

CONJUGATION CHANGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF ROMANIAN (DACO-ROMANIAN AND AROMANIAN) IN VERBS OF LATIN ORIGIN

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Abstract. Having as starting point for research on the change of conjugation of Latin to the Romance languages, the paper aims to present the situation of these changes in Romanian: Daco-Romanian (that of the old Romanian texts) and Aromanian dialect (which does not have a literary standard).

Keywords: conjugation changes; Romance languages; Romanian language (Daco-Romanian and Aromanian).

Conjugation changes are a characteristic feature of the Romance verb system. In some Romance languages (Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Sardinian) verbs going from one conjugation to another has caused the reduction of the four conjugations inherited from Latin to three inflection classes: in Spanish and Portuguese the 2nd conjugation extended (verbs with stressed theme vowel): *véndere* > Sp., Pg. *vender*; *círere* > Sp., Pg. *correr*; in Catalan 3rd conjugation verbs assimilated the 2nd conjugation ones, a phenomenon occurring in Sardinian as well: Catal. *ventre*, Srd. *biere*; Additionally, in Spanish and Portuguese the 4th conjugation also becomes strong, assimilating 3rd conjugation verbs: *petére* > Sp., Pg. *petir*, *ungére* > Sp., Pg. *ungir*, *iungére* > Sp., Pg. *ungir* (Lausberg 1988: 259).

Lausberg includes Aromanian together with Spanish, Catalan and Sardinian, where the four conjugations were reduced to three, mentioning that 3rd conjugation verbs switched to the 2nd conjugation³.

The process of switching from one conjugation to another is frequent from as early as vulgar Latin. Grammars experience changes such as: *augére* > *augére*; *ardére* > *ardére*; *fervére* > *fervére*; *mulgére* > *mulgére*; *respondére* > *respondére*; *sorbére* > *sorbére*; *torquére* > *torquére*; *tondére* > *tondére* (Densusianu 1961: 103,

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³ Lausberg: „en español y portugués y también en macedorrumano, solamente se conservan tres conjugaciones latinas.”

ILR 1969: 75, Ivănescu 1980: 160). In isolated cases, reverse switches from the 2nd conjugation to the 3rd one occur as well: *cadere* > *cadēre*, *capere* > *capēre* (Densusianu 1961: 104).

In order to be able to compare the convergent or divergent evolution of the two dialects, we have considered only those verbs that are common to both Aromanian and Daco-Romanian. As concerns Aromanian, we have recorded the DDA verb forms, identifying the differences between the Aromanian sub-dialects (Daco-Romanian and Aromanian). Capidan, Caragiu-Marioțeanu, and Saramandu discuss the fluctuation of verbs from one conjugation to another in Aromanian, pinpointing the impossibility of classifying them according to the infinitive inflectional suffix. Capidan (1932: 433) inventoried the verbs which “experience switches in conjugation not only in the infinitive form, but in other verb forms as well”. Describing conjugations in present-day Aromanian according to the present tense indicative 2nd person plural inflectional suffix, Saramandu shows that “in some sub-dialects there is a tendency for infinitive inflectional suffixes to be reduced to two, [-á] and [-éa], and similarly with the imperfect indicative, and sliding of 3rd and 4th conjugation verbs to 1st and 2nd conjugations” (Saramandu 1984: 460). Analysing the material provided by the DDA, we have noticed that one third of the 311 Aromanian verbs of Latin origin exhibit fluctuations in conjugation. Their classification based on the infinitive form being inoperative due to the spread of the **-eári**⁴ suffix, we consider the present tense indicative 2nd person plural inflectional suffix (where, as established by Saramandu 1984: 449, the four conjugations exhibit specific inflectional suffixes). For verb etymology we have consulted the CDDE, the DER, the DDA, and for the infinitive form, the DDA. Most conjugation fluctuations are exhibited by 3rd conjugation verbs.

For Daco-Romanian, we considered present-day standard language, making references to old Romanian and sub-dialects. Aromanian does not have a literary, standard form, for this reason we are dealing only with regional forms presented in Aromanian dialects.

Daco-Romanian and Aromanian, as well as the other Romanian dialects, inherit the four conjugations from Latin, identified according to the theme vowel:

1st: **-á-** *cantáre*

2nd: **-ě-** *légere*

3rd: **-é-** *vidére*

4th: **-í-** *audíre* (ILR 1969: 75).

