

Morphological instances of *veri* in old (Daco-)Romanian

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Abstract

In old Romanian, *veri* < lat. *velis* has various morphological values—predicative verb (*veri* is, etymologically, the 2nd person singular of the verb *a vrea* ‘to want’), future auxiliary (*veri face* ‘you will do’), conjunction or part of a disjunctive conjunction (*veri ... veri* ‘either ... or’), concessive conjunction (*să veri că* ‘although’), component of indefinite pronouns (*vericine* ‘whoever’, *vericit* ‘no matter how much’, etc.). The formal evolution from the predicative value is the result of a grammaticalization process identified both in Romanian (where it continues a process started in Late Latin) and in other languages, genealogically unrelated, from which Albanian is suggestive for comparison. The purpose of this article is to make an inventory of the formal-functional occurrences of *veri*, widely attested in old Romanian.

1. Preliminaries

Veri belongs to the paradigm of the verb *a vrea* ‘to want’ (*voi(u)*, *veri/vei*, *va*, *vrem(i)/văm(u)/vom(u)*, *vreți/veți*, *vor(u)*), a verb¹ that initially had a unique present indicative paradigm, both as a predicative verb and as an auxiliary. This form comes from Late Latin *velis*, the second person subjunctive, that replaces the Classical Latin *vis*. *Veri* represents the most archaic form of the evolution of Lat. *velis* in Romanian. Afterwards, the phonetic evolution of *veri* takes two different paths, according to the direction of grammaticalization: *veri* becomes *vei* (used in present-day Romanian), which occurs as an auxiliary, whereas, as an indefinite marker, *veri-* evolves into *ori-*. The different outcomes indicate different grammaticalization processes, which started in Latin (Ernout & Meillet, 1959, s.v. *quis*) and were also encountered in Balkan languages (Sandfeld, 1930), as the result of wider typological tendency (Haspelmath, 1997). It must be underlined that, from the earliest Romanian texts, both the archaic *veri* and the subsequent *vei* and *ori-* co-occur, the ratio between the forms varying according to the historical moment the text was issued, the geographical area the text belongs to, and to the stylistic type of text.

2. The morphological variants of *veri*

Within the oldest Romanian texts, *veri* occurs as predicative (§2.1), auxiliary (§2.2), connector (§2.3)—either disjunctive (§2.3.1) or an element from the structure of a concessive connector (§2.3.2)—, and as an indefinite marker (§2.4).

Further on, we will depict the occurrences of the archaic form *veri*, without discussing the later outcomes *vei* and *ori-*.

2.1. Predicative verb

Predicative *veri* is the archaic second person singular from the paradigm of the verb *a vrea* ‘to want’ and is attested from the earliest texts. It can occur in independent interrogative contexts (1a), in negative contexts (1b), in main clauses (1c), in different types of subordinates, mainly conditionals (1d–g), but other types as well (1h–i):

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¹From the paradigm of *a vrea* ‘want’, the 3rd person singular *va* also occurs in various morphological variants (see Zamfir & Dinică, 2009).

