Indices of linguistic *presentation* in Romanian texts of the sixteenth century

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims to identify certain markers of the semantic-pragmatic category of linguistic *presentation* in the Romanian documents and records of the 16th century. The theoretical framework consists of Discourse Analysis and Functional Grammar. The analysis points out that the texts discussed comprise a rich inventory of forms by means of which the semantic-pragmatic category of *presentation* is realised and which are adapted to the specifics of legal and administrative communication. The study identifies *literary presentative interjections*, characteristic of *written language* (*adecă*, *iată* 'here (is)'); *uite* ('look, lo, see'). For *allocutive formations*, the predominant functions are *identity presentation* and *identification* (similar to the initial, "demonstrative" value of presentatives, recorded for older periods), which are directly related to the objectives of the studied documents (as opposed to Modern Romanian, in which the *citational, argumentative* and *focalising* functions of presentatives are dominant). In *non-allocutive formations*, one can notice the *multifunctionality of the verb a fi* ('to be') for presentative meanings.

Keywords: linguistic presentation, *presentatives of existence, identification and narration*, *argumentation presentatives*, *focalisation presentatives*

1. Introduction

This paper aims to identify certain markers of the semantic-pragmatic category of linguistic presentation in Romanian documents and records of the sixteenth century.[42] The theoretical framework consists of Discourse Analysis (of French background)[43] and Functional Grammar.[44]

1.1. Linguistic presentation and presentation markers[45]

Linguistic presentation is the operation that conveys the intention to determine the means of existence (localisation in space and time) of a being, thing or process.

The discourse by means of which presentation is achieved has two fundamental components: the *presentative element* (*presentation index*) and the *presented element*. If the presented element is *another discourse*, we are dealing with the phenomenon of *reported speech*.

The semantic-pragmatic category of presentation is realised by means of a variety of forms in different languages; of these forms only some are *grammaticalised*. The linguistic support of presentation is *culture-bound*.

[42] See *Sources*. In the presentation of the material, the original form of the quoted texts was preserved.
[43] Among others, see; Authier-Revuz (1995); Charaudeau (1992); Charaudeau &Maingueneau (2002); Ducrot (1980, 1984, 1998); Vion (1992).
[44] In this respect, see GALR (2008), I-II and GR (2013).
[45] For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Manu Magda (2009, 2011).

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Presentative indices (presentatives) are *linguistic markers* that pertain to various lexical-grammatical classes; their role is to perform *linguistic presentation*. As regards the contexts in which they operate, *presentatives* may have two *functions*: a *discursive* one, when they introduce an utterance or a piece of utterance whose content they foreground; and a *deictic* one (see GALR 2008 I: 668-669).

In relation to the fundamental values that presentatives develop *contextually*, they can be grouped into the following categories: *existential presentatives, identification presentatives* (of nomination, or presentation of the spatial and temporal coordinates of a context), *citational presentatives* (*of narration*), *argumentation presentatives* (which present the argument of necessity, the cause, consequence/effect and development of an action) and *focalisation presentatives* (of intensification).

With respect to the *dominant modality*[46] in a text, there are two kinds of presentative indices: *allocutive* (oriented towards the addressee and marked grammatically by the use of the second person in the form of the verb or pronoun) and *non-allocutive*. Depending on the degree of formality with which they are associated, presentative indices pertain to *various functional registers* (for instance, see in Romanian the textual presentative *iată* 'here (is)', as opposed to the colloquial *uite* 'look, lo, see').

One can also notice that some of these markers are *polysemous*, as they can be used to express manifold presentation modalities (which are distinguished by their construction). The same *presentation marker* may correspond to a *range of functions* that differ in matters of *type of construction* or *context*.

1.2. Characteristics of the investigated material

The approach of the linguistic material from the aforementioned perspective highlights a series of problems, such as: a) the *type of text* discussed; b) the *communication strategies* employed in those types of texts; c) the existence or inexistence of a *specific feature* (the preference for certain markers and their contextual distribution) *in the realisation of presentation* in the discourse of Romanian texts of the sixteenth century.

Sixteenth-century Romanian is represented through the following types of texts:

I. a) *Religious translations from Slavonic or Hungarian*, that is, the Maramureş translations, defined by striking dialectal features;

b) *The books printed by Deacon Coresi*;

II. *Diplomatarium: private letters and documents*, which were written in a language that is close to contemporary Romanian and to which the present study refers (see Cazacu & Rosetti1961: 47; and *Crestomaţie* 1983: 29-30).

Stylistically, some of these texts pertain to the *epistolary* style[47], whereas others belong to the *legal-administrative* style[48].

[46] The term *modality* is used with the definition in French linguistics (e.g., Charaudeau 1992: 579-598).

[47] "The characteristic of these texts is a more complex language structure and a language that is closer to colloquial speech yet also dependent, to some extent, on the influence of phrasings that are specific to the styles in which this language is manifested (epistolary, administrative, legal, historical and ecclesiastic). Moreover, as a result of the habit of writing in Slavonic, a series of words, phrases and even whole sentences from this language invade the texts, even more so the deeper they are rooted into the history of Romanian writing or when they pertain to chanceries." (*Crestomaţie* 1983: 30).

[48] Legal constraints involved a certain linguistic expression and there was not only a specific technique, but also a specific language that legal texts had given prominence to ever since the sixteenth century. The (official-)

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With respect to the channel of communication, letters contain *communications conveyed in writing* ("artificialised" through the spatial distance between the interlocutors and the temporal distance between their "lines", i.e. utterances), which are realised in *official and familiar variants*. Epistolary communication develops in a one-way direction (from the *sender/locutor* towards the *receiver/addressee*), so that its texts can only be approached from an *actional perspective*, in which attention would be focused solely on the pole of message issuing and encoding, while the pragmatic aim of the communication (the reaction obtained at the *pole of reception*) could only be anticipated.

Due to the means of their creation, messages imply different degrees of connection between writing and orality (*code mixing*), as well as the association between *fixed (initial, final) expressions* and elements allowing for greater freedom of expression.[49] It was determined that, in the beginning, the general *formulation* of Romanian documents and letters was calqued on the Slavic model[50].

The *communication strategies* used in letters generally followed the *patterns of the epistolary style of the age*. By and large, the documents have some *parts in common*, which, however, take rather *varied shapes*. On the level of composition, one can identify in letters the mixing of codes (Slavic/Romanian), styles (high/colloquial) and means of reporting speech (direct/indirect).