The spoken language has experienced numerous interferences of the four conjugations, manifesting in the oscillation of the forms or switches from one conjugation to another. “Phonetic similarities of themes and inflections, attractions among semantically related verbs have represented permanent unbalance factors”⁵,

⁴ Capidan (1932: 433) considers the infinitive inflectional suffix **-eári** as “a mere substitution in verb ending of the nominal infinitive”.

⁵ “The confusion of **ě** and **í** in hiatus, whose final result is the transformation of both sounds into **-í**, attested as early as the 1st century in the Pompei inscriptions [...] has led to the formal identification of the 1st person sg. form of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugations. On the other hand, **ě** and **í**

leading to cases where a certain classic Latin conjugation has corresponding forms belonging to a different conjugation in Vulgar Latin (ILR 1969: 75).

In Late Latin, the process of reclassification of verbs intensified. Most switches affected 2nd and 3rd conjugation verbs, increased by similarities among pre-inflectional vowels, with the 3rd conjugation being the one whose members increased in number.

The closing of the vowel **e** when in hiatus in the present tense indicative form has encouraged the switch of certain 2nd conjugation verbs to the 4th conjugation: *albēre* > **albīre*, *frondēre* > **frondīre* (Densusianu 1961: 104, Graur 1962: 157, ILR 1969: 76).

Additionally, 2nd conjugation inchoative verbs ending in **-ēscere** change their theme vowel to **-īscere** and switch to the 4th conjugation: **lucīsco*, **florīsco*⁶.

A separate category of 3rd conjugation verbs with the theme ending in **ī** or **ē** switched to the 4th conjugation: *fugēre* > *fugire*, *petēre* > *petire* (Iordan, Manoliu 1965: 198, ILR 1969: 76).

In the table (Nevaci 2006: 15-31) we included, apart from the infinitive form, the present tense indicative 2nd person plural form, its equivalent form in Daco-Romanian and, additionally, the Latin etymon (Nevaci 2003: 137)⁷:

No.	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
		3 rd conjugation	3 rd conjugation	2 nd conjugation	3 rd conjugation		2 nd conjugation
					infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.	infinitive
1.	(in)figēre	a înfige	-	(n)hiqiri	(n)hiqīt	(n)hiqéári	(n)hiqé̄t
2.	*ardēre	a arde	-	ardíri	árdīt	ardeári	ardé̄t
3.	*disvestēre< dis-vestire	a dezveaște	-	dizveáštiri	dizveáštīt	dizvișteári	dizviștē̄t
4.	*ex-battēre	a (se) zbate	a zbătea (înv. reg.) DLR	zbátiri	zbátīt	zbăteári	zbătē̄t
5.	*excotēre	a scoate	-	scoátiri	scoátīt	scuteári	scuté̄t

are confused in Late Latin becoming **ē**, a fact which determines the disappearance of the differences between the 2nd pers. sg. forms of the 2nd and 3rd conjugation [...]. Consequently, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugation forms end up being almost identical, at least for the singular" (ILR 1969: 79-80).

⁶ Cf. Densusianu (1961: 105-106); Ivănescu (1980: 160): "the inchoative meaning survived in some (*infloresc*), but disappeared in others (*lucesc*, *urăsc*); Brâncuș (2002: 28): "there appear two classes of new verbs in Late Danubian Latin: 1. in *-sc* (inflectional suffix which had an inchoative meaning): *floresco* 'bloom' (initially 'begin to bloom'); 2. in *-izare*: *baptizare* 'to baptize'. Both inflectional suffixes, associated with the present tense indicative, subjunctive and imperative, become more widely spread in Romanian"; Cf. Lombard (1955: 1171), who identifies six inflection classes for Daco-Romanian taking into consideration the inflectional suffixes in the structure of the present tense indicative.

⁷ Verbs marked with (*) in the table do not appear in Th. Capidan's list.

