SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES IN OLD ROMANIAN: THE ADVERBIAL OF PLACE AND THE ADVERBIAL CLAUSE OF PLACE[1]

***Abstract**: The present study proposes a semantic analysis of space in Old Romanian by examining its syntactic projection at sentence and complex sentence level. It also distinguishes between the norm of that period and the prevailing norm, according to the examples excerpted from the texts.*

***Keywords**: space deictic elements, localization, connector.*

1. The Adverbial of Place has the role of placing the elements of the sentence one against another and it links the place coordinates of the performers to the communication context.

In a semantic view, various roles are fulfilled: source (*where from: He came from Paris*); location (*where: He lives near the station*); direction/goal (*where to: He goes to the river*); interval (*from where to where: From Bucharest to Pitesti*) and relation (*where: It is not on the left, but on the right*).

All these contexts are to be found in Old Romanian, too. Thus, there can be noticed source: *De acolo vrum se luomu* (*CV*: 245); *Au ieşit den Sofiia* (*Crest*: 51); location: *Mutămu-nă întru Asamonu şi lăcuimu întru Trog* (*CV*: 245); *Acii şedzum şi plânsăm* (*Crest*: 59); *şi aflămu acie ucenici* (*CV*: 253); direction/goal: *Venremu către ei întru Troada* (*CV*: 243); *Puseră mânrule spri-nsu* (*CV*: 260); *Apropiindu-me către Damascu* (*CV*: 266); *Duseră el până la Atină* (*Crest*: 85); *Merseră către un arbure* (*Crest*: 108); *De la Militu tremise întru Efes* (*CV*: 246); distance: *De la mare până la mare* (*Crest*: 104); *Vine Isus den Galilei la Iordan* (*Crest*: 91); relation: *Pre lângă mare stătură* (*Crest*: 53); *Domnul înaintea mea* (*Crest*: 64); *de-a dereapta de mene* (*Crest*: 64); *înaintea besearicіei* (*Crest*: 89); *şade a dereapta tatălui* (*Crest*: 88); *Să stea deaconul de-a stânga lui* (*Crest*: 99).

2. The place markers of the communication context/ of the enouncement are expressed by the deictic elements indicating place, which are not identical with the Adverbial of Place, with respect to their meaning.

First, there is an intrinsic placement. For example, in the sentence *I read*, the deictic pronoun suggests the context *I, the person who is present here* and this deictic device functions for both the speaker and the hearer. Romanian does not have a deictic morpheme for the participants to a dialogue, as Latin does. Thus, *hic* refers to the one next to me, *iste* to the person next to him.

However, in their semantic structure, Romanian demonstrative pronouns have the feature [+placement] (proximity – distance) in two degrees: *acesta – cestălalt; acela – celălalt*.

Their moving to the adverbial area happens by their converting into pronominal adjectives: *în această casă* ("which is here"); *în casa aceea* ("which is there"); *în cestălaltă casă* ("which is near this one"); *în cealaltă casă* ("which is next to that one").

They preserve these features in Old Romanian, where they occur, too: *Spre locul acesta toţi, tutindirea învaţă* (*CV*: 260-261); *N-am iubit în ceastă lume* (*ITR*: 295);

[1] Mihaela Găitănaru, University of Piteşti, mihaela.gaitanaru@upit.ro.

BDD-A5879 © 2011 Universitatea din Piteşti
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 17:58:32 UTC)

Preaîmblă acealea laturi (*CV*: 242); *Precum vedem şi în cea Alexandrie* (*ITR*: 148); *de la urii alalți* (*ITR*: 150).

The semantic structure of some verbs function as a deictic element of place: *a se apropia, a veni, a sta, a se îndepărta* ("to come closer, to come, to stay, to move away").

The situation is not different with Old Romanian: *Apropiară-se cătră Isus* (*Crest*: 55); *Tremeasă întru Machiedonia* (*CV*: 235); *Mută-te de satul tău* (*Crest*: 97); *şi noi vinremu în corabie* (*CV*: 245); *Căzu în mijloc de mărăcini* (*Crest*: 80); *Nă apropiem de Chipru* (*CV*:252); *Goniia-i pănră afara cetăților* (*CV*: 302).

In Old Romanian the 'demonstrative' adverbials, which are called 'demonstrative' due to their deictic value, actualize the same series of values as in contemporary Romanian and, throughout their evolution, there have been many phonetic forms which have been passed down up to the 18th century: *Acie întrebară-ne* (*Crest*: 59); *şi aciiş, întru clipitul ochiului* (*Crest*: 77); *Acicea să înceapă rugăciunea* (*Crest*: 88); *Nu iaste cicea* (*Crest*: 78); *Vădzu acolo om* (*Crest*: 54).

