

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

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

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

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

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

The process of switching from one conjugation to another is frequent from as early as vulgar Latin. Grammars experience changes such as: *augĕre* > *augĕre*; *ardĕre* > *ardĕre*; *fervĕre* > *fervĕre*; *mulgĕre* > *mulgĕre*; *respondĕre* > *respondĕre*; *sorbĕre* > *sorbĕre*; *torquĕre* > *torquĕre*; *tondĕre* > *tondĕre* (Densusianu 1961: 103,

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

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ILR 1969: 75, Ivănescu 1980: 160). In isolated cases, reverse switches from the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation to the 3<sup>rd</sup> one occur as well: *cadĕre* > *cadĕre*, *capĕre* > *capĕre* (Densusianu 1961: 104).

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

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

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

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> : <b>-ă-</b> <i>cantăre</i> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> : <b>-ĕ-</b> <i>lĕgere</i>                 |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> : <b>-ĕ-</b> <i>vidĕre</i>  | 4 <sup>th</sup> : <b>-ĭ-</b> <i>audĭre</i> (ILR 1969: 75). |

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

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

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

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

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

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

Additionally, 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation inchoative verbs ending in *-ēscere* change their theme vowel to *-iscere* and switch to the 4<sup>th</sup> conjugation: *\*lucīscō*, *\*florīscō*<sup>6</sup>.

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

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

| No. | LATIN                       | DACO-ROMANIAN               |                             | AROMANIAN                   |  |                             |  |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
|     | 3 <sup>rd</sup> conjugation | 3 <sup>rd</sup> conjugation | 2 <sup>nd</sup> conjugation | 3 <sup>rd</sup> conjugation |  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> conjugation |  |
|     |                             |                             |                             | infinitive                  | pres. ind.,<br>2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. | infinitive                  | pres. ind.,<br>2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. Pl. |
| 1.  | (in)figēre                  | a înfige                    | -                           | (n)hiḍiri                   | (n)hiḍiṭ                                 | (n)hiḍeári                  | (n)hiḍeṭ                                 |
| 2.  | *ardēre                     | a arde                      | -                           | árdiri                      | árdiṭ                                    | ardeári                     | ardeṭ                                    |
| 3.  | *disvestēre<<br>dis-vestire | a dezveaște                 | -                           | dizveáštiri                 | dizveáštiṭ                               | dizvišteári                 | dizvišteṭ                                |
| 4.  | *ex-battēre                 | a (se) zbate                | a zbătea (inv.<br>reg.) DLR | zbátiri                     | zbátiṭ                                   | zbăteári                    | zbăteṭ                                   |
| 5.  | *excotēre                   | a scoate                    | -                           | scoátiri                    | scoátiṭ                                  | scuteári                    | scuteṭ                                   |

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Verbs marked with (\*) in the table do not appear in Th. Capidan’s list.