- (1) a. El grăi ei: „Ce **veri**” (cc².1581, 64)
 he said her what **want.PRES.2SG**
 ‘He said to her: «What do you want?»’
- b. Nu **veri** să răspunzi nemică ce
 not **want.PRES.2SG** SĂ_{SUBJ} answer.SUBJ.2SG nothing what
 acești pre tine mărturisesc? (cc².1581, 97)
 these.M.PL DOM you.ACC declare
 ‘Don’t you want to answer anything to what they declare about you?’
- c. Deci tu însuși nu ascuți rugăciunea ta, ome, iară
 so you yourself NEG listen prayer.DEF your man and
 Dumnezeu tu **veri** să o auză. (cc².1581, 327)
 God you **want.PRES.2SG** SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.F.ACC hear.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘You don’t listen to your own prayer, man, but you want God do hear it.’
- d. Să **veri** să mergi în viață,
 if **want.2SG** SĂ_{SUBJ} walk.SUBJ.2SG in life
 păzește porîncitele (cc².1581, 288)
 watch.IMP.2SG commandment.DEF.PL
 ‘If you want to go in life, obey the commandments.’
- e. Să **veri** desfirșit să fii, du-te și
 if **want.2SG** perfect SĂ_{SUBJ} be.SUBJ.2SG go.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG and
 vinde avuția ta și dă mișeilor (cc².1581, 288)
 sell.IMP.2SG fortune your and give.IMP.2SG poor.DEF.PL.DAT
 ‘If you want to be faultless, go and sell your wealth and donate to the poor.’
- f. Doamne, să **veri**, poți să mă
 God.VOC if **want.PRES.2SG** can SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.ACC.1SG
 curățești (ct.1560–1, 47)
 cleanse.SUBJ.2SG
 ‘God, if thou wilt, thou can cleanse me.’
- g. Derept aceia de **veri** să mă grăiești
 for that if **want.PRES.2SG** SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.ACC.1SG whisper.SUBJ.2SG
 dulce, ca Dumnezeu mă grăiaște dulce, (cc².1581, 433)
 gently like God CL.ACC.1SG whisper gently
 ‘Therefore, if you want to call me gentle, you must call me gentle as a God.’
- h. Că cât **veri**, tu faci, și al tău cuvînt lucru
 that how **want.PRES.2SG** you do and AL_{GEN} your word thing
 fi-va, și cuvîntului lucrul ajută. (cc².1581, 227)
 be.INF.3SG=AUX.FUT.3SG and word.DEF.DAT thing.DEF helps
 ‘As much as you want to do, you do, and your word shall be a real thing and the real thing enhances the word.’
- i. fie ție cum **veri** (cc².1581, 326)
 be.SUBJ.3SG you.DAT as **wish.PRES.2SG**
 ‘May you have it as you wish.’

Isolatedly, Zamfir (2005, p. 60) registers *veri* as an imperative in *Psaltirea Scheiană* (2a), based on the comparison with other versions of the *Psalter* (2b):

- (2) a. Voia rostului meu dulce **veri** Doamne,
 will word.GEN my sweet **wish.IMP.2SG** God.VOC
 și judecatelor tale învață-me (ps.1573–8, 409)
 and judgement.DAT.PL your teach.IMP.2SG=me

‘God, be propitious to the wish my lips express, and teach me to submit to thy judgement.’

- b. Voia rro<stu>lui mieu **iubeaște**, Doamne,
will word.GEN my **love.IMP.2SG** God.VOC
și dziselor tale învață-me (PH.1500–10, 106^v)
and wisdom.DAT.PL your teach.IMP.2SG=me
‘God, be propitious to the wish my lips express, and teach me how to follow thy words.’

2.2. Auxiliary

In old Romanian, the present indicative forms of the paradigm *a vrea* were used both as a predicative verb as well as an auxiliary. *Veri* occurs as a future auxiliary (3), in anteposition (3a,b) or in postposition (3c–e) to the lexical verb, and participates to the future periphrasis of the type *voi* + subjunctive (4a–c):

