THE ROMANIAN VERBS *A RĂMÂNE* 'REMAIN' AND *A SE AFLA* 'BE SITUATED' ON THE GRAMMATICALIZATION SCALE[1]

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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,

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remain in a state', *a trece de* 'pass > be considered', *a (se) ține* '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) ține* '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 ține** de prostii.*
'He keeps doing stupid things.'
c. *Şedința **ține** 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.'

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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

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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$_{SUBJ}$ not CL.REFL.3PL also these
afle *cumnaţi* (Prav.1581: 267^{r})
be.placed.SUBJ.3PL brothers-in-law.NOM
'these ones do not have to be brothers-in-law'

b. *omulu* *cela* *ce* ***se*** ***află***
man.DEF.NOM that which CL.REFL.3SG be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG
nevinovatu (CC^{2}.1581: 53)
unguilty.NOM
'that man, who is not guilty'

c. *de* ***să*** ***va*** ***afla*** *neştine*
if CL.REFL.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG be.situated.INF someone.NOM
bolnav spre moarte (ŞT.1644: 30)
ill.NOM about death
'if someone is ill, about to die'

d. *Aşea* *trebuie* *şi acum* ***să*** ***să*** ***afle***
like.this must and now SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.3PL be.situated.IND.PRES.3PL
slugi (NL.~1750–66: 11)
servants.NOM
'They must still be servants'

(8) a. *sătulul* ***rămase*** *flămând* (MC.1620: 121^{v})
full.DEF.NOM remain.PS.3SG hungry.NOM
'the stuffed one remained hungry'

b. *de* *va* *vedea* *că* ***rămâne***
if AUX.FUT.3SG see.INF that remain.IND.PRES.3SG
sărac (FD.1592–604: 539^{r})
poor.NOM
'if he sees that he remains poor'

c. *iar o parte* ***au*** ***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 (...)* ***au*** ***rămas***
Stephen voivode AUX.PERF.3SG remain.PPLE
văduvoiu (NL.~1750–66: 21)
widower.NOM
'Stephen-voivode remained widower'

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(9) a. *acea tocmală ca* ***să*** ***stea***
that agreement in.order.to SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ stay.SUBJ.3SG
întreagă (Prav.1646: 55)
intact.F.SG
'that agreement should be respected (= lit. should remain intact)'

b. *Că feciorul lui Marco, Comod,* ***stătu***
that son.DEF.NOM GEN Marco Comod stay.IND.PS.3SG
împărat (MC.1620: 47^{v})
emperor.NOM
'That son of Marco's, Comod, was emperor'

c. *numai inima ce* ***stă*** *întreagă* (ŞT.1644: 84)
only heart.F.SG.DEF which stays intact.F.SG
'only the heart which stays intact'

d. *între Nistru şi între Dunăre* ***au***
between Dniester and between Danube AUX.PERF.3PL
stătut *lăcuitori* (CIst.1700–50: 30^{v})
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) a. *unii* ***vinu*** ***închişi*** *în*
some.M.PL.NOM come.IND.PRES.3PL imprison.PPLE.M.PL in
temniță, alții ***vin*** ***tăiaț*** (FN.1693–704: 94)
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. ***s-au*** ***găsit*** ***scris***
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
scrisă *de cinevaşi* (PIst.~1780: 243)
write.PPLE.F.SG by somebody-*ŞI*.ACC
'there is no written history by anyone at all'

d. ***Rămăsese*** ***neluată*** *de tată-său*
remain.PLUPERF.3SG untake.PPLE.F.SG by father.ACC-his/her
'it remained untaken by his / her father' (PIst.~1780: 232)

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.

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3. *A RĂMÂNE* ‘REMAIN’

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).

