# THE ROMANIAN VERBS A RĂMÂNE 'REMAIN' AND A SE AFLA 'BE SITUATED' ON THE GRAMMATICALIZATION SCALE<sup>1</sup>

# MĂDĂLINA BOTEZ STĂNESCU, ADINA DRAGOMIRESCU<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract.** In this paper we test the hypothesis that, in contrast to motion (change of location) verbs, which can simultaneously acquire two grammatical values (they become either copulas or aspectual verbs), location verbs, due to their reduced semantic complexity, develop only one grammatical value (i.e. copula). Since the diachronic process is not easy to capture and since it is not a typical case of grammaticalization (the morphological and, partially, syntactic features of the lexical verb being preserved), we use corpus analysis in order to identify the ambiguous context which favoured the *reanalysis* of two Romanian verbs, *a rămâne* 'remain' and *a se afla* 'be situated' and we correlate the data from old Romanian to grammaticalization stages of auxiliaries.

Keywords: grammaticalization, reanalysis, location verb, copula.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

# 1.1. Background

The grammaticalization of motion verbs (change of location and location verbs) as tense and aspect auxiliaries or as passive auxiliaries is largely represented cross-linguistically and well-studied for the Romance languages (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuka 1994: 269, Squartini 1999, 2003, Heine and Kuteva 2002, Stolova 2005, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2014). By contrast, the grammaticalization of motion verbs as copulas does not seem to be attested in the world's languages, as can be seen from Heine et Kuteva's 2002 *World lexicon of grammaticalization* (although, for a possible exception in Sri Lanka Malay, see Nordhoff 2011).

However, in Romanian, many motion verbs may also occur as copulas, taking either subject predicative complements or object predicative complements: *a ajunge* 'arrive > become', *a ieşi* 'go out > become', *a (se) prinde* 'catch > become', *a rămâne* 'remain > be,

RRL, LXV, 2, p. 145-158, București, 2020

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This work was supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0341, within PNCDI III.

A preliminary version of this paper was presented in the workshop on *The Grammaticalization of Motion Verbs in Romance* (September 20-21, 2019, University of Bucharest).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics / University of Bucharest / The Research Institute of the University of Bucharest. E-mails: madalynabotez@yahoo.com, adina.dragomirescu@lingv.ro.

remain in a state', a trece de 'pass > be considered', a (se) tine 'keep, hold > be', a veni 'come > be'. These verbs have in common a dynamic value, their meaning being rather 'become' than just 'be'. On a more widespread path of grammaticalization, many aspectual and inceptive verbs originate from motion verbs: a (se) apuca de 'catch > start', a se opri din 'stop (somewhere) > stop to', a se porni pe 'depart > start to', a prinde a/să 'catch > start', a se pune pe 'sit > start', a urma 'follow > be about to', a sta să 'stay, sit > be about to', a-i veni să 'come > feel like'. There is at least one motion verb used as a passive auxiliary: a veni 'come'; a rămâne 'remain' and a se afla 'be situated' also seem to have a passive (semi)auxiliary usage. The analysis of these verbs is the aim of a collective research project, see https://irhunibuc.wordpress.com/2018/10/04/moving-towards-aspect-copula-and-passive-the-diachronic-reanalysis-of-motion-verbs-in-romanian-mov/.

# 1.2. Working hypothesis

In this paper we aim to test the working hypothesis of the entire project, i.e. the fact that a verb expressing motion develops both a copulative value and an aspectual one (one of the two values being more prominent), whereas a location verb may acquire only one grammaticalized value. This idea was never formulated before in the literature, but cases in which an entire class of verbs grammaticalize in a systematic manner are known from previous work. For instance, Dik (1987) provides an analysis of the propensity of copula verbs towards grammaticalization as auxiliaries.

The first part of our hypothesis is already supported by certain verbs having originally a motion (or postural) meaning, which developed both a copulative value and an aspectual one.

The verb *a (se) tine* 'to keep/hold' (see Dragomirescu 2018) has a copulative usage in (1) and it is an aspectual verb in (2).

- (1) a. El se ține tare/tânăr. 'He is strong/young.'
  - b. El se ține văr cu Ion. 'He is John's cousin.
- (2) a. El se ține de treabă.
  - 'He keeps working.'
    b. *El se ţine* de prostii.
    - 'He keeps doing stupid things.'
  - c. *Şedinţa ţine două ore.* 'The meeting is two hours long.'

