite \textit{vareîncotro/oare-încătro}, specific only to the Old Romanian language, while its indefinite value is lost in the following language formation stages (35).

\[(35)\]  
\[\text{Acestea mergu după Miel, vareîncătro} \]  
\[\text{these.NOM.M.PL} \]  
\[\text{go.PRES.3PL} \]  
\[\text{after lamb.ACC} \]  
\[\text{anywhere} \]  
\[\text{mearge} \]  
\[\text{(NT.1648: 569/313)} \]  

‘These (men) follows the Son, anywhere He goes’

As in the case of pro-nouns, the pro-adverbs can function also as relative connectors, introducing various types of subordinate clauses: locative clause (36), time clause (37) and concessive clause (38).

\[(36)\]  
\[\text{Învățătoriule, mearge-voiu după Tine, vareunde} \]  
\[\text{master.VOC} \]  
\[\text{follow.INF=AUX.FUT.1SG after You.ACC} \]  
\[\text{anywhere} \]  
\[\text{mearge} \]  
\[\text{(NT.1648: 132/10)} \]  

‘Master, I will follow You, anywhere You go.’

\[(37)\]  
\[\text{Spre Domnul am nădăjduit Oricând} \]  
\[\text{to God.ACC} \]  
\[\text{AUX.PERF.1SG hope.PPLE} \]  
\[\text{any.time} \]  
\[\text{am} \]  
\[\text{fost scârbit} \]  
\[\text{(DPV.1673: 24)} \]  

‘I put my faith in God / Any time I was disgusted’

\[(38)\]  
\[\text{Și m-am veselit de sârg, oricât} \]  
\[\text{and CL.REFL.1SG=AUX.PERF.1SG enjoy.PPLE} \]  
\[\text{of effort however} \]  
\[\text{clac 65/2016, 223-256} \]
mi-au fost de rău (DPV.1673: 153')

CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE of hard

‘And I was cheerful, however hard it was’

Considering the veri- series, we identified in the corpus only the pro-adverbs: veriunde (39), and vericât (40), used exclusively as connectors:

(39) Veriunde veț intra în casă, acolea
wherever AUX.FUT.2PL enter.INF in house.ACC there
rămîneț (BB.1688: 778)
stay.IMPER.2PL
‘Wherever you enter the house, stay there’

(40) vericât vei cheltui, eu voiu plăți
as.much.as AUX.FUT.2SG spend.INF I.NOM AUX.FUT.1SG pay.INF
ție (BB.1688: 799)
you.DAT.2SG
‘As much as you will pay, I will pay it back to you’

4.2. Modern Romanian language (19th – 20th c.)

According to SILR, the situation of the pro-forms in Modern Romanian was slightly different from the previous stage investigated.

4.2.1. Indefinite pro-nouns, also used in some contexts as pro-adjectives and connectors

As far as the indefinite pro-nouns and pro-adjectives are concerned, the authors of SILR noticed that the use of the ori- series (oricine, orice, oricare, oricât) has been generalized in the 19th century. The pro-noun oricare, identified in the previous stage as having variable uses, keeps its variability at the beginning of the century, but the unmarked forms prevail during the entire century. Thus, the forms oricarea, oricarii disappear and oricarele is rarely used.

Considering the oare- series, it can be noticed that the form oarecare is widely employed during the entire century, while the forms oarecine, and oarece are rarely
used. As in the case of *oricare*, the pro-noun *oarecare* is used invariable in most contexts.

The situation regarding the interposing of prepositions in the indefinite structure, observed in the previous stage, continues at the beginning of the 19th century, as in the following examples extracted from the reference volume.

(41) Mărturisim cu cuget curat ori la ce
    confess.PRES.1PL with soul.ACC pure any in what trial
    judecată…

‘We confess sincerely in any trial…’

(42) ori cu ce feali de marfă va avea
    any with what kind of merchandise.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG have.INF

‘any kind of merchandise will he get’

Although the authors of this volume state that the indefinite pro-forms compound with *veri*- are attested at the beginning of the 19th century in Muntenia (vericare, verice), but also in Moldova (verice, verce), the analysis of the Old Romanian corpus revealed the presence of the *veri*- series as early as the 17th century (BB.1688). The grammars of the first half of the 20th century record the forms vericare, vericine, verice as obsolete.