- (3) a. Cîndu **veri** veni cătră mine? (ps.1573–8, 323)
when **AUX.FUT.2SG** come towards me
‘When will thou come towards me?’
- b. se venci cîndu **veri** giudeca (ps.1573–8, 159)
SĂ_{SUBJ} vanquish.SUBJ.2SG when **AUX.FUT.2SG** judge
‘that thou shalt judge as a conqueror’
- c. Chiamă-mă în dzi de grija ta și
call.IMP.2SG=CL.ACC.1SG in day of care your and
izbăvi-te-voiu și
save.INF=CL.ACC.2SG=AUX.FUT.1SG and
proslēvi-me-**veri** (ps.1573–8, 156)
beloud.INF=CL.ACC.1SG=AUX.FUT.2SG
‘Call me in the days of your misfortune and I will relieve you and you will glorify me.’
- d. Învațătoare, vrea-**veri** de ce te
teacher.VOC wish.INF=AUX.FUT.2SG of what CL.ACC.2SG
vrem ceare să faci noao? (CT.1560–1, 139^f)
AUX.FUT.PL ask.INF SĂ_{SUBJ} do.SUBJ.2SG us
‘Master, wilt thou be willing to do what we will ask from you?’
- e. Închina-te-**veri** Domnului Dumnezeul tău
worship.INF=CL.ACC.2SG=AUX.FUT.2SG God.DEF.DAT God.DEF your
și aceluia unuia sluji-**veri** (CT.1560–1, 120^f)
and that.DAT one.DAT serve.INF=AUX.FUT.2SG
‘You will worship your God and you will serve that one.’
- (4) a. **veri** să dai samă înaintea Domnului (șt.1652, 189)
AUX.FUT.2SG SĂ_{SUBJ} answer.SUBJ.2SG before God.DEF.GEN
‘you will answer for it before God’
- b. tu însuți ești aicea venit și **veri**
you yourself are here come.PPLE and **AUX.FUT.2SG**
să biruești (PO.1582, 60)
SĂ_{SUBJ} win.SUBJ.2SG
‘you are here yourself and you will win’
- c. Și **veri** să facem trei cămări, ție
and **want/AUX.FUT.2SG** SĂ_{SUBJ} build.SUBJ.1PL three huts you.DAT
una, și lu Moisi una și una lu Ilie (CT.1560–1, 137^v)
one and LUI.GEN Moses one and one LUI.GEN Elijah
‘Wilst thou that we do build here three huts, one for thee, and for Moses one, and for Elijah one’

The value of *veri* in the examples under (4) is ambiguous. Due to the strong volitive meaning, it is difficult to establish if it is the predicative verb in one of the hypostases within the process of grammaticalization or it is an already grammaticalized form. The first hypothesis is more acceptable if we admit that the future structure *o să fac* is based on the type *voi* + subjunctive (Zamfir, 2007, p. 225).

Regarding the lifetime of both predicative and auxiliary *veri* and their regional distribution, Zamfir (2005, p. 61–65) distinguishes in the first half of the 17th century, based on a thorough statistical analysis, two distinct dialectal areas—the etymological *veri* was still used in Moldavia, while in south-west Transylvania *vei* was already general. For the second half of the 17th century, the use of *veri* is dramatically reduced in all the regions

2.3. Connective

As a connective, *veri* occurs as a disjunctive conjunction (§2.3.1) in correlative structures, or as an element within the structure of a concessive connector (§2.3.2).

2.3.1. Disjunctive connective

The inventory of disjunctive connectives in correlative structures in old Daco-Romanian is richer than in the present-day language. Besides the structures that contain connectives encountered in contemporary Romanian (*sau ... sau, fie ... fie, ori ... ori*), within the whole period there can be found other connectives as well, with different frequency rates, but identical distribution: *au ... au, oare ... oare, vare ... vare, veri ... veri, săva(i) ... săva(i)* ‘either ... or’ (Densusianu, 1997, p. 620–621; Frâncu, 2009, p. 148; Croitor, 2016, p. 449–450) (6a–c).

The structures containing disjunctive correlatives usually occur in law codices, mainly in syntactic patterns that imply the naming of a generic type and then enumeration of the set of possibilities:

- (5) acela se va certa ... de-ar fi orice feliu
 that shall AUX.FUT.3SG punish.INF if=would be any kind
 de om, **ver** fie mirean, **veri** călugăr,
 of man **either** be.SUBJ layman **or** monk
ver fiice om în clirosul besearcii (Prav.1652, 139)
or any man in staff.DEF church.DEF.GEN
 ‘that one will be punished ... be him any kind of man, either layman, or monk, or any kind of man in the staff of the church’

A specific feature of these patterns with correlative disjunction in old Daco-Romanian is the variation of the connective within the same sentence:

- (6) a. să strîngă pă toți rumânii de la sat ... oricarii pă unde
 to gather DOM all bondsmen from village anyone wherever
 să vor afla fugiți ... **ori** în sat
 CL.REFL.ACC.3PL AUX.FUT.3PL be.INF gone.PPLE **either** in village
 domnescu, **veri** în sat boierescu, **au** în călugărescu,
 lordly **or** in village manorial **or** in monastic
au la slobozii, **veri** la târguri (DRH,B.1635, 110)
or at free villages **or** at towns
 ‘to gather all the bondsmen in the village ... anyone wherever is gone ... either in a lordly village, or in a manorial village, or in a monastic village, or in a free village, or in a town’
 b. se vr-un frate numeaște-se **vare** curvariu,
 if any brother call.PRES.3SG=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG **either** fornicator
vare hasnă-luotoriu, **sau** drăcește slujitoriu **sau** pîrî
or usurer **or** devilishly servant **or** denunciation

- uritoriu [...] cu aceia se nu mâncați (CB.1559-60, 391-2)
 spiteful with those SĂ_{SUBJ} NEG eat.SUBJ.1PL
 ‘if a brother of yours is either a fornicator, or an usurer, or one who has sold himself to the devil, or a spiteful denouncer, [...] do not stay at dinner with any of them’
- c. **oare** moșul cū nepotul săva doi frați
 either uncle.DEF with nephew.DEF or two brothers
 a se împreună cu mîtușe mici
 A_{INF} CL.REFL.ACC.3PL pair.INF with aunt little
 și cu nepoata-i (Prav.1581, 266^v)
 and with niece=CL.DAT.3SG
 ‘neither an uncle with his nephew nor two brothers shall be bound by marriage to an aunt with her niece’

The variation of the connectives occurs frequently within the same text, so that a preference for a certain connective cannot be identified without a rigorous statistics.

An asymmetrical syntactic pattern including *veri* contains, as first element, a propositional structure (7a-f), with the verb in a mood or tense that is marked as *irrealis*, *possible*, the main features of disjunction in natural languages (Zafiu, 2012): subjunctive (7a-c), conditional (7d), future (7e,f), followed by a set of alternatives lexicalized as elliptical structures, that retains only the information level relevant elements [the subject predicative complement in (7a,b,c,e,f), adjectival modifiers in (7d)]:

- (7) a. cine va fi arat ... veri fie turcu,
 who AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF plough.PPLE either be.SUBJ Turkish
 veri călăraș, veri sîrb, veri țăran, de la
 or knight or Serbian or peasant from
 tot omul să ia dijma (DRH,B.1635-1636, 341)
 all man.DEF SĂ_{SUBJ} take.SUBJ tithe.DEF
 ‘Anyone who would have ploughed ... either a Turk, or a knight, or a Serbian, or a peasant, all of them must pay the tithe’
- b. veri fie muiare, veri fată (§T.1652, 277)
 either be.SUBJ woman or girl
 ‘be it either a woman or a girl’
- c. Iară de va fi nevoie, să fie pruncul spre moarte
 and if AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF need to be baby.DEF to death
 să-l boteadze ori în ce ceas vor
 SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.3SG baptise.SUBJ any in what moment AUX.FUT.3PL
 chema preotul, veri fie noapte, veri dzuo (§T.1652, 28)
 call.INF priest.DEF either be.SUBJ night or day
 ‘and if necessary, should the baby be dying, it must be baptised at any moment, the priest will be able to come, be it day or night’
- d. să-l caute, să-l prinză,
 SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.3SG search.SUBJ SĂ_{SUBJ}=CL.ACC.3SG catch.SUBJ
 veri să l-ar afla în țigănie
 either if CL.ACC.3SG=AUX.COND.3SG find in Gypsy servitude
 domnească, veri boerească, veri călugărească (DRH,B.1635-1636, 348)
 lordly or manory or monastic
 ‘to search for him and fetch him, in any kind of Gypsy servitude they were to find him, be it a ruler’s one, or a nobleman’s, or a monastery’s’
- e. veri va fi mare, veri mic,
 either AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF big or small

veri mult, **veri** puțin (Prav.1646, 68)

either much **or** little

‘no matter how it should be, either large or small, either much or little’

- f. acesta, **ver** va fi bărbat **ver** muiare,
this **either** AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF man **or** woman
cu moarte să să certe (Prav.1646, 127)

with death SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.3SG punish.SUBJ

‘this one, no matter whether a man or a woman, shall be punished by death’

The subjunctive *fi* ‘be’ in (7a,b), which displays verbal value in these contexts, proved by the patterns (7b–d), gradually develops as the main disjunctive connective, while *veri* fades away.