The verb *a (se) prinde* 'catch' (see Botez Stănescu 2019) is a copula in (3) and an aspectual verb in (4).

- (3) *Ion se prinde tovarăş cu noi.* 'John becomes our friend.'
- (4) Oile prind a făta. 'The sheep start to calve.'

In the same line, a veni 'come' (Pană Dindelegan 1974: 262–264, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2014, in press, Boioc and Costea 2019, Boioc Apintei and Costea 2020, this issue) is a copula in (5) and an inceptive (aspectual) verb in (6).

- (5) El îmi **vine** văr. 'He is my cousin.'
- (6) Îmi **vine** să plâng. 'I feel like crying."

# 1.3. Methodology and theoretical framework

Using a large corpus of old Romanian texts, we aim to identify, for each case, the "switch context" (Heine 2002: 85) which favoured reanalysis, given that "surface ambiguity" is one of the conditions that reanalysis depends on (Harris and Campbell 1995: 51).

We use the working definitions for grammaticalization and reanalysis, formulated in the current generative models. We embrace the simplest definition of grammaticalization, as the process by which lexical items become functional items; in a technical sense, this represents upward movement on the clausal spine, from the lexical area to the functional domain (and subsequent direct merger in the functional domain) (Roberts and Roussou 2003: 20, 36, 194). It is worth mentioning from the beginning that none of the verbs mentioned is fully grammaticalized. The most advanced on the grammaticalization scale is a veni 'come' as passive auxiliary. The other verbs only underwent reanalysis. Sometimes it is possible to follow Heine's (1993) grammaticalization stages for auxiliation in order to determine the position of each verb on the scale. Given that grammaticalization is not the most helpful theoretical tool one can employ for the study of these verbs, we need to bring into the picture the concept of reanalysis, understood as "a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any modification of its surface manifestation" (Harris and Campbell 1995: 50).

Therefore, the aim of this paper is the examination of two verbs expressing location (as opposed to motion): a rămâne 'remain' and a se afla 'be situated', which are currently used as copulas. Our analysis is based on corpus study, precisely on the investigation of the corpus used for The Syntax of Old Romanian (SOR); although we have investigated a larger corpus, we have mentioned in the Sources only the texts from which the examples used in this article have been excerpted. Our analysis has two major objectives: (i) identifying the switch context and the factors favouring the change from location to copula, and (ii) verifying the second part of our working hypothesis, i.e. location verbs diachronically acquire only one grammatical value, the copulative one in these two cases.

#### 2. STATE OF THE ART

The inventory of the copulative verbs in Romanian, both in the modern language and in the old language, is a controversial problem which we will not take issue with here. We simply consider that a copula verb takes a predicative complement or the clausal equivalent of it. SOR (2016: 171) mentions that, in old Romanian, there is a class of copulas whose origin is the class of location verbs. Of these, only *a ajunge* 'arrive' (7) and *a rămâne* 'remain' (8) have been preserved as copulas in the present-day standard language, whereas *a sta* 'stay' (9) is no longer used as a copula (but only as an aspectual verb, see Dragomirescu 2011, Boioc Apintei and Dragomirescu 2019).

(7)	a.	se nu se		şi	aceştia			
		SĂ <sub>SUBJ</sub> not CL.1	not CL.REFL3PL		these			
		afle			<i>cumnați</i> (Prav.1581: 267 <sup>r</sup> )			
		be.placed.SUBJ.3	brothers-in-law.NOM					
		'these ones do not have to be brothers-in-law'						
	b.	omulu	cela	ce	se	afla	ĭ	
		man.DEF.NOM	that	which	CL.REFL	.3sg be.s	situated.IND.PRES.3SG	
		$nevinovatu$ (CC $^2$ .1581: 53)						
		unguilty.NOM						
		'that man, who is not guilty'						
	c.	de <b>să</b>	va		afla		neștine	
		if CL.REFL.3SG	AUX.FU	T.3SG	be.situa	ted.INF	someone.NOM	
		bolnav spre moarte (ŞT.1644: 30)						
		ill.NOM about death						
		'if someone is ill, about to die'						
	d.	Așea trebuie	și acum	să	să	afle		
		like.this must $\hspace{0.1cm}$ and now $S\check{A}_{SUBJ}$ $\hspace{0.1cm}$ CL.REFL.3PL be.situated.IND.PRES.3PL						
		slugi (NL.~1750–66: 11)						
		servants.NOM						
		'They must still be servants'						
(8)	a.	sătulul <b>rămase</b>			flămând (MC.1620: 121 <sup>v</sup> )			
		full.DEF.NOM remain.PS.3S			hungry.NOM			
		'the stuffed one remained hungry'						
	b.	de va		vedea	că	rămâne		
		if AUX.FU		see.INF	that	remain.	IND.PRES.3SG	
		<i>sărac</i> (FD.1592–604: 539 <sup>r</sup> )						
		poor.NOM						
		'if he sees that he remains poor'						
	c.	iar o parte <b>au</b>		rămas				
		and a part AUX.PERF.3SG remain.PPLE						
		nevândută (DRH.1635: XXIII.85)						
		NEG-sell.PPLE.F.SG						
		'and a part remained unsold'						
	d.	Ştefan-vodă ()			rămas			
		Stephen voivode AUX.PERF.3SG remain.PPLE						
		văduvoiu (NL.~1750–66: 21)						
		widower.NOM						
		'Stephen-voivode remained widower'						

