The evolution of Romanian gerundial periphrases with *a sta/a se afla/a umbla*

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that the cross-linguistic distinction between two classes of gerundial periphrases, such as proposed in Laca (2004a), can be extended to Romanian. That is, according to the level at which the finite verb is merged into the structure, we have one class with the finite verb merged directly in the functional domain, under Aspect; and the second class with the finite verb inserted at the lexical level, as the head of the VP, functioning as an eventuality modifier for the gerund. The first class is represented by structures with the auxiliary *a fi* 'to be'; the second class, by configurations with the aspectualizers *a sta* 'to stay', *a se afla* 'to be situated' and *a umbla* 'to walk'. The diachronic analysis proposed in this paper argues that these three aspectualizers undergo different stages of grammaticalization, although they do not reach the auxiliary status. The loss of the locative argument and the possibility of extraction from the gerundial VP are used as arguments that the verbs *a sta, a se afla* and *a umbla* have undergone structural changes when used as aspectualizers.

Keywords: gerundial periphrasis, non-perfective aspect, aspectualizer, auxiliary.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the status of constructions that display a verb + gerund configuration, in which the verb is one of the following: *a se afla* 'to be situated' / *a sta* 'to stay'/ *a umbla* 'to walk'; for example, *stă plângând* 'he's in a crying state'. It will be shown that these constructions have different properties than the aspectual periphrases containing *a fi*+gerund; for example, *a fost plângând* 'he has been crying'.

I shall argue that the relevant verbs started a process of grammaticalization in Old Romanian (OR) towards becoming aspectual operators, but they have not reached the status of Aspect heads in monoclausal structures. The process of grammaticalization led to their desemantization (Lehmann 1982), a stage that is attested in OR. In the case of *a se afla* and *a sta,* there is evidence that the gerundial VPs are no longer their adjuncts, starting, at the latest, with Modern Romanian (MR). The aspectuals *a sta* and *a se afla* take a gerundial complement. *A se afla* is compatible with an analysis as a copula, although no definite conclusions can be drawn due to lack of hard evidence. In the case of *a umbla,* there is evidence that a similar process is taking place in nowadays Romanian, that is, the gerundial adjunct becomes the complement of the verb. This study uses the data from a large corpus of 16th to 20th century texts (including the data from a Google search for MR).

In formal studies, gerundial periphrases have been divided into two classes according to the level at which the finite verb is inserted into the structure: one in which the finite verb is inserted directly in the functional domain, under Aspect, and one in which it is inserted at the lexical level and functions as an eventuality modifier. In the latter case, the aspectualizer contributes its own lexical aspectual features to modify 'the temporal structure of the eventuality' (Laca 2004a: 425). The two types of periphrases are diachronically related, in the sense that aspectual auxiliaries develop from lexical verbs that belong to certain event types (stative or motion verbs, Squartini 1998: 17-8), in configurations in which they are modified by

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adjuncts encoded as non-finite verb forms. The syntactic property underlying the grammaticalization of these structures is the obligatory control, from the matrix, of the subject in the adjunct clause.

The semantic link between the aspectual class of statives and the subcategories of the imperfective (the progressive, the habitual and the continuous) is represented by durativity and atelicity. The progressive and the habitual aspect have been analyzed as operators whose function is to stativize an eventuality. When used in the progressive, an eventuality is stripped of its initial and final boundaries, meaning that its culmination point is suspended and the focus lies on its internal structure. This makes progressive predications atelic (Parsons 1990). Verbs of motion also have the feature of durativity, which evolves into viewing the action as on-going (encoded by the progressive aspect), or as habitual, frequentative, incremental, depending on the original (non)directed character of the movement (Laca 2004a, b).

Romance languages have a wide range of gerundial periphrases encoding the non-perfective aspect. The gerund/present participles that are part of these periphrases continue the Latin *-ant/-ando* non-finite forms. The variety of these structures arises from the aspectual auxiliary. Two stative verbs function as auxiliaries: the Romance descendants of Latin ESSE, in Romanian, Sardinian, some Northern Italian dialects, areas of Sicilian Old Lombard, Old and Classical French, and Old Portuguese (Edelstein 1966; Jones 1993: 83ff, Vincent 2011: 433; Squartini 1998: 28-9; Rohlfs 1969: 109; Fournier 1998: 254), and the continuators of Latin STARE, in Italian, Sardinian, Friulan, Iberian Romance, Brazilian Portuguese (Renzi, Salvi, Cardinaletti 1991: 132ff; Jones 1993: 84; Haiman, Benincà 1992: 80; Bosque Muñoz, Demonte Barreto 1999: 3394; Wheeler, Yates, Dols 1999: 363ff; Mateus et al. 2003: 146).

The motion verbs that occur in Romance gerundial periphrases are: the descendants of the Latin VENIRE in Italian, Spanish, Catalan, and Brazilian Portuguese (Renzi, Salvi, Cardinaletti 1991: 141; Bosque Muñoz, Demonte Barreto 1999: 3394; Wheeler, Yates, Dols 1999: 366; Squartini 1998: 28); of AMBULARE (conflated with IRE in Italian and Catalan) in Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Brazilian Portuguese, Old and Classical French (Laca 2004b; Squartini 1998: 29; Fournier 1998: 262); and of IRE in Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese (Squartini 1998: 28-29, Ledgeway 2012: 123).

Romance gerundial periphrases expressing the non-perfective aspect are not as grammaticalized as the English *to be* + present participle structure, a fact shown by their optional character. They are in free variation with non-perfective synthetic verbal tenses, such as the imperfect and the present indicative (Comrie 1976: 33). According to Squartini (1998) and Laca (2004a,b), within Romance periphrases, different structures occupy different positions on the grammaticalization cline.

Romanian displays a narrower range of gerundial periphrastic constructions than other Romance languages, with only one auxiliary, that is, *a fi* 'to be', selecting a gerund complement. *A fi* 'to be' has an auxiliary status and forms gerundial analytic tenses and moods from the oldest Romanian texts up to the present-day language, as shown in (1) for MR and in (2) for OR. Although in OR this auxiliary is a free morpheme, as shown in (2), it has a clitic auxiliary status in MR. In (1) and (2), the auxiliary status of *fi* 'be' (clitic or non-clitic) is formally indicated by the fact that: (i) it is preceded by clitic pronouns, which are always merged in I in both OR (Alboiu, Hill, Sitaridou 2014) and MR (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994); and (ii) it is preceded by the negation *nu*, which takes the finite IP as its complement; *nu* is a free morpheme in Romanian and interferes with V-to-C (Isac & Jakab 2004). Hence, fi 'be' is sandwiched between I with the clitics and the gerund verb form moved out of vP (see Alboiu & Hill 2013). Furthermore, the

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clitic status of the auxiliary *fi* 'be' in MR is indicated by the word order; namely, (i) the impossibility of coordinating two VPs under one auxiliary, as in (1b); and (ii) the obligatory adjacency between the auxiliary and its non-finite complement, as in (1a) (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994: 15, Monachesi 1999, Avram 1999). These two tests produce the expected results for MR, but cannot be performed for OR. For the latter, we must rely on negative evidence, which is what we have for these constructions (Dragomirescu 2013).

