FROM VERBS OF MOTION TO ASPECTUAL AND COPULA VERBS *A INTRA* 'ENTER' AND *A IEŞI* 'EXIT'[1]

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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 >

[1] Our work is part of the team project *Moving towards aspect, copula and passive. The diachronic reanalysis of motion verbs in Romanian* (MOV), coordinated by Adina Dragomirescu. This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0341, within PNCDI III.

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RRL, **LXVI**, *1*, p. 49–62, Bucureşti, 2021

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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 ieşi* 'exit; go out', *a se prinde* 'catch', *a purcede* 'proceed', *a se ridica* 'raise', *a sosi* 'arrive', *a se ţine* '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 Ţara Braşeului, care **să** **cheamă**
in country.DEF Brăşeu which CL.REFL.ACC.3SG is.named
cu altŭ nume Bârsa (CLM.1700–1750: 184)
with other name Bârsa
'Brăşeu County, which is also called Bârsa'
b. iară cealaltă parte a stihului, care
and the.other part AL.GEN verse.DEF.GEN which
să **numeşte** cadenţia (EG.1757: 122r)
CL.REFL.ACC.3SG is.named cadence
'And the other part of the verse which is called cadence'

(2) a. Atunci această tocmală **să** **stea**
then this.FEM.SG agreement SĂ.SUBJ stay.SUBJ.3SG
adevărată (Prav.1646: 112)
true
'Thus our agreement should remain valid'
b. Şi dup-îns **stătu** Marco domn (MC.1620: 46r)
and after-him stay.PS.3SG Marco emperor
'And after him Marco was the emperor'
c.O, hrănitoriul nostru, mângâiarea tinereaţelor
oh, nurturer our.M.SG consolation.DEF youth.PL.GEN
noastre, cui ne laş pre noi,
our.F.PL whom.DAT CL.ACC.1PL leave.2SG DOM us
carii **rămânem** săraci? (Ev.1642: 474)
who remain.1PL poor
'Oh, our nurturer, the consolation of our youth, to whom are you leaving us, who remain poor?'

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(3) a. **Au** **ajuns** pre pământ
AUX.PERF.3SG arrive.PPLE on earth
înger (BB.1688: XXIX, *apud* SOR 2016: 171)
angel
'He became an angel on earth'

b. **au** **întrat** toate la mare mânie (Bert.1774: 10[v])
have.3PL enter.PPLE all.F.PL at great anger
'All became very angry'

c. nu poci a me însura cu nusa
not can A.INF CL.REFL.1SG marry.INF with her
că mi **se** **prinde** îmă (Prav.1581: 229[v])
because CL.DAT.1SG CL.REFL.ACC.3SG catch.PRES.3SG mother
'I cannot marry her, for she is my mother'

d. Şi **purceasă** grea femeaia şi
and proceed.PS.3SG heavy woman.DEF and
născu fiiu (DPar.1683: III.60[r])
give.birth.PS.3SG son
'And the woman became pregnant and she gave birth to a boy'

e. Deaca muri moşul lu Romil, Amulie, atunce
when die.PS.3SG old.man LUI Romil Amulie then
se **rădică** împărat Romil (MC.1620: 30[v])
CL.REFL.ACC.3SG raise.PS.3SG emperor Romil
'And when Romil's grandfather, Amulie, died, Romil **became** an emperor'

f. Şi **sosi** voevod răsăritului şi-i
and arrive.PS.3SG Voivode East.DEF.GEN and=CL.DAT.3SG
află ajutoriu Artavazd, anume un boiarin (MC.1620: 88[r])
find help Artavazd that.is a boyard
'And he became the voivode of the East and he had Artavazd, a boyard, as his help'

(4) a. iară ea **se** **face** moartă în poiană
and she CL.REFL.ACC.3SG makes dead in meadow
şi tinde picioarele (FD.1592–1604: 550[v])
and stretches legs.DEF
'And she plays dead in the meadow and stretches her legs'

b. Atunce boiarinul den domn **să**
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) cu adevărat vă **par** amar acum vorbele
with truth CL.DAT.2PL seem.PRES.3PL bitter now words
meale, nefiind obicinuiți cu dânsele (AD.1722–1725: 99[v])
my 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

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numerous other members. In what follows, we will only refer to two verbs – *a intra* 'enter'and *a ieşi* '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[4] 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).