Legal utterances are the linguistic expression of *assertive acts with a directive value*. Participants in communicative acts of this kind have fixed roles: the legal discourse is unilateral, developing in a univocal direction, in the shape of a monologue coined by a legislator and communicated at a distance via the legislative text.[51]

As regards the existence or inexistence of a *peculiarity in the realisation of presentation* in the discourse of Romanian documents of the sixteenth century, several aspects can be highlighted:

- the use of *enumeration* as the preferred device for the organisation of *presentation* (a means of achieving semantic progression, specific to legal documents and administrative deeds);
- the presence of the relationship of coordination – which generally involves more than two units and determines the appearance of "syntactical chains" in the text;
- the inclusion of elements of oral speech to various extents, thereby leading to the appearance, on the pragmatic level, of certain contradictions in the structure of the texts (manifested first and foremost through a certain *pragmastylistic heterogeneity*).

The interplay of the aforementioned elements results in the configuration of the texts based on the characteristics of the means of expressing presentation, which will be discussed below.

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administrative style is defined by Diaconescu (1974: 96); the administrative register is derived from the legal one and is subordinated to the latter; see also Stoichiţoiu-Ichim (2002).

[49] For the treatment of this topic, see *Stiluri epistolare* in Zafiu (2001: 179-192).

[50] Cf. Bogdan (1938: 18), apud *Crestomaţie* (1983: 31); see also *Crestomaţie* (1983: 30).

[51] For the structure of this kind of correspondence, see *Crestomaţie* (1983: 30-31). As regards the composition, in legal documents one can recognize the identity of the person issuing the act (*intitulation*), the report of the reasons underlying the making of the act in question (*narration*) and its object (*disposition*), as well as, more often than not, the mention of some types of punishment – *anathemas, curses* (*sanctio*) – meant for whomever might infringe the object of the document (the *poena spiritualis* and *poena temporalis* in an *eschatocol*), the *date*, sometimes even a *pious phrase* or a *praise* – the *appreciation*, and finally the signs of validation (*signatures, witnesses, seals* and *address*).

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2. The system of presentation

In general, the *system of presentation* in Romanian is similar to the one in other Romance languages. In Romanian, there is a partial *grammaticalisation* of allocutive presentation – by means of *presentative interjections*[52] – and a diversified inventory of *ungrammaticalised presentation strategies* that facilitate the expression of various presentative values.

For sixteenth-century Romanian, we can identify certain forms that are different from those of contemporary Romanian (see, for example, *adică* 'here (is), namely' as opposed to *uite* 'look, lo, see'), but also a partially differentiated specialisation of the meaning of these forms (which naturally occurred in agreement with the type of text considered).

2.1. Allocutive indices of presentation

2.1.1. Presentative interjections[53]

The *presentative interjection* is the main grammaticalised means of fulfilling the operation of *presentation* in Romanian. In what follows, some examples are provided from the investigated material, to illustrate the various forms and values of presentative interjections:

ADICĂ (with the variants *adecă* and *adăcă*), meaning "iată" ('here (is)'), "uite" ('look, lo, see')[54]. The pragmatic values of this item are as follows:

- presentative of existence and identity

(1) ***Adecă*** eu, Marin o(t) Boldeşti, scris- am acest zapis
here (is) I Marin from Boldeşti written=have(I) this agreement
[a]l meu să fie de mare credinţă la mâna lu
al.GEN.M.SG mine să$_{SUBJ}$ be.SUBJ.3SG of big faith at hand.DEF lui.GEN
Rafail călug[ă]rul, **cum să se ştie** că am
Rafail monk.DEF so să$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.IMPERS know.SUBJ.3SG that (I)have
vândut ocina din Scrovişt.
sold domain.DEF from Scrovişt
'Hereby I, Marin of Boldeşti, write this agreement to be held in great faith before Monk Rafail, so that it be known that I have sold the domain of Scrovişt.'
(DÎ, VII Zapis de vânzare*J. Dâmboviţa sau *j. Prahova, 25 martie 1582)

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[52] Among others, cf. *MDA* s.v. *prezentativ, -ă*, a ('presentative') [At: Puşcariu, L.R., I, 113 / PL: -i, -e/ from the verb *prezenta* 'to present' + suffix *-tiv* / (Rare, about interjections) Which points out, underlines a meaning. Also: *deictic*. Used to describe *presentative interjections* in contemporary Romanian, see Manu Magda 2009ab.

[53] The prototypical presentatives for the word class discussed are *iată* (*iacă, iacătă, ia(n)* 'here (is)') and *uite*, *(uitaţi)* ('look, lo, see'), along with their vernacular variants *ete, iete, iote, oite, uiche, uie* and *ute*; these presentatives fall under the category of *conative interjections* "that contribute to the acknowledgment", by the allocutor, of an "offer" (intention) on the locutor's side. For the inventory of presentatives in Romanian, see *DA, DEXonline, MDA* s.v. For the definition and syntactic description of interjections, see GALR 2008, I, *Interjecţia*, 4. and GALR 2008, II, *Grupul interjecţional*.

[54] "A word of debatable origin (according to DA, its origin is unknown, according to Philippide, in *Principii de istoria limbii*, p. 7, it is derived from *id est quort* or *ad id quod*, an etymology also adopted by Scriban (DLR); according to Procopovici, Dacor. X, 79, from *adest eccum*, whereas according to Ciorănescu, from Latin *adaeque* 'equal, the same'). With a primarily adverbial value, the interjectional use of *adică* is extremely frequent in literary and nonliterary texts from the period explored. […] *Adică* vies with *iată (iacă)*." Frâncu 2009: 151.

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- explicative/citational presentative:

(2) Că zice svânta scriptură: Blaže(n) mu(ž), **adecă** „Ferice de
for say.IND.PRES.3SG holy.DEF scripture happy man here (is) happy of
bărbatul ce nu mearge spre sfatul necuraţilor.
man.DEF that not go.IND.PRES.3SG. towards advice.DEF unclean.DEF.GEN.PL
'For the Holy Scripture says: Blessed the man, that is, "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly".' (DÎ, 1571)

- interjection used at the end of a speech act to emphasise what was stated previously:

(3) **Adecă** eu Iorga, feciorul buscăi de Buneşti, scri<u>
here (is) I Iorga son.DEF grandam GEN.SG of Buneşti write.IND.PRES.1SG
eu **şi** ***mărtu<risesc>.***
I and confess.IND.PRES.1SG
'Hereby I, Iorga, son of him of Buneşti, so write and confess.'
(DÎ, CIV Zapis de cumpărare*Buneşti – j. Vaslui, 6 august [1595–1597])

IATĂ ('here (is)', 'see here')
- presentative of existence and identity:

(4) **Iată** eu egumenul şi tot săborul de la mănăstirea de la
here I hegumen.DEF and all synod.DEF from monastery.DEF from
Muldoviţă…
Muldoviţă
'Here I am, the hegumen, and the entire synod of the Muldoviţă Monastery…'
(DÎ, Scrisoare LXXXII*Suceava, Mănăstirea Modoviţa [30 iunie 1592])