(1) a. (Nu) l-o fi (*acum) căut-ând
not CL.3SG.ACC=AUX.MOD.3SG BE.ASP now search-GER
'He might (not) be searching for him (now).'
b. (Nu) l-o fi căut-ând (*şi găs-ind).
not CL.3SG.ACC=AUX.MOD.3SG be.ASP search-GER and find-GER
Intended: 'He might (not) be searching and finding him.'

(2) patr-înşi-l **fusease purtând** (CC2.1581: 54)
four=men= CL.3SG.ACC BE.PLUPERF.3PL carry-GER
'four men had been carrying him'

Romanian is like other Romance languages insofar as the gerund can co-occur with the verbs *a se afla* 'to be situated' (3), *a sta* 'to stay' (4), and *a umbla* 'to walk' (5). The structure with *a se afla* + gerund became obsolete at the end of the 19th century.

(3) Dar vai! când suferinţa amar şi trist m-apasă,
but oh when sufferance bitterly and sadly CL.ACC.1SG=presses
Când nopţi întregi şi zile mă aflu tot
when nights entire and days CL.REFL.ACC.1SG find.1SG still
gemând
moan-GER
'But, oh! when my pain makes me so bitter and sad / When nights and days I keep lamenting' (Radu Ionescu.1854: 86)

(4) Iar eu ***stau plângând***, cu inima zdrobită
and I stay cry-GER with heart.DEF crushed
'And I am crying, with a broken heart' (http://kristina19.deviantart.com/journal/)

(5) Ce **umblăm** noi **chinuindu-ne** cu gramatica,
Why walk.1PL we torture-GER=CL.REFL.1PL with grammar.DEF
Ştefănescule? (Creangă.1879: 216)
Ştefănescu.DEF.VOC
'Why do we keep troubling ourselves with grammar, Ştefănescu?'

Generally, the diachronic studies on Romanian do not mention the configurations under (3-5), with the exception of Edelstein (1966). However, Edelstein considers that the structures do not show any signs of being in a process of grammaticalization. As far as the other studies on the Romanian gerund are concerned, I assume that they tacitly analyze the gerundial structures under (3-5) as adjuncts - secondary predications attached to the matrix IP. In this paper, such

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constructions will be thoroughly analyzed and showed to involve a different derivational pattern, which relies on grammaticalization.

2. The *a se afla/a sta/a umbla* + gerund structures

2.1. *A se afla* + gerund

This periphrasis is attested from the oldest Romanian texts, up to the 19th century, both in translations and in original texts. After the 19th century it becomes obsolete. It is rarely used, with 29 occurrences in the corpus.

(6) Aceste cuvinte pui şi la început şi la sfârşit, deci şi noi pururea
these words (you)put and at beginning and at end so also we always
să ne aflăm zicând aşa (Neagoe Basarab.1654)
SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.ACC.1PL find.SUBJ.1PL say-GER this
'Put these words at the beginning and at the end, so that we should always say this'

(7) până astăzi **să află păzindu-şi** şi limba,
until today CL.REFL.ACC.3PL find.PRS.3PL guard-GER=CL.REFL.DAT and language.DEF
şi nişte obiceie ale lor. (Cantacuzino.1716: 45)
and some habits AL their
'up to these days they have been guarding both their language and some of their habits'

(8) El d-abia sosise la Giurgiu şi **se afla**
he of=just arrive.PLUPERF.3SG at Giurgiu and CL.REFL.ACC.3SG find.IMPERF.3SG
povestind cadiului ceea ce i se
tell-GER judge.DEF.DAT that what CL.DAT.3SG CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
întâmplase în Bucureşti (Bălcescu.1852: 45)
happen.PLUPERF.3SG in Bucharest
'He had just arrived at Giurgiu and was telling the judge what had happened to him in Bucharest'

(9) ea **se afla gândind** totdeauna la iubitul ei şi
she CL.REFL.ACC.3SG find.IMPERF.3SG think-GER always at lover.DEF her and
închipuindu-şi ziua când va îmbrăca hainele
imagine-GER=CL.REFL.DAT.3SG day.DEF when AUX.FUT.3SG put.on.INF clothes.DEF
de mireasă (Alexandrescu.c.1850: 256)
of bride
'she was thinking about her lover all the time and was imagining the day when she would put on her wedding gown'

(10) Într-o zi, pe cînd **se afla şezând** pe scaun la uşa
In=a day while CL.REFL.ACC.3SG find.IMPERF.3SG sit-GER on chair at door.DEF
vistieriei, aşteptând să-i vie ceva de lucru,
treasury.DEF.GEN wait-GER SĂ$_{SUBJ}$=CL.DAT.3SG come.SUBJ something for work

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deodată se apropie de el un boier bătrân şi cu faţa
suddenly CL.REFL.ACC.3SG draw.near.SUBJ of him a boyar old and with face.DEF
foarte dulce (Filimon.1863: 125)
very sweet
'One day, while he was sitting on a chair at the treasury door, waiting for some work, suddenly an old boyar, with a very sweet face, drew near him'

A se afla + gerund is sometimes ambiguous depending whether the verb is analyzed as: (a) the *se*-passive form of the transitive *a afla* 'to find', which enters a regular transitive construction, as in (11); and (b) the inherently reflexive *a se afla*, which we have seen in (6-10). The latter is formed from the *se*-passive form of the transitive *a afla.* The ambiguity is shown by the example (12), which has two possible readings: (a) aspectual periphrasis which evolved from a structure containing the reflexive *a se afla* and a controlled adjunct, and (b) a raising structure containing the passive reflexive form of the verb *a afla*.