(9)a. acea tocmală să stea that agreement in.order.to SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> stay.SUBJ.3SG întreagă (Prav.1646: 55) intact.F.SG 'that agreement should be respected (= lit. should remain intact)' b. Că feciorul Marco, Comod, stătu lui that son.DEF.NOM GEN Marco Comod stay.IND.PS.3SG împărat (MC.1620: 47°) emperor.NOM 'That son of Marco's, Comod, was emperor'

- numai inima întreagă (ŞT.1644: 84) stă c. ce only heart.F.SG.DEF which intact.F.SG stays 'only the heart which stays intact'
- d. între Nistru Dunăre au şi între between Danube AUX.PERF.3PL between Dniester and *lăcuitori* (CIst.1700–50: 30<sup>v</sup>) stătut stay.PPLE inhabitants.NOM 'they inhabited (= lit. they stayed inhabitants of) the area between the Dniester and the Danube'

SOR (2016: 190–191) also mentions the fact that in the passive construction, several lexical variants of the verb 'be', with different frequency rates, occurred in the 16th century, and were gradually eliminated in the passage to modern Romanian: a se afla 'be situated', a se găsi 'be found', a ajunge 'get', a rămâne 'remain', a sta 'stay, sit, stand', a veni 'come'; they induce a supplementary (dynamic, modal, aspectual) semantic value.

- (10)vinu în some.M.PL.NOM come.IND.PRES.3PL imprison.PPLE.M.PL in tăiat (FN.1693-704: 94) temnită. vin prison.ACC others.M.NOM come.IND.PRES.3PL cut.PPLE.M.PL 'some of them are to be imprisoned, others are to be killed / beheaded' b. găsit CL.REFL.PASS=AUX.PERF.3SG find.PPLE write.PPLE.M.SG 'It was found written' (PIst.~1780: 231) c. Nicio isturie nu **să** află no.F.SG chronicle.F.SG.NOM not CL.REFL.PASS find.IND.PRES.3SG de cinevași (PIst.~1780: 243) scrisă write.PPLE.F.SG by somebody-\$I.ACC 'there is no written history by anyone at all' d. Rămăsese neluată de tată-său
- Keeping in mind the behaviour of other change of location and location verbs, we will focus on the verbs a rămâne 'remain' and a se afla 'be situated' and on their transition from the lexical value to a functional (copulative or aspectual) one.

'it remained untaken by his / her father'

untake.PPLE.F.SG by father.ACC-his/her

(PIst.~1780: 232)

remain.PLUPERF.3SG

(11)

a.

# 3. A RĂMÂNE 'REMAIN'

Dară

vedem

The copulative value of the verb 'remain' is in use since the earliest attested Romanian writings; the predicative complement is frequently an adjective (11) or a participial adjective (12).

în ceastă lume

cești oameni bogați că

- but see.IND.PRES.1PL in this world these people rich.PL that de multe ori pierd şi of many times loose.IND.PRES.3PL everything and <u>săraci</u>. (CC<sup>1</sup>.1567: 146<sup>v</sup>) rămân remain.IND.PRES.3PL poor.PL 'But we see in this world these rich people who often lose everything and remain poor' b. Şi plângea, căce că **rămăsease** and cry.IND.IMPERF.3SG because that remain.IND.PLUPERF.3SG alone în polate. (PI.~1650: 369<sup>r</sup>) in rooms 'And he was crying, because he had remained alone in the small rooms' porâmbul Şi rămas c. AUX.PERF.3SG remain.PPLE dove.DEF and singur. (Sind.1703:100°) alone 'And the dove remained alone' că. **rămâind** d. locul pustiiu, era than remain.GER place.DEF empty be.IND.IMPERF.3SG tălhărit mult (NL.~1750-66: 257) rip.PPLE a lot 'and, as the place remaining uninhabited, it was often ripped off' *necununați* (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 90) (12)și **să** rămânem a. and SĂ.SUBJ remain.SUBJ.1PL unmarried.PL 'we shall remain unmarried'
  - b. **va rămânea** negoțul mieu
    AUX.FUT.3SG remain.INF business.DEF my