6.	*ex-mulgĕre	a zmulge		zmuldĕri	zmuldĕt	zmuldeári	zmuldzét
7.	*ex-tragĕre	a trage	-	astrádiri	astrádt	astrádeári	astrádét
8.	*ex-trajicĕre	a întrece	-	astreátiiri	astreátiit	astrițeári	astrițét
9.	*extra-pungĕre	a străpunge	-	străpúnđiri	străpúnđit	străpundéári	străpundét
10.	*exvomĕre	a voma	-	(z)voámiri	(z)voámiit	(z)vumeári	(z)vuméit
11.	*investĕre<investire	a înveaște	-	nveástiri	nveástiit	nvișteári	nviștét
12.	*ridĕre	a râde	-	arádiri	arádiit	arâdeári	arâdét
13.	*tragĕre<trahere	a trage	-	trádziri	trádiit	trădeári	trădét
14.	*vendĕre	a vinde	-	víndiri	víndiit	vindeári	vindé
15.	abbatĕre	a abate	-	abátiri	abátiit	abâteári	abâtét
16.	adjungĕre	a ajunge	-	agünđiri	agünđiit	agünđeári	agünđét
17.	aducĕre	a aduce	-	adútiri	adútitiit	aduțeári	aduțét
18.	alēgĕre	a alege	-	aleádiri	aleádiit	aliđeári	aliđzét
19.	apponĕ	a apune	-	apúniri	apúnitiit	apuneári	apunéit
20.	apprēndĕre	a aprinde	-	apríndiri	apríndiit	aprindeári	aprindét
21.	cingĕre	a încinge	-	teándiri	tindĕit	tindéári	tindéit
22.	cocĕre	a coace	-	coádiri	coátiit	cuțeári	cuțét
23.	collegĕre	a culege	-	culeádiri	culeádiit	culiđeári	culiđét
24.	cosĕre	a coase	-	coásiri	coásitiit	cuseári	cuséit
25.	dicĕre	a zice	-	đâtiri	đâtiit	đâteári	đâtét
26.	dirigĕre	a drege	-	ndreádiri	ndreádiit	ndriđeári	ndriđét
27.	discludĕre	a deschide	-	dișcăldiri	dișcăldiit	dișcăldeári	dișcăldét
28.	disfacĕre	a desface	-	disfătiri	disfătiit	disfăteári	disfătét
29.	dis-fingĕre	a desface (aluatul)	-	disfîndiri	disfîndiit	disfinđeári	disfinđét
30.	distringĕre	a	-	distrínđiri	distrínđiit	distrinđeári	distrinđét
31.	ducĕre	a duce	-	dútiri	dútitiit	duteári	dutét
32.	ex-per-lingĕre	a prelinge	-	sprilîndiri	sprilîndiit	sprilinđeári	sprilinđét
33.	exponĕre	a spune	a spunea (inv.) DLR	spúniri	spúnitiit	spuneári	spunéit
34.	ex-ponĕre	a spune	a spunea DLR	aspúniri	aspúnitiit	aspuneári	aspunéit
35.	exterгere	a șterge	-	așteárdiri	așteárdiit	aștirđeári	aștirđét
36.	extinguĕre	a stinge	-	astínđiri	astínđiit	astinđeári	astinđét
37.	facĕre	a face	-	fătiri	fătiit	făteári	fătét
38.	fervĕre	a fierbe	-	heárbiri	heárbitiit	hirbeári	hirbét
39.	frangĕre	a frângere	-	frândziri	Frândziit	frândeári	frândét
40.	frigĕre	a frige	-	friđiri	friđiit	friđeári	friđét
41.	gemĕre (*)	a gema	-	đeámiri	đeámiit	đimeári	điméit
42.	in-cernĕre	a cerne	-	nțeármiri	nțeárnitiit	nțirneári	nțirméit
43.	includĕre	a închide	-	nclîndiri	nclîndiit	nclîdeári	nclîdét

44.	mergĕre	a merge	-	neádiri	neádiț	nideári	nidéț
45.	mulgĕre	a mulge	-	múldiri	múldiț	muldeári	muldžéț
46.	nascĕre	a naște	-	náštiri	nástiț	nășteári	nășéț
47.	pascĕre	a paște	-	páštiri	pástiț	pășteári	păștéț
48.	perdĕre	a pierde	-	kárdiri	kárdiț	kirdeári	kirdéț
49.	per-trajicĕre	a petrece	-	pitreátiři	pitreátiț	pitriteári	pitritéț
50.	pingĕre	a împinge	-	pínđiri	pínđiț	pinđeári	pinđéț
51.	plangĕre	a plânge	-	plánđiri	Plánđiț	plăndeári	plăndéț
52.	ponĕre	a pune	-	púniri	puniț	puneári	punéț
53.	prehendĕre	a prinde	-	prindiri	prindiț	prindeári	prindéț
54.	rodĕre	a roade	-	aróadiri	aróadiț	arudeári	arudéț
55.	rumpĕre	a rupe	-	arúpiri	arúpiț	arupeári	arupéț
56.	sorbĕre	a sorbi	-	soárg'iri	soárg'iț	surg'ári	surg'iț
57.	spargere	a sparge	-	spárđiri	spárđiț	spárđeári	spárđéț
58.	stingĕre	a stinge	-	stínđiri	stínđiț	stinđeári	stinđéț
59.	stringĕre	a strânge	-	strínđiri	strínđiț	strinđeári	strinđéț
60.	sugĕre	a suge	-	súđiri	Súđiț	suđeári	suđéț
61.	tendĕre	a întinde	-	tíndiri	tíndiț	tindeári	tindéț
62.	tondĕre< tondĕre	a tunde	-	túndiri	túndiț	tundeári	tundéț
63.	torquĕre	a toarce	-	toárđiri	toárđiț	turteári	turțéț
64.	traicĕre	a trece	-	treátiři	treátiț	trițeári	trițéț
65.	ungĕre	a unge	a ungea DLR	aúnđiri	aúnđiț	aunđeári	aundéț
66.	vincĕre	a învinge	-	învíndiri	învíndiț	învîndeári	învîndéț