(11) Deci, dându-să scrisoare cu carte de blăstăm şi igumenului
so giving=CL.PASS.3SG writing with letter of curse also superior.DEF.DAT
de Sfeti Ioan, l-au scos de faţă, acel ispisoc de la Duca-Vodă
of Saint John CL.ACC.3SG=has taken.out in front that document from Duca=prince
bătrânul, din veleat 7180, în care s-au aflat scriind toate
old.DEF from year 7180 in which SE.PASS=(they)have found write-GER all
moşiile căte au dat mănăstirii Clatiei (ISD.6.1717: 61)
lands.DEF how.many (he)has given monastery.DEF.DAT Clatia
'So, as a letter containing a curse had also been given to the superior of the Saint John monastery, they produced that document from prince Duca from the year 7180, in which all the lands that had been given to the Clatia monastery were found to be written'

(12) de **să** **va** **afla** neştine din fraţi **ţiindu**
if CL.PASS=REFL.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG find one of brothers keep-GER
cineva deusebi
someone especially
'If one of the brothers is favoring someone in particular' / 'If one of the brothers is found favoring someone in particular' (DRH.A.XIX.1626: 147)

As far as its lexical properties are concerned, the aspectual *a se afla* mainly combines with verbs denoting activities (3), but also with states (10). Therefore, it encodes both the progressive (with dynamic verbs) and the continuous aspect (with statives). No attestation of an achievement was found, which suggests that this aspectual verb rules out momentary eventualities.

2.2. *A sta* + gerund

The corpus analysis has shown that this structure has a low frequency in every period in the evolution of Romanian, both in translated and in original texts (around 45 occurrences). The statistics for contemporary Romanian are based on an internet Google search.

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(13) E bărbaţii ceia ce mergea cu nusul, **sta ciudindu-se**
and men.DEF those that walked with him stay.IMPERF look-GER=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
'And those men that were walking with him were staring' (CPr.1566-7: 38)

(14) i-au apropiiat de mijlocul oştii munteneşti, unde
CL.ACC.3PL=have drawn.close of middle.DEF army.DEF Wallachian where
venise iara la loc Matei vodă şi **sta îndemnând**
come.PLUPERF.3SG again at place Matei prince and sit.IMPERF.3SG urge-GER
oastea sa asupra cazacilor (CL.1675: 154)
army.DEF his over Cossacks.DEF
'he drew them close to the center of the Wallachian army, where prince Matei had returned and kept urging his army to attack the Cossacks'

(15) Nemţii încă au avut gătire bună, fiindu-le mai mare
Germans.DEF still have had preparation good being=CL.DAT.3PL more great
gheneral Badensis, şi **sta aşteptând** pă turci în Zemlin şi
general Badensis and sit.IMPERF.3PL wait-GER PE Turks in Zemlin and
Străşovar. (Greceanu.1714: 293)
Straşovar
'The Germans were also well prepared, as their commander was general Badensis, and they were waiting for the Turks in Zemlin and in Straşovar'

(16) Chiar atunci cei doi boieri veniseră şi **sta ascultând** la
precisely then CEL two boyars come.PLUPERF and stay.IMPERF.3PL listen-GER at
uşă. (Negruzzi.1840: 103)
door
'At that very moment the two boyars had come and were listening at the door'

(17) **stau vorbind** (http:// *www.hanuancutei.com*)
(I)stay.PRS talk-GER
'I am talking'

(18) El **stătea scriindu-şi** tema, iar fraţii lui
he stay.IMPERF.3SG write-GER=CL.REFL.DAT homework and brothers.DEF his
dormeau.
sleep.IMPERF
'He was writing his homework and his brothers were sleeping'

The reason for its low frequency is the competition with the much more frequent construction that involves the coordinating conjunction *şi* 'and', as in (19). This construction is an example of pseudocoordination (see Croitor in this volume), which means that the selection relation between ***sta*** and the gerund is maintained at LF.

(19) Era cu nuşii Pătru, **sta şi se încă**lzia. (CT.1560-1: 227r)
was with them Peter stayed and CL.REFL.ACC got.warm
'Peter was with them, he was getting warm'

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As for its aspectual value, all throughout the evolution of Romanian, the aspectual *a sta* selects the gerund of dynamic verbs: activities, as seen in (17), and accomplishments, as seen in (18). This suggests that it encodes the progressive, rather than the continuous aspect. The gerund of stative verbs is ruled out, as in (20), irrespective of whether these verbs project an event argument or not.

(20) a. *stătea dormind
(s/he)stay.IMPERF sleep-GER
b. *stă având un creion în mână
(s/he)stays have-GER a pencil in hand

The verbs that are selected by the aspectual *a sta* must have the feature [+durative], therefore, the gerund of verbs which encode achievements cannot occur in this configuration, see (21).

(21) *stau dându-mi seama de adevăr
(I)stay realizing of truth

2.3. *A umbla* + gerund

The oldest attestations of this structure date from the beginning of the 17th century, and are illustrated in (22)-(28). The configuration is present throughout OR (mostly in original texts), as well as in modern and in contemporary texts. Its frequency is not high (33 contexts were identified), a fact that can be due to the existence of competing structures that encode the same aspectual information (frequentative). One example is the structure with the adverbial clitic *tot* 'on and on'. The structure is in obvious regress (most occurrences are in OR).

(22) au îmblat vănzătorii **măncându-se** şi
have.3SG walked merchants harm-GER=CL.REC.ACC.3PL and
părându-se cu Nica logofăt (DIR.B.IV.1622: 159-60)
denounce-GER= CL.REC.ACC.3PL with Nica high.official
'the merchants and the high official Nica kept harming and denouncing one another'

(23) Şi limba cea neînvăţată numai ce **umblă tocând**, că n-are
and tongue.DEF CEL ignorant only that walks chatter-GER because not-has
bunătăţi dinlăuntru.
goodness.PL inside
'And one's ignorant tongue only keeps chattering, as no good can come from it'
(Neagoe Basarab.1654: 106v)

(24) Toma slujeru nu să astâmpără, ci **umblă turburând** lucrurile
Toma boyar not CL.REFL.ACC stops but walks disturb-GER things.DEF
împotriva mării sale (Greceanu.1714: 251)
against majesty.DEF his
'Boyar Toma will not stop, but he keeps agitating spirits against his Majesty'

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(25) vom umbla scurmând şi cercetând acele vechituri
AUX.FUT.1PL walk stir-GER and research-GER those old.books
'we shall be stirring and researching those old books' (Cantacuzino.1716: 10)

(26) cei mari, stăpânii noştri, **îmbla amăgindu-să** unul
CEL great masters.DEF our walk.IMPERF deceive-GER=CL.REC.ACC.3PL one
pi altul pentru lăcomie (NL.1743: 340)
PE another for greed
'the ones at the top, our masters, were deceiving one another because of their greed'

(27) A nebunit aceia ce **umblă** ispitind / Puterea sufletească şi
have.3PL gone.mad those that walk tempt-GER force.DEF spiritual and
marginile ei (Donici.1844: 167)
borders.DEF her
'Those that are tempting their spiritual force and its borders have gone mad'

(28) Toţi suntem unici, dar nu toţi ***umblăm lăudându-ne*** cu
all are unique but not all walk.1PL boast-GER=CL.ACC.1PL with
unicitatea noastră. (*www.tpu.ro*)
uniqueness.DEF our
'We are all unique, but we are not boasting with our uniqueness'

The occurrence of a gerund that modifies the event of walking, as in (29), disambiguates the original motion meaning of the verb.

