# FROM VERBS OF MOTION TO ASPECTUAL AND COPULA VERBS A INTRA 'ENTER' AND A IEŞI 'EXIT'

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Abstract. The paper discusses the trajectory that the two initially verbs of motion *intra* 'enter' and *ieşi* 'exit' undergo from verbs of motion to copula verbs and the mechanisms the come to designate a *become*/quasi-resultative meaning, passing through a partially common type of evolution. We argue that the mechanism which can explain their evolution is reanalysis. The verb *intra* goes from the motion meaning through an inceptive meaning ('begin a process') to the *become* meaning ('acquire a new status or rank), with the switch context being that with an adjectival predication. The verb *ieşi* goes from the motion meaning through a terminative meaning ('end a process') to a quasi-resultative meaning ('about a process') end up in a certain way'), with the switch context most likely being that with a nominal predication.

**Keywords**: motion, copula, reanalysis, inceptive, terminative, adjectival predication, nominal predication.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

In all Romance languages, fully lexical motion verbs undergo grammaticalization to operators with an aspectual, modal, passive function, as can be seen from the diachronic categorial/semantic/syntactic and phonetic transformations documented in the literature (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuka 1994; Heine, Kuteva 2002).

The present article is part of a larger project dealing with the grammaticalization of motion verbs in Romanian by following their diachronic development. The main goals of project were to establish the complete inventory of motion verbs in Romanian which undergo diachronic reanalysis/grammaticalization and to identify the mechanisms which explain the transfers and the contexts which favour the change to another meaning or to a new function.

In the current analysis, we will only tackle the verbs *a intra* 'enter' and *a ieşi* 'exit' which seem to behave similarly with respect to changes they undergo (motion > aspectual >

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copula) and we will sketch their historical evolution from motion verbs to copula verbs. The paper is structured as follows: Section 1 is an overview of the class of copula verbs in the old language. In Section 2 we refer briefly to how the problem of motion verbs reanalysed as copulas was documented in the literature; in Section 3 we describe the uses or meanings covered by the two verbs under scrutiny and sketch the mechanisms by which they came to encode aspectual/copula uses. Section 4 contains the analysis for the key contexts identified in the process of the grammaticalization and the conclusions.

