THE ACTANTIAL STRUCTURE OF DERIVED CHANGE-OF-STATE VERBS IN THE OLD ROMANIAN LANGUAGE (I)

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the actantial structure of eventive verbs, obtained by the derivational formula *prefix + nominal base (noun/adjective/numeral) + lexical grammatical suffix],* included in the general class of *change-of-state* verbs, characterized by the [+ *dynamic*] feature, such as *a se înnoi* ('to renew'), *a se înălbi* ('to whiten'), *a se întări* ('to harden'), *a înflori* ('to blossom'), *a se îmbogăţi* ("to grow rich"), highly frequent in old Romanian. Our corpus consists of representative texts – originals and translations – from the early age of the literary Romanian language, comprising the 1532-1640 and 1640-1780 stages.

Our approach aims, on the one hand, to identify the actants this classes of verb allow, considering the syntactic pattern of transitive and intransitive verbs, and, on the other hand, to describe the thematic roles they impose on the nominal, depending on their semantic-syntactic matrix, based on the scheme of semantic functions (arguments), such as *patient*, *experiencer*.

Key words: Verb, change of state, eventive, actant, scheme of thematic roles, syntactic pattern.

1. Delimitation of semantic-syntactic classes of verbs

Modern theories propose, among others, the semantic description and classification of the verb, an extremely powerful category in the natural language system, in terms of lexicalist, typological and cognitive approaches. The lexicalist approach, codified by Levin and Rappaport, starts from the assumption that the syntactic properties of the verb are determined by their

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meanings[1]. Thus, the semantic description of the verb is made by associating the *lexical representations*, which, in their turn, consist of: *lexical-semantic representation* and *lexical-syntactic representation*[2], defined as follows:

(1) The lexical-semantic representation, called a *lexical conceptual structure* or *conceptual structure*, encodes the semantic properties of verbs.[3]
(2) The lexical-syntactic representation, called an *argumental structure*, encodes the arguments specific to the semantic properties of verbs.[4]

In this case, the conceptual structure of the verb designates ontological categories of the type: 'event', 'action', 'state'[5]. Therefore, in order to configure the argumental structure of the verb, a few parameters are established, deriving from the decomposable nature of *predication*, namely [BE], [GO], [CAUSE], [BECOME].

Thus, Levin and Rappaport propose a semantic classification of verbs in terms of the semantic predication, establishing classes of *unaccusative (ergative) verbs* and classes of *accusative (unergative) verbs*:

(1) ergative verbs allow an internal argument, [– *agent*];
(2) unergative verbs allow an external argument, [+ *agent*].[6]

In terms of the ergative verb structure, the following categories of unaccusative verbs are proposed:

(1) primary verb, which expresses *existence* and *action*: [BE], [GO];
(2) derived verb, which encodes the *change of state*, with two types: [CAUSE], [BECOME].

The functional-cognitive perspective defines the verb based on the logical semantic content of the referential categories, including cognitive

[1] Beth Levin; Malka Rappaport, 1995, p. 19. In the analysis of the category of ergativity in Romanian, Adina Dragomirescu valorises the lexicalist approach codified by Levin & Rappaport. In this respect, see, Adina Dragomirescu, 2010, p. 23, 43 *sqq.*
[2] Beth Levin; Malka Rappaport, 1995, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Beth Levin; Malka Rappaport, 1995, p. 30.