Other fluctuations in verb conjugations are noticed.

2nd conjugation → 3rd conjugation:

No.	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
		2 nd conjugation	3 rd conjugation	2 nd conjugation	3 rd conjugation	infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.
				infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.
1.	jacĕre	-	a zăcea	zâțeári	zățeț ⁸	zățiri	zățiț
2.	tenĕre	a ține	a ținea (înv.) DLR	țâneári	țâneț	țâniři	țâniț
3.	*umplĕre ⁹	a umple	a umplea (înv. reg.) DLR	umpleári	umpléț	úmpliri	úmpliț

⁸ It is confused with *dzățeț* ‘zăceț’.

⁹ DER: 817: “as well as in the case of *umfla* (*apud* Pușcariu) the change *in>un* may be prior to common Romanian; cf. Sardu *úmplere*, Catalan *umpir*”.

4th conjugation → 1st conjugation:

No.	4 th conjugation	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
		1 st conjugation	4 th conjugation	4 th conjugation	1 st conjugation		
		infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.		
1.	*ammortire	-	a amorti	amurțari	amurțăt	amurțari	amurțăt
2.	amarire	-	a amărî	amărări	amărăt	amărări	amărăt
3	grunire	-	a grohăi	gurñiri	gurñiț	gurñári	gurñát
4	tusire	-	a tuși	tušíri	tušít	tuşári	tuşát

4th conjugation → 2nd conjugation:

No.	4 th conjugation	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
		2 nd conjugation	4 th conjugation	4 th conjugation	2 nd conjugation		
		infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2 nd pers. pl.		
1.	in-salire	-	a sări	ansăriri	ansăriț	ansăreári	ansăréț
3.	scire	-	a ști	știri	știț	șteári	știéț
2.	venire	-	a veni	γiníri	γinít	γineári	γinéț

In Aromanian, the verb *scriu* < Lat. *scribere* has inflectional forms of the 3rd conjugation: *scriiri*/*scriț* and of the 1st conjugation: *scriári*/*scriát*.

In Aromanian the verb *stau* < Lat. *stare* (I: *stári/staț*, II: *stăteári/stătéț*) switches from the 1st conjugation to the 2nd one, while in Daco-Romanian it stays in the 1st conjugation.

There are also several verbs which exhibit fluctuations among three inflection classes: a) III, II, I: *adávgu*¹⁰ < lat. *adaugere* (in Aromanian and in Daco-

¹⁰ Cf. Lombard (1995: 167), DELR, Pană Dindelegan (1987: 61). A *adăuga* is present in Daco-Romanian as well with three inflectional forms: *adauge* ~ *adăugi* ~ *adăuga*. In the first Romanian texts, the form *adauge* is exclusively used, while later, in Dosoftei, the *adaoge* is frequent. The switch from one conjugation to another is a common phenomenon both in Vulgar Latin (Densusianu 1961: 103-105, Sala 1998: 124, Brâncuș 2002: 28), and in Old Romanian (Densusianu 1961: 126-128). The simple perfect form *adauș*, *adaos*, encountered until late 17th century, can still be heard nowadays in Banat, as indicated in DA. A research of the temporal and geographical distribution of the forms of different conjugation indicates that 4th conjugation forms are encountered much later; DA records them in the Moldavian sub-dialect, in M. Kogălniceanu's works (present tense *adăogesc*). Muntenia seems to show a preference for the 1st conjugation forms (*a adăoga*), but this is not exclusively used; thus we mention, in the indicated area, three parallel series, each corresponding to one type of conjugation:

- a. *adauge* (*adaoge*) – *adaug* (*adaog*) – *adauseiu* (*adaoseiu*) și *adauseiu* (*adaoseiu*) – *adauș* (*adaos*);
- b. *adăugi* (*adăogi*) – *adăugesc* (*adăogesc*);
- c. *adăuga* (*adăoga*) – *adaug* (*adaog*).

