

FROM VERBS OF MOTION TO ASPECTUAL AND COPULA VERBS *A INTRA* ‘ENTER’ AND *A IEȘI* ‘EXIT’¹

RALUCA BRĂESCU², IRINA NICULA PARASCHIV³

Abstract. The paper discusses the trajectory that the two initially verbs of motion *intra* ‘enter’ and *ieși* ‘exit’ undergo from verbs of motion to copula verbs and the mechanisms they come to designate a *become*/quasi-resultative meaning, passing through a partially common type of evolution. We argue that the mechanism which can explain their evolution is reanalysis. The verb *intra* goes from the motion meaning through an inceptive meaning (‘begin a process’) to the *become* meaning (‘acquire a new status or rank), with the switch context being that with an adjectival predication. The verb *ieși* goes from the motion meaning through a terminative meaning (‘end a process’) to a quasi-resultative meaning (‘about a process’) end up in a certain way’), with the switch context most likely being that with a nominal predication.

Keywords: motion, copula, reanalysis, inceptive, terminative, adjectival predication, nominal predication.

1. INTRODUCTION

In all Romance languages, fully lexical motion verbs undergo grammaticalization to operators with an aspectual, modal, passive function, as can be seen from the diachronic categorial/semantic/syntactic and phonetic transformations documented in the literature (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994; Heine, Kuteva 2002).

The present article is part of a larger project dealing with the grammaticalization of motion verbs in Romanian by following their diachronic development. The main goals of project were to establish the complete inventory of motion verbs in Romanian which undergo diachronic reanalysis/grammaticalization and to identify the mechanisms which explain the transfers and the contexts which favour the change to another meaning or to a new function.

In the current analysis, we will only tackle the verbs *a intra* ‘enter’ and *a ieși* ‘exit’ which seem to behave similarly with respect to changes they undergo (motion > aspectual >

¹ Our work is part of the team project *Moving towards aspect, copula and passive. The diachronic reanalysis of motion verbs in Romanian* (MOV), coordinated by Adina Dragomirescu. This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2016-0341, within PNCDI III.

² Institute of Linguistics, “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest, ralucaabraescu@yahoo.com, irina_nicula@yahoo.com.

copula) and we will sketch their historical evolution from motion verbs to copula verbs. The paper is structured as follows: Section 1 is an overview of the class of copula verbs in the old language. In Section 2 we refer briefly to how the problem of motion verbs reanalysed as copulas was documented in the literature; in Section 3 we describe the uses or meanings covered by the two verbs under scrutiny and sketch the mechanisms by which they came to encode aspectual/copula uses. Section 4 contains the analysis for the key contexts identified in the process of the grammaticalization and the conclusions.

2. COPULA VERBS IN ROMANIAN. SOME NOTES ON THE INVENTORY

In the old language, the class of copula verbs is very heterogeneous, subsuming (SOR 2016: 169–174): the semantically neutral verb *a fi* ‘be’, naming verbs (*a se chema*, *a se grăi*, *a se numi*, *a se zice* ‘be called’) (1), verbs of location (*a se afla* ‘be placed’, *a rămâne* ‘remain’, *a sta* ‘stay’) (2), motion or contact verbs (*a ajunge* ‘arrive’, *a intra* ‘enter’, *a ieși* ‘exit; go out’, *a se prinde* ‘catch’, *a purcede* ‘proceed’, *a se ridica* ‘raise’, *a sosi* ‘arrive’, *a se ține* ‘hold’, *a veni* ‘come’) (3) change of state verbs (*a se face* ‘make’) (4) or verbs which express a nonfactive modal value ((5) *a (se) părea* ‘seem’, *a se arăta* ‘show’, sporadically, *a se închipui* ‘imagine’).