#### 2. COPULA VERBS IN ROMANIAN. SOME NOTES ON THE INVENTORY

In the old language, the class of copula verbs is very heterogeneous, subsuming (SOR 2016: 169–174): the semantically neutral verb *a fi* 'be', naming verbs (*a se chema, a se grăi, a se numi, a se zice* 'be called') (1), verbs of location (*a se afla* 'be placed', *a rămâne* 'remain', *a sta* 'stay') (2), motion or contact verbs (*a ajunge* 'arrive', *a intra* 'enter', *a ieși* 'exit; go out', *a se prinde* 'catch', *a purcede* 'proceed', *a se ridica* 'raise', *a sosi* 'arrive', *a se ține* 'hold', *a veni* 'come') (3) change of state verbs (*a se face* 'make') (4) or verbs which express a nonfactive modal value ((5) *a (se) părea* 'seem', *a se arăta* 'show', sporadically, *a se închipui* 'imagine').

```
(1)
        a. în
                 Tara
                                   Brașeului,
                                                                              cheamă
                 country.DEF
                                   Brășeu
                                                             CL.REFL.ACC.3SG is.named
        in
                                                    which
        cu
                 altŭ
                          nume
                                   Bârsa (CLM.1700-1750: 184)
        with
                 other
                                   Bârsa
                          name
        'Brăseu County, which is also called Bârsa'
                 cealaltă parte
        b. iară
                                  а
                                                    stihului,
                                                                     care
                 the.otherpart
        and
                                   AL.GEN
                                                    verse.DEF.GEN
                                                                      which
        să
                          numeste
                                           cadentia (EG.1757: 122<sup>r</sup>)
        CL.REFL.ACC.3SG is.named
                                           cadence
        'And the other part of the verse which is called cadence'
(2)
        a. Atunci
                          această
                                           tocmală
                                                                     stea
        then
                          this.FEM.SG
                                           agreement
                                                             să.subj stay.subj.3sg
        adevărată (Prav.1646: 112)
        'Thus our agreement should remain valid'
                 dup-îns stătu
                                           Marco
                                                    domn (MC.1620: 46<sup>r</sup>)
        b. Şi
                 after-him stay.PS.3SG
                                           Marco
        and
                                                    emperor
        'And after him Marco was the emperor'
                 hrănitoriul
        c.O,
                                  nostru
                                                    mângâiarea
                                                                     tinereatelor
                                                    consolation.DEF
                 nurturer
                                                                     youth.PL.GEN
        oh,
                                  our.M.SG
        noastre, cui
                                                    laş
                                  ne
                                                                     pre
                                                                              noi.
                                  CL.ACC.1PL
                                                    leave.2sG
        our.F.PL whom.DAT
                                                                     DOM
                                                                              115
                 rămânem
                                  săraci? (Ev.1642: 474)
        carii
        who
                 remain.1PL
                                   poor
         'Oh, our nurturer, the consolation of our youth, to whom are you leaving us, who
         remain poor?'
```

```
(3)
                                            pre
        a. Au
                          ajuns
                                                     pământ
        AUX.PERF.3SG
                          arrive.PPLE
                                            on
                                                     earth
        inger (BB.1688: XXIX, apud SOR 2016: 171)
        angel
         'He became an angel on earth'
        b. au
                 întrat
                                            la
                                                     mare
                                                              mânie (Bert.1774: 10<sup>v</sup>)
        have.3PLenter.PPLE
                                   all.F.PL at
                                                     great
                                                              anger
         'All became very angry
                                                     însura
        c. nu
                 poci
                                   me
                                                                       cu
                                                                                nusa
        not
                 can
                          A.INF
                                   CL.REFL.1SG
                                                     marry.INF
                                                                       with
                                                                                her
                                                     prinde
                                                                       îmă (Prav.1581: 229<sup>v</sup>)
        că
                 mi
        because CL.DAT.1SG
                                   CL.REFL.ACC.3SG catch.PRES.3SG
                                                                       mother
        'I cannot marry her, for she is my mother'
                                   grea
        d. Şi
                 purceasă
                                            femeaia
                                                              Şi
        and
                 proceed.PS.3SG
                                   heavy
                                            woman.DEF
                                                              and
                                   fiiu (DPar.1683: III.60<sup>r</sup>)
        născu
        give.birth.PS.3SG son
         'And the woman became pregnant and she gave birth to a boy'
        e. Deaca muri
                                   mosul lu
                                                     Romil, Amulie, atunce
        when
                 die.PS.3SG
                                   old.man LUI
                                                     Romil
                                                             Amulie then
                          rădică
                                            împărat Romil (MC.1620: 30<sup>v</sup>)
        se
                                            emperor Romil
        CL.REFL.ACC.3SG raise.PS.3SG
         'And when Romil's grandfather, Amulie, died, Romilbecame an emperor'
        f. Şi
                 sosi
                                   voevod răsăritului
                                                              şi-i
                 arrive.PS.3SG
                                   Voivode East.DEF.GEN
        and
                                                              and=CL.DAT.3SG
                                                              boiarin (MC.1620: 88<sup>r</sup>)
        află
                 ajutoriu Artavazd,
                                            anume un
        find
                 help
                          Artavazd
                                            that.is
                                                              boyard
                                                     a
         'And he became the voivode of the East and he had Artavazd, a boyard, as his help'
        a. iară
(4)
                                                                       poiană
                 ea
                                            face
                                                     moartă în
                 she
                          CL.REFL.ACC.3SG makes
                                                     dead
                                                                       meadow
        and
                                                              in
                 tinde
                          picioarele (FD.1592–1604: 550°)
        şi
                 stretches legs.DEF
        and
        'And she plays dead in the meadow and stretches her legs'
        b. Atunce
                          boiarinul
                                            den
                                                     domn
        then
                          boyard.DEF
                                            from
                                                     sovereign
                                                                       CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
        face
                 rob (Prav.1646: 97)
        makes
                 slave
        'And then the boyard turns from an emperor into a servant'
(5)
                 adevărat vă
                                                                                vorbele
                                                              amar
                                                                       acum
        with
                 truth
                          CL.DAT.2PL
                                            seem.PRES.3PL
                                                              bitter
                                                                                words
                                                                       now
                 nefiind
                                   obicinuiți
                                                              dânsele (AD.1722–1725: 99<sup>v</sup>)
        meale
                                                     cu
                 NE-be.GER
                                   used.M.PL
                                                     with
                                                              them
        'You really find my words bitter, because you are not used to them'
```

On the one hand, some of the verbs above have been eliminated from use or have only lost their copula uses. On the other hand, the class of copula verbs enriched with numerous other members. In what follows, we will only refer to two verbs -a intra 'enter' and a iesi 'exit' - following their evolution from motion verbs to copula verbs.

# 3. FROM VERBS OF MOTION TO (PSEUDO)COPULAR VERBS IN OTHER ROMANCE LANGUAGES

It is well known that locative and motion verbs in Romance languages illustrate numerous cases of poligrammaticalization, i.e. periphrastic constructions in which a lexical unit is only used grammatically (as an auxiliary or semi-auxiliary) to cover different categories (mood, tense, aspect, copula, voice).