Romanian), *aşternu* < lat. *asternere* (in Aromanian), *pitrúndu* < lat. *pertundere* (in Aromanian).

- b) III, IV, II: *fug^u* < lat. *fugire* (în aromână)
- c) IV, III, II: *arăkescu* < lat. **rapire*, (*arap^u*) < lat. **rapire* (în aromână).

The verbs *a scrie*, *a sorbi* exhibit, in Daco-Romanian, fluctuations among 3 conjugations only in the infinitive. They exhibit fluctuations among 3 conjugations: (see List *infra*).

Some of these verbs exhibit in Aromanian a mixed conjugation.

We notice, for the following verbs in Daco-Romanian, conjugation switches in certain moods, tenses or persons:

a plânge: 2nd conj. forms in the infinitive are not recorded as such by DLR; but the recorded regional negative imperative 2nd pers. form (in form) *nu plângeá*,

The same dictionary specifies that in some areas, for example “in the Moldavian sub-dialect in the Sucevi Mountains”, the various conjugations are combined; a series of folk texts recorded in this area have two present tense forms: *adăgesc* and *adaog*; *adăugi*, with the participle *adăugit*; the form *adaos* is rare, while *adăugat* wasn’t recorded. It is one of the few verbs which were used, until late, with forms of three paradigms, together with *sughița* – *a sughiți* – *a sughite* (Pană Dindelegan 1987: 61). In the period after 1880, the elimination of the old, etymological, 3rd conjugation forms from the language did not take place simultaneously in the entire paradigm: the research carried out by Gabriela Pană-Dindelegan on the evolution of the verb system after 1880 shows that the replacement by new forms seems to have taken place earlier in the present tense, the 1st conjugation forms being recorded in the present tense paradigm as early as the end of the century; the most resistant were the 3rd conjugation simple perfect and participle forms, and “traces of the 3rd conjugation participle appear nowadays only in the nominal form *adaos*, *-uri*, which functions as an independent lexical item, losing its relation to the base” (Pană Dindelegan 1987: 67). The phonetic and morphological evolution, with the change of conjugation, is also discussed by Lombard (1955), who indicates the switch from *adăugere*, *adăugeo* (in Lat. cl. *-gēre*, *-geo*), initially becoming *adăuge*, *adăug* (imperf. *adăugea*), the only one in use. The verb *a adăuga* appears in all Romanian dictionaries; the general ones indicate more forms, some of them regional, folk or even archaic. The normative works indicate only the forms allowed by the literary norm of present-day Romanian. The most recent etymological dictionary (DELR) makes references to other lexicographical works as well where this term and the ones derived from it are recorded (Pușcariu, CDDE, REW, DA). Including the meaning “to add over, to give extra, to increase” to the entry *adăoga* (-*aog*, -*at*), the DER indicates the variants *adaoge*, *adăuga*, *adăugi*, as well as the Aromanian forms (*adavgu*, *adapșu*, *adăvgat*) and the Megleno-Romanian ones (*daug*, *dauș*), showing that Lat. *-ēre* had switched, from as early as vulgar Latin, to *-ēre*. The fact that many of the forms discussed can still be encountered also results from the fact that the DEX records them, even if only as variants: *adăoga*, vb. I; *adaoge*, vb. III; *adăogi*, *adăugi*, vb. IV; the same applies to some of the variants as well: at the headword *adăugare* the DEX also records, as variants, *adăogare*, *adăogire*, *adăugire*; the DELR also mentions that “the form *adăuge* is still alive in Romanian, but nowadays the 1st conjugation form is preferred; nevertheless, the latter is relatively recent, and the DA does not allow it”. Inventorying all inflectional forms of this verb, the older and the more recent ones, the DELR indicates, though, that “in all cases, the 1st conjugation type is preferable”; the same dictionary records the derived terms as well, currently obsolete, *adăosag* and *adăosătură*. In Eminescu the forms *adăogi*, *adaogi*, *adăogă*, *adaose*, *am adaos*, *te-ai adaos*, *adaoge*, *adăugi* (DLPE) are encountered. The imperative *adaoge* is recorded by Lombard (1954–1955: 651). In the old Romanian texts we found as well, for the imperative, the form *adaoceți*: “*Adaoceți la mine zestrea și ceareți darure și bucuros voi da*” (PO, p. 116), probably interpretable as a graphical inconsistency. See also Graur (1936: 190), Graur (1968: 45), Todi (2004).