(11) a. *Dară vedem în ceastă lume ceşti oameni bogaţi că*
but see.IND.PRES.1PL in this world these people rich.PL that
de multe ori pierd tot şi
of many times loose.IND.PRES.3PL everything and
rămân *săraci.* (CC[1].1567: 146[v])
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*** *sângur*
and cry.IND.IMPERF.3SG because that remain.IND.PLUPERF.3SG alone
în polate. (PI.~1650: 369[r])
in rooms
‘And he was crying, because he had remained alone in the small rooms’

c. *Şi* ***au*** ***rămas*** *porâmbul*
and AUX.PERF.3SG remain.PPLE dove.DEF
singur. (Sind.1703:100[v])
alone
‘And the dove remained alone’

d. *că,* ***rămâind*** *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’

(12) a. *şi* ***să*** ***rămânem*** *necununaţi* (CC[2].1581: 90)
and SĂ.SUBJ remain.SUBJ.1PL unmarried.PL
‘we shall remain unmarried’

b. ***va*** ***rămânea*** *negoţul mieu*
AUX.FUT.3SG remain.INF business.DEF my
nevândut (Sind.1703:113[r])
NEG-sell.PPLE.M.SG
‘my business will remain unsold’

c. *ca* ***să*** ***nu rămâie*** *nici aceasta*
in.order.to $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ not remain.SUBJ.3SG not this
neînsămnată (ULM.~1725:8[r])
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:

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(13) a. *socotind* *ca* ***să*** ***nu rămâie*** *vreun unghiu*
consider.GER that $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ not remain.SUBJ.3SG any angle
nepipăit *de dânsul* (ULM.~1725:21[r])
NEG=touch.PPLE by him
'considering that there should not remain an angle untouched by him'

b. ***să*** ***nu rămâie*** *vizirul* *ruşinat*
$SĂ_{SUBJ}$ not remain.SUBJ.3SG vizier.DEF ashamed
de cătră *împăratul* (NL.~1750-66:179)
by emperor.DEF
'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) a. *aşa* *nice* *voi* ***să nu veţi*** ***rămânea***
like.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 şi* *la mare lipsă* *şi 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'

c. *binevoiaşte* ***să*** ***rămâie***
wish.IND.PRES.3SG $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ 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* ***or*** ***rămânea*** *toţi în ţară* (NL.~1750–66: 252)
and AUX.FUT.PL remain.INF all in country
'and they will all remain in the country'

b. *şi numai eu* *sângur* *pentru voi* ***să*** ***rămâiu***
and only I alone for you.PL $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ remain.SUBJ.1SG
la păgâni (NL.~1750-66: 218)
at pagans
'and I shall remain by myself at the pagans for you'

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

(16) *cum* ***să*** ***rămâne*** *vii* *la tine* (PO.1582:29)
how $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ 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 Iaşi* 'in Iaşi'):

(17) a. *şi în* *locul* *lui tu* ***vei*** ***rămânea acolo***
and in place.DEF his you AUX.FUT.2SG remain.INF there
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. *ca* *să* *scrie* *veziriul* ***să***
in.order.to $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ write.SUBJ.3SG vizier.DEF $SĂ_{SUBJ}$
rămâie *el paşă* ***în Iaşi***. (NL.~1750–66: 264)
remain.SUBJ.3SG he pasha in Iaşi
'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 viţelul* *iaste* *un bou* *au o vacă mică,*
given that calf.DEF is an ox or a cow small.F
puţine fierturi ***rămân*** *a* *să* *scrie* *la vacă*
few.PL dish.PL remain.IND.PRES.PL A_{INF} CL.REFL write.INF at cow
şi la bou mare (CBuc.1749: 33[r])
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).