Within the symmetric disjunctive correlative pattern, *veri* can occur with different syntactic phrases: noun phrases (8a), adjectival phrases (8b,c), prepositional phrases (8d–g), adverbial phrases (8h), or sentence structures (8i):

- (8) a. Oricare mirean, **veri** bărbat, **veri** muiare, dacă va merge
any layman **either** man **or** woman if AUX.FUT.3SG go.INF
la beserică fie la ce slujbă, **veri** vecernie, **veri** la
to church be.SUBJ to what service **either** evensong **or** to
itros, **veri** la ceasuri, **veri** la Svînta Liturghie (ŞT.1652, 104)
morning service **or** to breviaries **or** to Holy Liturgy
‘any layman, either a man or a woman, should go to the church, to any service, either evensong, or morning service, or the breviaries, or the Holy Liturgy’
- b. carele va găsi pre marginea unii ape mari,
who AUX.FUT.3SG find.INF on shore of water.GEN large.F.SG.GEN
fie ce lucru, **ver** mare, **ver** mic, carele va
be.SUBJ what thing **either** big **or** small who AUX.FUT.3SG
fi aruncat apa ca o plavie (Prav.1646, 69)
be.INF throw.PPLE water like a small island
‘he who will find on a water shore anything, either large or small, that shall be floating when thrown by the water’
- c. **veri** tânăr **veri** bătrîn i să
either young **or** old CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL.ACC
va tăia capul (Prav.1646, 163)
shall cut head
‘he will have his head cut off, should he be either young or old’
- d. preotul de va fi oprit de liturghie,
priest.DEF if shall be cut away from liturgy
veri cu vină, **veri** fără de vină (ŞT.1652, 130)
either with guilt **or** without guilt
‘any priest which should be cut away from the liturgy, either with guilt or without guilt’
- e. cine o va ruşina **veri** cu voe
who CL.ACC.F.3SG shall dishonour **either** with will
veri fără voia ei (Prav.1646, 136)
or without will her
‘who will dishonour her, either by her will or against her will’
- f. să picnească dencătro i va fi voia,
to hit from CL.DAT.3SG shall be will
veri în mijloc, **veri** de lături (DRH,B.1646, XXXI, 143)
either in middle **or** aside

- ‘to hit from wherever he wishes, either in the middle or aside’
- g. Iar cine se va ispiti a sparge această tocmeală a
and who shall dare to break this agreement of
noastră, **veri** den feciorii noștri, **veri** den rudele
our **either** of sons our **or** of relatives
noastre, acela să fie proclat (DRH.B.1635, 26)
our that to be damned
‘And anyone who will dare to break our agreement, either among our sons, or among our
relatives, that one shall be damned’
- h. cela ce va găsi ceva mǎrgînd pǎ drum,
that who shall find something walking on road
fie ce va fi, **veri** mult, **veri** puțin (Prav.1646, 68)
be what shall be **either** much **or** little
‘that one who will find something while walking on the road, whatever it will be, either
much or little’
- i. Iară de va fi neștine de 30 de ai **veri**
and if shall be anyone of 30 of years **either**
aibă feciori, **veri** nu aibă, să nu se cuminece (șT.1652, 249)
have sons **or** NEG have tp not receive Eucharist
‘and anyone who shall be 30 years of age, either with heirs, or without heirs, that one shall
not receive the Eucharist’

The corpus of old Romanian texts displays a few occurrences of disjunctive *să veri* ‘either’ (written either with or without a blank space between the elements *să* and *veri*):