- presentative of identification:

(5) Şi **iată** acestu om al mieu ce am tremes la
and here (is) this man AL.M.SG mine.GEN.M.SG that (I)have sent to
domniia-voastră, el este frate acelui fecior.
highness=your he is brother that.DAT.M boy
'And here is this man of mine that I sent to Your Highness, he is the brother of that boy.' (DÎ, Scrisoare*Transilvania, [noiembrie 1599 – septembrie 1600])

- presentative of argumentation:

(6) Pentr-acea […], acesta vornic Radu, carele o
for= that this steward Radu who CL.ACC.F.3SG
dedease pe [rind] şi neavând cine o lega, **iată**
give.PLUPERF on turn and not-have.GER who CL.ACC.F.3SG fix.INF here(is)
jiupâneasa Tămăşoaie grecoaia să află
gentlewoman.DEF Tămăşoaie Greek.F.DEF CL.REFL.3SG find.PS.3SG

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[de] o **deade** **la meşter** de o legă, ca să
that CL.ACC.F.3SG give.PS.3SG to wright for CL.ACC.F.3SG fix.PS that să$_{SUBJ}$
aibă şi ea pomeană.
have.SUBJ.3SG also she alms
'That is why […], this High Steward, Radu, who had given it in turn (?) and, not having who to fix it, here is Lady Tămăşoaie, the Greek woman, who gave it to the wright to be fixed, so that she should have some alms too.'
(DÎ, LIX*Însemnare*Galaţi, 1570–1571)

3.1.2. Other allocutive indices of presentation

Besides the aforementioned grammaticalised forms, there are allocutive constructions that, in certain circumstances, develop a presentative function, both in Old Romanian and in the contemporary language.

Some allocutive indices of presentation in Romanian are read off the syntactic structures (more often than not, they are synonyms); for example:

- *the imperative form of the verb (a) afla* ('to find out') + *conjunction, relative form (că* 'that, as', *ce* 'that, what, which, who', *care* 'that, which', *cum* 'how, as', *de ce* 'why', *despre* 'about', *unde* 'where', and so on), *noun*;[55]

- *the hortative subjunctive form of the verb (a) şti* ('to know', *with imperative value*) + *că* ('that, as').

Among the most important values of the presentatives in question, the following can be mentioned:

- the *narration/announcement* value

(7) **Să ştii** **domiata** că cu paşa <au> purces şi
să$_{SUBJ}$ know.SUBJ.2SG highness=your that with pasha.DEF (he)has gone also
(…) cela ce- au fost la Halep, când- ai fost şi domiata (…)
that.M who=(he)has been at Halep when=(you)have been also highness=your
Aceae dăm **ştire**.
that give.IND.PRES.1PL news
'Your Highness, know that with the Pasha went even the one who had been in Halep when you had been there as well. That is what we communicate.'
(DÎ, LXXIXScrisoare*Moldova, [p. 19 august 1591 – a. 20 iulie 1592])

- the *argumentative (persuasion/emphasis)* value

(8) Iară de dăbilari, **să ştii** **dumneata că** tuturoru
and about tribute collectors să$_{SUBJ}$ know.SUBJ.2SG. you.POL that everyone
toate pecetluituri<le> dumniii- tale s- au ţinut
all seals.DEF highness.GEN=your.F.PL CL.REFL.PASS.3SG=have kept
în samă…
in consideration

[55] This type of phrase, traditionally used as a clichéd expression in the communication of news in the epistolary genre, is very productive in contemporary written Romanian, as well as in the spoken language. It is employed especially in order to present, in an emphatic manner, news considered particularly important and sensational, of which allocutors must be informed.

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'As for the tribute collectors, you should know that everyone took into consideration all of Your Highness's decisions…'
(DÎ, XCIII Scrisoare 10 iulie [1593])

- presentation in the shape of an *answer* to a question

(9) De alta, **de veţ întreba domniia-voastră şi de**
of another if AUX.FUT.2PL ask.INF highness=your.PL also about
vro veste den **ţare noastră,** domniia-voastră **să ştiţ**
any news from country our.F.SG highness=your.PL să$_{SUBJ}$ know.SUBJ.2PL
că avem pace de cătră turci şi din toate părţile.
that have.IND.PRES.1PL peace from of Turks and from all parts
'Moreover, should Your Highness ask about any news from our country, let Your Highness know that there is peace with the Turks and with everyone else.'
(DÎ, XXV Scrisoare*Transilvania, [noiembrie 1599 – septembrie 1600])

Interrogatives sometimes develop a presentative function:
- direct rhetorical interrogatives

(10) Ce- **au cerşut Mihaiu voievod de la împăratul?**
what=(he) has asked Mihai voivode from emperor.DEF
Cerşut- au 2 000 de pedestri.
asked=(he)has 2,000 of pedestrians
'What did Voivode Mihai ask from the emperor? He asked for 2,000 infantrymen.'
(DÎ, XXXII Act diplomatic*Transilvania, [ianuarie 1600])

- presentative interrogatives rendered in indirect speech by means of conditionals + the verb *a întreba* ('to ask')

(11) Şi după aciia, de **veţi întreba domnevoastră de astă**
and after that if AUX.FUT.2PL ask.INF your highness about this
parte de locu de încoace, **să ştiţi** domnivoastră că
part of place of here să$_{SUBJ}$ know.SUBJ.2PL your.highness that
e bine şi pace.
(it)is.IMPERS well and peace
'And afterwards, should Your Highness ask about our part of the world, let Your Highness know that all is well and peaceful.'
(DÎ, XXII Scrisoare *Craiova, [noiembrie 1599 – septembrie 1600])

3.2. Non-allocutive indices of presentation

3.2.1. Indices of existential constructions

Existential constructions are syntactic structures that contain a verb of existence (*a fi* 'to be', *a exista* 'to exist', *a se afla* 'to exist, to be extant' – or a counterpart), specialised in indicating the *means of existence of a being* (*or process*)[56].

[56] Cf. Manu Magda (2010a).

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Existential constructions display *specific syntactic patterns* (see the traditional structure [*a fi* 'to be' (existential) + subject][57]); nevertheless, the presentation of existence can also be achieved through free constructions, in which the specific content is conveyed mainly by *lexical*, ungrammaticalised means.

The markers of this subcategory are *presentatives of existence* – equivalents of existential constructions in French (*il y a / il est / il existe*), English (*there is / are*) or German (*es gibt*). In the texts investigated, these presentatives are obtained solely with the verb of existence *a fi* ('to be', with generic value), which has got numerous meanings. In time, the Romanian language has developed its inventory of existential presentatives to such an extent that it now benefits from a varied range of forms that can be linked to this category.