Another aspect specific to this language stage is represented by the occurrence of fewer and fewer cases of prepositions interposed in the compound structures:

(43) Ori pe ce loc îşi aşază omul
    Any on what place.ACC CL.DAT.3SG settle.PRES.3SG
    omul cultul.
    man.DEF.NOM religion.DEF.ACC

‘In any place the man settles his religion’

In the 20th century, the form *oricine* functions only as a pro-noun:

(44) Oricine are dreptul să guste
    anyone havePRES.3SG rightDEF.ACC SĂSUBJ taste.SUBJ.3SG
    ce-i place.
    What.ACC=CL.DAT.3SG likes

‘Anyone has the right to taste whatever he likes.’
On the other hand, *orice* can take a double function, pronominal (mostly when used as a concessive connector (45)) and adjectival.

(45) *Orice* va spune Biserica de Apus, 

> anything AUX.FUT.3SG say.INF Church.DEF.NOM of West 

lucrurile stau așa 

> things.DEF.NOM stay.PRES.3PL like this 

‘Things stay as they are, *no matter what* the Western Church says’

More and more frequently, the form *orice* appears in quasi-fixed structures, such as:

(46) *Orice* s-ar zice 

> anything CL.REFL=AUX.COND.3SG say.INF 

‘*no matter what* they say’

A peculiar situation is the one in which *orice* is used with a noun in the plural, situation considered noncompliant with the Romanian grammar norms: *chei pentru orice sertare* (‘keys for *any* drawers’).

The 20th century texts reveal the possibility of combining the pro-adjective *orice/oricare* with another indefinite form as: *alt, altceva*, in order to intensify the indefinite value. In the first two decades of the century the construction is rare (orice *alt cetățean* [‘*any* other citizen’]), and it starts to increase in number after 1930 (orice *altceva* [‘*anything else*’]). Comparing this situation with the one found in OR, we can underline the difference in topic preference of the indefinite form *alt*, located in front of the indefinite pro-form, as in (10).

4.2.2. Pro-adverbs and connectors

Among the pro-adverbs, the *oare*- series is more frequently used than the *ori-, oarecum* being the form most used within the series. Adding to the forms *vareîncotro/oare-încâtruo* specific to the old language, we can notice in this period the presence of the form *ori încâtro*:

(47) *ori încâtro* mă duceam, *ori unde* 

> any where CL.REFL.1SG go.IMPERF.1SG, any where 

eram 

be.IMPERF.1SG 

‘*anywhere* I went, *anywhere* I was’

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So, based on the comparison of the two major periods (OR and MR), we conclude that, beyond the variation of the formal aspects of these pro-forms, the morphosyntactical uses remain, mainly, the same.

4.3. The Present-Day Romanian language (21st c.)

4.3.1. Indefinite pro-nouns, also used in some contexts as pro-adjectives and connectors

From a semantic point of view, these pro-forms are considered to be indefinite quantifiers, as they do not offer information on the exact quantity, but only some hints regarding the part-and-whole relation (GALR 2008: 253). Basically, the quantifiers formed with cine refer to entities having the [+ Human] semantic value (48.a) while the ones compound with ce refer to entities having the [–Human, – Animate] semantic values (48.b).

(48a)  
\begin{verbatim}
Oricine poate face asta
\end{verbatim}
'Anyone can do this'

(48b)  
\begin{verbatim}
Ar face orice pentru bani
\end{verbatim}
'He would do anything for money'

The pro-forms with care refer to entities having the [+/- Human, +Anaphoric] semantic values:

(49)  
\begin{verbatim}
Oricare dintre cele / cei prezentate/ prezentăți
\end{verbatim}
'Any of these [events/men] might interest you'

The ones compound with cât/câtă refer to entities having the [+Quantitative,—Countable] semantic values (50a) while the ones with câți / câte imply entities with [+Quantitative, +Countable] semantic value (50b)
(50a) Oricătă înghețată primește, tot mai vrea
Any.F.SG ice.cream.ACC get.PRES.3.SG still more wants
‘No matter how much ice cream he gets, he still wants more’

(50b) Oricâte bomboane primește, tot mai vrea
any.how.much.F.PL candies.ACC gets still more wants
‘No matter how many candies he gets, he still wants more.’