- (1) a. în Țara Brașeului, care să cheamă
 in country.DEF Brașeu which CL.REFL.ACC.3SG is.named
 cu altu nume Bârsa (CLM.1700–1750: 184)
 with other name name Bârsa
 ‘Brașeu County, which is also called Bârsa’
 b. iară cealaltă parte a stihului, care
 and the.otherpart AL.GEN verse.DEF.GEN which
 să numește cadenția (EG.1757: 122^f)
 CL.REFL.ACC.3SG is.named cadence
 ‘And the other part of the verse which is called cadence’
- (2) a. Atunci această tocmală să stea
 then this.FEM.SG agreement SĂ.SUBJ stay.SUBJ.3SG
adevărată (Prav.1646: 112)
 true
 ‘Thus our agreement should remain valid’
 b. Și dup-îns stătu Marco domn (MC.1620: 46^f)
 and after-him stay.PS.3SG Marco emperor
 ‘And after him Marco was the emperor’
 c. O, hrănitoriul nostru, mângâierea tinerețelor
 oh, nurturer our.M.SG consolation.DEF youth.PL.GEN
 noastre, cui ne laș pre noi,
 our.F.PL whom.DAT CL.ACC.1PL leave.2SG DOM us
 carii rămânem săraci? (Ev.1642: 474)
 who remain.1PL poor
 ‘Oh, our nurturer, the consolation of our youth, to whom are you leaving us, who remain poor?’

- (3) a. **Au ajuns** pre pământ
 AUX.PERF.3SG arrive.PPLE on earth
înger (BB.1688: XXIX, *apud* SOR 2016: 171)
 angel
 ‘He became an angel on earth’
- b. **au intrat** toate la mare mânie (Bert.1774: 10^v)
 have.3PLenter.PPLE all.F.PL at great anger
 ‘All became very angry’
- c. nu **poci a** me însura cu nusa
 not can A.INF CL.REFL.1SG marry.INF with her
 că **mi se prinde** îmă (Prav.1581: 229^v)
 because CL.DAT.1SG CL.REFL.ACC.3SG catch.PRES.3SG mother
 ‘I cannot marry her, for she is my mother’
- d. Și **purceasă** grea femeaia și
 and proceed.PS.3SG heavy woman.DEF and
 născu fiiu (DPar.1683: III.60^f)
 give.birth.PS.3SG son
 ‘And the woman became pregnant and she gave birth to a boy’
- e. Deaca muri moșul lu Romil, Amulie, atunce
 when die.PS.3SG old.man LUI Romil Amulie then
se rădică împărat Romil (MC.1620: 30^v)
 CL.REFL.ACC.3SG raise.PS.3SG emperor Romil
 ‘And when Romil’s grandfather, Amulie, died, Romil **became** an emperor’
- f. Și **sosi** voevod răsăritului și-i
 and arrive.PS.3SG Voivode East.DEF.GEN and=CL.DAT.3SG
 află ajutoriu Artavazd, anume un boiarin (MC.1620: 88^f)
 find help Artavazd that.is a boyard
 ‘And he became the voivode of the East and he had Artavazd, a boyard, as his help’
- (4) a. iară ea **se face** moartă în poiană
 and she CL.REFL.ACC.3SG makes dead in meadow
 și tinde picioarele (FD.1592–1604: 550^v)
 and stretches legs.DEF
 ‘And she plays dead in the meadow and stretches her legs’
- b. Atunce boiarinul den domn **să**
 then boyard.DEF from sovereign CL.REFL.ACC.3SG
face rob (Prav.1646: 97)
 makes slave
 ‘And then the boyard turns from an emperor into a servant’
- (5) cu adevărat vă **par** amar acum vorbele
 with truth CL.DAT.2PL seem.PRES.3PL bitter now words
 meale, nefiind obicinuiți cu dânsese (AD.1722–1725: 99^v)
 my NE-be.GER used.M.PL with them
 ‘You really find my words bitter, because you are not used to them’

On the one hand, some of the verbs above have been eliminated from use or have only lost their copula uses. On the other hand, the class of copula verbs enriched with

numerous other members. In what follows, we will only refer to two verbs – *a intra* ‘enter’ and *a ieși* ‘exit’ – following their evolution from motion verbs to copula verbs.

3. FROM VERBS OF MOTION TO (PSEUDO)COPULAR VERBS IN OTHER ROMANCE LANGUAGES

It is well known that locative and motion verbs in Romance languages illustrate numerous cases of poligrammaticalization, i.e. periphrastic constructions in which a lexical unit is only used grammatically (as an auxiliary or semi-auxiliary) to cover different categories (mood, tense, aspect, copula, voice).