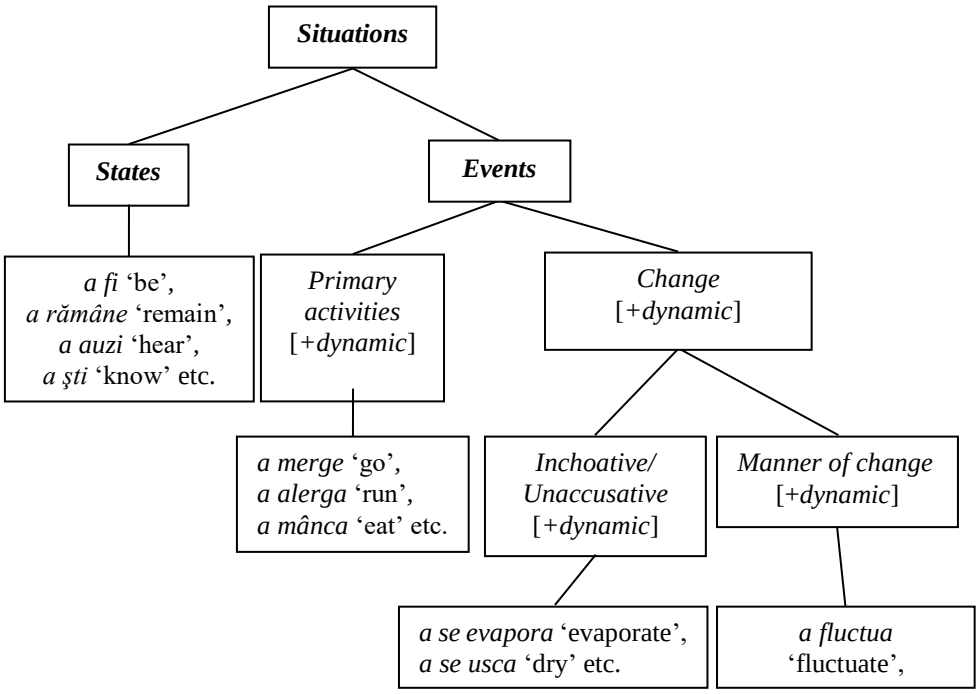
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semantics, which analyzes the conceptual system of the verb, the *deep case theory*[7] respectively, by means of which *predication* is described.

In this case, the referential category of the verb is defined by the parameter [*situation*]. According to R. Lieber, the parameter [*situation*] is characterized by the feature [+/−*dynamic*][8]: the presence of the feature [*dynamic*] signals the conceptual category of situations, where [+*dynamic*] corresponds to an event or a process, whereas [−*dynamic*] corresponds to a state. Thus, situations indicate:

(1) *primary activities*;

(2) *change*[9].



Scheme 1. The logical semantic category of situations, adapted from R. Lieber, 2004, p. 30.

[7] Cf. Dana Manea, 2001, p. 4.

[8] R. Lieber, 2004, p. 28.

[9] We have mentioned this perspective in the analysis of the semantic classes of verbs formed by derivation by means of the prefixes *a-*, *de-*, *în- (îm-)* in the old Romanian language. For the extensive discussion, see Marinușa Constantin, 2017, pp. 221-222.

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As far as we are concerned, we shall adopt the concepts *ergative (unaccusative)* and *manner of change* in this analysis in order to characterize the semantic-syntactic classes of verbs which concretize the process of *change of state* in old Romanian.

We shall continue the semantic description of verbs from the perspective of cognitive grammar by discussing the *idealized cognitive model* (ICM)[10] of the referential category of *event*, which entails an analysis of the semantic parameters regarding the intrinsic properties of the verbal core of predication and, on the other hand, an analysis of the relations between the verb and its arguments, encoding the parameter [*agentivity*].

In this respect, the internal semantics of predication is described by three parameters: [*control*], [*dynamic*] and [*change*][11]. More precisely, by analyzing the presence and the absence of these parameters in the semantic matrix of the verb, predications reflect three types of event: (1) [*causative process]*; (2) [*eventive (inchoative) process]*, (3) *[state]*, arranged as follows[12]:

Type of event	***Parameters***		
	[control]	*[dynamic]*	*[change]*
[causative]	+	+	+
[eventive]	-	+	+
[state]	-	-	-

Table 1. Internal semantics of predication, adapted from Dana Manea, 2001, p. 4.

Based on the mentioned criteria, GALR proposes three semantic classes of verbs[13]:

a) action verbs: [+ agentivity], [- change]: a ţipa ‘scream’*, a învăţa* ‘learn’, *a alerga* ‘run’ *etc.*

b) event verbs: [– agentivity], [+change]: a se sparge ‘break’, *a se usca* ‘dry’*, a îmbătrâni* ‘age’, *a înflori* ‘blossom’ *etc.*

[10] See discussion in Dana Manea, 2001, pp. 4-9; Camelia Uşurelu, 2005, p. 13.
[11] Cf. Dana Manea, 2001, p. 6; Camelia Uşurelu, 2005, p. 14.
[12] Dana Manea, 2001, p. 6.
[13] GALR, 2005, II, p. 322; GBLR, 2010, p. 279.