Functionally, the category of presentation is not homogeneous. There are several *means of presenting existence*.[58] They can refer to:

3.2.1.1. The *relative existence* of a being/thing/process, which can be treated in a *particularising* manner ("there is an x…") or a *nonparticularising* one (*există, sunt* 'there is/are', with a general meaning).

(12) şi noi avem uric încă de la Alexandru vodă cela Bunul [...];
and we have deed since from Alexander voivode CEL(NOM≡ACC) good.DEF
şi de cându-i uricul sînt 200 de ani.
and of when=is deed.DEF are 200 of years
'We have right of inheritance ever since the [time of] Voivode Alexander the Good […]; and we have had this right for 200 years.'
(DÎ, LXXXII* Scrisoare Mănăstirea Modoviţa – j. Suceava, [30 iunie 1592])

The type of presentative quoted above is less frequent in documents, given the nature of the investigated texts, which are designed to be concrete, precise and unambiguous. However, the type of presentation in question is rather frequently rendered through the "transitive pattern, containing the head verb [*a avea* 'to have' + direct object position]: *Am teamă* [(I)have fear 'I am afraid'], *Am greaţă* [(I)have nausea 'I am nauseous'], *Am lehamite* [(I)have disgust 'I am sick and tired']. The transition from the existential construction with the verb *a fi* [to be] to the one with the verb *a avea* [to have] determines the transition from the intransitive, impersonal scheme to the personal, transitive one (with weak transitivity), a difference that relates to the syntax of the verb, not to the overall semantics of the construction".[59]

[57] The *verb [a fi* 'to be' *(existential) + noun subject]* displays special features; GALR 2008 II: 359 mentions: "According to Romanian grammatical tradition, the constructions contain the 'existential' verb *a fi* [to be], followed by a subject with special characteristics. The special features of the subject consist of: - the compulsory postposition of the nominal subject, which, actually, can be accounted for by the fact that *a fi* [to be] functions *existentially*; - the lack of articulation of the nominal subject, facilitated, on the one hand, by the partially fixed construction pattern and, on the other, by the occurrence of nouns denoting atmospheric phenomena, which can be interpreted as mass nouns; - the difficulty for the nominal subject to take on determiners and, implicitly, the impossibility of receiving an individual interpretation (*Afară e *acest frig* [Outside is *this cold], *Îmi este *acest frig* [I am *this.DEM cold])."

[58] In this paper, the configuration of the classes of presentatives was taken from Charaudeau's work regarding the French language (see Charaudeau 1992: 301ff.).

[59] On this topic, see also Niculescu (2005).

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(13) De icea îrainte ce vrem şti şi ce vrem
of here ahead what want.IND.PRES.1PL know.INF and what want.IND.PRES.1PL
audzi noi vă vrem da a şti ca
hear.INF we CL.ACC.2PL want.IND.PRES.1PL give.INF to know.INF as
somsidzilor noştri. Derept acea şi acmu avem
neighbours.DAT our.M.PL for that also now have.IND.PRES.1PL
om acolo.
man there
'From now on, what we want to know and what we want to hear we will let you know as we do with our neighbours. This is why we have a man there even now.'
(DÎ, CXII Scrisoare Sălişte – j. Maramureş, 2 mai [1593])

3.2.1.2. The *identity of a being (thing/process)*: 'It is about the one who is called X'

This means of presentation consists of *revealing the identity* of *a referential being or a process* (and, one may add, also *revealing their presence*). This type of presentation has got a marked *designating* value, as it implies the existence of a *physical/mental space*, in which an identity appears. By their nature, documents frequently record this pattern:

(14) **Deci noi, aceşti oameni, carii mai sus scrie**, dacă am văzut
so we these people who more up write.IND.PRES.3SG if (we)have seen
tocmală de bunăvoie, noi încă ne- am pus peceţile…
agreement of willingness we also CL.REFL.1PL=have put seals.DEF
'Thus, we, these people, who write above, if we saw the agreement was done willingly, we were all the more eager to put our seals on it…'
(DÎ, Zapis de vânzare*J. Bacău, 11 martie 1581)

(15) scris- am aceasta a noast[ră] carte sventei
written=have(I) this AL.F.SG our.GEN.F.SG letter holy.DAT
dumnezeieşti mănăstire **ce se cheamă Golgota**,
godly.DAT monastery which CL.REFL.3SG call.PRES.3SG Golgota
unde iaste hramul **svetoe prěobrěže[nie**…
where is title.DEF Holy Transfiguration
'We wrote this letter of ours to the holy monastery of God called Golgota, which has the title of Holy Transfiguration…'
(DÎ. XXXIX Zapis de danie Bălgrad, 14 aprilie 1600)

(16) **Şi mărturie** este: popa Toma, Stanciul *i* Stan Ţendre.
and confession is priest Toma Stanciu.DEF and Stan Ţendre
'And witnesses are Priest Toma, Stanciu and Stan Ţendre.'
(DÎ, LVIZapis de danie*Craiova, 21decembrie 1600)

3.2.1.3. The *presence of a being* that *exists in a particular place* ('X is present here') or *in certain circumstances*

(17) şi le- au fost luat turcii, de sunt
and CL.ACC.F.3PL=have.3PL been taken Turks.DEF since (they)are

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supt mâna lor.
under hand.DEF their
'and they were conquered by the Turks, since they are [now] in their hands.'
(DÎ, XXXIII Act diplomatic (ciornă) *Transilvania, [ianuarie 1600])

(18) şi, după aceaea, **mai gios iaste şi aiastă rugă ce amu scris**
and after that more low is also this.F request which (I)have written
mai sus în mărturiia lui.
more up in confession.DEF his
'and, after that, below there is also this request that I wrote above in his confession.' (DÎ, XC Scrisoare *Polonia, [februarie – 1 septembrie 1593])

(19) şi pre noi, care- i suntem slugi credincioase a
and PE us.ACC who=CL.DAT.M.3SG (we)are servants faithful AL.F.3SG
toată creştinătăţei, ne- au bântuit în slujba
all Christendom.GEN CL.ACC.1PL=(they)have oppressed in service.DEF
noastră care cu cărţile lui vom adevăra, că sunt la
our.F.SG that with books.DEF his AUX.FUT.1PL prove.INF as (they)are at
mâinile noastre.
hands.DEF our.F.PL
'And us, who are his faithful servants of the entire Christendom, he oppressed us in our service, which we will prove, as he is in our hands.'
(DÎ, XLIV Act diplomatic *Moldova, [mai – iulie 1600])

3.2.1.4. The *impersonalisation of a process*, which consists of presenting a process as an event in relation to which the agent has lost any responsibility (the process is expressed by means of *impersonal paraphrases*);
- the most frequent means of expressing impersonal value are *reflexives*