As we have already mentioned, the class of copula verbs is characterized by a high degree of semantic heterogeneity. Although the transition from motion verbs to copula verbs may be mentioned in the literature for specific languages (see, for example, the inventory established by Lauwers, Tobback 2010 for French; see also Wettere 2018) there are not many comparative works to document a distinct subclass of Romance motion verbs which developed into copulas. However, a comparative list of motion verbs turning into copulas is found in Van Peteghem (1991: 174), who mentions state copula verbs (fr. *être, rester, demeurer*, sp. *estar, quedar, meterse*, it. *(ri)trovarsi*, rom. *a se găsi, a se afla* ‘be found’) as well as copula verbs derived from verbs of motion (fr. *passer, tourner*, sp. *irse, tornarse, llegar a*, rom. *a cădea* ‘fall down’, *a se băga* ‘get in(to)’).

Referring strictly to the verbs analyzed in the present paper, we notice that they have a different behaviour with respect to the semantic changes they undergo: the aspectual value is present on a widescale in Romance language, whereas the copular value is more limited cross-linguistically (for instance, the verb *intra* ‘enter’ may function as a copula in French, but not in Spanish⁴ or Italian), whereas the verb corresponding to *ieși* ‘exit’ has (pseudo)copular uses in more Romance languages (6,7):

- (6) a. (Fr.) **J’entrai apprenti** parmi les charpentiers de la grande coignée (Hugo, *N.-D. Paris*, 1832, p. 121).
 b. (Fr.) Alors, il paraît que tu veux **entrer professeur**, à ce que dit ta mère (Malègue, *Augustin*, t. 1, 1933, p. 188 – *Trésor de la langue française*, atilf.fr).
- (7) a. (Fr.) Quand je vous disais (...), que la guerre (...) serait terrible, j’avais raison. (...) **Nous en sommes sortis vainqueurs** (Erckm.-Chatr., *Hist. paysan*, t. 2, 1870, p. 283 – *Trésor de la langue française*, atilf.fr).
 b. (Fr.) Dans l’ensemble, nous avons eu la chance (...) **d’en sortir sains et saufs** (Cocteau, *Parents*, 1938, III, 2, p. 277 – *Trésor de la langue française*, atilf.fr).
 c. (Fr.) Le premier ministre libyen **sort indemne** de l’attaque de son convoi.
 d. (Sp.) Mi hermano **salió aprobado** en todas las materias.
 e. (Sp.) ¡La fiesta **salió** estupenda!
 f. (Sp.) **Salió fácilmente** y sin problema.

⁴ In Spanish, the verb *entrar* ‘enter’ has many uses as an aspectual verb, including the context in which is followed by an infinitive: *entrar a reinar* ‘begin to rule’ (www.rae.es, s.v. *entrar*(16)), but there are no contexts to illustrate the pattern with a nominal predication, designating a social ranking/profession, as in Romanian (cf. *a intra domn* ‘enter sovereign’).

4. CONTEXTS AND MEANINGS

In present-day Romanian, the class of copula verbs includes a subclass of units with a dynamic aspectual meaning, represented by the verb *a deveni* ‘become’ and, with much less occurrences, its synonyms, *a ieși*, *a intra*, etc., which function as copula verbs especially in the colloquial register. All the aforementioned verbs take property-denoting predications, so that the predicative function is only fulfilled by nouns denoting official ranks or subjective qualifications and by the categorizing interrogative pronoun *ce* ‘what’. The copula use (8a,b) should be distinguished from the intransitive motional use, in which cases they take adjectives or adjectival participles functioning as secondary predications (8c):

- (8) a. El **a ieșit/ intrat** profesor /inginer
 he AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE/enter.PPLE teacher / engineer
 într-o companie nou înființată
 in-a company newly founded
 ‘He **becomes** a teacher / an engineer in a new company’
 b. Ce **a ieșit** el?
 what AUX.PERF.3SG exit.PPLE he.NOM
 ‘What has he **become**?’
 c. El **iese** de la serviciu **fericit / obosit**
 he leave.PRES.3SG from work happy / tired
 ‘He leaves his office happy/tired’

The verbs analyzed in the present paper are verbs of **inherently directed motion** which may or may not take directional phrases, but are inherently oriented towards a delimiter, i.e. a Goal or a Source (see Ciama 2011, for the analysis of the verbs *a sosi* and *a ajunge* ‘arrive’; see also the analysis in Drăgan 2012). Aspectually, they denote telic events, i.e. events that have a natural endpoint, which may either be the (non-)specified achieved location (9a) or an overtly specified Goal (9b). The meaning of inherently directed motion verbs “includes a specification of the direction of motion even in the absence of an overt directional complement” (Levin 1993: 264), i.e. they are inherently associated with a Path – a sequence delimited by a starting point (the Source) and an endpoint (the Goal), be it concrete or abstract. The original semantic structure will be partially preserved in the new meanings developed by the verbs.