There also occur adverbs with a non-deictic value, such as the indefinite ones: *Doară vom vedea undeva vreun omu* (*CS*: 277); *Toți tutindinea învață* (*CV*: 261); *Precum şi până astăzi unde şi unde nu lipsesc de a fi de acei cruzi tigri* (*ITR*: 157).

3. At the sentence level, the Adverbial of Place, as well as any Adverbial generated by a binary relation, can be characterized by the correlative structure *acolo…unde*. This feature is mentioned in normative grammars: "it indicates the place coordinates of the context of communication or of the communicated situation, presenting as a specific actualization the adverbs *where* (interrogative)/*there*." (GALR, II: 514)

The correlative specification has to be pointed out, even if both adverbs ('demonstrative' and 'relative') have syntactic functions. They are to be found involved in a direct relation even in old texts: *Unde vei ceti leage, acolo-i umbra legei ce-au trecut* (*VO*: 215).

The Adverbial of Place, as well as any other Adverbial, is said to be an optional element of the sentence: "As a part of the verbal group, of the adjectival group and of the interjectional group, the prototypic Adverbial of Place is an optional modifier (an adjunct) of the head of the group" (*ibidem*).

The adjunct deletion can occur even in Old Romanian: *Adură-se cătră el narod mult, cum el în corabiia întră şî şedzu şi tot nărod pe lângă mare statură* (*Crest*: 53)- *Adură-se ( ) narod mult cum el întră ( ) şî şedzu…*

However, some verbs cannot lack the Adverbial of Place, as they have a special semantic component: "Related to certain verbal syntactic superordinates, which have a thematic structure including the Locative (*a amplasa, a se aciua, a locui, a se plasa, a sălăşui* etc), the Source (*a proveni, a izvorî...*) or the Direction/Goal (*a ajunge a descinde* etc.), the Adverbial of Place is an obligatory modifier that cannot be deleted." (GALR, II, 2008: 516)

The situation can be noticed in Old Romanian, too: *Pasă în Damascu* (*CV*: 264); *Mută-te de satul tău* (*Crest*: 97); *S-au dus în sus pre Dunăre* (*Crest*: 51); *Ieşi Isus den casă şi şedzu lângă mare* (*Crest*: 52); *Se deştinsese în Iadu, aciia eşti, tire-me dereapta ta* (*Crest*: 60); *şi Iorrdanu turnă-se înrapoi* (*Crest*: 59).

3.1. The syntactic superordinate of the Adverbial of Place is often a verb or a verbal phrase (a predicate-forming interjection, by analogy), a verb converted into adjective, but the verb is more frequent in Old Romanian: *Unele cădzură pre lângă cale*

BDD-A5879 © 2011 Universitatea din Pitești
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 17:58:32 UTC)

(*Crest*: 53); *Aduşu elu înraintea voastră* (*CV*: 300); *Întoarce faţa ta către păcatul mieu* (*PH*: 130).

3.2. The substitution group of the Adverbial of Place is as extended in Old Romanian as in contemporary Romanian, still there is a difference: contemporary Romanian does not use an old case, the locative, which had been inherited from Latin.

3.2.1. It can be expressed by a noun, pronoun or numeral in one of the following cases: genitive (with a preposition), dative (without a preposition) and accusative (with or without a preposition).

The genitive case is used with a large number of prepositions and most of them still occur in contemporary Romanian: *Merge înlăuntrul omului* (*Crest*: 79); *Goniia-i pânră afara cetăţilor* (*CV*: 304); *puind postul acesta înaintea ochilor noştri* (*ID*: 35); *şădea a dereapta Tatălui* (*Crest*: 74); *înaintea besearicіei* (*Crest*: 89); *înraintea uşiei* (*Crest*: 108).

Those forms which are called "dative", but which, in fact, represent an old case, the locative, still used in Classic Latin, are much more frequent in Old Romanian than in contemporary Romanian, even though they still occur in the 19th century language. This is the so-called locative (dative): *Să nu vie primejdie pământului; să nu fie primejdie locului* (Frâncu, 2009: 364); *Lipise pământului zgăul nostru* (*Crest*: 96).

The constructions of the Adverbial of Place with the accusative are remarkable for the great variety of prepositions, some of them presenting noticeable phonetic characteristics, but also for the structure without preposition, which represents a situation that has not been validated by the evolution of the norm.