    <u>nevândut</u> (Sind.1703:113<sup>r</sup>)
    NEG-sell.PPLE.M.SG
    'my business will remain unsold'
  - c. ca să nu rămâie nici aceasta in.order.to SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> not remain.SUBJ.3SG not this neînsămnată (ULM.~1725:8<sup>r</sup>)

    NEG-mention.PPLE.F.SG

    'in order for this thing not to remain unmentioned'

Followed by a past participle and a *by*-phrase, *a rămâne* appears to also function as a passive auxiliary:

(13)a. socotind ca **să** nu rămâie vreun unghiu not remain.SUBJ.3SG any angle consider.GER that SĂ<sub>SUBI</sub> nepipăit de dânsul (ULM.~1725:21°) NEG=touch.PPLE by him 'considering that there should not remain an angle untouched by him' b. nu rămâie vizirul ruşinat  $S\check{A}_{SUBJ}$ not remain.SUBJ.3SG vizier.DEF ashamed de cătră împăratul (NL.~1750-66:179) emperor.DEF by 'in order for the vizier not to be ashamed by the emperor'

Yet importantly, not very often, a rămâne takes prepositional phrases as predicative complements:

(14)rămânea a. nice voi să nu veti asalike.this neither you.PL if not AUX.FUT.2PL remain.INF întru Mine (Mol.1689:479) in Me

'you will not [be able to have results] if you do not remain in Me'

b. rămâindu sărac și <u>la mare lipsă</u> și cu datorii remain.GER poor and at great need and with debts multe (NL.~1750-66: 38) many

'remaining poor and in great need and with many debts'

rămâie binevoiaște să c. wish.IND.PRES.3SG SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> remain.SUBJ.3SG *fără de păcat* (Mol.1689:327) without of sin 'he wished to remain without sins'

Our assumption is that this was the switch context for the passage from location to copula. While in (15) a rămâne combines with purely locative prepositional phrases, in (14a,b) a metaphorical transfer took place. Locative ceases referring to concrete objects, going beyond Heine's first stage of grammaticalization, where the syntactic structure is characterized by concrete source schemas and where the verb has its full lexical meaning and the complement typically refers to a concrete object (Heine 1993: 59).

(15)a. şi rămânea toți în țară (NL.~1750–66: 252) and AUX.FUT.PL remain.INF all in country 'and they will all remain in the country'

și numai eu sângur pentru voi **să** rămâiu b. and only I alone for you.PL SĂ<sub>SUBI</sub> remain.SUBJ.1SG la păgâni (NL.~1750-66: 218) at pagans 'and I shall remain by myself at the pagans for you'

152

In (16), the adjectival predicative complement (*vii* 'alive') and the locative phrase (*la tine* 'at you') cooccur:

(16) cum să rămâne <u>vii</u> <u>la tine</u> (PO.1582:29) how SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> remain.SUBJ.3PL alive.PL at you 'how they shall remain alive with you'

A special type of construction is the one in which *a rămâne* is followed by a predicative complement realized as a relational noun (*domnu* 'voivode', *paşă* 'pasha'), which also cooccurs with a locative prepositional phrase (*acolo* 'there', *în Iași* 'in Iași'):

- (17)locul vei rămânea acolo a. şi în lui tu remain.INF there and in place.DEF his you AUX.FUT.2SG domnu neschimbat (NL.~1750-66: 203) voivode NEG-change.PPLE.M.SG 'and you will remain there as an unchanged voivode in his place (= continue to be voivode)' b. casă scrie veziriul să
  - in.order.to SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> write.SUBJ.3SG vizier.DEF SĂ<sub>SUBJ</sub> rămâie el <u>paṣă</u> în Iași. (NL.~1750–66: 264) remain.SUBJ.3SG he pasha in Iași

'the vizier should write that he should remain a pasha in Iaşi'

The construction in which *a rămâne* is followed by a verbal complement shows that it reached stage B in Heine's (1993) hierarchy. According to Heine (1993: 59), in this stage the complement refers to a dynamic situation rather than to an object-like entity and the verb can take either nominals or non-finite verbs as complements. Moreover, the verbal complement need not be confined to one kind of construction; rather there may be functionally different but competing constructions such as gerundial, participial, or infinitival complements. The complement may also consist of a clausal construction rather than a non-finite verb.