- (9) a. **A intrat** și și-a
 AUX.PERF.3SG enter.PPLE and CL.REFL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3SG
 dat jos haina.
 take.off.PPLE coat.DEF
 ‘She entered and took off her coat’
 b. **A intrat** în clasă și ne-a
 AUX.PERF.3SG enter.PPLE in classroom and CL.ACC.1PL=AUX.PERF.3SG
 salutat.
 greet.PPLE
 ‘She entered the classroom and greeted us’

The verbs of directed motion *a intra* ‘enter’ and *a ieși* ‘exit’ intrinsically involve a reference point, which may be lexicalized or remain unexpressed. Both verbs also imply a change of location of the entity performing the event, prior/subsequent to the action of entering/exiting itself, with respect to the given reference point: the verb *a intra* ‘enter’ expresses the approach of the reference point, which will be the Goal, whereas the verb *a ieși* ‘exit’ expresses remoteness with respect to the reference point, identified with the Source.

What happens in the transition from the motion meaning to the copula meaning is that the verbs will preserve components of the original semantic structure, but, as will be seen, they may switch from the Source meaning to the Goal meaning or may combine the two lexical components.

A intra ‘enter’

(i) The initial stage. The verb *a intra* ‘enter’ has a motion meaning (‘walk from outside inside’ achieved by [+/- animate] entities (10)), as opposed to *a ieși* ‘exit’, and it generally selects directional phrases, headed by various prepositions (*către* ‘towards’, *în* ‘in’, *la* ‘to’; (10a–c)). The initial stage also includes contexts in which the verb *intra* may convey meanings related to pervasion or infiltration (10d), inclusion (10e, ‘become a member; enrol’) or invasion (10f), all of them presupposing movement along a path and the transposition from one space to another.

- (10) a. După aceeaia nu vrea... **să între**
 after that not want.PRES.3SG SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.3SG
în cetate, ce lăcuia afară (Coresi, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 in fortress but live.IMPERF.3SG outside
 ‘After that he did not want to enter the fortress, he was living outside’
- b. Deci Pavelu **întră** către elu și se
 thus Paul enter.PS.3SG towards him and CL.REFL.3SG
 rugă (CV.1563-83: 98)
 pray.PS.3SG
 ‘So Paul approached him and prayed’
- c. E Pavel vruind **să între** întru gloată,
 and Paul want.GER SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.3SG in crowd
 nu-l lăsară el ucenicii lui (CV.1563–83: 10)
 not=CL.ACC.3SG let.PS.3PL him apprentices.DEF his
 ‘And when Paul wanted to enter the crowd, he was not allowed by his apprentices’
- d. Nu mă omorî, ci mai bine scoate-mi
 not CL.ACC.1SG kill.INF but more good take.out.IMP.2SG=CL.DAT.1SG
 stepul ce mi-a **intrat** în labă
 thorn which CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG pierce.PPLE in paw
 (Ispirescu, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 ‘Don’t kill me, you’d better take out the thorn that has pierced my paw’

- e. **A intra** în Academie (Șăineanu, în DLR)
 A.INF register in Academy
 ‘enrol in the Academy’
- f. **Intră** în Persia cu războiu (E. Văcărescu, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 enter.PRES.3PL in Persia with war
 ‘They are attacking Persia’

(ii) 2nd stage. The verb *a intra* ‘enter’ develops an inceptive meaning in prepositional contexts with abstract/postverbal nouns (11a–h). The transition implies two facts: (1) the 1st is that the concrete Path turns into an abstract Path (the space > time transfer); (2) the 2nd is that the contexts with the aspectual verb *intra* emphasize the Source lexical component, as the verb no longer denotes a momentary event delimited by the endpoint/achieved location (i.e. the Goal), but the starting point (i.e. a temporal Source) of a newly beginning event.

Most likely, the contexts that favour the semantic change are those with a *în* ‘in’ prepositional phrase and most frequently an abstract noun (11a–d), which are ambiguous between the locative meaning and the aspectual one.