As seen in the previous stages of Romanian, the indefinite pro-nouns can recategorize to nouns with the meaning “unknown person” (51a-b)

(51a) Nu e un oarecare, ci e un mare doctor
Not is a someone, but is a great doctor.NOM
‘He is not just someone; he is a well-known doctor’

(51b) Întru acele zile să născu un oarecarile,
in those days.ACC CL.REFL be.born.PS.3.SG a someone.DEF
numele lui – Noe (MPI.–middle of the 17th c.: 8’
name.DEF.NOM his.GEN
‘Those days, someone was born, his name – Noe.’

In post-position, the indefinite pro-adjective oarecare gets the qualificational meaning „ordinary” (52a), situation that appears as early as the 17th century (52b):

(52a) E o studentă oarecare (GBLR 2010: 153)
(She)is a student.NOM any.which
‘She is an ordinary student’

(52b) Om oarecarele era în țara
man.NOM ordinary be.IMPERF.3.SG in country.DEF.ACC
Avsitidii, căruia era numele
Uz.DEF.GEN who.GEN.M.SG be.IMPERF.3.SG name.DEF.NOM
Iov (BB.1688:362)
Job.NOM
‘There was an ordinary man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job’

The indefinite pro-forms can be used in expressing pragmatic strategies – approximation (53a), attenuation (53b) and empathizing (53c) with the interlocutor:
In Present-Day Romanian, a distinction has been made between the uses of the pro-adverbs: indefinite (modal), relative and others (GBLR 2010: 312), as seen in the following examples (54-57):

**Adverb**

(54) Se îmbracă oricum

CL.REFL.ACC dress.PRES.3SG anyway

‘She dresses anyway’

**Modal indefinite adverb+relative**

(55) Se îmbracă oricum i se

CL.REFL.ACC dress.PRES.3SG anyway CL.DAT.M.SG CL.REFL cere

ask.PRES.3SG

‘She dresses in any way she is requested’

**Modal indefinite adverb+relative+concessive**

(56) Oricum ai proceda, nu procedezi bine

whatever AUX.COND.2SG do.INF not do.PRES.2SG right

‘Whatever you do, you are not doing it right’
Modal indefinite adverb + discourse marker

(57)  

\[ \text{Oricum, guvernanții nu iau nicio măsură} \]
\[ \text{anyway guvernants.DEF.NOM not take.PRES.3.PL any action.ACC} \]

‘The guvernants are not taking any actions, \textit{anyway.}’

4.4. The grammaticalization and pragmatisatization of the Romanian indefinite pro-forms

4.4.1. General considerations

Based on etymological considerations (see 2.1), we developed the following theory concerning the grammaticalization paths of the indefinite pro-forms: \textit{vare} (interrogative particle) + pro-noun/adverb > \textit{vare} (indefinite proclitic element) + pro-noun/adverb > \textit{oare} (interrogative particle/indefinite proclitic element) + pro-noun/adverb > \textit{ori} (indefinite proclitic element) + pro-noun/adverb.

The steps within the grammaticalization path cannot be clearly distinguished, as in the first texts attested for the Romanian language (16th c.) all these forms coexist with all the functions above mentioned. The verbal origin of the interrogative particle \textit{vare} (VOLET) has already been established by previous research on grammaticalization (Dinică and Zamfir 2009), while the interrogative source of the indefinite proclitic element \textit{vare} has been well-argumented (Hasepalmath 1997). In addition, we consider that this grammaticalization step from the Old Romanian language has been possible due to the morphosyntactic association of the interrogative particle with an interrogative pro-noun (\textit{cine, ce}). Later on, \textit{vare} loses its interrogative meaning, starting the univerbation process of the indefinite pro-forms. The process had several stages of grammaticalization: in the first period, the two elements were unbound (\textit{vare ce, vare cine, vare care}), allowing the interpositioning of a preposition (see examples 41 and 42 above), and it evolved through the stage of a bound indefinite pronoun (\textit{varece, varecine, varecare}).
4.4.2. Case study – the grammaticalization scenario of the indefinite pro-noun oarece/orice

vare (interrogative particle) > vare (indefinite proclitic element) + ce (relative pronoun) > (indefinite pro-form, vare ce/varece/vare prep. ce) > oare (interrogative particle/indefinite proclitic element) + ce (relative pronoun) (indefinite pro-form, oare ce/oarece/oare prep. ce) > ori + ce (indefinite pro-form, orice, ori prep. ce)

First, we will focus on the essential mechanisms used in grammaticalization, on the primitive changes that occur and on the possible side effects of the process, and then we will comment on the linguistic status (i.e. lexical, grammatical or communicative) and stages of grammaticalization of the Romanian indefinite pro-form orice.