(18)De vreame ce vițelul iaste un bou au o vacă mică, that calf.DEF given an ox or a cow small.F puține fierturi **rămân** să scrie la vacă few.PL dish.PL remain.IND.PRES.PL A<sub>INF</sub> CL.REFL write.INF at cow *și la bou mare* (CBuc.1749: 33<sup>r</sup>) and at ox big

'Given that the calf is a small ox or cow, only a few dishes are to be mentioned for mature cows and oxen'

### 4. A SE AFLA 'BE SITUATED'

The copulative value is in use since the first attested Romanian texts; the predicative complement is frequently an adjective (19) or a participial adjective (20).

```
(19)
         a.
                  atunce adevăr afla-ne-văm
                            really
                                     be.situated.INF=CL.REFL.1PL=AUX.FUT.1PL
                   then
                   bogati (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581:326)
                  rich.PL
                   'then we will really be rich'
         b.
                   Şi când
                             fи
                                               glasul,
                                                           află-se
                   and when be.PS.3SG
                                               voice.DEF be.situated.IND.PS.3SG=CL.REFL
                   Isus <u>singur</u> (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581:562)
                  Jesus alone
                   'And when the voice was heard, Jesus was alone'
                                                         m\hat{a}nd < r > u,
                                                                            iară altii
         c.
                            esti
                                               tu
                   that
                            be.IND.PRES.3SG you
                                                                            but others
                                                         proud
                                                         şi <u>mai mândri</u> (A.1620:53<sup>v</sup>)
                  să
                            află
                  CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG and more proud.PL
                   'that you are handsome, but other are even prouder'
         d.
                  cărora
                                      eu mă
                                                         aflu
                                                         be.situated.IND.PRES.1SG
                   which.DAT
                                      I CL.REFL
                   dator (Bert.1774: 58<sup>v</sup>)
                   indebted
                   'to which I am indebted'
                  și se
(20)
                                     află
                                                                   <u>sângerată</u>
         a.
                                      be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG
                                                                  stained.with.blood
                  and CL.REFL
                  inema
                                      lui (FD.1592-604: 513<sup>r</sup>)
                  heart.DEF
                                     his
                   'and his heart is stained with blood'
                  de ne
         b.
                                                         afla
                                                                            îmbrăcaţ,
                                      vom
                  if CL.REFL
                                      AUX.PERF.1PL
                                                         be.situated.INF
                                                                            dress.up.PPLE
                  nu goli (SVI.~1670:154<sup>r</sup>)
                  not undressed
                   'if we are to be dressed up, not undressed'
```

The predicative complement realized as a prepositional phrase is also attested. However, in contrast to a rămâne, for a se afla this context does not seem to have played a crucial role in the passage from location to copula.

```
(21)
         a.
                   el <u>fără</u>
                                       <u>teamă</u>
                                                           află
                   he without
                                       fear
                                                 CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG and
                   cu îndrăznire (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581:148)
                   with daring
                   'he is brave and courageous'
                                                                     fără păcate (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581:519)
         b.
                   după ce se
                                       află
                             CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PS.3SG
                   after
                                                                     without sins
                   'after he was without sins'
```

Rarely, a se afla takes nominal predicative complements:

(22)Așea trebuie și acum să a. like.this should and now  $S\check{A}_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL afle slugi, să slujască be.situated.IND.PRES.3PL servant.PL serve.SUBJ.3PL  $S\check{A}_{SUBJ}$ stăpânului (NL.~1750-66: 11) master.DEF.DAT 'They should be servants now too, to serve the master' b. aflându-să neprieteni împărățiii despre be.situated.GER=CL.REFL unfriend.PL emperors.DEF from această margine (NL.~1750-66: 47) edge

'the emperors of this edge not being friends'

Followed by a past participle and a *by*-phrase, *a se afla* seems to also function as a passive auxiliary:

(23)la un letopiseț sârbescu a. Află-se scris at a chronicle Serbian find.IND.PS.3SG=CL.REFL write.PPLE de Azarie călugărul (ULM.~1725: 15<sup>v</sup>) by Azarie monk.DEF 'This was written by Azarie the monk in a Serbian chronicle' și semne prin stânci de piatră în doao locuri b. and signs in rocks of stone in two places află făcute să de Laslău craiul