As we have already mentioned, the class of copula verbs is characterized by a high degree of semantic heterogeneity. Although the transition from motion verbs to copula verbs may be mentioned in the literature for specific languages (see, for example, the inventory established by Lauwers, Tobback 2010 for French; see also Wettere 2018) there are not many comparative works to document a distinct subclass of Romance motion verbs which developed into copulas. However, a comparative list of motion verbs turning into copulas is found in Van Peteghem (1991: 174), who mentions state copula verbs (fr.être, rester, demeurer, sp. estar, quedar, meterse, it. (ri)trovarsi, rom. a se găsi, a se afla be found) as well as copula verbs derived from verbs of motion (fr. passer, tourner, sp. irse, tornarse, llegar a, rom. a cădea 'fall down', a se băga'get in(to)').

Referring strictly to the verbs analyzed in the present paper, we notice that they have a different behaviour with respect to the semantic changes they undergo: the aspectual value is present on a widescale in Romance language, whereas the copular value is more limited cross-linguistically (for instance, the verb *intra* 'enter' may function as a copula in French, but not in Spanish<sup>4</sup> or Italian), whereas the verb corresponding to *ieşi* 'exit' has (pseudo)copular uses in more Romance languages (6,7):

- (6) a. (Fr.) **J'entrai apprenti** parmi les charpentiers de la grande coignée (Hugo, *N.-D. Paris*, 1832, p. 121).
  - b. (Fr.) Alors, il paraît que tu veux **entrer professeur**, à ce que dit ta mère (Malègue, *Augustin*, t. 1, 1933, p. 188– *Trésor de la langue française*, atilf.fr).
- a. (Fr.) Quand je vous disais (...), que la guerre (...) serait terrible, j'avais raison.
   (...) Nous en sommes sortis vainqueurs (Erckm.-Chatr., Hist. paysan, t. 2, 1870, p. 283 Trésor de la langue française, atilf.fr).
  - b. (Fr.) Dans l'ensemble, nous avons eu la chance (...) **d'en sortir sains et saufs** (Cocteau, *Parents*, 1938, III, 2, p. 277 *Trésor de la langue française*, atilf.fr).
  - c. (Fr.) Le premier ministre libyen **sort indemne** de l'attaque de son convoi.
  - d. (Sp.) Mi hermano salióaprobado en todas las materias.
  - e. (Sp.) ¡La fiesta salió estupenda!
  - f. (Sp.) Salió fácilmente y sin problema.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In Spanish, the verb *entrar* 'enter' has many uses as an aspectual verb, including the context in which is followed by an infinitive: *entrar a reinar* 'begin to rule' (www.rae.es, s.v. *entrar*(16)), but there are no contexts to illustrate the pattern with a nominal predication, designating a social ranking/profession, as in Romanian (cf. *a intra domn* 'enter sovereign').

#### 4. CONTEXTS AND MEANINGS

In present-day Romanian, the class of copula verbs includes a subclass of units with a dynamic aspectual meaning, represented by the verb *a deveni* 'become' and, with much less occurrences, its synonyms, *a ieşi, a intra*, etc., which function as copula verbs especially in the colloquial register. All the aforementioned verbs take property-denoting predications, so that the predicative function is only fulfilled by nouns denoting official ranks or subjective qualifications and by the categorizing interrogative pronoun *ce* 'what'. The copula use (8a,b) should be distinguished from the intransitive motional use, in which caset hey take adjectives or adjectival participles functioning as secondary predications (8c):

a. El	a	ieşit/	intrat		<u>profesor</u> / <u>inginer</u>
he	AUX.PERF.3SG	exit.PPLE	/enter.PP	LE	teacher / engineer
într-oco	mpanie nou	înființată			
in-acom	pany newly	founded			
'He bec	omes <u>a teacher</u> / <u>a</u>	n engineer	r in a nev	w compai	ny'
b. <u>Ce</u>	a	ieşit		el?	
what	AUX.PERF.3SG	exit.PPLE		he.NOM	
' <u>What</u> h	as he <b>become</b> ?'				
c. El	<u>iese</u>	de la	serviciu	fericit /	<u>obosit</u>
he	leave.PRES.3SG	from	work	happy /	tired
'He leav	es his office happ	y/tired'			
	he într-oco in-acom 'He <b>bec</b> b. <u>Ce</u> what ' <u>What</u> h c. El he	he AUX.PERF.3SG într-ocompanie nou in-acompany newly 'He <b>becomes</b> <u>a teacher</u> / <u>a</u> b. <u>Ce</u> a what AUX.PERF.3SG 'What has he <b>become</b> ?' c. El <u>iese</u> he leave.PRES.3SG	he AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE într-ocompanie nou înființată in-acompany newly founded 'He becomes a teacher / an engineer b. Ce a ieșit what AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE 'What has he become?' c. El iese de la	he AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE/enter.PP într-ocompanie nou înființată in-acompany newly founded 'He becomes a teacher / an engineer in a new b. Ce a ieșit what AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE 'What has he become?' c. El iese de la serviciu he leave.PRES.3SG from work	he AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE/enter.PPLE  într-ocompanie nou înființată in-acompany newly founded  'He becomes a teacher / an engineer in a new compan b. Ce a ieșit el? what AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE he.NOM  'What has he become?' c. El iese de la serviciu fericit / he leave.PRES.3SG from work happy /

