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 >

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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   <u>Bârsa</u> (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
      <u>adevărată</u> (Prav.1646: 112)
      true
      'Thus our agreement should remain valid'
      b. Şi   dup-îns **stătu**   Marco   <u>domn</u> (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**   <u>săraci</u>? (Ev.1642: 474)
      who   remain.1PL   poor
      'Oh, our nurturer, the consolation of our youth, to whom are you leaving us, who remain poor?'

(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: 10ᵛ)
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: 229ᵛ)
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.60ʳ)
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: 30ᵛ)
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: 88ʳ)
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: 550ᵛ)
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   obicinuiţi   cu   dânsele (AD.1722–1725: 99ᵛ)
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

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.

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[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').

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**   <u>profesor</u> /<u>inginer</u>
       he   AUX.PERF.3SG   exit.PPLE/enter.PPLE   teacher / engineer
       într-ocompanie   nou   înfiinţată
       in-acompany   newly   founded
       'He **becomes** <u>a teacher</u> / <u>an engineer</u> in a new company'
       b. <u>Ce</u>   **a**   **ieşit**   el?
       what   AUX.PERF.3SG   exit.PPLE   he.NOM
       '<u>What</u> has he **become**?'
       c. El   <u>iese</u>   de la   serviciu   **<u>fericit / obosit</u>**
       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**   <u>în clasă</u>   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'

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
         <u>în   cetate</u>,   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**   <u>către   elu</u>   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**   <u>întru   gloată</u>,
         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**   <u>în labă</u>
         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'

e. **A**   **intra**   în   Academie (Şăineanu, în DLR)
A.INF   register   in   Academy
'enrol in the Academy'
f. **Intră**   în   Persia   cu   războiu (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'

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

(12)   a. **Întrase**   <u>în grijă</u> 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**   <u>în vrâstă</u>   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* <u>*în suflet*</u> 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: 476ͬ)
because enter.PRES.3SG   guarantor
'For he becomes the guarantor'

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'

(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**   <u>la   domnie</u> (in DA, s.v. *ieşi*)
A.INF   come.out.INF   to   reign
'to become an emperor'
b. **a**   **ieşi**   <u>din   slujba   spânului</u> (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   împăratul,   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**   <u>mare</u>. (A.1620: 64ʳ)
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   <u>biruitoare</u>? (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

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: 113ᵛ)
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'

d. În cele   din urmă, totul   **a**   **ieşit**   <u>mai</u>
in   CEL.F.PL   from end everything   AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE   more
<u>bine</u>   <u>decât</u>   <u>ne</u>   <u>aşteptam</u>/   <u>rău</u>/   <u>groaznic.</u>
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")   <u>printre</u>   <u>primii</u>
AUX.PERF.3SG   result.PPLE   among   first.the.M.PL
'he ended up among the first'
e. **a**   **ieşit**   <u>profesor/doctor/</u>   <u>deputat/</u>   <u>preşedinte</u>
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.

● 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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