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 2nd conjugation extended (verbs with stressed theme vowel): *véndere* > Sp., Pg. *vender*; *cúrere* > Sp., Pg. *correr*; in Catalan 3rd conjugation verbs assimilated the 2nd conjugation ones, a phenomenon occurring in Sardinian as well: Catal. *ventre*, Srd. *biere*; Additionally, in Spanish and Portuguese the 4th conjugation also becomes strong, assimilating 3rd 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 3rd conjugation verbs switched to the 2nd conjugation[3].

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

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[3] 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 2nd conjugation to the 3rd one occur as well: *cadĕre* > *cadēre, capĕre* > *capēre* (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 2nd person plural inflectional suffix, Saramandu shows that "in some sub-dialects there is a tendency for infinitive inflectional suffixes to be reduced to two, [**-á**] and [**-éa**], and similarly with the imperfect indicative, and sliding of 3rd and 4th conjugation verbs to 1st and 2nd 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 **-eári**[4] suffix, we consider the present tense indicative 2nd 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 3rd 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:

1st: **-á-** *cantáre* 2nd: **-ĕ-** *légere*

3rd: **-é-** *vidére* 4th: **-í-** *audíre* (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"[5],

[4] Capidan (1932: 433) considers the infinitive inflectional suffix **-eári** as "a mere substitution in verb ending of the nominal infinitive".

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

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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 2nd and 3rd conjugation verbs, increased by similarities among pre-inflectional vowels, with the 3rd 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 2nd conjugation verbs to the 4th conjugation: *albēre >*albīre, frondēre > *frondīre* (Densusianu 1961: 104, Graur 1962: 157, ILR 1969: 76).

Additionally, 2nd conjugation inchoative verbs ending in **-ēscere** change their theme vowel to **-īscere** and switch to the 4th conjugation: **lucīsco, *florīsco*[6].

A separate category of 3rd conjugation verbs with the theme ending in **ĭ** or **ĕ** switched to the 4th conjugation*: fugĕre > fugire, petĕre > 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 2nd person plural form, its equivalent form in Daco-Romanian and, additionally, the Latin etymon (Nevaci 2003: 137)[7]:

	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
No.	3rd conjugation	3rd conjugation	2nd conjugation	3rd conjugation		2nd conjugation	
				infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. Pl.
1.	(in)figĕre	a înfige	-	(n)hiḍiri	(n)hiḍiț	(n)hiḍeári	(n)hiḍéț
2.	*ardĕre	a arde	-	ardíri	árdiț	ardeári	ardéț
3.	*disvestĕre< dis-vestire	a dezveaşte	-	dizveáştiri	dizveáştiț	dizvişteári	dizvištéț
4.	*ex-battĕre	a (se) zbate	a zbătea (înv. reg.) DLR	zbátiri	zbátiț	zbăteári	zbătéț
5.	*excotĕre	a scoate	-	scoátiri	scoátiț	scuteári	scutéț

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

[6] Cf. Densusianu (1961: 105-106); Ivănescu (1980: 160): "the inchoative meaning survived in some (*înfloresc*), but disappeared in others (*lucesc, urăsc*); Brâncuş (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.

[7] Verbs marked with (*) in the table do not appear in Th. Capidan's list.