(29) îmbla pribegind dintr-o ţară într-alta (Budai.1800-12: 43)
walk.IMPERF.3SG wander-GER from=a country in=another
'he was walking, wandering from country to country'

As far as its aspectual value is concerned, *a umbla* is always atelic in this configuration, as opposed to its use as a motion verb, in which case it encodes either an activity (atelic) (30a) or an accomplishment (telic) (30b).

(30) a. **Umblă** prin oraş **cărând** o geantă grea.
'He is walking in town while carrying a heavy bag'
b. Oamenii ***au umblat până*** în cel mai izolat sat cărând alimente.
'The men walked up to the most isolated village carrying food'

Generally, the aspectual verb *a umbla* selects an activity verb. The frequentative value of *a umbla* + gerund is predominant: it is actualized in almost all the occurrences of this structure (22-28). In all Romance languages the equivalent of *a umbla* is used to encode pluractionality ('a multiplicity of actions, whether involving multiple participants, times or locations', Lasersohn 1995: 240, apud Laca 2004b).

Rarely, *a umbla* selects a stative verb and encodes the continuous aspect (31). Verbs that encode punctual achievements are not attested with this aspectual.

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(31) Ce du-te de te odihneşte, căci ştiu că
but go.IMP=CL.ACC.2SG and CL.ACC.2SG rest.IMP because (I)know that
vii fi ostenit şi pentru acestea mai multă grijă în zădar
AUX.FUT.2SG be tired and for these more worry in vane
nu îmbla purtând (Cantemir.1705: 252[v])
not walk.IMP carry-GER
'But go to rest, because I know that you are tired, and stop carrying any more worries for nothing.'

2.4. Aspectual values of *a se afla / a sta / a umbla* vs. *a fi* + gerund

The three verbs that are investigated are more restricted as far as their aspectual values are concerned than the verb *a fi* in gerundial periphrases: none of the three eventuality modifiers can combine with the gerund of a verb denoting an achievement. Only the functional *a fi* accepts combination both with [+durative] (32a,c) and with [-durative] eventualities (32b), encoding evidentiality and epistemic modality (Irimia 2010).

(32) a. O fi stând la geam / O fi fiind aici. (Continuous)
AUX.MOD.3SG be sitt-GER at window AUX.MOD.3SG be be-GER here
'He might be sitting at the window' / 'He might be here'
b. **O fi ieşind** din casă în momentul acesta. (Progressive)
AUX.MOD.3SG be come-GER from house in moment.DEF this
'He might be coming out of the house at this moment'
c. O fi **învăţând** mereu. (Habitual)
AUX.MOD.3SG be learn-GER always
'He might study all the time'

3. Disambiguation of locative/motion – aspectual use of the three verbs

Two tests can be employed to distinguish between the two uses of the stative and motion verbs in the context of a gerund.

- *Combination with a locative/path adverb (a sta, a se afla, a umbla)*

The first test is represented by the occurrence of the locative/path in the argument structure of the matrix verb. The stative verbs *a sta* and *a se afla* select a locative adverb, while the motion verb *a umbla* selects a path adverb. When the adverb is realized, these three verbs preserve their original lexical meaning. When the adverb is absent, these verbs have acquired their new aspectual value.

The position of the locative adverb can lead to ambiguities. I consider that there is no ambiguity that the locative is the complement of the finite verb as long as it is placed at the left of the gerund, in front or after the finite verb. The word order (locative adjunct +) finite verb (+ locative adjunct) + gerund occurs with the three verbs under analysis. This disambiguates the structure as containing a stative/motion verb and an IP-level gerundial adjunct.

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(33) L-a patului ei margini cu fruntea-n a ei poale /
at=AL bed.DEF.GEN her edges with forehead=in AL her lap.PL
Sta în genunche dânsul privind întunecos... (Eminescu, Opere 4: 321)
stay.IMPERF.3SG in knees he look-GER dark
'At the edge of her bed, his forehead on her lap / He stayed on his knees with a sad look'

(34) Care fabricanţi să află aici lucrând încă de când
which manufacturers CL.REFL.ACC.3SG find.PRS.3PL here work-GER even since
s-au deşchis răzvrătirea (Doc.econ.1823: 282)
CL.REFL.ACC.3SG=has started revolt.DEF
'which manufacturers have been here working ever since the revolt started'

(35) îmbla pre pământ învăţând şi propoveaduind şi toate
walk.IMPERF.3SF on land teach-GER and preach-GER and all
grijind (Dosoftei.1682: 166r)
take.care-GER
'he was walking the earth teaching and preaching and taking care of all'

- *Combination with a manner adverb (a sta, a umbla)*

The second test is represented by the possibility to insert a manner adverbial in the structure, a test that can be applied to the configurations with *a sta* (as a postural verb) and with *a umbla* (*a se afla* does not have a postural use, therefore manner adverbs are not accepted). In gerundial periphrases, the (partial) loss of the stative/motion component of the verb is suggested by the impossibility of inserting manner adverbials that modify the eventuality (36). When *a sta/a umbla* preserve their original meanings, manner adjuncts are accepted (37).

(36) a. Ei umblă (*târâş / *încet) amestecându-se în treburile noastre.
they walk crawling / slowly interfere-GER=CL.REFL.ACC in business.DEF our
'He is interfering with our business'
b. El stă (*confortabil) gândindu-se la noi.
he stays comfortably thinking=CL.REFL.ACC at us
'He is thinking about us'

(37) a. El stă confortabil pe scaun gândindu-se.
he sits comfortably on chair thinking=CL.REFL.ACC
'He is sitting comfortably on a chair thinking'
b. Ei umblă încet discutând despre problemele lor.
they walk slowly talking about problems.DEF their
'They are walking slowly discussing their problems'

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4. The lexical status of the three aspectualizers

There is both direct and indirect evidence that the three aspectualizers have preserved their lexical (versus functional) status even when semantic attrition affected the root.

4.1. Evidence for non-clitic status

A number of authors argue that in OR, at least up to the 17th century, auxiliaries did not have clitic status (Zamfir 2007: 158-163, Giurgea 2010), while after this period, they do (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994: 46). If we agree that Romanian auxiliaries are clitics, we can take evidence for the non-clitic status of *a sta, a se afla* and *a umbla* to indirectly prove they do not have auxiliary status. Non-clitic status is tested by: (i) the possibility of coordinating two VPs, and (ii) the possibility of non-adjacency between the finite and the non-finite verb, from the 18th century on.