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c) state verbs: [– agentivity], [– change]: a fi ‘be’, *a râde* ‘laugh’, *a plânge* ‘cry’ *etc.*

2. *Change-of-state verbs* – semantic-syntactic behaviour

As we have mentioned, our analysis focuses on the large class of *change-of-state* verbs derived according to derivational formulas of *în-₁ (îm-₁)* prefixation, an extremely productive derivative classifier in the old Romanian language[14]:

– ***în-₁ + nominal bases + lexical grammatical suffixes***, forming parasynthetic derivatives:

- ***denominal verbs*: *în-₁ + noun + lexical grammatical suffixes -a/-i:***

a îmbărbăta ‘encourage’ (PH, 26/14; CC[2] 183/26), *a se împetrici* (CC, 364/14), *a se împerechea* ‘couple, pair’ (ES, 37[r]), *a îngenunchea* ‘kneel’ *(TS, 115[r]), a înghimpa* ‘prick’ *(PH, 31/4)* etc.

- ***deadjectival verbs*: *în-₁ + adjective + lexical grammatical suffixes -a/-i:***

a se îmblânzi ‘tame’ (CC[2], 137/26; CS, VII, 67[v]/1-2), *a se îndulci* ‘sweeten’ (CS, XIV, 112[r]/4), *a se înfierbânta* ‘boil’ (PH, 15/10), *a se îngrăşa* ‘fatten’ (CC[2], 73/29), *a se întări* ‘strengthen’ (CC[2]/290/28) etc.

In a general sense, by having the general features [+ *change*], [+ *dynamic*], *change-of-state* verbs express changes in the physical form or in the appearance of an entity, thus marking various degrees of processuality, defined as “*a sequence on the development curve, situated between cause and effect, between a caused and causative action and a state which results from the unfolding of the process*”[15].

In this context, we should emphasize that the *change of state* does not completely coincide with the notion of *causality*, because, according to the semantic classification of verbs proposed by Levin and Rappaport – which we have adopted, as previously mentioned –, they point to different types of causes: (1) *internal* and (2) *external*.

[14] We demonstrated the thesis regarding the productive nature of the affix *în- (îm-)* in the old Romanian language in Marinuşa Constantin, *Creativitatea lexicală în limba română veche*, 2017, pp. 137-202.
[15] Ivan Evseev, 1974, p. 94.

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2.1. Internally caused change-of-state verbs[16]

These verbs describe events marked by a "*property inherent to the argument which becomes responsible for bringing about the eventuality*" [17], encoding the process by which a state/degree turns into another state/degree.

In this context, we consider that internally caused verbs fall under the semantic category of *eventive verbs*, which concretize that degrees of *becoming*, in terms of the particular feature [+*eventive*], embedded in the affix *n-*$_{1}$ *(îm-*$_{1}$*),*considered, par excellence, a prefix with eventive value, and of the [*inchoative*] aspect, reflected by *Aktionsart*, the semantic category of actionality.

[*A* – young turns into *B* – old: A BECOMES B]:

– *Ion îmbătrâneşte.* [Ion devine bătrân.] (i.e. *Ion ages.* [Ion becomes old.])

In this respect, we shall synthesize the representative values of the category of *eventivity* in old Romanian[18]:

– ʿ*acquiring the property denoted by the theme*':

- *a îmbătrâni* 'age, get old' (DPar., III, 16^{v}; BB88, I, Gen., 27,01; 27,02); *a se îmblânzi* 'tame' (CC, 137/36), *a se îndulci* 'sweeten' (CS, XIV, 112^{r}/4), *a se înmulţi* 'multiply' (PH; BB88, I, Gen. 7,18), *a se înrăi* 'worsen' (CP, 17, 29, 40), *a se înseta* (DPar., III, 16^{r}) etc.

This *transition from one state to another* entails the establishment of opposite semantic paradigms:

– ʿ*development*', in two directions [+/-], that we have called:

- *positive development*, expressed by units such as:
  - *qualitative: a se îmblânzi* 'tame' *(*CS, VII, 64^{v}/12-13), *a se înfrumuseţa* 'beautify' (CL, 17^{v}/4), *a se înnoi* 'renew' (PH, 509/13) etc.
  - *quantitative: a se înmulţi* 'multiply' (PH); *a se însuti* 'centuple' (CII, VIII, 460*)* etc.

[16] B. Levin, M. Rappaport, 1995, p. 35.

[17] *Ibid.* In this respect, see, Jeffrey Lidz, 2001, "The argument structure of verbal reflexives", in: *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May, 2001), pp. 311-353.

[18] The analysis grid of the logico-semantic values of derivatives resulted by *în- (îm-)* prefixation has been applied to a corpus of words excerpted from old texts (1532-1640; 1640-1780), in scientific editions and in the thesauruses of the Romanian language. Marinuşa Constantin, 2017, pp. 216-240.

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- *general evolution: a se însănătoşa/a se însănătoşi* 'recover, improve in health' (ŞT, 23; BB88, III, Lev., 13,37) etc.