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6.	*ex-mulgĕre	a zmulge		zmúlḑiri	zmúlḑiț	zmulḑeári	zmulḑzéț
7.	*ex-tragĕre	a trage	-	astráḑiri	astráḑiț	astrăḑeári	astrăḑéț
8.	*ex-trajicĕre	a întrece	-	astreáțiri	astreáțiț	astriț eári	astriț éț
9.	*extra-pungĕre	a străpunge	-	străpúnḑiri	străpúnḑiț	străpunḑeári	străpunḑéț
10.	*exvomĕre	a voma	-	(z)voámiri	(z)voámiț	(z)vumeári	(z)vuméț
11.	*investĕre< investire	a înveaşte	-	nveáştiri	nveáştiț	nviș teári	nviș téț
12.	*ridĕre	a râde	-	arấdiri	arấdiț	arâdeári	arâdéț
13.	*tragĕre<trahere	a trage	-	trádziri	tráḑiț	trăḑeári	trăḑéț
14.	*vendĕre víndu	a vinde	-	víndiri	víndiț	vindeári	vindé
15.	abbatĕre	a abate	-	abátiri	abátiț	abăteári	abătéț
16.	adjūngĕre	a ajunge	-	aǧúnḑiri	aǧúnḑiț	aǧunḑeári	aǧunḑéț
17.	adūcĕre	a aduce	-	adúțiri	adúțiț	aduț eári	aduț éț
18.	alēgĕre	a alege	-	aleáḑiri	aleáḑiț	aliḑeári	aliḑzéț
19.	apponĕ	a apune	-	apúniri	apúniț	apuneári	apunéț
20.	apprēndĕre	a aprinde	-	apríndiri	apríndiț	aprindeári	aprindéț
21.	cingĕre	a încinge	-	ț eánḑiri	ț inḑiț	ț inḑeári	ț inḑéț
22.	cocĕre	a coace	-	coáțiri	coáțiț	cuț eári	cuț éț
23.	collegĕre	a culege	-	culeáḑiri	culeáḑiț	culiḑeári	culiḑéț
24.	cosĕre	a coase	-	coásiri	coásiț	cuseári	cuséț
25.	dicĕre	a zice	-	ḑấțiri	ḑâțiț	ḑâț eári	ḑâț éț
26.	dirigĕre	a drege	-	ndreáḑiri	ndreáḑiț	ndriḑeári	ndriḑéț
27.	discludĕre	a deschide	-	dișcl'ídiri	dișcl'ídiț	dișcl'ideári	dișcl'idéț
28.	disfacĕre	a desface	-	disfățiri	disfățiț	disfăț eári	disfăț éț
29.	dis-fingĕre	a desface (aluatul)	-	disfínḑiri	disfínḑiț	disfinḑeári	disfinḑéț
30.	distringĕre	a	-	distrínḑiri	distrínḑiț	distrinḑeári	distrinḑéț
31.	ducĕre	a duce	-	dúțiri	dúțiț	duț eári	duț éț
32.	ex-per-lingĕre	a prelinge	-	sprilínḑiri	sprilínḑiț	sprilinḑeári	sprilinḑéț
33.	exponĕre	a spune	a spunea (înv.) DLR	spúniri	spúniț	spuneári	spunéț
34.	ex-ponĕre	a spune	a spunea DLR	aspúniri	aspúniț	aspuneári	aspunéț
35.	extergĕre	a şterge	-	aşteárḑiri	aşteárḑiț	aştirḑeári	aştirḑéț
36.	extinguĕre	a stinge	-	astínḑiri	astínḑiț	astinḑeári	astinḑéț
37.	facĕre	a face	-	fățiri	fățiț	făț eári	făț éț
38.	fervĕre	a fierbe	-	heárbiri	heárbiț	hirbeári	hirbéț
39.	frangĕre	a frânge	-	frándziri	Frándziț	frânḑeári	frânḑéț
40.	frigĕre	a frige	-	fríḑiri	friḑiț	friḑeári	friḑéț
41.	gemĕre (*)	a geme	-	ḑeámiri	ḑeámiț	ḑimeári	ḑiméț
42.	in-cernĕre	a cerne	-	nț eárniri	nț eárniț	nț irneári	nț irnéț
43.	includĕre	a închide	-	ncl'ídiri	ncl'ídiț	ncl'ídeári	ncl'idéț

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44.	mergĕre	a merge	-	neáḑiri	neáḑiț	niḑeári	niḑéț
45.	mulgĕre	a mulge	-	múlḑiri	múlḑiț	mulḑeári	mulḑzéț
46.	nascĕre	a naşte	-	náştiri	náştiț	năşteári	năşéț
47.	pascĕre	a paşte	-	páştiri	páştiț	păşteári	păştéț
48.	perdĕre	a pierde	-	ќárdiri	ќárdiț	ќirdeári	kirdéț
49.	per-trajicĕre	a petrece	-	pitreáțiri	pitreáțiț	pitrițeári	pitriț́éț
50.	pingĕre	a împinge	-	pínḑiri	pínḑiț	pinḑeári	pinḑéț
51.	plangĕre	a plânge	-	plấnḑiri	Plấnḑiț	plănḑeári	plănḑéț
52.	ponĕre	a pune	-	púniri	puniț	puneári	punéț
53.	prehendĕre	a prinde	-	príndiri	príndiț	prindeári	prindéț
54.	rodĕre	a roade	-	aróadiri	aróadiț	arudeári	arudéț
55.	rumpĕre	a rupe	-	arúpiri	arúpiț	arupeári	arupéț
56.	sorbĕre	a sorbi	-	soárg'iri	soárg'iț	surg'ári	surg'íț
57.	spargere	a sparge	-	spárḑiri	spárḑiț	spârḑeári	spârḑéț
58.	stingĕre	a stinge	-	stínḑiri	stínḑiț	stinḑeári	stinḑéț
59.	stringĕre	a strânge	-	strínḑiri	strínḑiț	strinḑeári	strinḑéț
60.	sugĕre	a suge	-	súḑiri	Súḑiț	suḑeári	suḑéț
61.	tendĕre	a întinde	-	tíndiri	tíndiț	tindeári	tindéț
62.	tondĕre< tondēre	a tunde	-	túndiri	túndiț	tundeári	tundéț
63.	torquĕre	a toarce	-	toárțiri	toárțiț	turțeári	turț́éț
64.	traicĕre	a trece	-	treáțiri	treáțiț	triț́eári	triț́éț
65.	ungĕre	a unge	a ungea DLR	aúnḑiri	aúnḑiț	aunḑeári	aunḑéț
66.	vincĕre	a învinge	-	învínḑiri	învínḑiț	învinḑeári	învinḑéț

