

CONSIDERATIONS ON VERBS' MORPHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract: The present paper focuses on the problems regarding the adaptation of the verb to the morphological system of the Romanian language at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The lexical corpus is represented by the texts of science popularization elaborated by the Transylvanian scholars. The study reveals the conjugation fluctuation and the main categories of suffixes through which the neological verbs have been adapted to Romanian. Thus, verbs' adaptation emphasizes the two phases of neologisms' adaptation in Romanian, the old one, which is materialized in the usage of non-Romanic suffixes, and the new one, of a Romanic type.

Key words: conjugation, morphological adaptation, verbal suffixes.

1. As regards the verb class, the difficulties appear in the case of morphological adaptation. The influences exercised on Romanian by other languages of culture and the scholars' hesitation as concerns verbs' inclusion in one or other of the Romanian conjugations (caused by the lack of unitary grammatical norms) caused most of the neological verbs to be included in other conjugations, different from the one they established later on. Unlike other Romance languages, in which the 1st conjugation is the most preponderant, in the history of the Romanian verbal flexion up to 1830-1840 the 4th conjugation holds supremacy both from a qualitative and quantitative perspective.

Therefore, the most common situation is represented by the verbs which are to be subsequently included in the 1st conjugation but which present, in this period, forms of the 4th conjugation, a phenomenon which can be explained by the special productivity of this conjugation. The consolidation of the 4th conjugation was caused by the influence of the Neo-Greek in the Romanian principalities and of German and Hungarian languages in Transylvania. All the verbs borrowed from these languages were included in this conjugation. The verbal suffixes through which their morphological adaptation was made are *-isi* (and its variants *-arisi*, *-erisi*, *-irisi*), *-i*, *-ui*, *-ălui* (with the variant *-ului*) and *-irui*.

2. In the period of Neo-Greeks' maximum influence on Romanian, the verbal suffix *-isi*, originating in the form of the Neo-Greek aorist and imposed in Romanian through the verbs borrowed from Greek, appears frequently with verbs borrowed from Romance languages or German. In the Principalities there are numerous verbal forms ended in *-isi*, unlike Transylvania, where such forms are sporadic: *crisălisi* (BDZ, 7 < germ. *kristallisieren*, cf. also fr. *crisăliser*), *critisi* „critica” (BDL, II, 517r < fr. *critiquer*), *economisi* (BDL, II, 459v fr. *économiser*, cf. also ngr *οικονομώ*), *înterisi* (BDL, IV, 1213r < lat. *interessare*, germ. *interesieren*, cf. also fr. *intresser*), *organisi* (BDL, III, 734v < ngr. *οργανίζω*), *satirisi* „satiriza” (BDL, IV, 898r < fr. *satiriser*, cf. also ngr *σατυρίζω*), *tirănsisi* (BDL, IV, 1028r < ngr. *τυράννησα*, aor. *τυραννώ*).

The *-ui*, *-i* suffixes, are rather frequent, due to the German etymons in *-ieren* and even to the Hungarian ones in *-álni*, which do not necessarily have Romanian correspondents in *-ălui* (E. PETROVICI, 1948, p. 184-193): *comendui* „comanda”

(BDL, II, 504v < germ. *kommandieren*, magh. *kommendálni*, cf. lat. *commendare*), *cultivi* (ICC, 6 < germ. *kultivieren*, fr. *cultiver*), *decretui* (BDL, II, 377v < germ. *Dekretieren*), *electrizui* (SIF, 165 < fr. *électriser*), *încolori* (SIF, 103, *în-* + *color* + *-i* < lat. *color*, *-em*; cf. și fr. *colorer*), *îmundi* (SIF, 95 < lat. *inundare*), *harmoni*, *armoni* „armoniza” (LB, s. v. < lat. *harmonisare*, germ. *harmonieren*, it. *armonizzare*), *repeti* (DLGR, 164, *repeți*, FDB, 60 < lat. *repetere*, germ. *repetieren*, cf. și fr. *répéter*), *șpioni* (SHR, I, 117, derived from *spion* < germ. *Spion*, it. *spione*) etc. Of Slavic origin, the *-ui* suffix served to the adaptation, in Romanian, of verbs of various origins; once constituted as a Romanian morpheme, *-ui* was used for adapting verbs borrowed in various stages of the language and as a derivation element in the interior of the language.