The verbs analyzed in the present paper are verbs of **inherently directed motion** which may or may not take directional phrases, but are inherently oriented towards a delimiter, i.e. a Goal or a Source (see Ciama 2011, for the analysis of the verbs *a sosi* and *a ajunge* 'arrive'; see also the analysis in Drăgan 2012). Aspectually, they denote telic events, i.e. events that have a natural endpoint, which may either be the (non-)specified achieved location (9a) or an overtly specified Goal (9b). The meaning of inherently directed motion verbs "includes a specification of the direction of motion even in the absence of an overt directional complement" (Levin 1993: 264), i.e. they are inherently associated with a Path – a sequence delimited by a starting point (the Source) and an endpoint (the Goal), be it concrete or abstract. The original semantic structure will be partially preserved in the new meanings developed by the verbs.

```
(9)
        a. A
                         intrat
                                           şi
                                                   și-a
        AUX.PERF.3SG
                         enter.PPLE
                                                   CL.REFL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG
        dat jos
                         haina.
        take.off.PPLE
                         coat.DEF
        'She entered and took off her coat'
        b. A
                         intrat
                                      în clasă
                                                      și ne-a
        AUX.PERF.3SG
                         enter.PPLE
                                      in classroom
                                                     and CL.ACC.1PL=AUX.PERF.3SG
        salutat.
        greet.PPLE
        'She entered the classroom and greeted us'
```

The verbs of directed motion *a intra* 'enter' and *a ieşi* 'exit' intrinsically involve a reference point, which may be lexicalized or remain unexpressed. Both verbs also imply a change of location of the entity performing the event, prior/subsequent to the action of entering/exiting itself, with respect to the given reference point:the verb *a intra* 'enter' expresses the approach of the reference point, which will be the Goal, whereas the verb *a ieşi* 'exit' expresses remoteness with respect to the reference point, identified with the Source.

What happens in the transition from the motion meaning to the copula meaning is that the verbs will preserve components of the original semantic structure, but, as will be seen, they may switch from the Source meaning to the Goal meaning or may combine the two lexical components.

#### A intra 'enter'

(i) The initial stage. The verb *a intra* 'enter' has a motion meaning ('walk from outside inside' achieved by [+/- animate] entities (10)), as opposed to *a ieşi* 'exit', and it generally selects directional phrases, headed by various prepositions (*către* 'towards', *în* 'in', *la* 'to'; (10a-c)). The initial stage also includes contexts in which the verb *intra* may convey meanings related to pervasion or infiltration (10d), inclusion (10e, 'become a member; enrol') or invasion (10f), all of them presupposing movement along a path and the transposition from one space to another.

```
a. După aceaia
(10)
                          nu
                                  vrea
                                                    să
                                                             între
        after
                 that
                                  want.PRES.3SG
                                                    SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.3SG
                          not
                                           lăcuiia
                                                          afară (Coresi, în DA, s.v. intra)
        în
                 cetate,
                                  ce
        in
                 fortress
                                           live.IMPERF.3SG outside
                                  but
        'After that he did not want to enter the fortress, he was living outside'
        b. Deci Pavelu întră
                                           către elu
                                                             si
        thus
                 Pau1
                          enter.PS.3SG
                                           towards him
                                                             and
                                                                     CL.REFL.3SG
        rugă (CV.1563-83: 98)
        pray.PS.3SG
        'So Paul approached him and prayed'
                 Pavel
        c. E
                          vruind
                                                      între
                                                                              gloată.
                                                                     întru
                                           SĂ.SUBJ
        and
                 Paul
                          want.GER
                                                     enter.SUBJ.3SG in
                                                                              crowd
                          lăsară
                                           el
                                                      ucenicii
                                                                     lui (CV.1563–83: 10)
        nu-l
        not=CL.ACC.3SG let.PS.3PL
                                           him
                                                      apprentices.DEF his
        'And when Paul wanted to enter the crowd, he was not allowed by his apprentices'
        d. Nu
                                  omorî, ci mai bine
                                                            scoate-mi
                                  kill.INF but more good take.out.IMP.2SG=CL.DAT.1SG
        not
                 CL.ACC.1SG
                 ce
                          mi-a
                                                             intrat
                                                                              în labă
        stepul
                 which CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG
        thorn
                                                             pierce.PPLE
                                                                              in paw
        (Ispirescu, în DA, s.v. intra)
        'Don't kill me, you'd better take out the thorn that has pierced my paw'
```

```
Academie (Şăineanu, în DLR)
e. A
         intra
A.INF
         register
                                    Academy
'enrol in the Academy'
f. Intră
                           Persia
                                    cu
                                           războiu (E. Văcărescul, în DA, s.v. intra)
enter.PRES.3PL
                  in
                           Persia
                                    with
'They are attacking Persia'
```