which makes reference to a form *a plângeá*, indicates that there have been fluctuations between the 2nd and the 3rd conj. in the inflection of this verb as well.

a pune: present tense indicative *púnem* (stressed, rarely, also *puném*); the stress on the inflectional suffix indicates, for this verb, an alignment similar to the 2nd conjugation verbs – of the type *vedém*, *putém* etc., unlike verbs in -*e*, whose root is stressed (*vindem*, *fácm*, etc.).

a sparge: pres. ind. *sparg*; IV pers. and reg., *spárgém*

a tunde: IV pers. acc. and (reg.) *tundém*, and (reg.) *tunsérám*.

a tine: neg. imper. 5 pers. sg. and (arch.): *nu tineáreti*; for this verb, DLR also records 2nd conj. infinitive form: *ťineá* (arch.), and in var. *teneá*, vb. II.

Other verbs only show fluctuating forms in the infinitive:

a prinde: reg. and *a prindeá* (vb. II); arch. *a prénde* (3rd conj.)

a rugini: and (arch. and reg.) *a ruginá* (vb. I); (arch. *rugen*, vb. IV, (reg.) *rugená*, vb. I

a scrie: and (pop.): *scri*, vb. IV, (arch. and reg.) *scriá* (pres. ind. *scriéz*), vb. I.

a sorbi: pres. ind. *sorb* and (reg.) *sorbesch*; and (reg.) *sorbá*, vb. I; *soárbe* (vb. III);

a trage: and (reg.) *trägeá*, vb. II

a umple: and: *umpleá*, vb. II (arch. and pop.), *ímp*le, vb. III, *ímp*leá, vb. II, (reg.) *ímp*le, vb. III.

a zácea: and: *záce*, vb. III, *jácea*, vb. II.

In Aromanian, the following verbs exhibit mixed conjugation: *arákéscu*, *fug^u*, *tuşéqd'¹¹*, verbs which in the sub-dialect of the Aromanians have inflectional forms for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural belonging to the 1st conjugation, and the 1st, 2nd person plural to the 4th conjugation.

For Daco-Romanian, the research carried out on the first Romanian texts (16th century) attests a series of switches from one conjugation to another or even the appearance of some sub-divisions within some conjugations, as a consequence of phonetic laws or analogy. Thus, we noticed that:

(1) some verbs exhibit forms specific to conjugations other than the ones identified in the present-day language;

(a) a number of verbs, derived from adjectives and nouns, belong to the 1st conjugation, a fact attested by the forms: *adîncatu* (CV, 8 v/4), *fericămu* (CV, 67 r/10), *fericatu* (CV, 37 r/9, CV, 58 r/9), *fericați* (CV, 77 v/10-11, CV, 80 v/11), *învîrtoşați* (CV, 67 r/1), *se vînslați* (CV, 44 v/14), *se vînsleadze* (CV, 43 v/5); within the 4th conjugation, the verb *a curăti* is derived from the adjective *curat* <Lat. *curare*; in text: imperative *curăți* (CV, 64 v/14, CV, 65 r/1-2), *te curăteaște* (CV, 15 v/12-13), noun derived from the supine *curătitulu* (CV, 16 v/3);

(b) in certain cases, the etymological conjugation forms survive¹²:

¹¹ Cf. *Sar A*, inquiry notes.

¹² Al. Graur shows that “part of the verbs which belonged to the two irregular conjugations” (the 2nd and the 3rd conjugations), “present even in the first Romanian texts, disappear later (for example: *destinde*, which represented *descendere*), others switch to regular conjugations (for

2nd conjugation: *a ținea* (< lat. *tenēre*); in text: the infinitive *ținrea* (CV, 44 r/8); *va avea* (PO, 260/3), *vom bea* (PO, 230/10), *va cădea* (PO, 207/5), *vom mănea* (PO, 60/7-8), *vor putea* (PO, 114/26), *va ședea* (PO, 174/19), *voiu vedea* (PO, 162/14) in the indicative mood, future tense, i.e.: *aș avea* (PO, 107/2), *aș putea* (PO, 158/26), *ară vedea* (PO, 158/16).