The verbal suffix *-ălui*, extracted with the help of the old Romanian suffix *-ui*, from verbs of Hungarian origin ended in *-álni*, appears, as it was expected, not only in Romance borrowings (also) mediated by the Hungarian language: *administrălui* (SHR, III, 377 < magh. *adminisztrálni*, < lat. *administrare*), *areștălui* (SHR, III, 210 < magh. *árestálni*, cf. lat. *arrestare*), *expedălui* (MIB, 340 < magh. *expediálni*, germ. *expedieren*, cf. lat. *expedire*), *notălui* (SHR, III, 278 < magh. *(an)natál*, cf. lat., it. *notare*), *probălui* „a dovedi” (LB, s. v. < magh. *probálni*, cf. lat. *probare*), *representălui* (SHR, III, 372 < magh. *repraesentálni*, cf. lat. *repraesentare*), but also in the direct borrowings from Latin, Italian or German, in which the terminations were substituted with *-ălui*, following the patterns of Hungarian borrowings: *candidălui* (SHR, III, 330 < lat. *candidare*), *comparălui* (TGR, 64 < lat. *comparare*, fr. *comparer*), *înformălui* (SHR, III, 384 < lat. *informare*), *întitulălui* (SHR, III, 24 < lat. *intitulare*), *înștălălui* (SHR, III, 258 < lat. *installare*), *presentălui* (SHR, III, 346 < lat. *praesentare*), *presidălui* (SHR, III, 383 < lat. *praesidere*), *resolvălui* (SHR, III, 361 < germ. *resolvieren*, cf. lat. *resolvere*) etc.

With the verbal suffix *-irui*, also extracted with the help of the old Romanian suffix *-ui* from German verbs ending in *-ieren*, there were adapted the verbs of German origin: *addirui* (OPA, 22 < germ. *addieren*), *avanșirui* (IO, 163 < fr. *avancer*, germ. *avancieren*, it. *avanzare*), *dividirui* (DMA, 66 < germ. *dividieren* < lat. *dividere*), *latinisirui* „latiniza” (VA, 210 < germ. *latinisieren*), *multiplicășirui* (DMA, 150, *multiplășirui*, OPA, 29 < lat. *multiplicare*), *recomendășirui* (GSP, II, 112 < germ. *rekommandieren*, magh. *rekommandal*, cf. lat. *recommendare*), *reducășirui* (OPA, 47, *redușirui*, DMA, 112 < germ. *reduzieren*, cf. lat. *reducere*), *repetirui* (VA, 188 < germ. *repetieren*), *rezolvirui* (OPA, 46 < germ. *resolvieren*, cf. lat. *resolvere*), *subtrahirui* (DMA, 50, OPA, 25, < germ. *subtrahieren*). As it can be observed, most terms derived with this verbal suffix belong to the mathematical literature of the period, of German extraction.

Many verbs of Romance origin entered Romanian through non-Romance languages: Neo-Greek, German, Hungarian that caused the *-isi*, *-irui* și *-ălui* suffixes, with their variant, to have a high productivity, creating “an authentic system in the morphology of the Romanian verbs” (URSU, 1965: 376).

There are also verbs of Latin and Romance origin which were included, from the very beginning, in the 1st conjugation (lat., it. *-are*, fr. *-er* > rom. *-a*) and which hold a special weight in the texts of the Transylvanian scholars: *apela* (MIB, 265 < lat. *appellare*, fr. *appeler*), *aproba* (BDL, I, 233r < lat. *approbare*), *apropriia* (SHR, I, 331 < lat. *appropriare*), *asecuro* „asigura” (LB, s. v. < lat., it. *assicurare*), *candida* (SHR, III, 135 < lat. *candidare*), *confrunța* (SHR, I, 239 < fr. *confronter*), *contamina* (FDB, 91 < lat. *contaminare*, fr. *contaminer*), *conșentra* (VA, 159 < fr. *concentrer*), *copia* (SHR, I,