It is true that the structures including the Adverbial of Place without preposition are to be found only after certain verbs: "The Adverbial of Place subordinated to the verbs *a (pre)îmbla* and *a nuta* is not preceded by a preposition" (*CV*: 160). The examples are not numerous: *Preaâmblă Machedonia şi Ahaia* (*CV*: 236); *Preaîmblă acealea laturi* (*CV*: 242); *Gerurea chilichiască şi pamfiliiască nutămu* (*CV*: 244).

The structures with a prepositional group are very frequent, involving many prepositions and prepositional phrases with the accusative.

The most prepositional groups include common nouns: *E lăudat foarte în cetatea Dumnezeului nostru* (*Crest*: 57); *Întoarce faţa ta de către păcatul mieu* (*PH*: 130); *Deşertaţi pânră la urdziturile lui* (*Crest*: 60); *La inima omului n-a intrat* (*VO*: 189); *La rriuri treace-vor cu picioarele* (*PH*: 142); *Supseră miare dein piiatră; şi arrse pâră la iadul* (*Crest*: 61); *Se va deşchide poarta ceriului despre răsărit* (*CS*: 201); *Să prinseră la dinţi* (*Crest*: 71); *Se umplură pînă la vârh* (*Crest*: 81); *Luo Domnul curat sufletul ei în mânule şi-l duse în ceriu* (*CS*: 288); *Rrădicatu-me-ai dentr-apă multă* (*PH*: 99); *Să se areă aprinde casa de tute patru unghiurele* (*CS*: 252); *întru înrima mea* (*PH*: 89); *N-au stătut lângă foc* (*VO*: 101).

Some prepositional phrases with the accusative are presently considered to be adverbs, as they are heads of adverbial groups: *De-lu trăge afară din băsearecă* (*CV*: 261); *în mijloc de oamenii tăi* (*Crest*: 58); *Prim mijloc de ea spândzurămu* (*Crest*: 59); *pânră afară de cetate* (*CV*: 253); *Cădzu în mijloc de mărăcini* (*Crest*: 80).

Prepositional groups with proper nouns occur very frequently: *Aştepta noi întru Troada* (*CV*: 243) *Giudecă Pavelu se treacă întru Efes cum se nu fie lui a pesti întru Asia* (*CV*: 246).

The pronoun has a similar series of values as the noun does, regarding the Adverbial of Place. However, realizations outside of the prepositional group cannot be found, not even after the mentioned verbs.

BDD-A5879 © 2011 Universitatea din Piteşti
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 17:58:32 UTC)

The prepositions and the prepositional phrases with the genitive have a specific feature: they change the genitive case into accusative by means of internal agreement and this device functions also in contemporary Romanian when the possessive pronoun (pronominal adjective) occurs: *înaintea lui* (=genitive); *înaintea mea* (=accusative): *Se lu rrapă elu din mijlocu loru* (*CV*: 277); *Dzise celora ce sta înraintea lui* (*CV*: 272); *Să stea deaconul de-a stânga lui* (*Crest*: 99); *Ce-s de elu înraintea ta* (*CV*: 283); *Aduşu elu înraintea voastră* (*CV*: 300).

The prepositional group can include a preposition or a prepositional phrase with the accusative: *Se adaogă Domnul spre noi* (*Crest*: 59); *pre lângă mine* (*Crest*: 73); *Întoarceți-vă către mine şi mă voiu întoarce către voi* (*VO*: 220); *Întoarce-voiu fața mea către-nşi* (*Crest*: 61); *Ceea ce iase den el* (*Crest*: 79).

3.2.2. What is specific to an adverbial, with respect to its semantic and syntax is the adverb.

The proper adverbs do not have a deictic value, so they express the circumstances within the sentence: *Nu e departe nice de urul* (*Crest*: 86); *Lăsămu-l elu de-a stânga* (*CV*: 252); *Le-am dat afară* (*Crest*: 73); *Preotul denlăuntru stea* (*Crest*: 100); *Ceia ce sta înainte* (*CV*: 274); *Du-te acasă şi adu calulu* (*Crest*: 107); *Ce-ți va punre înrainte, mănâncă* (*Crest*: 108); *Pretutindeni răzveastiră aceştea şi acicea vineră* (*Crest*: 84).

The 'demonstrative' and the direct interrogatives are deictic: *De acolo vrumu se luomu* (*CV*: 245); *Vădzu acolo om* (*Crest*: 54); *Mă duc de aciia* (*Crest*: 96); *Acoleaş la începătura capului* (*ITR*: 197); *şi aflămu acie* (*CV*: 253); *Unde iaste Iade, biruirea, unde iaste veninul morției* (*Crest*: 64); *Iuo sâmtu dumnedzeii lor* (*Crest*: 61).