- *Coordination of two VPs*

Coordination of two VPs is attested in OR and MR for periphrases with *a sta* and *a umbla* (not for *a se afla* + gerund, probably because of its low frequency in the corpus).

In the case of the gerundial periphrases with the auxiliary *a fi*, coordination of two VPs is not attested in the OR corpus; furthermore, it is ruled out after the OR period (see (1b), above). However, coordination of two VPs in *a avea* + participle compound tenses is attested up to the 18th century. Based on this evidence, we can assume that it is after this date that Romanian auxiliaries become clitics and coordination of two non-finite VPs becomes ungrammatical (Zamfir 2007: 162). We notice that coordination of two VPs is possible with both *a sta* and *a umbla* not only prior, but also after the 18th century, as shown in (22)/ (38) and (25)/ (39).

(38) Şi vedeare văzu noaptea Pavel: un bărbat machedonean sta
and vision saw at.night Paul a man Macedonian stay.IMPERF
rugându-l **pre el şi zicând***:* Treci în Machedoniia şi ne
asking=CL.ACC.3SG PE him and saying Go in Macedonia and CL.ACC.1PL
agiută noao. (NT.1648: 156r)
help us
'And Paul had a vision in the night: a Macedonian man was asking him something and was saying: Go to Macedonia and help us '

(39) tot timpul *stau privind* în gol şi plângând
all time.DEF (I)stay looking in emptiness and crying
'I am staring at the emptiness and I am crying all the time'(http://www.statusuri-y.eu/tag/intreaba/2)

- *Non-adjacency in MR*

I shall use the possibility of non-adjacency between the finite and the non-finite verb as a test for the non-clitic status of the three aspectualizers in gerundial periphrases only after the beginning of the 18th century. In OR, the auxiliary – gerund non-adjacency was allowed for the same reason as coordination, because auxiliaries were not clitics, but independent heads (22 above, 40, 41). After the beginning of the 18th century, the auxiliary *a fi* needed to be adjacent to the gerund, a situation still holding in contemporary Romanian (see (1b), Dragomirescu 2013).

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As far as the aspectual verbs *a sta*, *a se afla*, *a umbla* are concerned, both in OR and MR, they do not need to be adjacent to the gerund (see (5) above, 42, 43).

(40) Şi cînd întra Moisi în cortul cel de afară den tabără, sta
and when entered Moses in tent CEL of outside from camp stay.IMPERF.3SG
[tot norodul] privind. (BB.1688: 63)
all people.DEF watch-GER
'An when Moses entered the tent outside the camp, all the prople were watching'

(41) şi, neauzind pe niminea într-acele cămări, pentru că **să**
and not-hear-GER PE nobody in=those rooms because CL.REFL.ACC.3PL
afla [toţ] dormindu în somnul cel dintâiu, au deşchisu uşa
find.IMPERF all sleeping in sleep.DEF CEL first (he)has opened door.DEF
încet (Bert.1774: 222)
slowly
'and, not hearing anybody in those rooms, because they were all sleeping their first sleep, they opened the door silently'

(42) Au stat [dar] [cîtva timp] uitându-se unul la
(they)have stayed therefore some time look-GER=CL.REFL.ACC.3PL one at
altul (Slavici, Mara.1894: 166)
the.other
'Therefore, they looked at one another for some time'

(43) Locurile cumperate în piaţa politiei nouă se sue la 340, şi căteva
places bought in square.DEF police.DEF noew CL.REFL rise at 340 and a.few
case **se** **află** [acum] zidindu-se. (Hurmuzaki.VI.1841: 306)
houses CL.REFL.ACC.3PL find now build-GER=CL.PASS.3PL
'The places bought in the new police square are now 340 and a few houses are now being built'

4.2. Direct evidence for non-auxiliary status

- *Absence of clitic climbing*

In all its contexts of occurrence, except for compound tenses, the clitics occur to right of the gerund (see 5 and 7 above; 44, 45 below).

(44) Văzându-l, a strigat.
see-GER= CL.ACC.M.3SG (he)has shouted
'Seeing him, he shouted'

(45) Eu stam urmărindu-i ocolul (Coşbuc.1904: 324)
I stay.IMPERF follow-GER= CL.DAT.3SG round.DEF
'I was following its round motion'

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For Romanian, this was explained as a consequence of the fact that the gerund raises to the Complementizer domain (to Fin), leaving the clitics behind, adjoined to the T/I (Alboiu & Hill 2013). This also happens in *a sta / a se afla / a umbla* gerundial periphrases during the entire OR period. Clitic climbing to the finite inflection does not take place, showing that the structure is still biclausal (Cinque 2004).

On the other hand, from the 16th century, in gerundial compound forms with *a fi*, pronominal clitics do not attach to the right hand side of the gerund, but to *a fi*, proving that the former copula had become an auxiliary, as in (2), repeated for convenience.

(2) patr-înşi-l fusease purtând (CC2.1581: 54)
four=men= CL.3SG.ACC BE.PLUPERF.3PL carry-GER
'four men had been carrying him'

- *Sentential negation*

The impossibility of independently negating the non-finite verb is a monoclausality test for a V_{finite} + $V_{non\text{-}finite}$ structure, as only one sentential negation can occur per clause, at the left of the finite inflection.

(46) a. nu o fi dormind
not AUX.MOD.3SG be sleep-GER
'he's probably not sleeping'
b. (nu) o fi (*ne-)dormind
not AUX.MOD.3SG be not-sleep-GER

As far as the three structures under investigation are concerned, the corpus offers no examples of a negative gerund. In MR, a negative gerundial complement is possible with the aspectual *a sta.*

(47) Mihai stătea **nefăcând** nimic toată ziua.
Mihai stay.IMPERF not-do-GER nothing all day.DEF
'Mihai didn't do anything all day long'

The gerundial complement of aspectual *a umbla* is incompatible with negation for semantic reasons: *a umbla* encodes pluractionality, therefore it needs to combine with a dynamic eventuality (a non-state), while the negation acts as a stativizer, transforming the event denoted by the gerund into a state.

(48) *Mihai umblă **nerăspândind** zvonuri despre noi.
Mihai walks not-spread-GER rumours about us

5. Structural changes of the lexical aspectuals *a sta/a se afla/a umbla*

- *Loss of locative/path complement*

When these three verbs are used as aspectuals, they do not require a locative/path adverbial any longer (see section 3).

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- *Possibility of extraction from the gerundial structure*

The gerundial structures occurring with *a se afla/a sta/a umbla* are all controlled by the subject of the finite verb. They illustrate the phenomenon of adjunct control (Landau 2001: 115).