(ii) 2nd stage. The verb *a intra* 'enter' develops an inceptive meaning in prepositional contexts with abstract/postverbal nouns (11a-h). The transition implies two facts: (1) the 1st is that the concrete Path turns into an abstract Path (the space > time transfer); (2) the 2nd is that the contexts with the aspectual verb *intra* emphasize the Source lexical component, as the verb no longer denotes a momentary event delimited by the endpoint/achieved location (i.e the Goal), but the starting point (i.e. a temporal Source) of a newly beginning event.

Most likely, the contexts that favour the semantic change are those with a  $\hat{i}n$  'in' prepositional phrase and most frequently an abstract noun (11a–d), which are ambiguous between the locative meaning and the aspectual one.

```
(11)
        a. Să
                                    nevoimŭ
                                                      să
                                                               întrămŭ
                  ne
        SĂ.SUBJ CL.REFL.ACC.1PL strive.SUBJ.1PL SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.1PL
                                    acela (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 4)
                  repaosulŭ
        in
                  rest.DEF
                                    that
         'Let us strive to begin to rest'
        b. El
                  întră
                                                                        împăratul
                                                      sluibă
                                                               la
                                             în
        he
                  enter.PRES.3SG
                                             in
                                                      duty
                                                               at
                                                                        emperor.DEF
        (Ispirescu, în DA, s.v. intra)
        'He begins to serve the emperor'
        c. Lipsesti
                           din
                                    ochii
                                             mei,
                                                      că
                                                               întru
                                                                                 acusi
        leave.IMP.2SG
                           from
                                                      because enter.PRES.1SG
                                    eyes
                                             my.PL
                                                                                 now
        într-un păcat (Alecsandri, în DA, s. v. intra)
        in=a sin
         'Get lost from my eyes, or else I might sin'
        d. Acuma
                           iaca
                                                      chicion am
                                                                                 întrat
                           look
                                             what
                                                      bad.luck AUX.PERF.1PL
                                                                                 enter.PPLE
        now
        (Creangă, în DA, s.v. intra)
         'Now look in what trouble I've got'
        e.a intra
                           <u>la</u>
                                    prepus
        enter.INF
                           to
                                    doubt(N)
         'begin to doubt about something'
        f. a
                  intra
                                    în/la
                                             griji
        A.INF
                  enter.INF
                                    in/to
                                             worries
         'begin to worry'
```

	g. a intra	la	gânduri				
	A.INF enter.INF	to	thoughts				
	'begin to worry/make worries'						
	h. (fam.) <b>a</b>	intra	la	0	idee		
	A.INF	enter.INF	to	an	idea		
	'begin to think a	bout something ob	ssessivel	y'			
(12)	a. Întrase	<u>în grijă</u> mare,	să	nu	piardă	Moldov	'a
	enter.PLUPERF.38	SG in worry big	SĂ.SUBJ	not	lose	Moldav	ia
	(Neculce, apud TDRG, în DA, s.v.		intra)				
	'He had started t	o be very worried	not to lose Moldavia'				
	b. Numa de abia	intrasă	în vrâ	<u>stă</u>	de	15	ani
	just	enter.PLUPERF.3S	G in age	•	of	15	years
	(Beldiman, în D.	A, s.v. intra)					
	'He had just turn	ied 15'					

(iii) The 3rd stage is represented by the verb *a intra* functioning as a copula verb in those contexts in which it selects nouns expressing official ranks of postverbal nouns (13b–e); the *become*-meaning of the verb *a intra* combines the Source and the Goal components of an abstract Path, as it denotes the starting point (the temporal Source) of a newly achieved condition (the Goal).