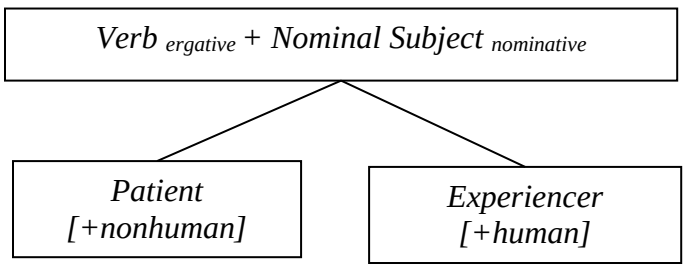
- *negative development*, encoding:
  - *[- quantity]: a se împuţina* 'lessen' (DPar., III, 57^{v});
  - *[- quality]: a se însingura* 'seclude (oneself)' (PS, 56; CV, 8) etc.

– ʿ*acquiring the property similar to that of the object denoted by the theme*', [+ *comparison*]:
- *a îmbărbăta* 'embolden' (PH, 26/14), *a încuraja* 'encourage' (CS, IV, 5,99) etc.

– ʿ*transformation into the object denoted by the base*', in various degrees:
- *absolute becoming:*
  - *a se înălbi* 'whiten' (PH, 50/9); *a înnegri* '*blacken'* (BB88, III, Lev., 13,06) etc.
- *relative becoming*, [+ *comparison*];
  - *a se îmbunătăţi* 'better' (CII, IV, 275), *a se închega* 'bind' (DPar.) etc.

Processes concretized by eventive verbs are non-actantial and intransitive. More precisely, the subject, which undergoes the transition from one state to another, is not active, being considered "*a subject of non-instrumental self-transformation*" [19].

Eventive verbs are monovalent (monoactantial), intransitive, characterized by the feature [± *reflexive*], marking a syntactic pattern frequently achieved in Romanian, with a low number of thematic roles:



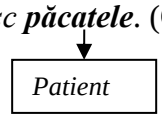
Scheme 2. Thematic roles allowed by eventive verbs

[19] Ivan Evseev, 1974, p. 94.

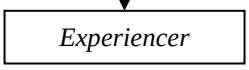
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Examples:

(a) "*[...] Şi când se înmulţesc* ***păcatele***. (CC)



(b) "[...] *că de veade că i se îngraşă* ***puii*** [...]." (A, 1620, p. 57)



We should mention that the role of *Patient* in the argumental structure of eventive verbs, attributed to a [*non-animate*] actant, is a general characteristic of *ergative* verbs, which indicate the *resultative state* of processes, signalling the *Patient – Agent* incompatibility[20].

2.2. Externally caused change-of-state verbs[21]

According to the cognitive model, the causal structure is generally presented based on the parameter [+ *force*], in the sense of transmitting force from one object to another[22]. Thus, the event implies an "*external cause, with a direct control over the eventuality denoted by the verb*"[23], involving both a causative sub-event [*A* FACE – CEVA] ('*A* does something') and a change-of-state sub-event (b) [*B* DEVINE STARE] ('*B* becomes state'), with the following semantic representation:

{[*A* DOES – SOMETHING] CAUSES [*B* BECOMES STATE]}

(a) *Soarele îngălbeneşte hârtia* 'The sun yellows the paper'. – ***A***

(b) *Hârtia este galbenă* 'The paper is yellow'. – ***B***

{[Soarele face ca hârtia să fie galbenă 'The sun causes the paper to be yellow'.]}

In this case, we are speaking about causative morphological verbs (resulted from derivation) which take two actants, one denoting the

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[20] The *agent* represents the *actant* (cf. *actantial theory*) that indicates the voluntary initiator (a) of the action expressed by the verb, being characterized by the features [+*animate*], [+*control*]:
Ion *sparge geamul*. '***Ion*** *breaks the window.*' – the agent *Ion* is a [+ *animate*], [+ *control*] subject.
The feature [± *agentivity*] entails a distinction of verbs that are characterized, as we have previously said, by the presence of the expressed or unexpressed agent in the scheme of thematic roles they take, called *agentive verbs*, opposed to *non-agentive verbs*, whose actantial scheme excludes the agent. Cf. DŞL, 2005, *s.v. agent*$_3$.

[21] B. Levin, M. Rappaport, 1995, p. 35.

[22] Camelia Uşurelu, 2005, p. 28.

[23] B. Levin, M. Rappaport, 1995, p. 45.