It is known that adjuncts are islands for extraction, i.e. constituents that function either as arguments or as adjuncts inside the island cannot move out of the adjunct phrase and raise across the finite verb. In minimalist analyses, it is argued that extraction is conditioned by the phasal/non-phasal character of the adjunct structure: only extraction out of a phasal adjunct is disallowed (Alboiu 2009). Alboiu & Hill (2013) show that in Romanian, gerundial adjuncts are CPs and, thus, function as strong islands.

In the contexts below, extraction of constituents from the gerundial structure in adjunct position (modifying the stative/motion verb) is not possible.

(49) a. Merge [fredonând o melodie] - *Ce merge fredonând?
(he)walks humming a song what (he)walks humming
'He is walking humming a song' – '*What is he walking humming?'

b. Umblă [târându-şi un picior] - *Ce umblă
(he)walks pulling=CL.REFL.DAT.3SG a leg what (he)walks
târându-şi?
pulling=CL.REFL.DAT.3SG
'He is walking pulling a leg' – '*What is he walking pulling?'

In OR, there is no evidence regarding the possibility of extraction from gerundial periphrases. No contexts were identified in which arguments or adjuncts were extracted from the gerundial structure; therefore there is no evidence for the reanalysis of the gerund from IP adjunct to argument status.

For gerundial structures with the aspectual *a se afla,* MR provides evidence for extraction.

(50) După aceea se învoi cu cei doi fraţi ai săi, Constantin, despot
after that CL.REFL.ACC agreed with CEL two brothers AL his Constantin despot
în Epir, şi Teodor, tatăl stăpânitorului din Tessalonic, [...]
in Epirus and Teodor father.DEF ruler.DEF.GEN from Thessaloniki
mulţămindu-se fiecare din ei cu [ceea ce] s-au
being.content=CL.REFL.ACC each of them with what CL.REFL.ACC=(they)have
aflat posedând (Eminescu, Opere 14: 121)
found own-GER
After that he reached an agreement with his two brothers, Constantin, despot in Epirus and Teodor, the father of Thessaloniki's ruler, each being satisfied with what they owned'

In the case of *a sta* + gerund, extraction is also attested in MR.

(51) Dar [prin fereastra ta] eu stau privind / Cum tu te uiţi
but through window.DEF your I stay watching how you CL.ACC.2SG look
cu ochii în lumină (Eminescu, Opere 4: 381)
with eyes.DEF in light

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'But I am looking through your window / And see how you are watching the light'

(52) Stâlpii rari de telegraf… / Stau privind c-un aer tâmp...
poles.DEF sparse of telegraph (I)stay watching with-an air dumb
'I'm watching the sparse telegraph poles in a spaced-out mood'
(George Topârceanu, http://www.e-scoala.ro/biblioteca/toparceanumigdale.html)

(53) şi obsesiile mele, demult, / răsturnate într-o lume a sunetelor închise /
and obsessions.DEF long.ago fallen in=a world AL sounds enclosed
pe ziduri oarbe, [la care] **să stau privind** fără vorbe, / şi fără puterea
on walls blind at which SĂ stay watch-GER without words and whouth power.DEF
de a le mai urmări sunetele sparte.
DE A CL.ACC more follow sounds.DEF broken
'and my old obsessions, fallen into a world of enclosed sounds, on blind walls, at which I'm to be looking without speaking, and not having the power to follow their broken sounds' (Mircea Ivănescu, http://quasiote.wordpress.com/2011/07/21/mircea-ivanescu-1931-2011/)

Extraction from the gerundial VP in configurations with *a umbla* is not attested. Due to the rarity of the structure, I created an acceptability test. Speakers' judgments regarding extraction from *a umbla* structures were very different; they ranged from ungrammatical to quite acceptable. This shows that there is no unity in its analysis: some speakers analyze the gerundial VP in the context of the aspectual *a umbla* as an adjunct, while others analyze it as a complement.

(54) ??Ştim că faptele de curaj cu care tot umbli
(we)know that acts of courage with which continuously (you)walk
lăudându-te sunt inventate de tine.
bragging=CL.REFL are invented by you
'We know that the acts of courage that you keep bragging with are invented by you'

6. Are *a sta / a se afla* copulas in the context of a gerund VP?

In OR and MR, *a sta* and *a se afla* take a PredP complement, when used as copulas. Their copular use is attested in OR from the earliest texts, but was lost at the end of the modern period. The former secondary predication modifying the lexical stative verb becomes a subjective predicative complement of the copula (adjectives, as in (55), are attested in this position).

(55) a. Un vas sta plin de oţet. (CT.1560-1: 230v)
a pot stay.IMPERF full of vinegar
'A pot was full of vinegar'

b. Că nici Isus Hristos n-are întru El veselie, ce cum **stă scris**
because neither Jesus Christ not=has in him joy but as stays written
'Because Jesus Christ does not know joy either, but he is as it is written'
(CPr.1566-7: 272)

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c. Şi a mea toscană liră a **sta** **mută** se
and AL my Tuscan lyre A_{INF} stay.IMPERF mute CL.REFL.ACC
deprinde (Asachi.1854: 98)
gets.accustomed
'And my Tuscan lyre becomes accustomed to be mute'

d. Şi iarăş **ne** **aflăm singuri si** **pustii**, fără de mângâiarea
and again CL.REFL.ACC.1PL find alone and deserted without of comfort.DEF
nemănui (Mărgăritare.1691: 29r)
nobody.GEN
'And again we are alone and deserted, with no comfort from anybody'

e. cardinalul merse de întâlni pe Malaspina, ce **se** **afla**
cardinal.DEF went and met PE Malaspina who CL.REFL.ACC find.IMPERF
bolnav, îi expuse primejdia (Bălcescu.1852: 250)
ill CL.DAT.3SG explain danger.DEF
'the cardinal went to meet Malaspuna, who was ill, he explained him the danger'

The question is whether *a se afla* and *a sta* function as copulas in the context of a gerund, considering that they are attested with a copular use in non-gerundial contexts. This would place the two aspectual verbs a step higher on the grammaticalization scale, as they would not be fully lexical any longer; instead they would be light verbs. The evolution of lexical aspectual verbs to copulas is expected, as this is an intermediate step that verbs take in their grammaticalization process towards becoming functional (Asp) heads. This is proven in section 7 by the evolution of *a fi* + gerund.