(7) 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.

[4] 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').

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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):

(8) a. El **a** **ieşit/** **intrat** profesor /inginer
he AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE/enter.PPLE teacher / engineer
într-ocompanie nou înfiinţată
in-acompany newly founded
'He **becomes** a teacher / an engineer in a new company'
b. Ce **a** **ieşit** el?
what AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE he.NOM
'What has he **become**?'
c. El iese de la serviciu **fericit / obosit**
he leave.PRES.3SG from work happy / tired
'He leaves his office happy/tired'

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 şi-a
AUX.PERF.3SG enter.PPLE and 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 şi 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'

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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.

(10) a. După aceaia nu vrea... **să** **între**
after that not want.PRES.3SG SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.3SG
în cetate, ce lăcuiia afară (Coresi, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
in fortress but live.IMPERF.3SG outside
‘After that he did not want to enter the fortress, he was living outside’

b. Deci Pavelu **întră** către elu şi se
thus Paul enter.PS.3SG towards him and CL.REFL.3SG
rugă (CV.1563-83: 98)
pray.PS.3SG
‘So Paul approached him and prayed’

c. E Pavel vruind **să** **între** întru gloată,
and Paul want.GER SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.3SG in crowd
nu-l lăsară el ucenicii lui (CV.1563–83: 10)
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 mă omorî, ci mai bine scoate-mi
not CL.ACC.1SG kill.INF but more good take.out.IMP.2SG=CL.DAT.1SG
stepul ce mi-**a** **intrat** în labă
thorn which CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG 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’

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e. **A** **intra** în Academie (Şăineanu, în DLR)
A.INF register in Academy
'enrol in the Academy'
f. **Intră** în Persia cu război (E. Văcărescul, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
enter.PRES.3PL in Persia with war
'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 thatthe 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 *în* '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 ne nevoimŭ **să** **întrămŭ**
SĂ.SUBJ CL.REFL.ACC.1PL strive.SUBJ.1PL SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.1PL
în repaosulŭ acela (CC[2].1581: 4)
in rest.DEF that
'Let us strive to begin to rest'
b. El **întră** în slujbă la împăratul
he enter.PRES.3SG in duty at emperor.DEF
(Ispirescu, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
'He begins to serve the emperor'
c. Lipseşti din ochii mei, că **întru** acuşi
leave.IMP.2SG from eyes my.PL because enter.PRES.1SG 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 în ce chicion **am** **întrat**
now look in what bad.luck AUX.PERF.1PL enter.PPLE
(Creangă, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
'Now look in what trouble I've got'
e.**a intra** la 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'

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g. **a intra** la gânduri
A.INF enter.INF to thoughts
'begin to worry/make worries'
h. (fam.) **a** **intra** la o idee
A.INF enter.INF to an idea
'begin to think about something obssessively'

(12) a. **Întrase** în grijă mare, să nu piardă Moldova
enter.PLUPERF.3SG in worry big SĂ.SUBJ not lose Moldavia
(Neculce, *apud* TDRG, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
'He had started to be very worried not to lose Moldavia'
b. Numa de abia **intrasă** în vrâstă de 15 ani
just enter.PLUPERF.3SG in age of 15 years
(Beldiman, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
'He had just turned 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-**ai** **intrat** **atâta de dragă**, încât
CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.2SG enter.PPLE so dear so.that
m-am hotărât să mi
CL.REFL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.1SG decide.PPLE SĂ.SUBJ CL.DAT.1SG
te fac chiar noră (Reteganul, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
CL.ACC.2SG make.PRES.1SG even daughter.in.law
'You became so dear to me that I've even decided for you to become my daughter-in-law'
b. Murind şi muma, **întră [epitrop]** bunul
die.GER also mother.DEF enter administrator grandfather.DEF
sau buna (Pravila 1814, în DA)
or grandmother.DEF
'When the mother dies, the grandfather of the grandmothers becomes the administrator'
c. căci **întră** **chezaş** (FD.1592−604: 476^{r})
because enter.PRES.3SG guarantor
'For he becomes the guarantor'