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person/cause triggering an action with an effect, called a *causative entity*[24] (referred to as E_1 in this paper), and another designating the *person/object* the effect of the causative action reflects on – the *affected entity* (referred to as E_2).

The event denoted by causative verbs is defined based on the types of causality, described by Dana Manea[25] and Camelia Uşurelu[26]:

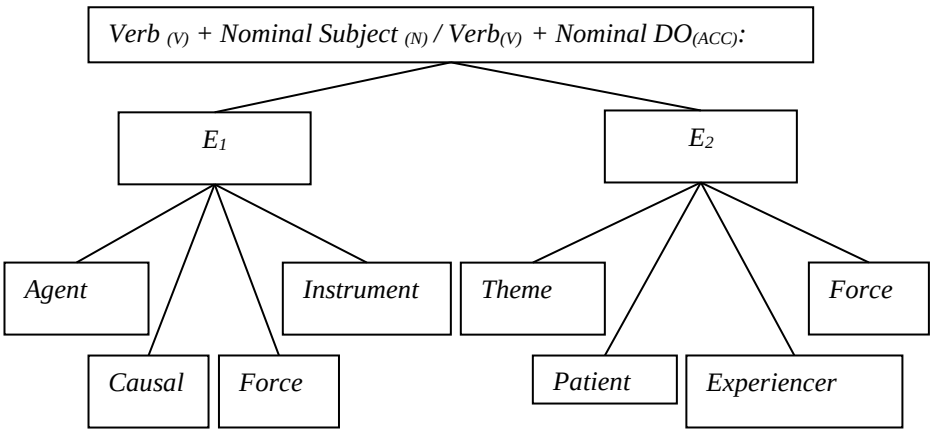
1) *physical causality* – the physical interaction between two non-volitionary entities, in which an object acts upon another object;
2) *volitionary causality* – an initiator with mental ability acts upon a physical object;
3) *affective causality* – a physical object acts upon a "mental" object, changing its mental state;
4) *inductive causality* – an initiator with mental ability acts upon another "mental" object, changing its mental state, causing it to act in a certain way.

As can be seen, subgroups (3), (4) imply the idea of modification of an object, specific to eventive verbs. But the change is determined by an external force/instrument, presupposing an active subject and an object undergoing the action. However, as aforementioned, the syntactic pattern of eventive verbs does not allow for complementation by a direct object, typical of the accusative. Thus, the *modification* process is realized in a distinct manner: the morphological causatives imply the feature [+ *control*], which eventives lack, in terms of being complemented by a non-active subject.

Falling into the syntactic class of bivalent (biactantial) verbs, in terms of the transitive nature, causative verbs present a scheme of thematic roles[27] that is typical of the causative entity, on the one hand, and of the affected entity, on the other, which specifies the number of actants they allow, and the semantic role (argument) assigned to each actant respectively:

[24] GALR, 2005, II, p. 168.
[25] Dana Manea, 2001, p. 11.
[26] Camelia Uşurelu, 2005, p. 29.
[27] Camelia Uşurelu, 2005, p. 37, states that the arguments of causative verbs are not organized according to the *prominence theory*, encoded by V. Grimshaw, în 1990.

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Scheme 3. Thematic roles allowed by morphological causatives

***Examples**:*

– "*[...] şi* ***mânia*** *împuţinează* ***viaţa*** *şi* ***dzilele*** *omului*." (FD, 490[r])

E1: Agent ***E2 : Theme***

(i.e. '…**wreath** lessens the **life** and **days** of man')
{Wreath [CAUSATIVE ENTITY] makes the life and days [AFFECTED ENTITY] of man be fewer (they become shorter)}.

"*[...]* ***cugetele*** *îmbătrânesc* ***omul*** *fără vreame*." (FD, 490[r])

E1: Cause ***E2: Patient***

(i.e. '**thoughts** age **man**…')
{Thoughts [CAUSATIVE ENTITY] cause man [AFFECTED ENTITY] to become old.}

2.3. Opposite semantic paradigms– causative/eventive

The semantic-syntactic differences regarding the two semantic-syntactic classes of verbs are established based on internal semantics criteria and morphosyntactic means.