3rd conjugation: *a adauge* (< Lat. *adaugēre*); in text: the simple perfect indicative form: *adauseră* (CV, 19 r/3) and the noun derived from the long infinitive form *adaugerea* (CV, 57 r/7); *a vie* (< Lat. *vivēre*), in texts: the infinitive form *a vie* (CV, 22 r/7, CV, 48 v/11, CV, 79 r/10) and *a învie* (compound from *a vie*); in texts: the simple perfect indicative forms: *învise* (CV, 78 v/1) and the future form: *învie-voru* (CV, 69 r/10-11)¹³; *a încărește* „is the result of an analogy, *încărește* being reconstructed after *crește*, *mește* (the infinitive form of *încareșc* < Lat. *incalesco* should be *încări*, but *încărește* is attested, as resulting from other 16th century documents as well: PS, PH, CPr) (Densusianu 1961: 126); in texts, the imperative form *încăreșteți-vă* (CV, 60 v/2).

(2). For the 1st and 4th conjugations differences from the present-day language regarding sub-classes characterised by the inflectional suffixes **-ez** and **-esc**, respectively:

(a) Forms without inflectional suffixes:

Uninflected present tense forms, recorded in all the 16th century texts, are used more frequently in rhotacized texts (Densusianu 1961: 130). 1st conjugation: *a cerceta*: *se cearrcete* (CV, 58 v/2); *a defâima*: *se nu defâime* (CV, 54 v/3-4); *a înfrîna*: *se înfrînre* (CV, 74 v/7); *a învîrtoșa*: *se învîrtease-vă* (CV, 82 v/2); *a repausa*: *repausă* (CV, 80 v/2); *a se scurta*: *se nu scurte-se* (CV, 77 r/1); *a urdina*: *se nu urrdinre* (CV, 32 r/5); *a veghea*: *se vegheie* (CV, 16 r/9, 35 v/12).

4th conjugation: *a răpi*: *se rrapă* (CV, 25 r/3); *a strâluci*: *strâluce* (CV, 56 r/8). Within the same conjugation, we mention the etymological forms in **-i** of some 4th conjugation verbs, specific especially to the northern area: *omori* (CV, 78 r/14), *pîri* (CV, 1 v/ 9, 24 v/ 8)¹⁴.

example: *învie* becomes *îvia*; Lat. *adaugere*, from the 2nd conjugation switched in Old Romanian to the 3rd conjugation, *adauge*, then to the 4th one, *adăugi*, and lastly to the 1st one, *adăuga*)¹³. The author underlines the fact that “we rarely find examples of switching from the 3rd conjugation to the 2nd conjugation (...), but many 2nd conjugation verbs switch to the 3rd one: *remanere*, *tenere*, *timere*, become *rămîne*, *ține*, *teme* etc.” (Graur 1962: 155-156). The explanation of the switch from the 2nd conjugation to the 3rd one and the other way around lies in the fact that the 2nd and the 3rd la conjugation have common mood and tense forms (Graur 1936: 190).

¹³ It is a more general tendency of Romanian to switch the Latin verbs in **-ere** to the 1st (or the 4th) conjugation, present in Romanian texts from the 16th century for the verbs *a învie*, *a vie*, *a scrie*; while *a învie* and *a scrie* preserve their etymological form in the northern area, in the other texts (in Muntenia, south of Ardeal and the Banat – Hunedoara area) have the tendency to switch to the 1st conjugation: *învi(i)a*, *vîia*; even in the southern texts though, this innovation is not very frequent; the presence of the verb *a scrie* with the present indicative and imperative forms in **-ez** (e.g. *scriadză*), in the texts from Banat-Hunedoara, attests its switch to the 1st conjugation (Ghetie 1997: 132).

¹⁴ The research on the dialectal distribution of the verb forms with both **-i** and **-â** has shown that, in general, the forms in **-i** are characteristic of the northern texts, while those in **-â** of the southern

(b) Forms with inflectional suffixes:

1st conjugation: a se derepta: derepeleadză-se (CV, 54 v/2-3, CV, 61 r/12-13).

4th conjugation: a (se) necurăți: se necurătească (CV, 86 v/3); *te curăteaste* (CV, 15 v/12-13).