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d. Toată pricina iaste că **au** **întrat** spătarul
all trouble is that AUX.PERF.3SG enter.PPLE sword bearer.DEF
Cuza **cumpărător** (Uricariul, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
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. **Ieşam** seara în uliţa mare
go.out.IMPERF.1PL evening.DEF in lane.DEF big
(C. Negruzzi, în DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
'In the evening we went out in the main street'

b. Aburi groşi **ieşeau** din el (C. Negruzzi, în DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
steams thick come.out.IMPERF.3PL from it
'Thick vapours came out of it'

c. **Eşind** sufletul de la trup, îi **es** înainte...
come.out.GER soul.DEF from body CL.DAT.3SG come.in.front
draci
devils
(Dosoftei, V.S., în DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
'When the soul leaves the body, devils come before it'

d. **Eşi** veste d'in în toată jidovimea
come.out.PS.3SG news about=him in all Jewish.people.DEF
(Varlaam, C., în DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
'The news got to all the Jewish people'

e. i le-au **ieşit** răspunsu de la
and CL.DAT.3PL=AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE answer from
împărăţie să margă boierii toţi la
empire SĂ.SUBJ go.SUBJ.3PL boyars.DEF all to
Poartă (Neculce, în DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
Constantinople
'The emperor has sent an order for all the boyars to go to Constantinople'

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(ii) 2nd stage.The verb*a 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) a. **a** **ieşi** la domnie (in DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
A.INF come.out.INF to reign
'to become an emperor'
b. **a** **ieşi** din slujba spânului (Creangă, in DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
A.INF end.up.INF from service.DEF bold.man.DEF.GEN
'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 împărătul, şi-l
and=CL.ACC.M.3SG forgive.PS.3SG emperor.DEF.NOM and=CL.ACC.M.3SG
puse capitan pre 1.000, şi-l boieri
put.PS.3SG captain over 1000 and=CL.ACC.M.3SG make.boyar.PS.3SG
şi **ieşi** mare. (A.1620: 64[r])
and become.PS.3SG big
'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 să facă **să** **iasă** şi
how SĂ.SUBJ do.SUBJ.3SG SĂ.SUBJ end.up.SUBJ.3SG also
de astă dată biruitoare? (Ispirescu, in DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
of this time winner
'How should she act in order to become a winner again?'
c. Vreo cinci sute de mioare ce **ies**
around five hundred of sheep.PL which become.PRES.3PL

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vara fătătoare (Teodorescu, in DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
summer.DEF pregnat.F.PL
'Around five hundred sheep which are lambing in the summer'
d. cine **va** **ieşi** vinovat (DÎ.1600: XLVIII)
who AUX.FUT.3SG turn.out.INF guilty
'who will be found guilty'
e. Mitropolitul Theofan **n-ar** **fi** **ieşit**
bishop.DEF Theophan not=AUX.COND.3SG be.INF end.up.PPLE
întreg de dânsul (ULM.~1725: 113^{v})
entire from him
'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):

(17) Şi i-au rămas lui Neculai-vodă 3
and CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3PL remain.PPLE LUI Neculai-voivode three
ficiori, cari mai pe urmă 2 **au** **ieşit**
sons who more afterwards two AUX.PERF.3PL result.PPLE
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. **a** **ieşit** învingătoare
AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE winner
'She became the winner'
b. **a** **ieşit** verde/ roşie
AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE green/ red
'it ended up green/red'
c. **a** **ieşit** vinovat
AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE guilty
'he was found guilty'

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d. În cele din urmă, totul **a** **ieşit** mai
in CEL.F.PL from end everything AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE more
bine decât ne aşteptam/ rău/ groaznic.
good than CL.REFL.ACC.1PL expect.IMPERF.1PL/ bad/ terrible
'In the end, everything turned out better than expected/bad/terrible'
d. **a** **ieşit** („a terminat/a încheiat") printre primii
AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE among first.the.M.PL
'he ended up among the first'
e. **a** **ieşit** profesor/doctor/ deputat/ preşedinte
AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE teacher/ doctor/ deputy/ president
'he became a teacher/doctor/deputy/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 towardsa 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.

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● 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 *în/la*-prepositional phrase (prepositions like *în* 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* ***ieşi*** *la domnie /**a ieşi** 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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