First of all, the two verb classes are organized in opposite semantic paradigms: *factitive verbs* encode qualitative transformations of objects,

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whereas *eventive verbs* impose a transition from one state to another, as previously mentioned, in various degrees:

– *a împuţina* 'lessen' [a face să fie mai puţin 'to make less'] *X*
a se împuţina 'lessen'[a deveni mai puţin 'to become less'];
– *a înnoi* 'renew' [a face să fie nou 'make new'] *X*
a se înnoi 'renew' [a deveni nou ''become new];
– *a înroşi* 'redden' [a face să fie roşu 'make red'] *X*
a se înroşi 'redden' [a deveni roşu 'become red'] etc.
– *a înnoroi* 'mud' [a acoperi cu noroi 'cover with mud'] *X*
a se înnoroi [a se acoperi cu noroi 'to fill/cover oneself with mud'] etc.

Furthermore, another test of semantic-syntactic distinction of the verbs in question concerns the operation of generative transformation[28], which consists in incorporating the nuclear predicate (primary semantic element), expressed by the operator verbs *a deveni* [(*a fi*, *a se transforma*, *a se preface în, a (se) face*)], and *a face*, *a pune* respectively, followed by the subordinating conjunction *să*, starting from derivative bases. In this case, there are two types of realizations of the analytical predicate:

– ***nominal*** [base: noun or numeral]:
  - *a înflori* 'blossom' → *a deveni (ca) o floare* 'become (like) a flower'; *a fi (ca) o floare* 'be (like) a flower';
  - *a se închega* 'curdle' → *a deveni precum cheagul* 'become like curd'; *a fi precum cheagul* 'be like curd' etc.
  - *a se înjumătăţi* 'halve' → *a deveni jumătate* 'become half'; *a fi jumătate* 'be half'; *a se face jumătate* 'become half' etc.
  - *a se împietri* 'harden' → *a deveni ca o piatră* 'become hard as a rock'; *a fi ca o piatră* 'be like a rock'; *a se face ca o piatră* 'turn into a rock' etc. *X*
  - *a înnoroi* 'mud' → *a face să fie acoperit cu noroi* 'cause something/someone to be covered with mud';

[28] DŞL, 2004, *s.v. transformare*.

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- *a încuraja* 'encourage' → *a face să devină curajos* 'make someone become courageous';
- *a înjumătăţi* 'halve' → *a face să fie jumătate* 'lessen by half' etc.

– ***adjectival***:
  - *a se înroşi* 'redden' → *a se face roşu* 'turn red'; *a deveni roşu* 'become red';
  - *a se înverzi* 'green' → *a se face verde* 'turn green'; *a deveni verde* 'become green';
  - *a se înnegri* 'blacken' → *a deveni negru* 'become black'; *a se face negru* 'turn black' etc.
  - *a se însănătoşi* 'get better → *a deveni sănătos* 'become healthy';
  - *a înroşi* 'redden' → *a face să fie roşu* 'make red';
  - *a înverzi* 'green' → *a face să fie verde* 'make green';
  - *a înnegri* 'blacken' → *a face să fie negru* 'make black';
  - *a însănătoşi* 'better' → *a face să fie sănătos* 'make better, healthy' etc.

In addition, the presence of the reflexive morpheme *se* in the eventive verb structure, in most forms, supports the *factitive – eventive* distinction:

– *a se îmbogăţi* [eventive, refl. intransitive] *X*
  a îmbogăţi [causative, transitive act.];
– *a se îndulci* [eventive, refl. intransitive] *X*
  a îndulci [causative, transitive act.];
– *a se întări* [eventive, refl. intransitive] *X*
  a întări [causative, transitive act.] etc.

We should mention that there are a number of verbs with eventive value in the active form:

– *a înfrunzi* 'leaf' [eventive, intransitive act.];
– *a înflori* 'blossom' [eventive, intransitive act.];
– *a înmuguri* 'bud' [eventive intransitive act.];
– *a înspica* 'ear' [eventive, intransitive act.];
– *a însuri* 'turn grey' [eventive, intransitive act.];

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– *a înmărmuri* 'freeze, petrify' [eventive, intransitive act.].

Also, other eventive verbs have only a reflexive form, such as:

– *a se înstela* 'cover with stars' [eventive, refl. intransitive];
– *a se încuscri* 'ally, become in-laws'[eventive, refl. intransitive];
– *a se încumnătăţi* 'become someone's sister/brother-in-law' [eventive, refl. intransitive];
– *a se înfărtăţi* 'fraternize' [eventive, refl. intransitive];
– *a se însigura* 'seclude oneself' [eventive, refl. intransitive];
– *a se înveri* 'become someone's cousin' [eventive, refl. intransitive];
– *a se învecina* 'neighbour' [eventive, refl. intransitive].