Aspectual *a se afla* (+gerund) is compatible with a copula analysis in OR and MR. The 19th century example (50) shows it is no longer an adjunct. *A se afla* did have copula status in the 19th century (in non-gerundial contexts, 55) and it imposes no thematic restrictions on its subject, which can be agentive (6), but also non-agentive (Theme, in 50). However, no clear evidence for its copular status was found, for example, no coordination between a gerundial VP and a non-verbal category, such as an adjective. This can be due to the rarity of the structure.

Aspectual *a sta* has not evolved into a copula in the context of a gerund. Two arguments can be brought against the copula analysis of *a sta*. Firstly, *a sta* imposes thematic restrictions on the subject, which needs to be an Agent (56a vs 56b). Secondly, the coordination of the gerund with an adjective is rather unacceptable (56b). Moreover, no occurrence of gerund + AP coordination was found in the corpus.

(56) a. *Frunzele **stau** **legănându-se** în vânt.
leaves.DEF stay moving=CL.REFL.ACC in wind

b. ??Maria **stă** **ruşinată şi** **gândindu-se** la ce a făcut.
Maria stays ashamed and thinking=CL.REFL.ACC at what has done

7. The grammaticalization of the Romanian gerundial periphrases

The common starting point in the grammaticalization of the three Romanian aspectual periphrases under analysis is represented by the IP adjunction of a gerundial secondary predication, in a configuration with subject control (33-35). The syntactic representation is given

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under (57). In a parallel configuration, a gerund is adjoined to an IP headed by *a fi* (58), with the difference that *a fi* is a light verb (copula), while *a sta, a se afla* and *a umbla* are lexical verbs.

(57) [$_{CP1}$ [$_{IP1}$ [$_{IP1}$ [$_{VP}$ lexical verb]] [$_{CP2}$ V-GER]]]

(58) E corabiia era$_{Locative}$ **în mijlocul mării** [chinuindu-se]$_{Adjunct}$
and ship.DEF was in middle.DEF see.DEF.GEN have.trouble-GER=CL.REFL.ACC
de valuri. (CC2.1581: 293)
of waves
'And the ship was in the middle of the sea having trouble because of the waves'

In the case of aspectual periphrases with *a se afla* and *a sta*, there is no evidence for a change of syntactic status in OR, so I assume that the gerund is in adjunct position (57). In MR, the gerund changes its status, from an adjunct merged at the IP level to a complement selected by the aspectual verb. The MR configurations with the aspectualizers *a sta* and *a se afla* have the representation under (59).

(59) [$_{CP1}$ [$_{IP}$ [$_{VP}$ lexical verb [$_{CP2}$ V-GER]]]]

As far as the aspectualizer *a umbla* is concerned, the status of its accompanying gerund in OR is that of an adjunct, with the representation under (57), while the same is ambiguous in MR: some speakers consider it to still be an IP adjunct; however, other speakers reanalyze it as a complement, in which case it receives the representation under (59).

If we admit that *a se afla* is a copula in MR gerundial periphrases, then this structure has gone one step further in the grammaticalization process, since the finite verb becomes a light verb; see (61). Importantly, a parallel configuration with copular *a fi* and a gerundial complement occurs in OR, confirming that a copula stage exists in the evolution towards a non-perfective aspectual (functional) head. Starting with the 16th century, *a fi* is attested with copular use, selecting a PredP complement (60). Copular *a se afla* and *a fi* + gerund have the syntactic representation under (61) (Mikkelsen 2006).

(60) era$_{Copula}$ la ceri [ducându-se]$_{Subjective\ Predicative\ Complement}$ (CC1.1567-8: 37r)
(he)was at heaven go-GER=CL.REFL.ACC
'he was going to heaven'

(61) [$_{IP}$ [$_{vP}$ copula [$_{PredP}$ Pred [$_{AspP}$ V-GER]]]]

The structure under (60) co-occurs with the auxiliary *a fi* + gerund structure, which represents the highest level of grammaticalization of Romanian aspectual periphrases (62a). *A fi* + gerund is the only Romanian periphrasis that reached the stage at which it features an aspectual auxiliary. I propose the syntactic representation under (62b), based on the current analysis of the Romanian IP (Cornilescu 2000 a.o.).

(62) a. n-**ați** fi$_{AUX}$ având păcate (CT.1560-1: 152)
not=AUX.COND.2PL be have-GER sins
'you would not be having sins'

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b. [$_{NegP}$ nu [$_{MoodP}$ aţi [$_{TP}$ [$_{Asp}$ fi având]]]]

In those configurations in which the clitic attaches to the auxiliary and negation takes the finite inflection as its complement, while coordination with adjectives is ruled out, we are dealing with gerundial periphrases made up with the auxiliary *a fi.* On the other hand, in those constructions in which at least one of the following conditions is met: the clitic is in post-gerundial position (63, 64, 66), the gerund is coordinated with an adjective (63, 64) or a prepositional phrase (65), or the gerund projects its own negation (64), we are dealing with copular *a fi* and a gerund in predicative position. Configurations (63-66) survive until the first half of the 19th century (see 66) (Edelstein 1972: 94).

(63) mulţi era goi şi degerând şi de răceală **îngheţându-se** (CC2.1581: 405)
many were naked and tremble-GER and of cold freeze-GER=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
'many were naked and trembling and freezing because they were cold'

(64) **era iuţi** şi **mânioşi şi ne**aducându-**şi** aminte
(they)were quick and angry and not-bringing=CL.REFL.ACC.3SG in.mind
de dumnezeiescul dar (CC2.1581: 480)
of divine.DEF gift
'they were quick and angry and not remembering the divine gift'

(65) Că Svinţia Ta sângur **eşti fără păcate** şi putând a ierta
because holiness your alone (you)are without sins and can-GER A forgive
păcatele (DDL.1679: 196)
sins.DEF
'because you, your Holiness, are the only one without sins and capable of forgiving sins'

(66) Eu m-aş fi dus cât de aproape la vreun trup
I CL.REFL.ACC.1SG=AUX.COND.1SG be gone how.much of close at any body
ceresc, dar un cearcăn ce este învârtindu-se şi **vâjăind** înprejurul
celestial but a halo that is rotate-GER=CL.REFL.ACC and whizz-GER around
fiecăruea, nu mă lăsa să mă apropiiu.
each.one not CL.ACC.1SG let.IMPERF SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.ACC.1SG draw.near
(Gorjan 3.1837: 260)
'I would have drawn closer to any celestial body, but a halo that was rotating and whizzing around each one did not let me come near them'

The copular/locative configurations are the basis for the grammaticalization of *a fi* gerundial periphrases. The OR gerund preserved the possibility to occur in predicative position from Latin, a possibility that is lost in MR (GR 2013: 160ff.). It is difficult to draw a conclusion regarding the time at which these periphrases first appeared in Romanian. What is certain is that they are absent from Aromanian (Capidan 1932, Nevaci 2006), Meglenoromanian (Atanasov 2002) and Istroromanian (Zegrean 2012). This could mean that they developed independently in Romanian from the copula *a fi* + gerund in predicative position (cf. Edelstein 1966).