Other fluctuations in verb conjugations are noticed.

2nd conjugation → 3rd conjugation:

	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
No.	2nd conjugation	3rd conjugation	2nd conjugation	2nd conjugation		3rd conjugation	
				infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. pl.
1.	jacēre	-	a zăcea	zâț́eári	zăț́éț[8]	záț́iri	záț́iț
2.	tenēre	a ține	a ținea (înv.) DLR	ț̂áneári	ț̂ánéț	ț̂ániri	ț̂ániț
3.	*umplēre[9]	a umple	a umplea (înv. reg.) DLR	umpleári	umpléț	úmpliri	úmpliț

[8] It is confused with *dzâț́éț* 'zăceți'.

[9] DER: 817: "as well as in the case of *umfla* (*apud* Puşcariu) the change *in*>*un* may be prior to common Romanian; cf. Sardu *úmplere*, Catalan *umpir*".

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4th conjugation → 1st conjugation:

	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
No.	4th conjugation	1st conjugation	4th conjugation	4th conjugation		1st conjugation	
				infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. pl.
1.	*ammortire	-	a amorți	amurțâri	amurțâț	amurțari	amurțaț
2.	amarire	-	a amărî	amărâri	amărâț	amărári	amăráț
3	grunire	-	a grohăi	gurńíri	gurńíț	gurńári	gurńáț
4	tusire	-	a tuși	tușíri	tușíț	tușári	tușáț

4th conjugation → 2nd conjugation:

	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
No.	4th conjugation	2nd conjugation	4th conjugation	4th conjugation		2nd conjugation	
				infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2nd pers. pl.
1.	in-salire	-	a sări	ansăríri	ansăríț	ansăreári	ansăréț
3.	scire	-	a ști	ștíri	știț	șteári	știéț
2.	venire	-	a veni	γiníri	γiníț	γineári	γinéț

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

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

There are also several verbs which exhibit fluctuations among three inflection classes: a) III, II, I: *adávgu*[10] < lat. *adaugĕre* (in Aromanian and in Daco-

[10] 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 Dosoftei, 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 17th 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 4th 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 1st 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:

a. *adauge (adaoge) – adaug (adaog) – adauseiu (adaoseiu)* şi *adauseiu (adaoseiu) – adaus (adaos);*

b. *adăugi (adăogi) – adăugesc (adăogesc);*

c. *adăuga (adăoga) – adaug (adaog).*

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Romanian), *aştérnu* < lat. *asternĕre* (in Aromanian), *pitrúndu* < lat. *pertundĕre* (in Aromanian).

b) III, IV, II: *fug*^{u} < lat. *fugire* (în aromână)

c) IV, III, II: *arăḱéscu* < lat. **rapire*, (*arap*^{u}) < 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: 2nd conj. forms in the infinitive are not recorded as such by DLR; but the recorded regional negative imperative 2nd 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, 3rd 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 1st conjugation forms being recorded in the present tense paradigm as early as the end of the century; the most resistant were the 3rd conjugation simple perfect and participle forms, and "traces of the 3rd 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 *adaugĕre*, *adaugeo* (in Lat. cl. *-gēre*, *-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*, *adapşu*, *adăvgat*) and the Megleno-Romanian ones (*daug*, *dauş*), showing that Lat. *-ĕre* 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 1st 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 1st conjugation type is preferable"; the same dictionary records the derived terms as well, currently obsolete, *adăoşag* and *adăosătură*. 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 şi cereți darure şi bucuros voiu da" (PO, p. 116), probably interpretable as a graphical inconsistency. See also Graur (1936: 190), Graur (1968: 45), Todi (2004).

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which makes reference to a form *a plângeá*, indicates that there have been fluctuations between the 2nd and the 3rd 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 2nd 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.) *tunsérăm*.