In this case, Adina Dragomirescu brings into question the existence of two distinct lexical units which take part in the *causative / eventive* alternation[29]. In terms of the derivation direction – *eventive → causative* or *causative → eventive*, the author adopts the assumption regarding the existence of a causativization process involving derivation from the simpler structure – transitive, inchoative verb – to the most complex one – transitive, causative verb.

Ultimately, the distinction of the two lexical semantic classes is made by the contextual differentiation of the meanings of verbal units. Thus, the distinction is not marked morphologically, but syntactically, made by specific distribution of the verb[30]:

(1) the distributional formula $\boldsymbol{N^1_n + V_t + N^2a}$ presupposes:

– $\boldsymbol{N^1_n}$ *cause of action – Soarele* 'The sun'

– $\boldsymbol{V_t}$ *transitive-factitive/predicate – a îngălbenit* 'yellowed'

– $\boldsymbol{N^2a}$ *object undergoing the transformation (patient) – hârtia* 'the paper'

Result: *Soarele a îngălbenit hârtia* 'The sun yellowed the paper'.

(2) the distributional formula $\boldsymbol{N^2_n + V_i}$ ***+(de/la)*** $\boldsymbol{N^1a}$ indicates:

– $\boldsymbol{N^2_n}$ *patient undergoing the action – Hârtia* 'The paper'*;*

– $\boldsymbol{V_i}$ *intransitive verb/predicate – a îngălbenit* 'turned yellow'*;*

[29] Adina Dragomirescu, 2010, p. 159.
[30] Ivan Evseev, 1974, p. 106.

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– ***(de) N[1]a [-direct object]****: de/la* 'from' + *circumstantial: de soare* 'the sun' – *causative circumstantial.*

3. Thematic roles of *change-of-state* verbs in the old Romanian language

In this section, we shall analyze how thematic roles allowed for by eventive verbs in the Romanian old language are realized/expressed, taking into account, naturally, the conservative nature of religious texts, at linguistic and extralinguistic level.

3.1. Patient

This thematic role, specific to the class of eventive verbs, is in nominal position, being characterized by the feature [*nonhuman*].

"*Demânreaţa ca iarba va trece,* ***demânreaţa*** [dimineaţa] *înflureşte şi trece.*" (PH, 77[v]);

"*Să să îngroaşe* ***înrema*** [inima] *oamenilor acelora*." (CV; FT., 52[v])

"[....] ***besearecile*** *întăriia-se cu credinţa şi adăugea-se întru număru prespre toate zilele*." (CB)

"[...] *s-a-ngreuia* ***păcatul***." (DPV, 81,25)

"[...] *pe când s-au împuţinat* ***apele***." (CS, 115)[31]

"*[...] că s-au înmulţit* ***răutăţile*** *lor*." (DPar, I, 15[r])

"*Doamne, Doamne de carele* ***toate*** *să-nfricoşadză* [...]" (DPar, II, 1[r58])

"*Şi să înmulţi* ***apa*** *[...]*." (DPar, III, 30[r])

"*Sărăciia pre om smereaşte, iară* ***mânule*** *bărbătaşilor să-mbogăţesc*." ((DPar, II, 30[v])

"*Doao* ***chipuri*** *cu steme ce în pecete s-au însemnat / Domnului Mihaiu Racoviţă Vodă s-au încredinţat.*" (CazV., II).

"***Ochii*** *miei de groază să-ntristează*." (DPV, 30/35)

"*De mi să-nnoiaşte* ***durerea*** *cu boale*." (DPV, 38/7)

Analyzing the data we have collected, we note that the thematic role *Patient* is realized to a lesser extent. Complementations are confined to expressing becomings of objects of the material world (nature – *water,*

[31] See Marinuşa Constantin, 2017, pp. 244-245.

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morning; the holy place – *the church*) and to indicating modifications in quality and quantity in terms of perceptions or states (*the sin becomes heavier*; *enmities multiply*; *the eyes become sad* etc.)

The presence of the morpheme *se* ("să" – archaic version) supports the intransitive quality of eventive verbs. Furthermore, the use of this reflexive pronoun in the structure of that particular verb class is explained in terms of the translations of religious texts according to the Slavonic model.

As regards the syntactic organization of the sentence, a variation in the order of words is to be noted:

(1) *verb + patient + realizations of indirect objects*;

(2) *patient + attribute + verb*.

3.2. Experiencer

The thematic role *Experiencer* [+ *human*] suffers the process of transition from one state to another, because it has no control over that particular event.