Having the major role of connectors, the 'relative' adverbs have also the function of Adverbial of Place, although they do not introduce an Adverbial Clause of Place: *Aceluia să doseaşte focul de veac unde voru scârşca cu dinții* (*CS*: 238); *Să auză cea către Corinteni, unde zice* (*VO*: p. 197); *Venremu către ei întru Troada… iuo prebândimu şapte zile* (*CV*: 243); *Iuo e Dzăul lor?* (*Crest*: 59); *Era lumânrari multe în comarrnicu iuo era aduraţi* (*CV*: 243-244).

4. The Adverbial Clause of Place replaces the correspondent adverbial at the complex sentence level. This is a syntactic position without a wide range of semantic roles and with a small number of connectors (this clause does not present the realization by means of conjuncts). From the three possibilities ('relative' adverbs: *I leave where you send me*; 'relative' – indefinite adverbs: *I sing wherever I go*; prepositional group: *I leave on which day I find tickets, I come in which house I find on my way*) Old Romanian chooses especially the first situation: *Deaca nu vom face după putință şi poruncile lui ce ne va băga de unde nu vom putea să mai ieşim* (*VO*: 28); *Încătro mergea, slujindu-i norocul, biruia* (Frâncu, 2009: 384); *Corabiile să întorc de mitintea cârmuitoare a dereptătoriului încătruo va din străminare* (*CV*: 352)…

Sometimes the Adverbial of Place is placed before: *Unde se face rugăciunea cu mulțemită, vine darul Duhului Sfânt* (*VO*: 37); *Unde Dumnezeu a împreunat, omul să nu despartă* (*VO*: 230); *Iuă suntu zavisture şi rrăzboaie, acie e netocmeală* (*CV*: 354).

The archaic form *iuo* (Latin *eo*) is rather often used in the 16th century, as a complementizer that is not semantically specialized: *Acie temure-se în teamere şi iuo nu era teamere* (*Crest*: 57); *În giudecarea lu Chiesariu sântu stându, iuo mi se cade giudeţu a preemi* (*CS*: 295); *Întru amiadzădzi în cale vădzuiu… iuo-mi străluci luminră* (CS: 304)

BDD-A5879 © 2011 Universitatea din Pitești
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 17:58:32 UTC)

5. Conclusions

Although the syntactic position of the Adverbial of Place is briefly studied in most of the grammars, the analysis of the relation between the deictic components (the situation character) and the non-deictic ones reveals a complex structure, dating from the old period of Romanian, both at sentence and complex sentence level.

Bibliography

Avram, Mioara (ed.), *Sintaxa limbii române în secolele al XVI-lea - al XVIII-lea*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 2007

Frâncu, Constantin, *Conjunctivul românesc şi raporturile lui cu alte moduri*, Iaşi, Casa Editorială *Demiurg*, 2000

Frâncu, Constantin, *Gramatica limbii române vechi (1521 – 1780)*, Iaşi, Casa Editorială *Demiurg*, 2009

Guțu Romalo, Valeria (ed.), *Gramatica limbii române, II, Enunțul*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 2008

Pană Dindelegan, Gabriela, (ed.) *Gramatica de bază a limbii române*, Bucureşti, Editura Univers Enciclopedic Gold, 2010.

Sources

Alex-Alexandria, (ed. Fl. Zgraon), Bucureşti, 2006.

Crest – *Crestomația limbii române vechi, I* (1521 – 1639), Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române.

CS- Codicele sturzan (ed. Gh. Chivu), Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 1993.

CV – Codicele voronețean (ed. M. Costinescu) Bucureşti, Editura Minerva, 1981.

ID – Ivireanu, Antim, *Opere*, Bucureşti, Editura Minerva, 1972.

ITR – Istoria Țărâi Româneşti (ed. O.Dragomir) Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 2006.

PH – Psaltirea Hurmuzachi,I, (ed. I. Gheție şi M. Teodorescu), Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 2005.

PO – Palia de la Orăştie (ed. V. Pamfil), Bucureşti, 1968.

VC – Varlaam, *Opere, Cazania* (ed. M. Neagu), Chişinău, Hyperion, 1991.

VO - Varlaam, *Opere, Răspunsul împotriva Catihismului Calvinesc* (ed. M. Teodorescu), Bucureşti, Editura Minerva, 1984.

BDD-A5879 © 2011 Universitatea din Pitești
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 17:58:32 UTC)