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

Other verbs only show fluctuating forms in the infinitive:

a prinde: reg. and *a prindeá* (vb. II); arch. *a prénde* (3rd 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.) *trăgeá*, vb. II

a umple: and: *umpleá*, vb. II (arch. and pop.), *împle*, vb. III, *împleá*, vb. II, (reg.) *ímple*, vb. III.

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

In Aromanian, the following verbs exhibit mixed conjugation: *arăḱéscu, fugu*, *tuşéḑi*< [11], verbs which in the sub-dialect of the Aromanians have inflectional forms for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural belonging to the 1st conjugation, and the 1st, 2nd person plural to the 4th conjugation.

For Daco-Romanian, the research carried out on the first Romanian texts (16th 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 1st 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), *învîrtoşați* (CV, 67 r/1), *se vînslați* (CV, 44 v/14), *se vînsleadze* (CV, 43 v/5); within the 4th 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 curățeaşte* (CV, 15 v/12-13), noun derived from the supine *curățitulu* (CV, 16 v/3);

(b) in certain cases, the etymological conjugation forms survive[12]:

[11] Cf. *Sar A*, inquiry notes.

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

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2nd conjugation: a ţinea (< lat. *tenēre*); in text: the infinitive *ţinrea* (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 şedea* (PO, 174/19), *voiu vedea* (PO, 162/14) in the indicative mood, future tense, i.e.: *aş avea* (PO, 107/2), *aş putea* (PO, 158/26), *ară vedea* (PO, 158/16).

3rd conjugation: a adauge (< Lat. *adaugĕre*); 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. *vivĕre*), 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: *învise* (CV, 78 v/1) and the future form: *învie-voru* (CV, 69 r/10-11)[13]; *a încăreşte* „is the result of an analogy, *încăreşte* being reconstructed after *creşte*, *meşte* (the infinitive form of *încarescu* < Lat. *incalesco* should be *încări*, but *încăreşte* is attested, as resulting from other 16th century documents as well: PS, PH, CPr) (Densusianu 1961: 126); in texts, the imperative form *încăreaşteţi-vă* (CV, 60 v/2).

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

(a) F o r m s w i t h o u t i n f l e c t i o n a l s u f f i x e s:

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

4th 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 4th conjugation verbs, specific especially to the northern area: *omori* (CV, 78 r/14), *pîri* (CV, 1 v/ 9, 24 v/ 8)[14].

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

[13] It is a more general tendency of Romanian to switch the Latin verbs in *-ere* to the 1st (or the 4th) conjugation, present in Romanian texts from the 16th 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 1st 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 1st conjugation (Gheție 1997: 132).

[14] 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

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(b) F o r m s w i t h i n f l e c t i o n a l s u f f i x e s:

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

4th conjugation: *a (se) necurăți: se necurățească* (CV, 86 v/3); *te curățeaşte* (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 (3rd conjugation in the sub-dialect of the Pindeni, and the 2nd conjugation in that of the Grămosteni, the Fărşeroți and the Moscopoleni)[15] 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^2 compared to DOOM^1. 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^1 coincide), as well as the 1st edition (1982/1989) and the 2nd edition (2005) of the *Orthographic, Orthoepic and Morphological Romanian Dictionary*. In the following paragraphs we will indicate these works, for simplification, by ÎOOP, DOOM^1 and DOOM^2. Some of the changes in these categories have already been partially discussed or inventoried, together with other new aspects of DOOM^2. 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^2 are: pres. ind. 1 sg. *înconjor*, 3 *înconjoară* (DOOM^1 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, pîri* (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**: *amărî, omorî, 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 16th century in *Codicele Voronețean*.

[15] Cf. *Sar A* (inquiry notes).

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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) – *văpăieşte / văpăiază*; *să văpăiască / să văpăieze*; *a mihona / a mihoni* (reg.) – *mihonă / mihoneşte* (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 / datoreşte*; 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 datoreşte*; 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 descotoşmăna* (colloquial), pres. ind. 3 *descotoşmăneazăă* (DOOM[1] *a descotoşmăni*, pres. ind. 3 *descotoşmănesc*); regarding the double *a împături / a împătura* (DOOM[1]), DOOM[2] proposes a single form *a împături*; and in the case of the verb *a scrijeli* (DOOM[2]) a reduction of the forms occurred (DOOM[1] a scrijeli */ a scrijela*); on the other hand, for *a încăpuşi* (colloquial) in DOOM[1] (pres. ind. 3 *încăpuşeşte*), DOOM[2] allows the forms in free variation *încăpuşa / încăpuşi*; for *a încâina* (DOOM[1]), DOOM[2] allows the double *a (se) încâina / încâini* (obsolete, colloquial).

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