- (9) a. Derept aceia plecați-vă a toată deregătoria omenească
for that submit=yourselves to all administration human
pentru Domnul: **săveri** lui craiu ca unui mai mare,
for God **either** LUI.DAT king like one.M.SG.DAT greater
să veri deregătorilor, ca trimișilor de la dînsu. (NT.1648, 183^v)
or governors.DEF.DAT like deputies.DAT from him
‘Therefore, you must submit to any human power for God: either to the king as a superior,
or to the governors, as his deputies.’
- b. oricine va îndrăzni pentru treaba lui de va lua ceva,
whoever shall dare for need his if shall take something
vreun vas den beserică, **să veri** măhramă **au** vreo poală
any vessel from church **either** kerchief **or** any cloth
de icoană, **sau** discos **sau** altă ceva aseamenea acestora,
of icon **or** tray **or** other something like this.PL.DAT
și noi după canonul Svinților Apostoli
and we after canon.DEF Holy.GEN.DEF.PL Apostles
punem afurisenie asupra lor (șT.1652, 161)
anathemize.PRES.1PL on them
‘whoever will dare to take anything for his need, any vessel from the church, either kerchief
or any cloth for the icons, or tray or anything like that, we anathematize them following
the canon of the Holy Apostles’

Formally, *să veri* is created analogically to *săva* (*să* followed by the third person, *va*, from the paradigm of *a vrea* ‘to want’), which occurs more frequently as a disjunctive (Zamfir & Dinică, 2009).

In (9a), *să veri* is repeated as a part of a correlative, although there are vacillations regarding the spelling, while in (9b) it introduces only one element of the set (*să veri măbramă* ‘either veil’) and it is correlated to *sau* ‘or’.

2.3.2. Formative element of the concessive conjunction

Să veri că ‘although’, analogical to *săva(i) că* (discussed in Zamfir & Dinică, 2009), is attested, within the corpus we investigated, only in NT.1648:

- (10) a. Și pentru că nu le putea asămăna că le părea că grăiaște împotrivă una alțiiia iară ei lepăda cartea lui Iacov din cărțile sfinte. **Să veri că** bine să toclescă numai să socotiți bine, că nu grăesc amândoi di un feal de credință și de un feal de îndereptătură. (NT.1648, 174^r)
 ‘And because they could not consider them alike, being under the impression that these books were one against the another, they rejected the book of Jacob from the holy books. **Although** they are well matched only if you consider them carefully, because they don’t speak about the same kind of faith and about the same kind of atonement.’
- b. cum s-au ferit și el de n-au luat plată, **să ver că**-i era slobod (NT.1648, 223^r)
 ‘how he also took care and didn’t accept the pay, **although** it was allowed to him’
- c. Iară deaca veniiu în Trōada a propovedui Evangheliia lui Hristos, **să ver că**- mī era mie poarta deșchisă pren Domnul, nu avuiu răpao sufletului meu. (NT.1648, 241^v)
 ‘and when I came to Troas to preach Christ’s gospel, **although** the gate was open in front of me by God, I could not get the rest of my soul.’

The number of occurrences of *să veri că* in old Romanian is not significant, but this connective created analogically is highly relevant for the multiple functions of *veri* in old texts.

2.4. Marker in the structure of indefinite pronouns

The evolution of some forms in the paradigm of the verb *a vrea* ‘to want’ to disjunctive-concessive conjunctions and indefinite markers is typologically identifiable (Haspelmath, 1997). In Romanian, the available old texts do not preserve traces of the grammaticalization process, which had already been accomplished at the moment of the oldest Romanian texts, but examples like (11) instantiate a possible path of use from disjunctive correlative connective to indefinite marker:

- (11) nici un datornic, **veri** turcu, **veri** neguțătoriu, **verice** feliu de om va fi, nimenilea treabă cu Radul logofătul să n-aibă, nice cu zestrele jupănesei lui, **veri** sat, **veri** țigani, **veri** dobitoc, **veri ce** va avea Radul logofătul (DRH,B.1636, XXV, 470)
 ‘no creditor, **either** Turk, **or** merchant, **or** whatever kind of man should be, nobody should bother either Radu the Chancellor, or his lady’s dowry, **either** village, **or** gypsies, **or** animals, **or** whatever Radu the Chancellor might own’

In the specific pattern in which the disjunctive correlative *veri* occurs to enumerate the instances of reifying the general term (*zestrele jupănesei* ‘the dowries of the lady’ in example 11) and its instances of actualization (*sat* ‘village’, *țigani* ‘gypsies’, *dobitoc* ‘animal’), the last element is a relative clause (*ce va avea Radul logofătul*). In this type of structures, the connective is attached to the relative element as a marker and produces series of indefinite pronouns that will occur independently of the primary, disjunctive contexts they arouse from.