'and in two places there are signs on the rocks made by Prince Laslău' (ULM. $\sim$ 1725:  $4^v$ )

c. aceasta poveste nu să află însămnată
this story not CL.REFL find.IND.PRES.3SG mention.PPLE
de Ureche (ULM.~1725: A1f8)
by Ureche
'this story is not mentioned by Ureche'

CL.REFL find.IND.PRES.3SG make.PPLE by Laslau prince.DEF

The identification of the switch context is more complicated than for *a rămâne*. Several factors are at play:

(i) the verb a se afla is often synonymous with the verb a fi 'be', with all its values (existential, locative, etc.) (see DA, s.v. afla); there are even verbal periphrases where a se afla appears to be equal a fi (24);

(24)Acesta unul află numai având se this one CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG only have.GER simțirile sufletului zdravene (SVI.~1670: 47<sup>v</sup>) senses.DEF soul.DEF.GEN sound 'this one exists only when the senses of the soul are sound'

b. deaca se vrea afla
if CL.REFL AUX.COND.3SG be.situated

11

- (ii) the verb a afla (initially a different lexical item, which seems to have influenced its homonymous pair, a se afla) is often used with an object predicative complement;
- luiş (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 260) (25)ei<u>destoinici</u> and find.IND.PS.3SG them worthy him.DAT 'and he found them worthy of him'
  - b. Dentr-o mie de bărbati, multi **aflaiu** from=a thousand of men many find.IND.PS.1SG buni (FD.1592-604: 472<sup>r</sup>) good.PL.M

'From a thousand men, I found many of them good'

- pre aceale Mearse Lot și află <u>adurmite</u> c. DOM those go.PS.2SG Lot and find.IND.PS.3SG asleep.PL.F fiară ce păziia focul. (LC.~1650: 194) beasts which watch.IMPERF.3PL fire.DEF 'Lot went there and found the beasts which were supposed to watch the fire asleep'
- d. Şi **află** poarta <u>închisă</u>. (PI.~1650: 337<sup>v</sup>) and find.IND.PS.3SG door.DEF closed.F 'and he found the door closed'
- (iii) the verb a afla (with the meaning 'find') is often used in the se-passive form (cf. the passive with a se afla 'be situated', in (23)).
- (26)Întrebă Isus Naviin cercă pre toți ask.PS.3SG Jesus Naviin DOM all and test.PS.3SG Ahar vinovat. (PI.~1650: 257<sup>r</sup>) află Şi CL.PASS find and Ahar guilty 'Jesus asked Navin and tested all and Ahar was found guilty'

Given all these factors, we think the following **ingredients** have been crucial for the switch context:

- 1. in the se-passive structure (in (26)), the se marker has been reanalysed as an obligatory reflexive morpheme;
- 2. the lexical meaning of a se afla ("be placed") vs a afla ("find out") collapsed, and the result of this are the contexts such as (27), where an adjectival predicative phrase or a prepositional predicative phrase co-occurs with a locative phrase.
- (27)[multe mistuite şi ascunsă]<sub>predicative</sub> aflară CL.REFL(PASS) find/be.situated.IND.PS.3PL many burn.up.PPLE and hidden [pen ţară]<sub>locative</sub> (NL.~1750-66:119) in country

'Many things were (found) burned up and hidden in the country'

#### 5. CONCLUSIONS

In contrast to motion verbs, the location verbs analysed in this paper have not developed two values: the copulative value is attested, whereas the aspectual one is not (see also *a sta* ('stay'), which is preserved only with the aspectual value, Boioc Apintei and Dragomirescu 2019).

Even if the two verbs on which we focused in this paper appear to be similar, it may be argued that they underwent different diachronic processes:

- (i) a rămâne became a copula in contexts in which the original locative prepositional phrase lost its basic meaning and started referring to more abstract notions, via a metaphorical transfer; a rămâne also started to take verbal complements, a fact which suggests it reached a higher level in Heine's (1993) hierarchy; the passive auxiliary function could have been of help, since there are no important differences between the passive auxiliary and the copula, except for the complement they take; however, the past participle is a common type of complement, therefore, at least at the surface, the two structures are similar;
- (ii) for a se afla, the story is more complicated: a lexical overlap between a se afla ('be situated') and a afla ('find'), the partial synonymy with a fi ('be'), the frequent usage as a passive auxiliary (which is not to different from the copulative one), the transitive value and the ability to take object predicative complements, the formal overlap between the inherent reflexive (a se afla 'be situated') and the reflexive passive of a afla ('find'), all these factors favoured the emergence of contexts in which a se afla selects a subjective predicative complement.