- (11) a. Să ne nevoimă să **întrăm**
 SĂ.SUBJ CL.REFL.ACC.1PL strive.SUBJ.1PL SĂ.SUBJ enter.SUBJ.1PL
 în repaosulă acela (CC².1581: 4)
 in rest.DEF that
 ‘Let us strive to begin to rest’
- b. El **intră** în slujbă la împăratul
 he enter.PRES.3SG in duty at emperor.DEF
 (Ispirescu, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 ‘He begins to serve the emperor’
- c. Lipsești din ochii mei, că **întru** acuși
 leave.IMP.2SG from eyes my.PL because enter.PRES.1SG now
într-un păcat (Alecsandri, în DA, s. v. *intra*)
 in=a sin
 ‘Get lost from my eyes, or else I might sin’
- d. Acuma iaca în ce chicion **am** **întrat**
 now look in what bad.luck AUX.PERF.1PL enter.PPLE
 (Creangă, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 ‘Now look in what trouble I’ve got’
- e. **a intra** la prepus
 enter.INF to doubt(N)
 ‘begin to doubt about something’
- f. **a intra** în/la griji
 A.INF enter.INF in/to worries
 ‘begin to worry’

- g. **a intra** la gânduri
 A.INF enter.INF to thoughts
 ‘begin to worry/make worries’
- h. (fam.) **a intra** la o idee
 A.INF enter.INF to an idea
 ‘begin to think about something obsessively’
- (12) a. **Întrase** în grijă mare, să nu piardă Moldova
 enter.PLUPERF.3SG in worry big SĂ.SUBJ not lose Moldavia
 (Neculce, *apud* TDRG, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 ‘He had started to be very worried not to lose Moldavia’
- b. Numa de abia **intrasă** în vârstă de 15 ani
 just enter.PLUPERF.3SG in age of 15 years
 (Beldiman, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 ‘He had just turned 15’

(iii) The 3rd stage is represented by the verb *a intra* functioning as a copula verb in those contexts in which it selects nouns expressing official ranks of postverbal nouns (13b–e); the *become*-meaning of the verb *a intra* combines the Source and the Goal components of an abstract Path, as it denotes the starting point (the temporal Source) of a newly achieved condition (the Goal).

Our hypothesis is that the context with an adjectival predication (13a) is the one that legitimates the transition to the copula value, being ambiguous between a locative (*mi-ai intrat dragă* CL.DAT.1SG=have.2SG entered dear.F<*mi-ai intrat dragă în suflet* CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.2SG entered dear.F in soul ‘You’ve made your way into my soul’) and a copula *become*-meaning. While the pattern with adjectival predication (13a) is eliminated from the present-day language, the one with nominal predication (denoting official ranks) (13b–e) is preserved in spoken, informal language.

- (13) a. **Mi-ai intrat** **atâta de dragă**, încât
 CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.2SG enter.PPLE so dear so.that
 m-am hotărât să mi
 CL.REFL.ACC.1SG=AUX.PERF.1SG decide.PPLE SĂ.SUBJ CL.DAT.1SG
 te fac chiar noră (Reteganul, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 CL.ACC.2SG make.PRES.1SG even daughter.in.law
 ‘You became so dear to me that I’ve even decided for you to become my daughter-in-law’
- b. Murind și muma, **întră [epitrop]** bunul
 die.GER also mother.DEF enter administrator grandfather.DEF
 sau buna (Pravila 1814, în DA)
 or grandmother.DEF
 ‘When the mother dies, the grandfather of the grandmothers becomes the administrator’
- c. căci **întră** **chezaș** (FD.1592–604: 476¹)
 because enter.PRES.3SG guarantor
 ‘For he becomes the guarantor’

- d. Toată pricina iaste că **au** **întrat** spătarul
 all trouble is that AUX.PERF.3SG enter.PPLE sword bearer.DEF
 Cuza **cumpărător** (Uricariul, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 Cuza buyer
 ‘The whole trouble is because Cuza came to be the buyer’
- e. **Rob** la Tătari **întrare-aș**, numai
 slave to Tartars enter-*RE*.INF=AUX.COND.1SG just
 să-i pot dăruii vederile
 SĂ.SUBJ=CL.DAT.3SG can offer.INF sights.DEF
 (*Contemporanul*, în DA, s.v. *intra*)
 ‘I would become the Tartars’ servant just to give him his sight back’

A ieși ‘exit’

(i) 1st stage. The primary meaning of the verb *a ieși* ‘exit’ is that of leaving a space by either a concrete or an abstract entity. It enters constructions with *din//la/în*-locative prepositional phrases (indicating the Source or the Goal) or deictic adverbs (*afară* ‘outside’, *înainte* ‘in front’). Depending on the adjacent preposition, it can express the Source (starting point) of the change of location event (*Am ieșit din casă ca să merg la cumpărături* ‘I left the house to go shopping’) or the Goal (the endpoint) of the change on location event (*Am ieșit în parc ca să ne relaxăm* ‘We went out in the park to relax’).