The texts offer many contexts where the indefinite marker exhibits relative fusion in various stages:

- (12) a. Iar de va vrea cineva din rudele mele, **veri**
 and if shall want someone from relatives my **want.PRES.2SG**
cine va fi, să ia acești țigani (DRH,B.1635, XXV, 75)
who shall be to take these gypsies
 ‘and if any of my relatives, whoever it might be, wants to take these gypsies’

- b. să aibă a luaare dijmă de pre toată ocina sventei monastiri
 to have _{A_{INF}} take tithe from all land holy.DEF.GEN monastery
 și de la câmpu ... și de la tot omul, care se
 and from field and from all man.DEF.SG who CL.REFL.ACC
 va hrăni pre ocina mănăstirii, **veri**
 shall feed from land monastery.DEF.GEN **want.PRES.2SG**
cu ce se vor hrăni (DRH,B.1635, XXV, 99)
with what CL.REFL.ACC shall feed
 ‘to be allowed to take tithe from the whole land of the monastery and from the fields, and from everybody who gets his sustenance from the land of the monastery, no matter what it is’
- c. am vîndut 3 pogoane de țelină au
 AUX.PERF.1SG sell.PPLE 3 acres of land either
 la Gruiu, au la Sperlea, **veri unde** le
 to Gruiu or to Sperlea **want.PRES.2SG where** CL.DAT.3PL
 va plăcea dumnealor (DRH,B.1646, XXXI, 273)
 shall like they.DAT
 ‘I sold 3 acres of land either to Gruiu, or to Sperlea, wherever they will choose to have them’
- d. viile de la Copăcel cu rumânii și cu tot venitul,
 vineyards from Copăcel with bondsmen and with all income
vericîț să va alege (DRH,B.1635, XXV, 83)
want.PRES.2SG.how CL.REFL.ACC shall choose
 ‘the vineyards from Copăcel with the bondsmen and all the income, however it will be’
- e. partea de moșie a tătîne-nostru **vericîță**
 part of land _{A_{GEN}} father=our **want.PRES.2SG.how**
 să va afla în sat (DRH,B.1635, XXV, 93)
 CL.REFL.ACC shall be in village
 ‘the part of land that belongs to our father, however it were inside the village’
- f. carii deîntru feciorii noștri, au deîntru rudeniile nostre,
 who of sons our or of relatives our
 au deîntr-alt neam se va ispiti **veri cînd**
 or from=other family CL.REFL.ACC shall dare **want.PRES.2SG when**
 a sparge și a strica această tocmeală (DRH,B.1635, XXV, 97)
 to break and to ruin this agreement
 ‘anyone among our sons or among our relatives, or any other family will dare at any time to break this agreement’
- g. de să vor și ridica **vericînd** (DRH,B.1645, XXX, 323)
 if CL.REFL.ACC shall too raise **want.PRES.2SG.when**
 ‘even if they raise at any moment’

The example (12), which presents a morphological instance in-between a verb, a disjunctive conjunction and an indefinite marker, is relevant for the incomplete fusion, for the incomplete grammaticalization process, and for the multiple functions of *veri*.

3. Conclusions

In this article we have illustrated the types of occurrences and the directions of evolution of a very longevous (attested until the 19th century) etymological form from the paradigm of *a vrea* ‘to want’. With a verbal value, *veri* is used with high frequency, but early competed by *vei*, the subsequent phonetic outcome. As a disjunctive-concessive connector and as an indefinite marker, *veri* is more frequent than *ori* in early texts. It is specific to patterns in law codices and it is widely competed by other connectors in the epoch. Its persistence over three centuries and elimination from present-day Romanian are evidence of a universal cyclical change (van Gelderen, 2016). The polifunctional feature of *veri* is specific to other elements in old Romanian (see Vasilescu, 2017, in this volume).

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