The first step in the development of orice is represented by the reanalysis of the future-tense auxiliary vare into the indefinite element oare. Once the indefinite status has been established, oare agglutinated to ce and developed into orice, due to some phonetic reasons, cf. the examples in Section 4.1. The other gradual evolution of orice - from the subjunctive verbal form veri into the disjunctive connector ori, and then into the indefinite pro-noun orice – occurred probably simultaneously and closely influenced by these forms already used in the Old Romanian language.

Semantically, there are contiguous, metonymic relations between the various interrogative (58), disjunctive (59), indefinite (60) and concessive (61) meanings of vare/oare/ori(ce), all being nuances in the domain of doubt/uncertainty and approximation.

(58) cugeta oare ce ară fi
think.IMPERF.3SG INT what AUX.COND.3.SG be.INF
închinarea aceaia (NT.1648:212/66)
offer.DEF.NOM that
‘she was thinking what that offer may be’

(59) Noi toți ne-am botezat; vare jidovi, we all CL.REFL.1PL=AUX.PERF.1PL bapthize.PPLE or Jews
vare grecii, vare slugile, vare slobozii. (NT.1648: 450/234)
or Greeks.DEF or slaves.DEF or free.men.DEF
‘We all baptized; either Jews, or Greeks, or slaves, or free men’

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The pro-form *oarece* is used in the 16th c., both with quantitative (indefinite and universal) and non-quantitative indefinite meaning, as in: *puțină* oarece împărțitură – *indefinite quantifier* (‘some’); *tot* oarece – *universal quantifier* (‘everything’) and *oarece* lucră bun - *free-choice indefinite pro-adjective* (‘any’).

In the Present-Day Romanian language, the quantificational meaning of *oarece* is blurred, and the [+ indefinite] inherent feature moves towards discursive values (attenuation) (see 62), in order to mitigate the relation between the interlocutors (Vasilescu 2009: 152):

(62) Am *oarece* îndoieli în legătură cu (I) have.PRES.1SG some doubts.ACC in concern to veridicitatea cuvintelor tale truthfulness.DEF.ACC words.DEF.GEN your.GEN

‘I have some doubts concerning the truthfulness of your words’

The primitive changes that accompany the formal reanalysis and semantic reinterpretation are represented by the features described in Section 3.2. At the phonetical level, there is some loss of phonological/phonetic substance in the development of the Romanian *orie* from *voare/oarece* (see 2.1). In addition, one may notice some changes in the morphological compositionality, since *orie* is a compositional form, and its internal structure was affected by reduction: *oare* + *ce* > *orie*.

We also notice the loss of morphosyntactic properties due to the shift form indefinite pro-noun to indefinite pro-adjective. The use in the Present-Day Romanian language of
**orice** as pro-form and sentence connector results in a loss of syntactic variability (the fixation of the pro-adjective in prenominal position) and autonomy (does not allow interpositioning) of the indefinite **orice**. In extension, **orice** starts to be employed more frequently in quasi-phrasal structures (Chivu et al. 2012:517), such as: **orice s-ar zice** (‘whatever they say’), **orice s-ar întâmpla** (‘whatever it may happen’) or it allows the combination with another indefinite pro-form: **orice altceva a ş fi făcut** (‘anything else I would have done’). As far as the semantic changes are concerned, the data revealed a more bleached meaning of **orice**. It increasingly develops various nuances in the realm of definiteness.

As far as **orice** is concerned, the side effects are noticeable. Paradigmaticization is generally related to productivity and frequency, all being correlated in the development of **orice**. In a general sense, **orice** enters the indefinite pro-noun paradigm, and is a frequent linguistic item. Obligatorification (decrease of paradigmatic variability (Beijering 2012: 48)) clearly does not apply to **orice** as it is a free choice element, exception being the concessive connector status. Likewise, condensation does not occur because the structural scope of **orice** is not reduced.