|     |                      |                        |                       |             |            |              |            |
|-----|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| 6.  | *ex-mulgère          | a zmulge               |                       | zmúlđiri    | zmúlđiț    | zmulđeári    | zmulđzét   |
| 7.  | *ex-tragère          | a trage                | -                     | astráđiri   | astráđiț   | astráđeári   | astráđét   |
| 8.  | *ex-trajicère        | a întrece              | -                     | astreáđiri  | astreáđiț  | astrițeári   | astrițét   |
| 9.  | *extra-pungère       | a străpunge            | -                     | străpúnđiri | străpúnđiț | străpundeári | străpundét |
| 10. | *exvomère            | a voma                 | -                     | (z)voámiri  | (z)voámiț  | (z)vumeári   | (z)vumét   |
| 11. | *investère<investire | a înveaște             | -                     | nveáștiri   | nveáștiț   | nvișteári    | nviștét    |
| 12. | *ridère              | a râde                 | -                     | aráđiri     | aráđiț     | aráđeári     | aráđét     |
| 13. | *tragère<trahere     | a trage                | -                     | tráđziri    | tráđiț     | tráđeári     | tráđét     |
| 14. | *vendère<br>vínđu    | a vinde                | -                     | vínđiri     | vínđiț     | vindeári     | vindé      |
| 15. | abbatère             | a abate                | -                     | abátiri     | abátiț     | abăteári     | abătét     |
| 16. | adjūngère            | a ajunge               | -                     | ađúnđiri    | ađúnđiț    | ađundeári    | ađundét    |
| 17. | adūcère              | a aduce                | -                     | adúťiri     | adúťiț     | aduțeári     | aduțét     |
| 18. | alēgère              | a alege                | -                     | aleáđiri    | aleáđiț    | aliđeári     | aliđzét    |
| 19. | apponě               | a apune                | -                     | apúniri     | apúniț     | apuneári     | apunét     |
| 20. | apprēndère           | a aprinde              | -                     | aprinđiri   | aprinđiț   | aprindeári   | aprinđét   |
| 21. | cingère              | a încinge              | -                     | țeánđiri    | ținđiț     | țineári      | ținđét     |
| 22. | cocère               | a coace                | -                     | coáťiri     | coáťiț     | cuțeári      | cuțét      |
| 23. | collegère            | a culege               | -                     | culeáđiri   | culeáđiț   | culiđeári    | culiđét    |
| 24. | cosère               | a coase                | -                     | coásiri     | coásiț     | cuseári      | cusét      |
| 25. | dicère               | a zice                 | -                     | đáťiri      | đáťiț      | đâteári      | đătét      |
| 26. | dirigère             | a drege                | -                     | ndreáđiri   | ndreáđiț   | ndriđeári    | ndriđét    |
| 27. | discludère           | a deschide             | -                     | dișcl'íđiri | dișcl'íđiț | dișcl'ideári | dișcl'idét |
| 28. | disfacère            | a desface              | -                     | disfáťiri   | disfáťiț   | disfățeári   | disfătét   |
| 29. | dis-fingère          | a desface<br>(aluatul) | -                     | disfinđiri  | disfinđiț  | disfinđeári  | disfinđét  |
| 30. | distringère          | a                      | -                     | distrinđiri | distrinđiț | distrinđeári | distrinđét |
| 31. | ducère               | a duce                 | -                     | dúťiri      | dúťiț      | duțeári      | duțét      |
| 32. | ex-per-lingère       | a prelinge             | -                     | sprilinđiri | sprilinđiț | sprilindeári | sprilindét |
| 33. | exponère             | a spune                | a spune<br>(înv.) DLR | spúniri     | spúniț     | spuneári     | spunét     |
| 34. | ex-ponère            | a spune                | a spune<br>DLR        | aspúniri    | aspúniț    | aspuneári    | aspunét    |
| 35. | extergère            | a șterge               | -                     | așteárđiri  | așteárđiț  | aștirđeári   | aștirđét   |
| 36. | extinguère           | a stinge               | -                     | astinđiri   | astinđiț   | astinđeári   | astinđét   |
| 37. | facère               | a face                 | -                     | fáťiri      | fáťiț      | fățeári      | fătét      |
| 38. | fervère              | a fierbe               | -                     | heárberi    | heárbiț    | hirbeári     | hirbét     |
| 39. | frangère             | a frânge               | -                     | frándziri   | Frándziț   | frânđeári    | frândét    |
| 40. | frigère              | a frige                | -                     | fríđiri     | friđiț     | friđeári     | friđét     |
| 41. | gemère (*)           | a geme                 | -                     | đeámiri     | đeámiț     | đimeári      | đimét      |
| 42. | în-cernère           | a cerne                | -                     | nțeárniri   | nțeárniț   | nțineári     | nțineț     |
| 43. | includère            | a închide              | -                     | ncl'íđiri   | ncl'íđiț   | ncl'ideári   | ncl'idét   |