Our hypothesis is that the context with an adjectival predication (13a) is the one that legitimates the transition to the copula value, being ambiguous between a locative (mi-ai intrat dragă CL.DAT.1SG=have.2SG entered dear.F<mi-ai intrat dragă în suflet CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.2SG entered dear.F in soul 'You've made your way into my soul') and a copula become-meaning. While the pattern with adjectival predication (13a) is eliminated from the present-day language, the one with nominal predication (denoting official ranks) (13b—e) is preserved in spoken, informal language.

(13)	a. Mi <b>-ai</b>		intrat		atâta do	e dragă,	încât
	CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.2SG		enter.PF	PLE	SO	dear	so.that
	m-am		hotărât		să	mi	
	CL.REFL.ACC.1S	G=AUX.PERF.1SG	decide.	PPLE	SĂ.SUBJ CL.DAT.1SG		
	te	fac	chiar	noră (R	eteganul,	în DA, s	.v. intra)
	CL.ACC.2SG	make.PRES.1SG	even daughter.in.law				
	'You became so	dear to me that I'v	ve even d	lecided fo	r you to b	oecome n	ny daughter-
	in-law'				-		
	b. Murind şi	muma,	întră [e	epitrop]		bunul	
	die.GER also	mother.DEF	enter ac	lministrat	or	grandfa	ther.DEF
	sau buna (F	Pravila 1814, în D <i>A</i>	A)			•	
	or grandmother.DEF						
	'When the mo	other dies, the gr	randfathe	er of the	grandm	others b	ecomes the
	administrator'	, ,					
	c. căci întră		chezaș	(FD.1592	2-604: 47	(6 <sup>r</sup> )	
	because enter.Pl	guarantor					
	'For he becomes	s the guarantor'	Č				

d. Toată pricina iaste că au întrat spătarul enter.PPLE sword bearer.DEF all trouble is that AUX.PERF.3SG cumpărător (Uricariul, în DA, s.v. intra) Cuza Cuza buyer 'The whole trouble is because Cuza came to be the buyer' e. **Rob** la Tătari întrare-aş, numai slave to Tartars enter-RE.INF=AUX.COND.1SG just să-i pot dărui vederile SĂ.SUBJ=CL.DAT.3SG can offer.INF sights.DEF (Contemporanul, în DA, s.v. intra)

'I would become the Tartars' servant just to give him his sight back'

### A ieşi 'exit'

(i) 1st stage. The primary meaning of the verb *a ieşi* 'exit' is that of leaving a space by either a concrete or an abstract entity. It enters constructions with *din//la/în*-locative prepositional phrases (indicating the Source or the Goal) or deictic adverbs (*afară* 'outside', *înainte* 'in front'). Depending on the adjacent preposition, it can express the Source (starting point) of the change of location event (*Am ieşit din casă ca să merg la cumpărături* 'I left the house to go shopping') or the Goal (the endpoint) of the change on location event (*Am ieşit în parc ca să ne relaxăm* 'We went out in the park to relax').

(14)	a Iosam		coore		în	ulito		moro	
(14)	a. Ieşam		seara		<u>în</u> in	ulița		mare	
	go.out.IMPERF.1PL		evening.	.DEF	ın	lane.DE	F	big	
	(C. Negruzzi, în	DA, s.v.	ieşi)						
	'In the evening v	main stre	treet'						
	b. Aburi groşi	ieşeau		din	din el (C. Negruzzi, în DA,			A, s.v. iesi)	
			out.IMPERF.3PL from			it		, ,	
	'Thick vapours o								
	c. Eşind	sufletul		de la tru	p. îi		es <u>înain</u>	te	
	come.out.GER					DAT.3SG	come.in		
	draci	2000-			)		come.m.nom		
	devils								
	(Dosoftei, V.S.,	în DA sa	v iesi)						
	'When the soul l			vile come	hefo	ore it?			
				-					
	d. Eşi				<u>în</u> in	toată	jidovimea		
	come.out.PS.3SG			ım	ın	all	Jewish.	people.DEF	
	(Varlaam, C., în	DA, s.v.	ieşi)	eşi)					
	'The news got to	all the Je	ewish peo	ple'					
	e. i le-au			ieşit		răspuns	u	<u>de la</u>	
	and CL.DAT.	.3PL=AUX	C.PERF.3SC	G come.Pl	PLE	answer		from	
	împărăție	să	margă		boie	rii	toți	la	
	empire	SĂ.SUBJ	go.SUBJ.	3PL	boya	ars.DEF	alĺ	to	
	Poartă (Neculce, în DA, s.v. <i>ieși</i> )								
	Constantinople	,	• /						

(ii) 2nd stage. The verba *ieşi* develops aspectual uses (inceptive/terminative or both at the same time) in those contexts in which it selects prepositional phrases containing abstract nouns which denote actions. Aspectual *a ieşi* is particularly interesting, as depending on the prepositional phrase it takes, it lexicalizes different meanings. With a *la/în*-prepositional phrase (15a), *a ieşi* overlaps the endpoint of the preceding Path, before achieving the Goal, with the starting point of a newly beginning Path, after achieving the Goal (the new condition or function). With a *din*-prepositional phrase (15b), *a ieşi* expresses the end point of an action in which the entity is already involved, without lexicalizing any Goal; in this case, it expresses a terminative value.