"*Şi cu credinţă bună* [**noi**] *să ne întărim şi cu toate lucrurile bune să ne îmbrăcăm şi cu poamele sufletului*." (MI, 191^{r}/7)

"*Stropişi-mă cu isop şi curăţescu-mă, spăla-mă-veri şi mai vârtos de zăpadă înnălbi-mă-voiu* [**eu]**." (PH, 9^{v}/9)

"*Şi deca apropie-i-se vreame făgăduiteei ceaia ce jură-se Domnul lu Avraam, crescură* ***oaminii*** *şi [****oamenii****] înmulţiră-se întru Eghipet*." (CB)

"*Îndulcitu-vă [****voi****] spre pământu şi ospătatu-vă*." (CB)

"*Creaşteţi şi vă înmulţiţi* ***[voi]****, şi împleţi pământul şi biruiţi el* [...]." (PO, 14/24)

"*Stropişi-mă cu săpun şi curăţescu-mă, spăla-mă-veri şi mai vârtos de zăpada înnălbi-mă-voiu* [**eu**]. (CP, 56^{v}/9; 56^{r}/17)

"*Domne, ce să înmulţiră* ***ceia*** *ce mă supără*." (DPar, II, 2^{r})

" *Iaca,* ***eu*** *am îmbătrânit şi nu ştiu dzua fârşenii meale*. "(DPar, III, 16^{v})

"*Fiule, cinsteaşte pre Domnul şi [***tu***] vei întări-te* [...]."(DPar, II, 22^{v})

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"*Să-ş domnească în scaun şi [***el***] să-mbătrânească*." (DPar., I, 14^{r})
"*În bunătăţile direpţilor să-ndireptează* ***cetatatea***." (DPar.)
"*Cui iaste drag în ospeaţe în lipsă va fi şi* ***cui place vinul*** *nu s-a îmbogăţi*." (DPar, III, 20^{v}) – realizare propoziţională
"*iar a noa dzi să încheagă //* ***trupul*** [...]." (ŞT, 15,85)
"*[...] într-un alt loc curat* ***să se îngroape*** *[...]*." (ŞT, 17, 92)
"[...] *să închipuiaşte diavolul* [...]."(ŞT, 37, 219)
"*Iară cela ce să va înfrătăţi cu vreo fămeaie* [...]." (ŞT, 19, 262)
"*[...] pentru greşeala noastră să ne îndireptăm* [**noi**]." (VRC, 8^{v})
"*iară cel* **[omul]** *din lăuntru să înnoiaşte în toate zilele*." (VRC, 11^{v})
"*[...] iarăşi ce s-au întrupat* ***fiiul*** [...]" (VRC, 12^{v})
"*Cum te veri îndirepta* ***[tu]*** *înnaintea lui Dumnezeu?*" (VRC, 20^{r})
"*Cum omul* ***să îndireaptă*** *cu credinţa fără de faptul legii*." (VRC, 20^{v})
"*De va dzice că să îndireaptă* [**omul]** în har de păcatele ceale [...]."(VRC, 20^{v})

In the excerpted examples, we notice that the *Experiencer [+ human]* is not expressed:

(1) it is *included* in the verb desinence, referring to a generic recipient *tu* 'you' or *noi* 'we';
(2) it is *implied*, inferred from the context – *el* 'he', *omul* 'the man'.

In contexts in which the thematic role *Experiencer* is overt, being usually realized by proper nouns, it contains the feature [+ *Divine*]: *Domnul* 'Lord', *Fiul Domnului* 'Son of God'.

4. Conclusions

Eventive verbs contain the reflexive morpheme *se*, pointing, in the old Romanian language, to a marker of unaccusatives concretizing the *change-of-state* processes: *a se înfrătăţi, a se îndirepta, a se înnoi, a se îndulci*. Thus, the first verb type derived according to the pattern *în- (îm-) + nominal/adjectival base + lexical grammatical suffix* is the intransitive one, which signals the *transition from one state to another*. The eventives acquire

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a factitive meaning, once they are subject to the *causativization* process, falling into the class of bivalent verbs.

The verb *a înflori*, with eventive value, is used only in the active form, associated with a [*nonhuman*] *Patient.*

The inventory of thematic roles allowed by eventive verbs is well-represented in the old Romanian language. The *Experiencer* has a wider circulation, having the feature [+ *human*], in terms of the religious nature of the subtypes of texts (liturgies, psalms, parables etc.)

The actantial structure of intransitive eventives V + $\text{Nominal}_{\text{nominative}}$ + $\text{IO}_{\text{dative}}$ points to a wide circulation in old texts, organized according to a free word order.

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