- (14) a. **Ieșam** seara în ulița mare
 go.out.IMPERF.1PL evening.DEF in lane.DEF big
 (C. Negruzzi, în DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 ‘In the evening we went out in the main street’
- b. Aburi groși **ieșeau** din el (C. Negruzzi, în DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 steams thick come.out.IMPERF.3PL from it
 ‘Thick vapours came out of it’
- c. **Eșind** sufletul de la trup, îi **es înainte...**
 come.out.GER soul.DEF from body CL.DAT.3SG come.in.front
 draci
 devils
 (Dosoftei, V.S., în DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 ‘When the soul leaves the body, devils come before it’
- d. **Eși** veste d’in în toată jidovimea
 come.out.PS.3SG news about=him in all Jewish.people.DEF
 (Varlaam, C., în DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 ‘The news got to all the Jewish people’
- e. i le-au **ieșit** răspunsu de la
 and CL.DAT.3PL=AUX.PERF.3SG come.PPLE answer from
 împărăție să margă boierii toți la
 empire SĂ.SUBJ go.SUBJ.3PL boyars.DEF all to
 Poartă (Neculce, în DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 Constantinople
 ‘The emperor has sent an order for all the boyars to go to Constantinople’

(ii) 2nd stage. The verba *ieși* develops aspectual uses (inceptive/terminative or both at the same time) in those contexts in which it selects prepositional phrases containing abstract nouns which denote actions. Aspectual *a ieși* is particularly interesting, as depending on the prepositional phrase it takes, it lexicalizes different meanings. With a *la/in*-prepositional phrase (15a), *a ieși* overlaps the endpoint of the preceding Path, before achieving the Goal, with the starting point of a newly beginning Path, after achieving the Goal (the new condition or function). With a *din*-prepositional phrase (15b), *a ieși* expresses the end point of an action in which the entity is already involved, without lexicalizing any Goal; in this case, it expresses a terminative value.

Given the fact that the pattern shares the prepositions (*la/din*) with the locative one, the aspectual value develops alongside the locative one, with the first being prominent.

- (15) a. a **ieși** la domnie (in DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 A.INF come.out.INF to reign
 ‘to become an emperor’
 b. a **ieși** din slujba spânului (Creangă, in DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 A.INF end.up.INF from service.DEF bold.man.DEF.GEN
 ‘to leave the service of the bold man’

(iii) 3rd stage. With adjectival predications, *a ieși* develops the copula value, which co-exists with the aspectual one, unambiguously terminative (16). Compared to the verb *intra*, which expresses a volitional event of becoming, the verb *a ieși* rather denotes a non-volitional (externally triggered) state of becoming, which may explain why the verb *a ieși* mostly selects adjectival predications as complements, whereas the verb *a intra* generally selects nouns (compare *a ieșit profesor* ‘He became a teacher’ to *A ieșit bolnav după toată campania* ‘He ended up very tired because of the campaign’).

- (16) a. Și-l iertă împăratul, și-l
 and=CL.ACC.M.3SG forgive.PS.3SG emperor.DEF.NOM and=CL.ACC.M.3SG
 puse capitan pre 1.000, și-l boieri
 put.PS.3SG captain over 1000 and=CL.ACC.M.3SG make.boyar.PS.3SG
 și **ieși** mare. (A.1620: 64^r)
 and become.PS.3SG big
 ‘And the emperor forgave him and gave him command over 1000 men and raised him to the title of boyard and he became great’
 b. Cum să facă să iasă și
 how SĂ.SUBJ do.SUBJ.3SG SĂ.SUBJ end.up.SUBJ.3SG also
 de astă dată biruitoare? (Ispirescu, in DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 of this time winner
 ‘How should she act in order to become a winner again?’
 c. Vreo cinci sute de mioare ce ies
 around five hundred of sheep.PL which become.PRES.3PL

vara fătătoare (Teodorescu, in DA, s.v. *ieși*)
 summer.DEF pregnant.F.PL
 ‘Around five hundred sheep which are lambing in the summer’
 d. cine **va** **ieși** vinovat (DÎ.1600: XLVIII)
 who AUX.FUT.3SG turn.out.INF guilty
 ‘who will be found guilty’
 e. Mitropolitul Theofan **n-ar** **fi** **ieșit**
 bishop.DEF Theophan not=AUX.COND.3SG be.INF end.up.PPLE
întreg de dânsul (ULM.~1725: 113^v)
 entire from him
 ‘Bishop Theophan wouldn’t have made it out in one piece/alive’