Given the fact that the pattern shares the prepositions (la/din) with the locative one, the aspectual value develops alongside the locative one, with the first being prominent.

```
(15)
                 ieși
                                             domnie (in DA, s.v. ieşi)
        a. a
        A.INF
                 come.out.INF
                                             reign
         'to become an emperor'
        b. a
                 iesi
                                    din slujba
                                                      spânului (Creangă, in DA, s.v. ieși)
                                    from service.DEF bold.man.DEF.GEN
         A.INF
                 end.up.INF
         'to leave the service of the bold man'
```

(iii) 3rd stage. With adjectival predications, *a ieşi* develops the copula value, which co-exists with the aspectual one, unambiguously terminative (16). Compared to the verb *intra*, which expresses a volitional event of becoming, the verb *a ieşi* rather denotes a non-volitional (externally triggered) state of becoming, which may explain why the verb *a ieşi* mostly selects adjectival predications as complements, whereas the verb *a intra* generally selects nouns (compare *a ieşit profesor* 'He became a teacher' to *A ieşit bolnav după toată campania* 'He ended up very tired because of the campaign').

```
(16)
        a. Şi-l
                                  iertă
                                                    împăratul,
                                                                      şi-l
        and=CL.ACC.M.3SG
                                   forgive.PS.3SG
                                                   emperor.DEF.NOM and=CL.ACC.M.3SG
                    capitan pre 1.000, și-l
                                                                     boieri
        put.PS.3SG captain
                             over 1000
                                          and=CL.ACC.M.3SG
                                                                     make.boyar.PS.3SG
                                  mare. (A.1620: 64<sup>r</sup>)
        şi
                 iesi
                 become.PS.3SG
        'And the emperor forgave him and gave him command over 1000 men and raised
        him to the title of boyard and he became great'
        b. Cum
                                      facă
                          să
                                                             iasă
        how
                          SĂ.SUBJ
                                     do.SUBJ.3SG
                                                    SĂ.SUBJ end.up.SUBJ.3SG also
        de
                          dată
                                  biruitoare? (Ispirescu, in DA, s.v. ieși)
                 astă
                 this
                          time
        of
        'How should she act in order to become a winner again?'
        c. Vreo
                          cinci
                                  sute
                                           de
                                                    mioare ce
                                                                     ies
                                  hundred of
        around
                          five
                                                    sheep.PL which
                                                                     become.PRES.3PL
```

```
vara
                 fătătoare (Teodorescu, in DA, s.v. ieși)
summer.DEF
                 pregnat.F.PL
'Around five hundred sheep which are lambing in the summer'
d. cine va
                          ieşi
                                            vinovat (DÎ.1600: XLVIII)
         AUX.FUT.3SG
who
                          turn.out.INF
                                            guilty
'who will be found guilty'
e. Mitropolitul
                 Theofan
                                                       fi
                                                                iesit
bishop.DEF
                 Theophan
                                   not=AUX.COND.3SG be.INF
                                                               end.up.PPLE
                 dânsul (ULM.~1725: 113<sup>v</sup>)
întreg
        de
        from
                 him
entire
'Bishop Theophan wouldn't have made it out in one piece/alive'
```

We did not find a wide variery of situations in the corpus investigated, so we could not isolate a switchcontext from the aspectual to the copular value. However, we have come across a recurrent pattern with nouns expressing official ranks (such as *domn*), as shown in (17):

```
Şi i-au
(17)
                                                          lui Neculai-vodă
                                         rămas
        and CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3PL
                                         remain.PPLE
                                                          LUI Neculai-voivode three
        ficiori, cari
                        mai
                                 pe urmă
                                         2
                                                                  ieşit
        sons
                who
                                 afterwards two
                                                 AUX.PERF.3PL
                                                                  result.PPLE
                         more
        domni (NL.1750-66: 309)
        emperors
        'And Voivode Neculai was left with 3 sons, which became emperors afterwards'
```

There is one important thing to be noticed:in nominal contexts, there is an overlap between the inceptive and the terminative meaning, unlike adjectival contexts, in which the

meaning is unambiguously terminative.