(20) Cice catastih de la manastire de la Galata, **să să**
here register from monastery from Galata să$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.IMPERS.3SG
ştie de veşmintele beserecei **şi**
know.SUBJ.3SG about vestments.DEF church.GEN and
de arjintu **şi de** covoare **şi de** banii şi de
about silver.DEF and about carpets and about money.DEF.PL and about
cai **şi de** cară **şi de** tot dobitocul **şi de**
horses and about carts and about any animal.DEF and about
toate bucatele, cându au fostu egumen Anastasie…
all foods.DEF when (he)has been hegumen Anastasie
(DÎ, LXXII Catastif Mănăstirea Galata, 4 noiembrie 1588)
'Here is the register of the Galata monastery, so that one can know about [the existence of] the church's vestments, and its silver, and its carpets, money, horses, carts, and any animals and foods that existed in the time of the hegumen Anastasie…'

- in old legal texts, the deontic predicate is lexicalised by means of "*colloquial impersonal verb phrases*, which constitute mechanisms of expressing norms" (Stoichiţoiu Ichim 2002).

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(21) iar Mihail voievod, [...] au luat putearea despre el şi iaste
and Mihail voivode (he)has taken power.DEF above him and (it)is
adeverit **că**, fără ştire lu Dumnezeu
attested.PPLE.M.SG that without knowledge.DEF LUI.GEN God
nu poate fi aceasta, că l- au bătut pentru
not can be.INF this.F that CL.ACC.M.3SG=(he)has smitten for
necredinţa lui.
unfaithfulness.DEF his
'And Voivode Mihail took over the power and it is confirmed that, without God's consent, this cannot be done, since he was smitten for his unfaithfulness.'
(DÎ, XXXIII Act diplomatic (ciornă) *Transilvania [ianuarie 1600])

(22) Aşa- u făcut Derjec mărturie şi încă mai largu iaste scris în
so=(he)hasmade Derjec confession and still more broad is written in
mărturie şi, după aceaea, **mai gios iaste şi aiastă rugă ce**
confession and after that more low is also this request that
amu scris **mai sus în mărturiia lui**.
(I)have written more up in confession.DEF his
'Thus has Derjec confessed and this is written in more detail in the confession and, after that, below there is also this request that I wrote above in his confession.'
(DÎ, XC Scrisoare *Polonia, [februarie – 1septembrie 1593])

- *adverbs* (*adevărat* 'indeed', *bine* 'well', *poate* 'perhaps, maybe') occurring with or without the verb *a fi* ('to be')

(23) Şi după aciia […], să ştiţi domnivoastră că
and after that să$_{SUBJ}$ know.SUBJ.2PL. your highness that
e bine **şi** pace.
(it)is.IMPERS well and peace
'And afterwards […], let Your Highness know that all is well and peaceful.'
(DÎ, XXII Scrisoare *Craiova, [noiembrie 1599 – septembrie 1600])

(24) De rândul oştilor, măriia împăratului cu ţara-
of concern.DEF troops.GEN highness.DEF emperor.GEN with country.DEF
ş şi împreună cu ţara ungurească bine să
=CL.DAT.3SG and together with country.DEF Hungarian well să$_{SUBJ}$
ia amente şi să grijască cu Ardealul şi
takeSUBJ.3SG≡PL mindfulness and să$_{SUBJ}$ care.SUBJ.3SG≡PL with Ardeal.DEF and
Ţara Rumânească în ce loc sunt.
Wallachia in what place (they)are
'For the concern of the troops, His Highness the Emperor and his country, together with the Hungarian country, should be well minded and take good care of the position of the Ardeal and Wallachia.'
(DÎ, XXXIII Act diplomatic (ciornă) *Transilvania, [ianuarie 1600])

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(25) fără ştirea lu Dumnezeu nu poate fi aceasta, că
without knowledge.DEF LUI.GEN God not can be.INF this.F that
l- au bătut pentru necredinţa lui.
CL.ACC.M.3SG= (he)has smitten for unfaithfulness.DEF his
'without God's consent, this cannot be done, since he was smitten for his unfaithfulness'
(DÎ, XXXVI Act diplomatic *Transilvania, [30 martie – aprilie 1600])

3.2.1.5. The *focalisation of one of the aforementioned presentation mechanisms* (*existence, identity, presence* and *impersonalisation*). The following elements may contribute to the focalisation of an utterance in Old Romanian:[60]
- pre-verbal full-fledged pronouns:

(26) Şi **iată** acestu om al mieu ce am tremes la
and here this man AL.M.SG mine.GEN.M.SG that (I)have sent to
domniia-voastră, el este frate acelui fecior.
highness=your.PL he.NOM is brother that.DAT boy
'And here is this man of mine that I sent to Your Highness, he is that boy's brother.' (DÎ, Scrisoare*Transilvania, [noiembrie 1599 – septembrie 1600])

- *hanging topic*, by which the embedded clause is fronted:[61]

(27) şi ce va hi treaba dumilor- voastre
and what AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF business.DEF highnesses.GEN=your.PL
la noi, noi avem a face prentru voia dumilor- voastre.
at us we have to do.INF for will.DEF highnesses.GEN=your.PL
'And whatever business you may have for us, we will do it for Your Highnesses.'
(DÎ, XCVII*Scrisoare Suceava, [1593–1597])

(28) Ce se- au tâmplat între domnealui şi între
what CL.REFL.3SG=(it)has happened between himself.POL and between
gărdinariul, după aceaea, deac- au luat Ardealul la mâna lui,
gardener.DEF after that if= (he)has taken Ardeal.DEF at hand.DEF his
acealea se au oprăvit deodată cu moartea gărdinariului.
those.F CL.REFL.3S have stopped along with death.DEF gardener.DEF.GEN
'What was settled between himself and the gardener, afterwards, since he had captured the Ardeal, ceased to be along with the gardener's death.'
(DÎ, XXXIII Act diplomatic (ciornă)*Transilvania, [ianuarie 1600])

[60] For a discussion of this topic, see GALR (2008 II: 929-945).
[61] "Reorganisations of the canonical information structure (Subject / Theme + [Predicate and objects] / Rheme) are frequent in discourse usage, as they are pragmatically and suprasententially determined through the intention of communication and / or the accommodation to previous utterances / lines" (GALR 2008 II: 140).

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3.3. Presentative deixis

In the legal genre, the main means for the realisation of co-reference – construed as a text-cohesion device – consists of *pro-forms*; in this type of discourse, *demonstratives, indefinites* and *relatives* occur more frequently than they do in everyday use.