494, LB, s.v. < it. *copiare*, fr. *copier*), *decreta* (BDL, II, 377v < fr. *décréter*), *deda* (BDL, II, 377r, LB, s. v. < lat. *dedere*, după *da*), *deriva* (IO, 113 < lat. *derivo*, -are, fr. *dériver*), *desarma* (SHR, I, 207 < fr. *désarmer*), *fermenta* (FDB, 62 < lat. *fermentare*, cf. și fr. *fermenter*), *forma* (BDL, IV, 1099v < lat. *formare*, fr. *former*), *împuta* (SHR, I, 203 < it. *imputare*, cf. și fr. *imputer*, lat. *imputo*), *necesita* (FDB, 108 < lat. *necessare*, it. *necessitare*, fr. *nécessiter*), *observa* (VA, 95 < lat. *observare*, cf. și fr. *observer*, *oserba*, FDB, 101 < it. *osservare*), *prognostica* (SHR, I, 198 < lat. *prognosticare*), *publica* (MIB, 81 < lat. *publicare*), *recomanda* „recomanda” (DLGR, ded., < lat. *recommendare*, cf. și fr. *recommander*), *răsista* (FDB, 65 < lat. *resistere*, fr. *résister*), *vizita* (IO, 165 < lat. *visitare*, fr. *visiter*) etc.

Conjugation fluctuation is not well-represented: *candida* - *candidălui*, *decreta* - *decretui*.

Only a few verbs belong to the 4th conjugation, following the Latin and Romance pattern: lat., it. -ere, -ire, fr. -er, -ir > rom. -i: *răsorbi* (FDB, 95), a calque after lat. *resorbere*, fr. *résorber*; *nutri* (ICC, 14 < lat. *nutrire*).

The verbal neological suffixes, derivative ones, are not well represented: -ifica (lat. -ificare): *scarifica* (FDB, 120 < lat. *scarificare*). They entered Romanian through Latin and romance verbs, displaying an erudite character. Their reduced frequency is clear proof that their adaptation is not realized before 1830.

The 3rd conjugation, poorly represented in the Romanian language of the 18th century, experiences a process of consolidation, due to the preference manifested from the scholars towards the verbs of this conjugation borrowed from Latin and Italian, as well as to some verbs obtained from copying the structure of foreign verbs. The foreign verbs which served as models for this lexical structure calques are derived with prefixes. They were preserved or replaced by an old Romanian prefix and the root-word was replaced with the Romanian equivalent of the foreign verb (URSU, N. A. URSU, 2004: 346): *conduce* (IO, 177) < lat. *conducere*, besides borrowing, it is likely we should have a calque, after *a duce*; *consta* (IO, 221) < lat. *constare*, besides borrowing, it is likely we should have a calque, produced under the influence of *a sta*; *descrie* (DLGR, 132) after lat. *describere* (the root *scribere* was inherited in Romania > *scrie*); *înscrie* (DLGR, 132), after lat. *inscribere*; *petrece* (IO, 177), adaptation of lat. **pertraicere*, after *trece*; *proscrie* (DLGR, 133), adaptation of fr. *proscrire*, an adaptation of *écrire*, after the lat. *proscribere*; *reduce* (IO, 235), lat. *reducere*, fr. *réduire*; besides borrowing, it is likely we should have a calque, produced under the influence of *a duce*; *subscrie* (DLGR, 133), after lat. *subscribere*, fr. *souscrire*; *transcrie* (DLGR, 133), adaptation of fr. *transcrire*, after rom. *scrie*; *supune* (IO, 175), adaptation of lat. *supponere*, after *pune*.

3. The texts of the Transylvanian scholars reveal the co-existence of the features characteristic of the adaptation of the neological verbs already mentioned¹. The 4th conjugation is preponderant, due to the larger amount of suffixes: -isi, -ui / -i, *ălui*, -irui. We must observe that the early Romanic orientation manifested by the authors made possible the adaptation of many verbs to the 1st conjugation, following the Latin and Romance pattern of adaptation. We must also emphasize that most of them

¹ D. Ursu, *art. cit.*, p. 379, distinguishes between a former period, before 1830-1840, when the adaptation of the Romance and non-Romance verbs is made with non-Romance suffixes, and a latter period, after 1840 and up to 1860, when these suffixes are removed, the verbs following the Latin and Romance pattern of morphological adaptation.

established from the very beginning to the form which will be consecrated by the subsequent evolution of the literary language.

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DMA = *Ducere de mână către aritmetica sau socoteala pentru traba pruncilor rumâneștii celor neuniților ce învață în școalele cele mici*, Viena, 1777.
FDB = *Învățătură pentru ferirea și doftoria boalelor celor ce se încing prin țeară...*, Buda, 1816, traducere din maghiară efectuată de P. Maior.
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