Conjugation fluctuations in the verb system of Aromanian affect the entire class, not only verbs in isolation, the present indicative, participle and, in some cases, simple perfect forms undergoing changes. Therefore, Aromanian reduces the conjugation system inherited to three, with specializations at the level of sub-dialects (3rd conjugation in the sub-dialect of the Pindeni, and the 2nd conjugation in that of the Grămosteni, the Fărşeroţi and the Moscopoleni)¹⁵ and thus it carries forward the process in common Romanian, while developing the same tendency exhibited by Western Romania.

For the normative aspect of the present-day language, we have tried to systematize the types of interventions in the norm, as present in DOOM² compared to DOOM¹. We took into account the latest normative works: the most recent edition of the *Orthographic, Orthoepic and Spelling Guidebook* (1995) (no references being made to it since its rules and the ones in DOOM¹ coincide), as well as the 1st edition (1982/1989) and the 2nd edition (2005) of the *Orthographic, Orthoepic and Morphological Romanian Dictionary*. In the following paragraphs we will indicate these works, for simplification, by ÎOOP, DOOM¹ and DOOM². Some of the changes in these categories have already been partially discussed or inventoried, together with other new aspects of DOOM². After analysing the material provided by the normative works indicated, we noticed:

A.1. Variation of the present tense root

For the verb *a înconjura*, which exhibited frequent fluctuations in the past (Pană Dindelegan 1987: 21), the forms recommended by DOOM² are: pres. ind. 1 sg. *înconjur*, 3 *înconjoară* (DOOM¹ allowed for pres. ind. 1 sg. the forma *încunjur* as well).

A.2. Verb fluctuation

The interferences among the four conjugations are old, the phenomenon as such being noticed in vulgar Latin texts (Graur 1968, Sala 1998) (then in old Romanian texts (Gheție 1997) some verbs having, in time, forms for three conjugations – *a scrie* (Pană Dindelegan 1987: 66), *a adăuga* (Pană Dindelegan 1987: 66, Todi 2004). In the period investigated by Pană Dindelegan “numerous

ones (south of Transylvania – Wallachia, except Oltenia) and of those in the Banat-Hunedoara area, but forms with *-i* appear sporadically in Oltenia and Banat – Hunedoara texts as well: *pogori*, *uri*, *obori*, *omori*, *pîri* (Gheție 1997: 132). The same authors show that “sometimes the forms with *-î* appear sporadically in northern texts as well, alongside the forms in *-i*: *amărî*, *omorî*, *borî*; they can be accounted for by the influence of the southern texts or some versions of the southern texts made available by copiers” (Ibidem: 132). See Todi (2002) for the forms registered in the 16th century in *Codicele Voronețean*.

¹⁵ Cf. *Sar A* (inquiry notes).

interferences occur among the four conjugations, exhibited either by forms in oscillation, or by final switches from one conjugation to another, which affected both neological and old verbs" (Pană Dindelegan 1987: 57).

The fluctuation *a văpăi / a văpăia* (obsolete) – *văpăiește / văpăiază; să văpăiască / să văpăieze; a mihona / a mihoni* (reg.) – *mihonă / mihonește* (the variant in *-a* does not get an inflectional suffix, the one in *-i* – with the inflectional suffix *-esc*) is preserved, from the earlier edition; both editions record only the form *a curăța; a datora 1 / (obsolete) a datori 1* (to have a financial or moral duty) – pres. ind. 3 sg. *datorează / datorește; imperf. datora / datorea; ger. datorând / datorind; *a se datora 2 / (arch.) a se datori 2* (to be caused by) – pres. ind. 3 sg. *se datorează / se datorește; imperf. se datora / se datorea; ger. datorându-se / datorindu-se* (Todi 2007: 213-219).

We also notice switches from one conjugation to another (between classes in *-i* and in *-a*) in the case of the verbs: *a descotoșmăna* (colloquial), pres. ind. 3 *descotoșmănează* (DOOM¹ *a descotoșmăni*, pres. ind. 3 *descotoșmănesc*); regarding the double *a împături / a împătura* (DOOM¹), DOOM² proposes a single form *a împături*; and in the case of the verb *a scrijeli* (DOOM²) a reduction of the forms occurred (DOOM¹ *a scrijeli / a scrijela*); on the other hand, for *a încăpuși* (colloquial) in DOOM¹ (pres. ind. 3 *încăpușește*), DOOM² allows the forms in free variation *încăpușa / încăpuși*; for *a încâina* (DOOM¹), DOOM² allows the double *a (se) încâina / încâini* (obsolete, colloquial).

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