Proximal demonstrative pronouns usually ensure cohesion on utterance level (within a clause or sentence) and, at the same time, discourse precision, by reduplicating a noun or several nouns representing the referential source that is present in the same utterance (Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 2002):

(29) Pentru aceea, i- am făcut şi noi **această scrisoare**
for that CL.DAT.3SG=(we)have made also we this letter
a noastră, ca să ţie ace moşie, partea lu
AL.F.SG our.F.SG COMP să$_{SUBJ}$ keep.SUBJ.3SG that estate part.DEF LUI.GEN
Boboc, în bună pace. Aiasta scriiu şi mărturisescu
Boboc in good peace this.F write.IND.PRES.1SG and confess.IND.PRES.1SG
cu această scrisoare a mea, să se ştie.
with this.F letter AL.F.SG mine.F.SG să$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.IMPERS know.SUBJ.3SG
'That is why we wrote this letter of ours to him, so that he would keep that estate, Boboc's part, in good peace. This is what I write and confess through my letter, so that things be known.' (DÎ, LXIX Zapis de întărire Iaşi, 15 aprilie 1587)

In Romanian, the *presentative function* is also fulfilled by elements pertaining to a restricted class of *deictic expressions* (see *descriptive / presentative deixis*), adverbs and adverbial phrases (*aşa* 'thus', *astfel* 'thus', *în felul ăsta / acesta* 'in this way', *în acest mod* 'in this manner') or adjectives (*aşa* 'thus', *astfel de* 'this kind of', *asemenea* 'such' and so on), which refer ostensively to the characteristics of certain actions or entities that belong to the context of communication (the former as referential deictics, the latter as relational deictics or deictic determiners) (GALR 2008 II: 747).

(30) **Aşa** am datu noi [şi] [a]m miluit şi de nimea mântuială
thus (we)have given we [and] (we)have spared and by nobody forgiveness
să nu aib[ă] niciodată.
să$_{SUBJ}$ not have.SUBJ.3SG≡3PL never
'Thus we decided and settled and may nobody ever show him forgiveness.'
(DÎ, Însemnare**Moldova, 14 iulie [1583–1591])

(31) Aceastea împăratul măriia lui în vreamea de acum au răspuns
these.F emperor.DEF highness his in time of now (he)has answered
către solii domniii- lui; de aciia se
towards messengers.DEF highness.GEN=his from why CL.REFL.PASS.3SG
făgăduiaşte cu toată mila spre domniia- lui.
promise.IND.PRES.3SG with all kindness.DEF towards highness=his
'This is what the emperor answered to His Highness's messengers; this is what is promised to His Highness with all kindness.'
(DÎ, XXXVI Act diplomatic*Transilvania, [30 martie – aprilie 1600])

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(32) iar **cine** se va ispiti [a] [st]rica pomeana
and who CL.REFL.PASS.3SG AUX.FUT.3S tempt.INF to spoil memory.DEF
părintelui nostru, **acela** să fie blăstemat de 318 o(t)ci.
father.DEF.GEN our.M.SG that.M $să_{SUBJ}$ be.SUBJ.3SG cursed of 318 times
'And who will be tempted to spoil the memory of our father, may he be cursed 318 times.' (DÎ, XXXIX Zapis de danie Bălgrad, 14 aprilie 1600)

As most ostensives, descriptive deictics can also function alternatively, non-deictically (anaphorically / cataphorically).

(33) **aşa** vor grăi şi vor isprăvi **cum** va fi
thus AUX.FUT.3PL speak.INF and AUX.FUT.3PL do.INF how AUX.FUT.3SG be.INF
pre voia şi pre pohta domniii- lui.
according will.DEF and according yearning highness.GEN=his
'They will speak and do as His Highness wills and pleases.'
(DÎ, XXXVIAct diplomatic*Transilvania, [30 martie – aprilie 1600])

5. Lexical-grammatical indices of exposition / dissertation

5.1. Lexical indices of presentation

In relation to the stylistic variety found in the sixteenth-century texts investigated, several standardised genres were identified (based on the aim, form and content of the deeds) for the various types of written documents: *letter, order, confession, (sales / purchase) agreement, will, record* (according to the names of the texts in the corpus).

5.1.1. Citational presentatives

These are presentation indices that, on the one hand, are found in *citational discourses*, in which they may co-occur with the basic forms of reported speech (*direct and/or indirect speech*) and, on the other hand, function as introductory elements of *presentation acts*. Theoretically, *all declarative indices*[62] can function as *citational presentatives*. Practically, this function is fulfilled only by those elements that, contextually, introduce a *linguistic presentation* (in agreement with its definition). This is particularly the case of *declarative verbs proper*, such as *a spune*[63], *a zice*[64] ('to say') and others, which usually express an *objective opinion*, and also involve *secondary declarative verbs*, which develop meanings subordinated to the general meaning of carrying out an utterance act: *a chicoti* ('to giggle'), *a întrerupe* ('to interrupt'), *a tuna* ('to thunder') and so on (see GALR 2008 II: 819).

[62] "Declarative verbs make up an extremely heterogeneous lexical field in Romanian and a significantly open class, given the fact that, depending on the context, many verbs can be used with a declarative value" (Barbu 2008: 16).
[63] *spune* ('(to) say') (Transitive) 1. To express vocally a thought, an opinion, and so on; to utter, to speak, to declare. 2. *To expose, to relate, to present; to tell, to recount, to narrate.* 3. To disclose, to confess something to someone […] < Latin *exponere*.
[64] According to Popa (2007: 349), a distinction between the two verbs consists of the register in which each is used: *a zice* is more colloquial, whereas *a spune* reflects a more refined language and is the neutral term from the point of view of the declarative value expressed in standard language.

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The *presentation in direct speech* is introduced by means of elements pertaining to the category of *verba dicendi* (34), *nominal elements* (35-36) or *expressions of discourse quotation* (37).

(34) **şi au zis** împăratul: ce va pohti Mihaiu voievod,
and (he)has said emperor.DEF what AUX.FUT.3SG desire.INF Mihai king
tot să fie pre voie domnisale.
everything $să_{SUBJ}$ be.SUBJ.3SG according wish highness.DAT.SG=his
'And the emperor said: whatever King Mihai desires, let everything be according to his wish.' (DÎ, XXXII Act diplomatic*Transilvania, [ianuarie 1600])

(35) **Răspunsu:** eu, împăratul, zic, de veri vrea Mihaiu
answer.DEF I emperor.DEF say.PRES.1SG if AUX.FUT.3SG wish.INF Mihai
voievod să fac pre fiiu- tău craiu în Ardeal…
king $să_{SUBJ}$ make.SUBJ.1SG PE son.DEF = your.M.SG king in Ardeal
'The answer: I, the emperor, say that, should you, King Mihai, wish for me to make your son king in the Ardeal…'
(DÎ, XXXII Act diplomatic*Transilvania, [ianuarie 1600])