A common feature of the two processes is that grammaticalization is in a very incipient stage, if we take into consideration Heine's (1993) criteria for auxiliation. If we consider grammaticalization as a simpler 3/4-step process, involving desemanticization, cliticization, erosion (Heine 1993) / desemanticization, decategorization, coalescence, erosion (Lehmann 1995), these verbs only underwent desemanticization (via metaphorical transfer or sematic overlapping).

### SOURCES

- A.1620 *Alexandria*. Ed. F. Zgraon, Bucharest: Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2005 (*Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română*, 11).
- Bert.1774 *Bertoldo*. Ed. Magdalena Georgescu, Bucharest: Minerva, 1999 (*Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română*, 3), 157–239.
- CBuc.1749 Carte întru carea să scriu mâncările. Ed.: O lume într-o carte de bucate. Manuscris din epoca brâncovenească, ed. I. Constantinescu, 1997, Bucharest: Editura Fundației Culturale Române.
- CC<sup>1</sup>.1567 Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor*. Ed.: Coresi, *Tâlcul evangheliilor și molitvenic românesc*, ed. V. Drimba, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1998, 31–187.
- CC<sup>2</sup>.1581 Coresi, *Evanghelie cu învățătură*. Ed. S. Puşcariu, Al. Procopovici: Diaconul Coresi, *Carte cu învățătură (1581)*, vol. I, *Textul*, Bucharest: Socec, 1914.
- CIst.1700–50 Constantin Cantacuzino, Istoria Țării Românești. Ed.: Istoria Țărâi Rumânești atribuită stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino, ed. O. Dragomir, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2006, 145–202.
- DA Dicționarul limbii române, 2010, Tomul I, A-B, Editura Academiei Române.

- DRH Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Tara Românească, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1965: vol. XXI (1626); 1969: vol. XXIII (1630-2); 1974: vol. XXIV (1633-4); 1998: vol. XXX (1645); 2003: vol. XXXI (1646); 2002: vol. XXXIV (1649); vol. XXXV (1650); 2006: vol. XXXVII (1652); 2009: vol. XXXVIII (1653).
- FD.1592-604 Floarea darurilor. Ed. Alexandra Roman Moraru, Bucharest: Minerva, 1996 (Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română, 1), 119-82.
- FN.1693-704 Foletul Novel. Calendarul lui Constantin Vodă Brâncoveanu (1693-1704), ed. E. Vârtosu, Bucharest: Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, 1942, 4-194.
- LC.~1650 Lemnul crucii. Ed. E. Timotin, Bucharest: Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2001 (Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română, 5), 193–9.
- MC.1620 M. Moxa, Cronograf. Ed.: Mihail Moxa, Cronica universală, ed. G. Mihăilă, Bucharest: Minerva, 1989, 95-223.
- Mol.1689 Molităvnic. Ed. A. Dumitran, A.-M. Gherman, A. Vanca, Alba Iulia: Reîntregirea, 2009, 163-1075.
- NL.~1750-66 Ion Neculce, Letopisețul. Ed.: Ion Neculce, Letopisețul Tării Moldovei și O samă de cuvinte, ed. I. Iordan, Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, ed. a II-a, 1959, 31-388.
- PI.~1650 Palia istorică. Ed. A. Roman Moraru, M. Moraru, Bucharest: Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2001, 101–243 (Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română, 4).
- PIst.~1780 Radu Popescu, Istoriile domnilor Țării Românești. Ed. Cronicari munteni, I, ed. M. Gregorian, 225-577.
- PO.1582 Palia de la Orăștie. Ed. V. Pamfil, Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1968.
- Prav. 1581 Pravila ritorului Lucaci. Ed. I. Rizescu, Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1971, 161-83.
- Prav.1646 Carte românească de învățătură. Ed.: Carte românească de învățătură. 1646, ed. Colectivul pentru vechiul drept românesc condus de acad. A. Rădulescu, Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1961, 33-106.
- Sind.1703 Sindipa. Ed. M. Georgescu, Bucharest: Minerva, 1996 (Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română, 1), 249-315.
- ŞT.1644 Şeapte taine a besearecii, Iaşi, 1644. Ed. I. Mazilu, Iaşi: Editura Universitatii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2012, 173-259.
- SVI.~1670 Varlaam și Ioasaf. Ed.: M. Stanciu Istrate, Reflexe ale medievalității europene în cultura română veche: Varlaam și Ioasaf în cea mai veche versiune a traducerii lui Udriște Năsturel, Bucharest: Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române, 2013, 82-325.
- ULM.~1725 Grigore Ureche, Letopisețul Țării Moldovei. Ed. P. P. Panaitescu, Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1955, 57-210.