Both the adjectival (16) and the nominal patterns (17) survive in the present-day language (18a–c,e). Modern Romanian adds the adverbial pattern to the other two structures, the adjectival and the nominal (18d). Similarly to the old language, the pattern with the verb *ieşi* and an adjectival predication (or an equivalent prepositional phrase) is limited to a few adjectives which can occur as predications of *ieşi* (18a–c), whereas the pattern with a functional name admits a wide range of titles and professions (18e).

(18)	a. <b>a</b> AUX.PERF.3SG 'She became the		<u>învingătoare</u> winner		
	b. <b>a</b>	ieşit	verde/ roșie		
	AUX.PERF.3SG	result.PPLE	green/ red		
	'it ended up gree	en/red'			
	c. <b>a</b>	ieşit	vinovat		
	AUX.PERF.3SG	result.PPLE	guilty		
	'he was found g	uilty'			

d. În cele	din urmă, totul	a	ieşit		<u>mai</u>	
in CEL.F.PL	from end everyth	ing AUX.PERF.380	g result.I	PPLE	more	
bine decât	ne	aşteptam/		<u>rău</u> /	groaznic.	
good than	CL.REFL.ACC.1PL	expect.IMPERF.11	PL/	bad/	terrible	
'In the end, everything turned out better than expected/bad/terrible'						
d. a	ieșit ("a terminat	/a încheiat")	printre	prim	<u>ii</u>	
AUX.PERF.3SG	result.PPLE		among	first.	the.M.PL	
'he ended up am	ong the first'					
e. <b>a</b>	ieşit	profesor/doctor/	deputat	președii	<u>nte</u>	
AUX.PERF.3SG	result.PPLE	teacher/ doctor/	deputy/	preside	nt	
'he became a tea	cher/doctor/deputy	y/president'				

#### 5. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The starting point of our analysis was the observation that, as also happens with analogous constructions in other Romance languages, the Romanian structures containing the verbs *a intra* and *a ieşi* undergo mechanisms of semantic and syntactic change.

Based on the contexts identified in the corpus, we aimed to see to which extent the transfer undergone by the three originally motion verbs can be explained by Hopper's system (1991), consisting of several principles. According to the **layering principle**, the three verbs are polysemous and they are subject to a semantic change (see examples (10), (14) above). This is how the emergence of new layers (meanings) can be explained, which does not imply that the older layers/meanings disappear. According to the **divergence principle**, a lexical form can undergo grammaticalization to a morpheme or a marker of a grammatical category. This is how aspectual uses can be explained (see examples (11), (15) above). The **specialization principle** implies that a grammaticalization process (in a restricted sense) affects a certain use of a lexical unit; at this point, we indicated the key patterns that we've considered relevant for the changes. Finally, according to the **persistence principle**, the verbs that developed (pseudo)copula uses retain some components of the original lexical meaning (see examples (13), (16) above).

As shown above, there is evidence that the three verbs do not undergo a grammaticalization process, so for each of the verbs, we have tried to isolate a switch context (or a *bridging context*), in which the unit under scrutiny displayed the tendency towards new meaning, i.e. a target meaning.

Even in the final stage, in which the verbs *a intra* and *a ieşi* function as (pseudo)copular verbs, there is a quite transparent connection to their primary motion meaning, conceived either as a concrete or as an abstract relation.

The mechanism that can explain, at least partially, the development of the motion verbs a intra and a ieşi is **reanalysis**, as defined by Harris, Campbell (1995: 50) – "a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any modification of its surface manifestation".

To sum up:

• The two inherently directed motion verbs *a intra* 'enter' and *a ieşi* 'exit' came to express aspectual values followed by copula/"attributive" values.

- The structures in which the verbs developed pure aspectual meanings are not fully preserved in the present-day language (whereas the verb *intra* still functions as an aspectual verb in the present-day language, the verb *ieşi* is no longer used in contexts with an aspectual value), whereas the copular ones both for *a intra* and *a ieşi* are maintained especially in the spoken language.
- For the aspectual values, the verbs are undergoing the space > time transfer, in the sense that the physical Path inherently incorporated by directed motion verbs is reinterpreted as an abstract Path with a beginning point and an endpoint. The switch context generally includes a  $\hat{i}n/la$ -prepositional phrase (prepositions like  $\hat{i}n$  and la can express both locative and temporal meanings) and an abstract noun.
- Depending on the verb, they can express an inceptive stage, a terminative stage or can combine two stages, corresponding to two different Paths.
- For the copula values, we identified different contexts which favoured the transition, be it a pattern with adjectives (*a intra dragă* 'become dear' *a intra student* 'become a student') or with nominals functions/professions (*a ieși la domnie /a ieși domn*' become an emperor').
- The two verbs developed both aspectual and copula uses, so they evolved in two directions, which at some point merged, with one being prominent over the other.

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