(36) **Mărturiia** ce oameni au fost Giva şi frate- său Pascal.
confession.DEF what people have been Giva and brother=his.M.SG Pascal
Enachi şi Bati.
Enachi and Bati
'Confession about what kind of people Giva and his brother Pascal had been. Enachi and Bati.'
(DÎ, LXXXIX Mărturii în procesul lui Petru Şchiopul *Polonia, [februarie-1 septembrie 1593])

(37) **Facem de şcire tuturoru** cui se cuvine
make.IND.PRES.1PL of news everyone.DAT who.DAT CL.REFL.3SG befit.3SG
a şci de rându acestu lucru, precum in anulu acesta
to know about arrangement.DEF this.GEN thing as in year.DEF this
1593, Msa. mai 24 inaintea nóstrî **mai josu scrişi**
1593 Msa. May 24 before us.GEN more low written.PPLE.M.PL
s- au alegâduitu Pop Tămaş din Rogoz cu
CL.REFL.3PL=(they)have agreed Pop Tămaş from Rogoz with
şogoru seu Mihai Dumitru, cu impărţiastina
brother-in-law.DEF his.M.SG Mihai Dumitru about division.DEF
iosaguriloru intr-acesta chip, precum mai josu va
estate.GEN.PL in= this way as more low AUX.FUT.3SG
urma: care unde se tie, că avĕndu
follow.INF which where CL.REFL.3SG belong.IND.PRES.3SG that have.GER
Pop Lazar din Budesci care şi în Rogoz [...]
Pop Lazar from Budeşti who also in Rogoz
4 feciori şi o fată ce au chiemat Marie feciori: 1 Grigoriu,
4 sons and one daughter that have called Maria.NOM sons 1 Grigoriu

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2 Tămaş, 3 Nicolae, 4 Vasilie şi a 5 fată Marie…
2 Tămaş 3 Nicolae 4 Vasilie and fifth daughter Maria.NOM
'We announce whomever may be concerned to know about the arrangement of this matter that in the year 1593, Msa. on May 24, before us, the undersigned, Pop Tămaş from Rogoz and Mihai Dumitru, his brother-in-law, have agreed upon the division of their estate in the manner presented as follows: to each what is their due based on their belonging, as having Pop Lazar from Budeşti, who has also got in Rogoz four sons (Grigoriu, the first son; Tămaş, the second; Nicolae, the third; Vasilie, the fourth) and a daughter (called Maria, the fifth child).'
(DÎ, *J. Maramureş, 24 mai 1593 CXIII *Zapis de împărţire)

As far as the *presentation in indirect speech* is concerned, a special status is found for the prototypical *dicendi* verb *a spune* ('to say', with the variants *spun* 'I say' / *grăiesc* 'I utter'), because its secondary meaning is *"a relata, a transmite, a presenta"* ('to relate, to convey, to present').

(38) I pa(k) spui domnietale ca mai marele miu
and again say.IND.PRES.1SG highness.DAT.F.SG like more big.DEF mine.M.SG
de ce am înţeles şi eu. Eu spui
about what (I)have found .out also I I say.IND.PRES.1SG
domnietale, iară domniia- ta eşti înţelept şi aceaste cuvinte
highness.DAT=your.F.SG and highness.NOM=your are wise and these words
să ţii domniia- ta la tine.
să$_{SUBJ}$ keep.SUBJ.2SG highness= your at you.ACC
'And so I am telling Your Highness as my superior about what I have found out. I am telling Your Highness, and Your Highness are wise and these words you must keep to yourself.'
(DÎ, ŢARA ROMÂNEASCĂ I Scrisoare*Câmpulung, j. Argeş, c. 1521)

(39) iar domnealui au socotit pre porunca măriii tale şi
and he has considered PE order.DEF highness.GEN your.F.PL and
ne- au **scris să grăim măriii tale** ce e
CL.DAT.1PL=(they)have written să$_{SUBJ}$ say.SUBJ.1PL highness.DAT your.F.PL what is
pohta domniii lui.
desire.DEF highness.GEN his
'And he considered Your Highness's order and wrote to us to tell Your Highness what His Highness desires.'(DÎ, XXXI Scrisoare*Transilvania, 26 ianuarie 1600)

In most written texts, the function of the verb *(a) spune* ('(to) say') is borrowed from *(a) scrie* ('(to) write') + the impersonal subjunctive form of the verb *a şti* ('to know'), *să se ştie* ('(it) be known'):

(40) **Scriş eu popa Ştefan** acestor oameni anu<me> Voicăi,
write.IND.PRES.1SG I priest.DEF Ştefan these.DAT people namely Voica.DAT
mumei lu Stan**, să se ştie că...**
mother.DAT LUI.GEN Stan să$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.IMPERS.3SG know.SUBJ.3SG that

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‘I, Priest Stephen, write to these people, namely to Voica, Stan’s mother, so that it be known that…’ (DÎ, XI Mărturie*J. Argeş, 16 iunie 1595)

There is also *presentation in mixed forms of reported speech:*

(41) Deci pârcălabul ne- a<u> strâ<n>s pe toţ, pe cum
so governor.DEF CL.ACC.1SG=has gathered PE everyone on as
scrie cinstită cartea mării tale, şi
writes.IND.PRES.3SG honoured letter.DEF highness.GEN your.F.PL and
ne- **au întrebat pe toţ** cum ştim cu sufletele
CL.ACC.1SG=has asked PE everyone as know.IND.PRES.1PL with souls.DEF
noastre, avut-au **Tătăraşii hotar de ceaea parte de vale?**
our.F.PL had=has(it) Tătăraşi.DEF boundary on that.F.SG part of valley
Deci n[oi] aşea ştim cu sufletele noastre că, cum au
so we thus know.IND.PRES.1PL with souls.DEF our.F.PL that as have.3PL
şi alte sate hotar peste vale, aşea au avut şi Tătăraşii
also other villages boundary across valley thus (it)has had also Tătăraşi.DEF
hotar peste vale.
boundary across valley
‘So, the governor gathered everyone, as it was written in Your Highness’s honoured letter, and he asked everyone to solemnly answer: did Tătăraşi have a boundary on the opposite side of the valley? Therefore, we can thus solemnly state that, as other villages have a boundary across the valley, so did Tătăraşi have one.’ (DÎ, CVI* Mărturie Piatra, 12 martie 1596)

5.3. Appositive clauses with a presentative function

(42) Pentru aceaea datu- i- m acea giumătate de sat ce
for that.F given=CL.DAT.3SG=(I)have that.F half of village which
mai sus iaste scrisu, anume din Grozăveşti, ce să va
more up is written namely from Grozăveşti which CL.REFL.3SG AUX.FUT.3SG
alege din vatra satului…
choose.INF from hearth.DEF village.GEN
‘That is why I gave him the half of the village mentioned above, namely from, Grozăveşti, which will be taken from the hearth of the village…’
(DÎ, CXVI Zapis de danieTârgovişte, 4 decembrie [1600])