|     |                     |           |             |            |           |            |          |
|-----|---------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| 44. | mergère             | a merge   | -           | neáđiri    | neáđiđ    | niđeári    | niđeđ    |
| 45. | mulgère             | a mulge   | -           | múlđiri    | múlđiđ    | mulđeári   | mulđzét  |
| 46. | nascère             | a naşte   | -           | nástiri    | nástiđ    | năşteári   | năşeđ    |
| 47. | pascère             | a paşte   | -           | pástiri    | pástiđ    | păşteári   | păşteđ   |
| 48. | perdère             | a pierde  | -           | kárdiri    | kárdiđ    | kirdeári   | kirdéđ   |
| 49. | per-trajicère       | a petrece | -           | pitreáđiri | pitreáđiđ | pitriđeári | pitriđeđ |
| 50. | pingère             | a împinge | -           | pínđiri    | pínđiđ    | pinđeári   | pinđeđ   |
| 51. | plangère            | a plânge  | -           | plândiri   | Plândiđ   | plânđeári  | plândéđ  |
| 52. | ponère              | a pune    | -           | púniri     | puniđ     | puneári    | punéđ    |
| 53. | prehendère          | a prinde  | -           | príndiri   | príndiđ   | prinđeári  | príndéđ  |
| 54. | rodère              | a roade   | -           | aróadiri   | aróadiđ   | arudeári   | arudéđ   |
| 55. | rumpère             | a rupe    | -           | arúpiri    | arúpiđ    | arupeári   | arupéđ   |
| 56. | sorbère             | a sorbi   | -           | soárg'iri  | soárg'iđ  | surg'ári   | surg'íđ  |
| 57. | spargere            | a sparge  | -           | spárđiri   | spárdiđ   | spârđeári  | spârdéđ  |
| 58. | stingère            | a stinge  | -           | stínđiri   | stínđiđ   | stinđeári  | stíndéđ  |
| 59. | stringère           | a strânge | -           | strínđiri  | strínđiđ  | strinđeári | stríndéđ |
| 60. | sugère              | a suge    | -           | súđiri     | Súđiđ     | suđeári    | suđeđ    |
| 61. | tendère             | a întinde | -           | tíndiri    | tíndiđ    | tinđeári   | tíndéđ   |
| 62. | tondère<<br>tondère | a tunde   | -           | túndiri    | túndiđ    | tundeári   | tundéđ   |
| 63. | torquère            | a toarce  | -           | toártiri   | toártiđ   | turđeári   | turtéđ   |
| 64. | traicère            | a trece   | -           | treáđiri   | treáđiđ   | triđeári   | triđeđ   |
| 65. | ungère              | a unge    | a ungea DLR | aúnđiri    | aúnđiđ    | aunđeári   | aunđeđ   |
| 66. | vincère             | a învinge | -           | învinđiri  | învinđiđ  | învinđeári | învinđeđ |

Other fluctuations in verb conjugations are noticed.

2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation → 3<sup>rd</sup> conjugation:

| No. | LATIN                       | DACO-ROMANIAN               |                                | AROMANIAN                   |  |                             |  |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
|     | 2 <sup>nd</sup> conjugation | 3 <sup>rd</sup> conjugation | 2 <sup>nd</sup> conjugation    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> conjugation |  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> conjugation |  |
|     |                             |                             |                                | infinitive                  | pres. ind.,<br>2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. | infinitive                  | pres. ind.,<br>2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. |
| 1.  | jacère                      | -                           | a zăcea                        | zâđeári                     | zâđeđ <sup>8</sup>                       | zâđiri                      | zâđiđ                                    |
| 2.  | tenère                      | a ține                      | a ținea (inv.)<br>DLR          | țâneári                     | țânéđ                                    | țâniri                      | țâniđ                                    |
| 3.  | *umplère <sup>9</sup>       | a umple                     | a umplea<br>(inv. reg.)<br>DLR | umpleári                    | umpléđ                                   | úmpliri                     | úmpliđ                                   |

<sup>8</sup> It is confused with *dzâđeđ* 'zăceți'.

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

4<sup>th</sup> conjugation → 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation:

| No. | LATIN      | DACO-ROMANIAN               |                             | AROMANIAN                   |                                       |                             |                                       |
|-----|------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|     |            | 1 <sup>st</sup> conjugation | 4 <sup>th</sup> conjugation | 4 <sup>th</sup> conjugation |                                       | 1 <sup>st</sup> conjugation |                                       |
|     |            |                             |                             | infinitive                  | pres. ind., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. | infinitive                  | pres. ind., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. |
| 1.  | *ammortire | -                           | a amorți                    | amurțări                    | amurțâț                               | amurțari                    | amurțâț                               |
| 2.  | amarire    | -                           | a amărî                     | amărări                     | amărâț                                | amărari                     | amărâț                                |
| 3   | grunire    | -                           | a grohăi                    | gurnîri                     | gurnîț                                | gurnári                     | gurnâț                                |
| 4   | tusire     | -                           | a tuși                      | tușiri                      | tușiț                                 | tușari                      | tușâț                                 |