With respect to layering, we see that the interrogative particle **vare(ce)** was reanalysed as the indefinite proclitic element **ori(ce)**. The indefinite pro-form **ori** can be used to express various dimensions of definiteness. It may be used as a relative/concessive sentence connector, or it may occur in set phrases. As regards divergence, it can be observed that the source of **ori(ce)**, the interrogative form **vare(ce)** continued to exist in the 16\(^{th}\) c. along with the new indefinite form. Specialization does not apply to **orice**, as similar and simultaneously existing expressions are not reduced to one major expression. Persistence relates to the observation that a linguistic item or construction retains traces of the linguistic item or construction from which it emerged. In the second

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7 Paradigmaticity is defined as The cohesion of a sign with other signs in a paradigm,(...) that is, the degree to which it enters a paradigm, is integrated into it and dependent on it. (Beijering 2012: 42)
8 As defined by Beijering 2012: 108, condensation represents a decrease in syntactic scope, but also an increased dependency.
9 When a lexical form undergoes grammaticization to clitic or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical items. (Beijering 2012: 44)
stage of the grammaticalization process, *oare(ce)* retains the properties of the interrogative particle *vare*, but these properties are lost in the case of the indefinite *ori(ce)*.

In conclusion, the patterns show that the development of *orice* has most properties in common with secondary grammaticalization.

4.4.3. Case study – the grammaticalization and pragmatization of the indefinite pro-adverb *oricum*

*vare* (interrogative particle) $>$ *vare* (indefinite proclitic element) + *cum* (relative adverb) (indefinite pro-form, *vare cum/varecum*) $>$ *oare* (interrogative particle / indefinite proclitic element) + *cum* (relative adverb) (indefinite pro-form, *oarecum*) $>$ *ori* + *cum* (indefinite pro-form, *oricum*)

We focus next on the essential mechanisms used in grammaticalization and pragmatization, on the primitive changes that occur and on the possible side effects of the process, and then we concentrate on the linguistic status and stages of grammaticalization and pragmatization of the Romanian indefinite pro-form *oricum*.

The development of *oricum* has as its initial stage the reanalysis of the future-tense auxiliary *vare* into the indefinite element *oare*. Once the indefinite status has been established, *oare* agglutinated to *cum* and developed into *oricum*, due to phonetic reasons, cf. the examples in Section 4.1.

Based on the examples extracted from the corpus, we established the following grammaticalization path, in which the last stage is considered to be pragmatization:

{oare(cum)} – interrogative adverb (63) $>$ oare(cum)/ori(cum) – indefinite pro-adverb (64) $>$ oarecum/oricum – sentence connector (65) $>$ *oricum* – discourse marker (66)

(63) *Oare cum să vinde acel lemnu ce*  
INT how CL.REFL sells that.M.SG wood.DEF.NOM that miroseste? (Sind. 1703:113*)  
smells  
‘– How does the smelling wood sell?’
şi tu te-i mărit oarecum,
and you CL.REFL.ACC.2SG=AUX.PERF.2SG grow.PPLE somehow
căce bătuşi pre Darie-Împărat (A.1620: 159)pre
as defeat.PS.2SG DOM Darius-King.ACC
‘And your kingdom grew somehow, as you defeated King Darius’

oricum vei vrea, Stăpâne, piiarde-ne
anyway AUX.FUT.2SG want.INF Lord.VOC
piiarde-ne pre noi (Biblia Blaj: 10)
kil.IMP.2SG=CL.ACC.1PL DOM us
‘Do whatsoever you want with our lives’

Oricum, s-a măritat
Anyway CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG get.married.PPLE
de mult (ILVR)
from long.time
‘Anyway, she has got married a long time ago’

The primitive changes that accompany the formal reanalysis and semantic reinterpretation are explained below: at the phonetical level, there is some loss of phonological/phonetic substance in the development of the Romanian oricum from varecum/oareceum (see 2.1). In addition, one may notice changes in morphological compositionality, since oricum is a compositional form, its internal structure being affected by reduction: oare + cum > oricum.