(43) Ce tocmiţi pre această poruncă şi pohtă ce
what order.IND.PRES.2PL through this.F order and desire that
pohtim noi, să nu veţi fi tocmit voi
desire.IND.PRES.1PL we.NOM să$_{SUBJ}$ not AUX.FUT.2PL be.INF arranged you.PL
altă tocmeală mai bună… că iaste vreamea aproape acum,
another.F arrangement more good that (it)is time.DEF near now
cum vedeţi şi domneavoastră şi cum ştiţi, şi
as see.IND.PRES.2PL also your highness and as know.IND.PRES.2PL and

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rândul cum iaste încoace;
custom.DEF as (it)is here
'What you request through this order and what we desire, may it not have already been arranged through a better agreement… As the time is nigh now, as you may well see and know, and there is a certain custom here'
(DÎ, XXXI Scrisoare*Transilvania, 26 ianuarie 1600)

(44) Dece de- am fi îngăduit cum scrii domiata,
so if=AUX.COND.1PL be.INF allowed how write.IND.PRES.2SG highness=your
Dumnezeu ştie cine ar fi încăput până acmu.
God knows who AUX.COND.3SG≡PL be.INF ruled until now
'Thus, had we allowed what Your Highness says, God knows who would have ruled by now.' (DÎ, XCIII Scrisoare 10 iulie [1593])

5.4. Locative constructions

On this occasion, attention is drawn to the existence of certain *locative constructions*[65] that have a presentative value:

(45) Nu e vreame acum să ne batem cu Moldova, că
not is.IMPERS time now să$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.1PL fight.SUBJ.1PL with Moldova as
turcii stau în spinare **noastră**, iară, să ne
Turks.DEF stay.IND.PRES.3PL in back our.F.SG and if CL.REFL.1PL
vom bate cu Moldova, noi să lăsăm turcii;
AUX.FUT.1PL fight.INF with Moldova we să$_{SUBJ}$ leave.SUBJ.1PL Turks.DEF
'Now is not the time to fight Moldova, as the Turks are a threat to us and, should we fight Moldova, we have to forget about the Turks.'
(DÎ, XXXIIAct diplomatic*Transilvania, [ianuarie 1600])

(46) 1 dvere mare, ce **stă** **între** **stâlpi**, de ceatma roşie cu
one door big which stays.IND.PRES.3SG between poles of silk.DEF red with
rotele; 2 poale ce stau în **tindă**,
circles 2 linens that stay.IND.PRES.3SG in entrance
între stâlpi de adămăscă cu obraze…
between poles of damask with icons
'A big altar door of circle-patterned red silk, confined by poles; two icon-decorated damask altar linens hanging at the entrance, between poles…'

[65] According to GALR (2008 I: 328), "With some verbs, which are not numerous, the semantic-syntactic paradigm of the verb also includes *'circumstantial roles'* like the *locative*, whether one talks about verbs of motion (*Intră* ***în cameră*** [enter.IND.PRES.3SG in room '(He/She/It) enters the room']), or stative verbs (*Locuieşte* ***în Bucureşti*** [live.IND.PRES.3SG in Bucharest '(He/She/It) lives in Bucharest'], *Figurează în titlu* [appear.IND.PRES.3SG in title '(It) appears in the title'], *Fereastra răspunde* ***în grădină*** [window.DEF open.IND.PRES.3SG in garden 'The window opens towards the garden']).''

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6. Final remarks and conclusions

The present paper underlined the fact that non-literary sixteenth-century texts comprise an extensive inventory of forms by means of which the semantic-pragmatic category of *presentation* is realised. These forms are adapted to the nature of the corresponding legal and administrative type of communication.

The study identified *scholarly presentative interjections*, characteristic of *written language* (*adecă, iată* 'here (is)'). *Uite* ('look, lo, see'), which is specific to oral language and is widespread in contemporary Romanian, is absent from the texts investigated.

As regards the allocutive constructions found in the analysed texts, the functions referring to *identification* and *identity presentation* are predominant (their meaning is close to the initial, "demonstrative" value of presentatives, recorded for older ages) and they are directly linked to the aims of the documents discussed. This differs from the situation of allocutive forms in contemporary Romanian, in which their *citational, argumentative* and *focalising* functions are prevalent.

With respect to non-allocutive constructions, one can notice the *multifunctionality* of the verb *a fi* ('to be') in conveying presentative meanings (*sunt* '(I) am, (they) are', indicating relative existence, identity, actual presence in a certain place, and *sunt* in impersonal constructions).

In purpose subordinates, the present subjunctive form *să fie* of the verb *(a) fi* is rather frequently recorded in the sixteenth century (with 59 occurrences in *Documente*), as it was suitable for the legal and administrative register (in which chronicling the objectives of certain activities was of the utmost importance).

(47) Iară fără ce- am plătit, am muncit mult şi cu oamenii
and without what=(I)have paid (I)have worked much and with people.DEF
mănăstirii ca **să** **fie** sfântei mănăstiri de hrană. Iar cine
monastery.GEN that să$_{SUBJ}$ be.SUBJ.3SG holy.DAT monastery for food and who
se va amesteca într-acest iaz, **să** **fie** poclet
CL.REFL.3SG AUX.FUT.3S invervene.INF in=this.M pond să$_{SUBJ}$ be.SUBJ.3SG cursed
de oci…318 Să care egumeni nu vor căuta să
of 318 times and which hegumens not AUX.FUT.3PL seek.INF să$_{SUBJ}$
ţie, acest iaz **să** **le** **fie** pârâş la judecată
keep.SUBJ.3PL this pond să$_{SUBJ}$ CL.DAT.3PL be.SUBJ.3PL accuser at judgment
Maica Precista.
mother.DEF virgin.DEF
'And besides what I paid, I worked hard with the people at the monastery in order to provide food for the Holy Monastery. And who will destroy this pond, let them be cursed 318 times… And the hegumens that will not care for this pond, let the Virgin Mother be their accuser on Judgment Day.'
(DÎ, IV Mărturie*Mănăstirea Bistriţa, j. Vâlcea, 21 decembrie 1573)

In time, the inventory of presentative elements has developed in Romanian to such an extent that one can currently note a complementary distribution of existential constructions that contain, on the one hand, the form *există* ('there is') and, on the other, the superfluous and generic (categorial) form *sunt*. Of the two aforementioned forms, the former appears especially

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in formal accounts of more educated speakers, whereas the latter is typical of colloquial speech register.

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