We did not find a wide variety of situations in the corpus investigated, so we could not isolate a switchcontext from the aspectual to the copular value. However, we have come across a recurrent pattern with nouns expressing official ranks (such as *domn*), as shown in (17):

- (17) Și i-au rămas lui Neculai-vodă 3
 and CL.DAT.3SG=AUX.PERF.3PL remain.PPLE LUI Neculai-voivode three
 fii, cari mai pe urmă 2 **au** **ieșit**
 sons who more afterwards two AUX.PERF.3PL result.PPLE
domni (NL.1750-66: 309)
 emperors
 ‘And Voivode Neculai was left with 3 sons, which became emperors afterwards’

There is one important thing to be noticed: in nominal contexts, there is an overlap between the inceptive and the terminative meaning, unlike adjectival contexts, in which the meaning is unambiguously terminative.

Both the adjectival (16) and the nominal patterns (17) survive in the present-day language (18a–c,e). Modern Romanian adds the adverbial pattern to the other two structures, the adjectival and the nominal (18d). Similarly to the old language, the pattern with the verb *ieși* and an adjectival predication (or an equivalent prepositional phrase) is limited to a few adjectives which can occur as predications of *ieși* (18a–c), whereas the pattern with a functional name admits a wide range of titles and professions (18e).

- (18) a. **a** **ieșit** învingătoare
 AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE winner
 ‘She became the winner’
 b. **a** **ieșit** verde/ roșie
 AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE green/ red
 ‘it ended up green/red’
 c. **a** **ieșit** vinovat
 AUX.PERF.3SG result.PPLE guilty
 ‘he was found guilty’

d. În cele	din urmă, totul	a	ieșit	<u>mai</u>
in CEL.F.PL	from end everything	AUX.PERF.3SG	result.PPLE	more
<u>bine</u>	<u>decât</u>	<u>ne</u>	<u>așteptam/</u>	<u>rău/</u>
good	than	CL.REFL.ACC.1PL	expect.IMPERF.1PL/	bad/
‘In the end, everything turned out better than expected/bad/terrible’				
d. a	ieșit („a terminat/a încheiat”)	<u>printre</u>	<u>primii</u>	
AUX.PERF.3SG	result.PPLE	among	first.the.M.PL	
‘he ended up among the first’				
e. a	ieșit	<u>profesor/doctor/</u>	<u>deputat/</u>	<u>președinte</u>
AUX.PERF.3SG	result.PPLE	teacher/ doctor/	deputy/	president
‘he became a teacher/doctor/deputy/president’				

5. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The starting point of our analysis was the observation that, as also happens with analogous constructions in other Romance languages, the Romanian structures containing the verbs *a intra* and *a ieși* undergo mechanisms of semantic and syntactic change.

Based on the contexts identified in the corpus, we aimed to see to which extent the transfer undergone by the three originally motion verbs can be explained by Hopper’s system (1991), consisting of several principles. According to the **layering principle**, the three verbs are polysemous and they are subject to a semantic change (see examples (10), (14) above). This is how the emergence of new layers (meanings) can be explained, which does not imply that the older layers/meanings disappear. According to the **divergence principle**, a lexical form can undergo grammaticalization to a morpheme or a marker of a grammatical category. This is how aspectual uses can be explained (see examples (11), (15) above). The **specialization principle** implies that a grammaticalization process (in a restricted sense) affects a certain use of a lexical unit; at this point, we indicated the key patterns that we’ve considered relevant for the changes. Finally, according to the **persistence principle**, the verbs that developed (pseudo)copula uses retain some components of the original lexical meaning (see examples (13), (16) above).

As shown above, there is evidence that the three verbs do not undergo a grammaticalization process, so for each of the verbs, we have tried to isolate a switch context (or a *bridging context*), in which the unit under scrutiny displayed the tendency towards a new meaning, i.e. a *target meaning*.