#### REFERENCES

- Boioc, A., S. Costea, 2019, "Quand venir c'est être. A veni « venir » en tant que verbe copulatif en roumain", talk given at Le XXIXe Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes, University of Copenhagen.
- Boioc Apintei, A., A. Dragomirescu, 2019, "STARE in the Romance Languages. The view from Romanian", paper presented at the workshop Syntactic variation in Romance, Al 19-lea Colocviu internațional al Departamentului de Lingvistică, Bucharest, November 22-23 2019.
- Boioc Apintei, A., Ş. Costea, 2020, "When a veni 'to come' becomes a fi 'to be'. A veni 'to come' as a copulative verb in Romanian", Revue roumaine de linguistique, LXV, 2, current issue.
- Botez Stănescu, M., 2019, "Gramaticalizarea verbului de miscare a se prinde", in: A. Dragomirescu, O. Niculescu, C. Uşurelu, R. Zafiu (eds.), Româna și limbile romanice. Actele celui de al XVIII-lea Colocviu Internațional al Departamentului de Lingvistică (București, 23–24 noiembrie 2018), București, Editura Universității din București, 13-20.

- Bybee, J., R. Perkins, W. Pagliuka, 1994, *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World, Chicago*, London, The University of Chicago Press.
- Dik, S.C., 1987, "Copula auxiliarization: How and why?", in: M. Harris, P. Ramat (eds), *Historical Development of Auxiliaries*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, Mouton de Gruyter, 53–84.
- Dragomirescu, A., 2011, "De la mișcare și localizare la aspect. Câteva situații de gramaticalizare (*stă să, se pune pe*)", in: R. Zafiu, C. Uşurelu, H. Bogdan-Oprea (eds), *Limba română. Ipostaze ale variației lingvistice*, vol. I, București, Editura Universității din București, 95–104.
- Dragomirescu, A., 2018, "A (se) ține de la verb lexical la verb copulativ și aspectual", Limba română, LXVII, 3-4, 259–270.
- Dragomirescu, A., A. Nicolae, 2014, "The multiple grammaticalization of Romanian *veni* 'come'. Focusing of the passive construction", in: M. Devos, J. van der Wal (eds), Come *and* go *off* the beaten of grammaticalization path, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 69–100.
- Dragomirescu, A., A. Nicolae, in press, "From *motion* to *desire*: the grammaticalization of a change of location unaccusative construction in Romanian", *Probus*.
- Harris, A. C., L. Campbell, 1995, Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, B., 1993, Auxiliaries. Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization, New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Heine, B., 2002, "On the role of the context in grammaticalization", în: Ilse Wischer, Gabriele Diewald (eds), New Reflections on Grammaticalization, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Benjamins, 83–101
- Heine, B., T. Kuteva, 2002, World Lexicon of Grammaticalization, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lehmann, C., 1995, Thoughts on Grammaticalization, München, Lincom.
- Nordhoff, S., 2011, "Having *come* to be a copula in Sri Lanka Malay an unusual grammaticalization path", *Folia Linguistica*, 45, 1, 103–126.
- Pană Dindelegan, G., 1974, Sintaxa transformațională a grupului verbal în limba română, București, Editura Academiei.
- Roberts, I., A. Roussou, 2003, Syntactic Change, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- SOR = G. Pană Dindelegan (ed.), 2016, *The Syntax of Old Romanian*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Squartini, M., 1999, "Voice clashing with Aspect: the case of Italian passives", *Rivista di linguistica*, 11, 341–365.
- Squartini, M., 2003, "La grammaticalizzazione di <venire + participio> in Italiano: anticausativo o risultativo", in: C. D. Pusch, A. Wesch (eds.), Verbalperiphrasen in den (Ibero-)romanischen Sprachen, Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag, 23–34.
- Stolova, N. I., 2005, "Expressing Time trough Space: A Comparative Diachronic Perspective on Romance Periphrastic Past and Future", in: M. Coene, L. Tasmowski (coord.), On Space and Time in Language, Cluj-Napoca, Clusium, 193–207.