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8. Conclusions

There is evidence that the stative verbs *a sta* and *a se afla* (now obsolete), as well as the motion verb *a umbla,* develop an aspectual use in Romanian. They started a process of grammaticalization in structures in which their subject is controlled by the subject of the head verb. The three verbs do not become Aspectual heads, instead, they contribute with their own event-type to modify the temporal structure of the non-finite verbal form: *a sta* encodes the progressive, *a se afla,* the progressive and the continuous aspect, while *a umbla* expresses pluractionality (the frequentative aspect). They suffer a process of desemantization, by which they partly lose their original meaning. This semantic attrition has syntactic consequences: the three verbs do not select a locative/path argument any more. In the MR period, in the case of *a se afla* and *a sta*, there is evidence for the fact that the co-occurring gerundial structure changes its syntactic status, being no longer an adjunct, but the complement of the verb. This is proven by the behavior of these configurations with respect to extraction from the gerundial structure. When the gerund is an adjunct, it is a strong island and, therefore, extraction is ruled out, while in *a se afla* and *a sta* aspectual gerundial periphrases extraction is possible. As far as the status of the verb *a umbla* is concerned, contemporary Romanian speakers seem to hesitate between analyzing it as an adjunct or as a complement. Aspectual *se afla* + gerund is compatible with a copula analysis. If we admit that it has copular status, it means that it has gone one step further in the grammaticalization process than the other two aspectualizers, becoming a light verb.

The Romanian *a sta / a se afla / a umbla* + gerund periphrases are less grammaticalized than *a fi* gerundial periphrasis. The latter is the only gerundial periphrasis whose finite verb has become a non-perfective aspectual auxiliary.

A parallel was drawn between the grammaticalization of *a fi* and *a sta / a se afla / a umbla* gerundial periphrases. In the 16th century the following configurations co-occur: gerunds in adjunct position modifying the locative *a fi*, gerunds in complement position of copular *a fi* and gerunds that are part of aspectual periphrases, with auxiliary *a fi*.

The new data offered by this diachronic study shows that Romanian follows the same path as the other Romance languages, employing stative and motion verbs to express different categories of non-perfectivity. However, these verbs are much less grammaticalized than their Romance counterparts.

Corpus

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Budai 1800-12	Budai Deleanu, Ion. 2001. *Ţiganiada*. Bucharest · Chişinău: Litera Internaţional.
Cantacuzino 1716	Cantacuzino, Constantin. 1997. *Istoria Ţărâi Rumâneşti*. Bucharest: Litera.
Cantemir 1705	Panaitescu, P.P. & Ion Verdeş (eds.). 1965. Cantemir, Dimitrie. *Istoria ieroglifică*. In Vol. I-II. Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură.
CC1 1567-8	Drimba, Vladimir. 1998. *Coresi*, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor şi Molitvenic românesc*. Bucharest: Academia Română.
CC2 1581	Puşcariu, Sextil & Al. Procopovici (eds.). 1914. *Diaconul Coresi, Carte cu învăţătură.* Bucharest: Socec.
CL 1675	Panaitescu, P.P. (ed.). 1958. Miron Costin. *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei de la Aaron vodă încoace*. In *Opere*. Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură şi Artă.
Coşbuc 1904	Coşbuc, George. 1998. *Cântece de vitejie*. Chişinău: Litera.
CPr 1566-7	Bianu, Ion (ed.). 1930. *Coresi*, *Lucrul apostolesc*. In Ion Bianu (ed.). *Texte de limbă din secolul XVI.* Bucharest: Cultura naţională.
Creangă 1879	Creangă, Ion. 2002. *Amintiri din copilărie*. Bucharest · Chişinău: Litera Internaţional.
CT 1560-1	Dumitrescu, Florica. 1963. *Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi. Braşov 1560-1561, comparat cu Evangheliarul lui Radu de la Măniceşti 1574,* Bucharest: Editura Academiei.
DDL 1679	Ursu, Neculai Alexandru. 1980. *Dosoftei. Dumnezeiasca Liturghie*. Iassy: Mitropolia Moldovei.
DIR	Roller, Mihail. 1954. *Documente privind istoria României, veacul XVII.* B. *Ţara Românească*, Vol. IV. Bucharest: Editura Academiei.
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Donici 1844	Donici, Alexandru. 1997. *Scrieri*. Bucharest · Chişinău: Litera Internaţional.
Dosoftei 1682	Ursu, N. A. (ed.). 1978. *Dosoftei. Viaţa şi petreacerea svinţilor*. In *Opere,* Vol. I: *Versuri.* Bucharest: Minerva.
DRH	Chirca, Haralambie. 1971. *Documenta Romaniae Historica*. A. *Moldova,* Vol. XIX. Iaşi: Academia RSR.
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Gorjan 1837	Gorjan, Ion Gherasim. 1837. *Halima sau povestiri mitologheşti arăbeşti*, Vol. III. [Bucharest].
ISD 6	Iorga, Nicolae. 1904-5. *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol.VI. Bucharest: Ministerul de Instrucţie.
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HurmuzakiVI	Sturdza Dimitrie Alexandru & C. Colescu-Vartic (eds.). 1895. *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor. Urmare la colecțiunea lui Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, 1827-1849,* Vol. VI. Bucharest: Socec.
ÎL.1652	Rădulescu, Andrei (ed.). 1962. *Îndreptarea legii*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei.
Mărgăritare 1691	Popescu, Rodica (ed.). 2001. *Mărgăritare, adecă cuvinte de multe ` feliuri*. Bucharest: Libra.
Neagoe Basarab 1654	Moisil, Florin & Dan Zamfirescu (eds.). 1970. *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său, Theodosie.* Bucharest: Minerva.
Negruzzi 1840	Negruzzi, Constantin. 1996. *Negru pe alb*. Bucharest · Chişinău: Litera Internațional.
NL 1743	Iordan, Iorgu (ed.). 1968. *Ion Neculce*, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei şi O samă de cuvinte*. Bucharest: Editura Tineretului.
NT 1648	(anonymous ed.). 1988. *Noul Testament.* Alba Iulia: Episcopia Ortodoxă a Alba Iuliei.
PO 1582	Pamfil, Viorica (ed.). 1968. *Palia de la Orăştie 1581-1582.* Bucharest: Editura Academiei.
Radu Ionescu 1854	Ionescu, Radu. 1854. *Cânturi intime. Poesii*. Bucharest: A. Daniilopolu.

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