4<sup>th</sup> conjugation → 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation:

| No. | LATIN     | DACO-ROMANIAN               |                             | AROMANIAN                   |                                       |                             |                                       |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|     |           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> conjugation | 4 <sup>th</sup> conjugation | 4 <sup>th</sup> conjugation |                                       | 2 <sup>nd</sup> conjugation |                                       |
|     |           |                             |                             | infinitive                  | pres. ind., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. | infinitive                  | pres. ind., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. |
| 1.  | in-salire | -                           | a sări                      | ansăriri                    | ansărîț                               | ansăreări                   | ansărêț                               |
| 3.  | scire     | -                           | a ști                       | ștîri                       | știț                                  | șteări                      | știêț                                 |
| 2.  | venire    | -                           | a veni                      | vinîri                      | vinîț                                 | vineări                     | vinêț                                 |

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

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

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

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

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

Romanian), *aștérnu* < lat. *asterněre* (in Aromanian), *pitrúndu* < lat. *pertunděre* (in Aromanian).

b) III, IV, II: *fug<sup>u</sup>* < lat. *fugire* (în aromână)

c) IV, III, II: *arăkésu* < lat. *\*rapire*, (*arap<sup>u</sup>*) < lat. *\*rapire* (în aromână).

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

Some of these verbs exhibit in Aromanian a mixed conjugation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*a ține*: neg. imper. 5 pers. sg. and (arch.): *nu țineáreți*; for this verb, DLR also records 2<sup>nd</sup> conj. infinitive form: *țineá* (arch.), and in var. *țineá*, vb. II.

Other verbs only show fluctuating forms in the infinitive:

*a prinde*: reg. and *a prindeá* (vb. II); arch. *a prinde* (3<sup>rd</sup> conj.)

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

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

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

*a trage*: and (reg.) *trágeá*, vb. II

*a umple*: and: *umpleá*, vb. II (arch. and pop.), *imple*, vb. III, *impleá*, vb. II, (reg.) *imple*, vb. III.

*a zăceá*: and: *záce*, vb. III, *jăceá*, vb. II.

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

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

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

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

(b) in certain cases, the etymological conjugation forms survive<sup>12</sup>:

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Sar A*, inquiry notes.

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

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

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

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

**(a) Forms without inflectional suffixes:**

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

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

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

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

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

**(b) Forms with inflectional suffixes:**

*1<sup>st</sup> conjugation: a se derepta: dereptează-se* (CV, 54 v/2-3, CV, 61 r/12-13).

*4<sup>th</sup> conjugation: a (se) necurăți: se necurățească* (CV, 86 v/3); *te curățește* (CV, 15 v/12-13).

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

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

**A.1. Variation of the present tense root**

For the verb *a înconjura*, which exhibited frequent fluctuations in the past (Pană Dindelegan 1987: 21), the forms recommended by DOOM<sup>2</sup> are: pres. ind. 1 sg. *înconjor*, 3 *înconjoară* (DOOM<sup>1</sup> allowed for pres. ind. 1 sg. the forma *înconjur* as well).

**A.2. Verb fluctuation**

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

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

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Sar A* (inquiry notes).

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

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

We also notice switches from one conjugation to another (between classes in *-i* and in *-a*) in the case of the verbs: *a descotoșmăna* (colloquial), pres. ind. 3 *descotoșmănează* (DOOM<sup>1</sup> *a descotoșmăni*, pres. ind. 3 *descotoșmănesc*); regarding the double *a împături* / *a împătura* (DOOM<sup>1</sup>), DOOM<sup>2</sup> proposes a single form *a împături*; and in the case of the verb *a scrijeli* (DOOM<sup>2</sup>) a reduction of the forms occurred (DOOM<sup>1</sup> *a scrijeli* / *a scrijela*); on the other hand, for *a încăpuși* (colloquial) in DOOM<sup>1</sup> (pres. ind. 3 *încăpușește*), DOOM<sup>2</sup> allows the forms in free variation *încăpușa* / *încăpuși*; for *a încâina* (DOOM<sup>1</sup>), DOOM<sup>2</sup> allows the double *a (se) încâina* / *încâini* (obsolete, colloquial).

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