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(19) a. *atunce adevăr* ***afla-ne-văm***
then really be.situated.INF=CL.REFL.1PL=AUX.FUT.1PL
bogaţi (CC[2].1581:326)
rich.PL
'then we will really be rich'

b. *Şi când fu glasul,* ***află-se***
and when be.PS.3SG voice.DEF be.situated.IND.PS.3SG=CL.REFL
Isus singur (CC[2].1581:562)
Jesus alone
'And when the voice was heard, Jesus was alone'

c. *că eşti tu mând<r>u, iară alţii*
that be.IND.PRES.3SG you proud but others
să află *şi mai mândri* (A.1620:53[v])
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***
which.DAT I CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PRES.1SG
dator (Bert.1774: 58[v])
indebted
'to which I am indebted'

(20) a. *şi* ***se*** ***află*** *sângerată*
and CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG stained.with.blood
inema lui (FD.1592-604: 513[r])
heart.DEF his
'and his heart is stained with blood'

b. *de* ***ne*** ***vom*** ***afla*** *îmbrăcaţ,*
if CL.REFL AUX.PERF.1PL be.situated.INF dress.up.PPLE
nu goli (SVI.~1670:154[r])
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 fără teamă* ***se*** ***află*** *şi*
he without fear CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG and
cu îndrăznire (CC[2].1581:148)
with daring
'he is brave and courageous'

b. *după ce* ***se*** ***află*** *fără păcate* (CC[2].1581:519)
after CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PS.3SG without sins
'after he was without sins'

Rarely, *a se afla* takes nominal predicative complements:

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(22) a. *Aşea trebuie şi acum* ***să*** ***să***
like.this should and now $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL
afle *slugi*, *să* *slujască*
be.situated.IND.PRES.3PL servant.PL $SĂ_{SUBJ}$ serve.SUBJ.3PL
stăpânului (NL.~1750-66: 11)
master.DEF.DAT
'They should be servants now too, to serve the master'

b. ***aflându-să*** *neprieteni* *împărăţiii* *despre*
be.situated.GER=CL.REFL unfriend.PL emperors.DEF from
această margine (NL.~1750-66: 47)
this 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) a. ***Află-se*** ***scris*** *la un letopiseţ sârbescu*
find.IND.PS.3SG=CL.REFL write.PPLE at a chronicle Serbian
de Azarie călugărul (ULM.~1725: 15^{v})
by Azarie monk.DEF
'This was written by Azarie the monk in a Serbian chronicle'

b. *şi semne prin stânci* *de piatră în doao locuri*
and signs in rocks of stone in two places
să ***află*** ***făcute*** *de Laslău craiul*
CL.REFL find.IND.PRES.3SG make.PPLE by Laslău prince.DEF
'and in two places there are signs on the rocks made by Prince Laslău'
(ULM.~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'

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) a. *Acesta unul* ***se*** ***află*** *numai* ***având***
this one CL.REFL be.situated.IND.PRES.3SG only have.GER
simţirile *sufletului* *zdravene* (SVI.~1670: 47^{v})
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

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mâniindu-l (SVI.~1670: 214[r])
get.angry=CL.ACC.M.3SG
'if he would get him angry'

(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;

(25) a. *şi* ***află*** *ei* *destoinici* *luiş* (CC[2].1581: 260)
and find.IND.PS.3SG them worthy him.DAT
'and he found them worthy of him'

b. *Dentr-o mie* *de bărbaţi,* *mulţi* ***aflaiu***
from=a thousand of men many find.IND.PS.1SG
buni (FD.1592-604: 472[r])
good.PL.M
'From a thousand men, I found many of them good'

c. *Mearse* *Lot şi* ***află*** *adurmite* *pre aceale*
go.PS.2SG Lot and find.IND.PS.3SG asleep.PL.F DOM those
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* *închisă.* (PI.~1650: 337[v])
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* *şi* *cercă* *pre toţi*
ask.PS.3SG Jesus Naviin and test.PS.3SG DOM all
şi ***să*** ***află*** *Ahar vinovat.* (PI.~1650: 257[r])
and CL.PASS find 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) ***Să*** ***aflară*** [*multe mistuite* *şi ascunsă*]$_{\text{predicative}}$
CL.REFL(PASS) find/be.situated.IND.PS.3PL many burn.up.PPLE and hidden
[*pen ţară*]$_{\text{locative}}$ (NL.~1750-66:119)
in country
'Many things were (found) burned up and hidden in the country'

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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).

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