We also notice the loss of morphosyntactic properties, due to the shift form interrogative adverb vare/oare to indefinite proclitic element oare/ori. The use of oricum as a pro-adverb and sentence connector in Present-Day Romanian results in loss of syntactic variability (the adjectival use of these forms in Old Romanian language is lost). In extension, oricum starts to appear more in quasi-phrasal structures, such as: oricum ar fi.

As far as the semantic changes are concerned, oricum has a more bleached meaning, developing various nuances in the realm of indefiniteness and modality: cumva (‘somehow’), într-o oarecare măsură (‘to some extent’), în orice fel (‘in any way’), măcar (‘at least’).
Paradigmaticization is generally related to productivity and frequency, all being correlated in the development of oricum. In a general sense, oricum enters the indefinite pro-adverb paradigm, and is a frequent linguistic item. Obligatorification clearly does not apply to oricum as it is a free choice element, exception being the concessive connector status. Likewise, condensation does not occur because the structural scope of oricum is not reduced, nor does it become (more) dependent upon other constituents in the clause, rather the opposite. That is, sentence adverbs are integrated into syntactic structures, but flexible with regard to their positions.

With respect to layering, the data show instances of coexistence of both adverbial and subordinating oricum. The older oricum (with indefinite pro-adverbial properties) still exists along with the newer oricum that functions also as a sentence connector. As for the divergence, it can be noticed that the source of ori(cum) - the interrogative form vare(cum) - continued to exist in the OR besides the new indefinite form. Specialization does not apply to oricum, as similar and simultaneously existing expressions are not reduced to one major expression. Persistence relates to the fact that a linguistic item or construction retains traces of the linguistic item or construction from which it emerged.

In the second stage of the grammaticalization process, oare(cum) retains the properties of the interrogative particle vare, but these properties are lost in the case of the indefinite ori(cum).

The pragmaticalization of the indefinite pro-adverb oricum implies hierarchical reanalysis, meaning the shift from a propositional (67) to an extra-propositional (68) status, and reinterpretation from relational to communicative meaning.

(67)  Oricum să fie fost tâlmăcirea

   anyhow  SĂSUBJ AUX.SUBJ be.PPLE translation.DEF.NOM

   aceasta, aceasta cu adevărat să  ştie this.F.SG

   this.F.SG this.NOM.F.SG with truth CL.REFL knows

   (Biblia Blaj, Cuvânt înainte)

   ‘No matter how this translation was made, it is certain that this was done way before Christ had come’

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(68) *Oricum*, mă ajută cineva să scriu, anyway CL.ACC.1SG helps somebody SĂ.SUBJ write.SUBJ.1SG
că eu nu lucrez la calculator (ILVR)
as I.NOM not work.PRES.1SG on computer.ACC

‘Anyway, somebody will write it for me, I do not use computers, so I will hire somebody’

The primitive changes triggered by pragmatalization manifest at semantic (bleaching) and discourse (increased speaker-perspective, attitude or judgment (subjectification) and attention to speaker-addressee interaction (intersubjectification)) levels. The side effects of the pragmatalization of *oricum* result in layering and specialization, context expansion and increased frequency.

In conclusion, the patterns show that the development of *oricum* has most properties in common with secondary grammaticalization and pragmatalization.

5. Final considerations

The purpose of this article was to describe the pragma-linguistic scenario that accounts for the actual situation of the Romanian indefinite compounds. After briefly presenting the current problematic situation of the etymology of the Romanian indefinite pro-forms, we described the main tenets of grammaticalization and pragmatalization theories, underlining the perspective given by Beijering (2012) who offers quite a novel theoretical frame. The actual analysis focused on the semantic meanings, morphosyntactic and pragmatic functions taken by these forms during the grammaticalization /pragmatalization paths: *vare* (interrogative particle) + pro-noun/adverb > *vare* (indefinite proclitic element) + pro-noun/adverb > *oare* (interrogative particle/indefinite proclitic element) + pro-noun/adverb > *ori* (indefinite proclitic element) + pro-noun/adverb.

The analysis of the data (comprising texts from 16th – 21st centuries) has shown that the grammaticalization (that started from the Common Daco-Romanian stage of language formation as mentioned by different researchers) and pragmatalization processes of the Romanian indefinite pro-forms continued and finalized in the Present-Day Romanian language.
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