Even in the final stage, in which the verbs *a intra* and *a ieși* function as (pseudo)copular verbs, there is a quite transparent connection to their primary motion meaning, conceived either as a concrete or as an abstract relation.

The mechanism that can explain, at least partially, the development of the motion verbs *a intra* and *a ieși* is **reanalysis**, as defined by Harris, Campbell (1995: 50) – “a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any modification of its surface manifestation”.

To sum up:

- The two inherently directed motion verbs *a intra* ‘enter’ and *a ieși* ‘exit’ came to express aspectual values followed by copula/“attributive” values.

- The structures in which the verbs developed pure aspectual meanings are not fully preserved in the present-day language (whereas the verb *intra* still functions as an aspectual verb in the present-day language, the verb *ieși* is no longer used in contexts with an aspectual value), whereas the copular ones both for *a intra* and *a ieși* are maintained especially in the spoken language.

- For the aspectual values, the verbs are undergoing the space > time transfer, in the sense that the physical Path inherently incorporated by directed motion verbs is reinterpreted as an abstract Path with a beginning point and an endpoint. The switch context generally includes a *în/la*-prepositional phrase (prepositions like *în* and *la* can express both locative and temporal meanings) and an abstract noun.

- Depending on the verb, they can express an inceptive stage, a terminative stage or can combine two stages, corresponding to two different Paths.

- For the copula values, we identified different contexts which favoured the transition, be it a pattern with adjectives (*a intra dragă* ‘become dear’ → *a intra student* ‘become a student’) or with nominals – functions/professions – (*a ieși la domnie /a ieși domn* ‘become an emperor’).

- The two verbs developed both aspectual and copula uses, so they evolved in two directions, which at some point merged, with one being prominent over the other.

REFERENCES

- Bybee, J., R. Perkins, W. Pagliuca, 1994, *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press.
- Ciama, A., 2011, “Analyse comparative des verbes de déplacement allatifs: roum. *aajunge* / *a sosi* et leur équivalent port. *chegar*”, *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, LVI, 2, 137–157.
- Drăgan, R., 2012, *Aspects of lexical structure. Verbs in locative constructions in English and Romanian*, București, Editura Universității din București.
- GALR 2008 – *Gramatica limbii române*, coord. V. Guțu Romalo, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- GBLR – *Gramatica de bază a limbii române*, coord. G. Pană Dindelegan, București, Univers Enciclopedic.
- GR 2013 – *The Grammar of Romanian*, ed. G. Pană Dindelegan, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Harris, A.C., L. Campbell, 1995, *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, B., 2002, “On the role of context in grammaticalization”, in I. Wischer, G. Diewald (eds), *New reflections on grammaticalization*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Benjamins, 83–101.
- Heine, B., T. Kuteva, 2002, *The World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, P. J., 1991, “On some principles of grammaticalization”, in P. J. Traugott, B. Heine (eds), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, John Benjamins, 17–35.
- Lauwers, P., E. Tobback, 2010, “Les verbes attributifs : inventaire(s) et statut(s)”, *Langages*, 3, 79–113.
- Lauwers, P., E. Tobback, 2013, “Copularization processes in French. Constructional intertwining, lexical attraction, and other dangerous things”, *Folia Linguistica Historica* 34, 1–33.
- Levin, Beth, 1995, *English verb classes and alternations. A preliminary investigation*, Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press.

- Paz Afonso, Ana (2014): *Semántica cognitiva e historia del léxico: evolución de los verbos «entrar» y «salir» (ss. XIII–XV)*, Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, available at <http://hdl.handle.net/10803/283941>.
- Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, 23.^a ed., [versión 23.3 en línea], available at <<https://dle.rae.es>> [20.09.2020].
- SOR 2016 – *The Syntax of Old Romanian*, ed. G. Pană Dindelegan, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Sandfeld, K., H. Olsen, 1962, *Syntaxe roumaine*, III, Copenhagen, Munksgaard.
- Van Peteghem, M., 1991, *Les phrases copulatives dans les langues romanes*, Wilhelmsfeld, Gottfried Egert.
- Van Wettere, N., 2018, *Copularité et productivité. Une analyse contrastive des verbes attributifs issus de verbes de mouvement en français et en néerlandais* (thèse de doctorat), Université de Gent, available at <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8585791/file/8585792.pdf>.