Verbs derived with *în–*₁ (*îm–*₁).
Logico-semantic approaches in Old Romanian texts

Marinuşa Constantin*

Faculty of Letters, "Ovidius" University, Aleea Universităţii 1, 900472 Constanţa, Romania

Abstract

This paper, which falls into the field of derivational morphology, aims to analyse, from the logico-semantic viewpoint, the verbs derived with *în–* (*îm–*), excerpted from old Romanian texts.

Starting from the assumption that, regardless of the stages of an idiom, there are sufficient means to render some aspects that have to do, in principle, with the internal lexical creativity of that particular language, it is interesting to emphasize the way in which 'the change of state' is reflected in old Romanian literary texts. The analysis grids include the semantic and morphological principles—adapted to our working material which consists of a corpus of religious and laic texts from the 16ᵗʰ–18ᵗʰ centuries.

Our approach has focused on various possibilities of expressing the 'transformation' materialized in the evolutional-dynamic process, taking into account the categorial relations between *în–* and the bases to which it is attached, and the conceptual values imposed by the mentioned affix on the derived term.

1. Introduction

A detailed analysis of one aspect of prefixation provides important data on the internal organization of a fundamental method of word formation which, as a matter of fact, has proved to be as sinuous a field as fascinating.

We propose a way of approaching *în–* (*îm–*) prefixation that provides the framework for a pertinent analysis in terms of the functioning of word-building rules (cf. Corbin, 1987, p. 5), leading to the establishment of certain categorial relations between affixes and roots and of semantic values influenced by linguistic operations, imposed by those particular rules of lexico-semantic configuration of words.

In this case, it is a matter of applying the *associative-layered* model[1] (Corbin, 1987, p. 23), which encodes the analysis parameters of derivation, starting from two generative principles: *associativity* and *layering*[2]: "The meaning of a built word is created at the same time as its morphological structure" (Corbin, 1987, p. 9).

Thus, these principles highlight the hierarchical nature between the levels of analysis of built words— a first level that aims at the morphological structure[3] and a second one, emphasized by the semantic rules[4]

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*Email address: *marinusaconstantin@yahoo.com*.

[1]D. Corbin proposed, in her significant work *Morphologie et structuration du lexique*, a theory that falls into the general field of standard generative grammar, which aims to hierarchize the newly-formed terms according to certain rules of lexical insertion. These rules are considered a node with an *output* and a *centre*, which present a sequence of operations completed with an attested lexicon. Cf. Corbin (1987, p. 5–16)

[2]The two principles emphasize the organic nature of word-building field in general. According to the author, these are interdependent, as *associativity* designates the ability to take into account the rules of building attested words, applicable in order to obtain other terms, while *layering* is the manner in which the formed units are taxonomically arranged.

[3]The first analysis level of derivation aims at the 'root component', made up of the list of lexical entries (1), comprising the affixes and the variety of unbuilt words—autonomous and non-autonomous—, whose internal rules (2) are used to explain possible regularities.

[4]The second level, represented by the 'derivational component', defines the set of word-formation rules (RCM, 3) and,

of word formation, also known as "observable form" ([Corbin, 1987](), p. 9).

1.0. Premises

The main value of *în–* (*îm–*), considered to be the most productive Latin prefix in both laic and religious texts of the old age (1532–1640 and 1540–1780, respectively), alongside of *ne–* and *prea–*, of Slavic origin, is represented by the possibilities of combining the affix with particularly nominal and adjectival roots.

We should also emphasize that lexical insertion rules, based on the associative and layered principles, develop categorial, semantic and formal factors. Thus, each mentioned factor develops categorial, semantic and formal 'constraints'.

As regards this analysis, we shall highlight the general typology of categorial relations authorized by the association of the analysed affix and the root:

- adj. → vb.: *frumos* [beautiful] → (*a*) *înfrumuseța* [(to) beautify], *galben* [yellow] → (*a*) *îngălbeni* [(to) yellow], *greu* [heavy] → (*a*) *îngreuna* [(to) make heavy], *verde* [green] → (*a*) *înverzi* [(to) green], etc.
- noun → vb.: *curaj* [courage] → (*a*) *încuraja* [(to) encourage], *dreptate* [justification] → (*a*) *îndreptăți* [(to) justify], *floare* [flower] → (*a*) *înflori* [(to) bloom], *frunte* [forehead] → (*a*) *înfrunta* [(to) confront], etc.

These categorial relations describe two formation mechanisms of verbs belonging to the semantic class of eventives, namely:

a) [prefix *în–* (*îm–*) + adjective + suffix *–i/–a*]:
  Result: *în–* + *negru* [black] + *–i* > (*a*) *înnegri* [(to) blacken].
b) [prefix *în–* (*îm–*) + noun + suffix *–i/–a*]:
  Result: *în–* + *frumusețe* [beauty] + *–a* > (*a*) *înfrumuseța* [(to) beautify].

Given the fact that the meaning of the built word[5] is deduced from the meaning associated with the word-formation method—entailed by the rules of building terms—and the meanings of base-words, our study takes into account the mode of action of logico-semantic patterns of *în–* (*îm–*) prefixation, in old writings of Romanian literary language.

Semantic constraints basically describe the compositional meaning of a built word in relation to its morphological structure. In the case of verbs that mark the 'change of state', semantic selection requires the attachment of affix *în–* to adjectives that express 'resultative states':

- *în–* + *fricos* [coward] + *–a* > (*a*) *înfricoșa* [(to) frighten];
- *în–* + *cărunt* [gray] + *–i* > (*a*) *încărunți* [(to) turn gray], etc.

However, language data provide information that point to the possibility of combining affixes with nominal roots—noun, as mentioned before, and numeral:

- *în–* + *gloată* [mob] + *–i* > (*a*) *îngloti* [(to) mob];
- *în–* + *doi* [two] > (*a*) *îndoi* [to increase twice, to double; to fold in two].

In addition, we should consider that word-formation rules are doubled by semantic rules of building terms. Clearly, the interdependence of word-formation rules and semantic rules influence the correct interpretation of *în–* derivatives, given that the meaning of built units undergo a change or an opacifying – situations that push the meaning of the derived word far from that of the root-word[6]: (*a*) *încrîncena* [to appal], parasynthetic deadjectival derivative, means in the old age 'to fight'. The root-adjective *crîncen* [fierce, appalling] is associated with the noun *luptă* [fight], cf. the nominal phrase *luptă crîncenă* [fierce fight]. In this way, one can "reconstruct" the semantic assimilation resulting from the disappearance of the determined word.

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implicitly, of possible formed words (4).

[5]The phrase *built word* denotes any term resulted from derivation according to word-formation rules (of semantic and formal nature).

[6]In the case of a transformation or opacification of the meaning of *în–* (*îm–*) derivatives, a metaphorical or metonymical process of meaning transposition, which targets both the root and the derivative.

A third aspect of *în–* derivatives refers to constraints of syntactic properties of built words. Word-formation rules cause the reflexive-intransitive nature of verbs indicating the change of state: *a înverzi* [to green] intransitive reflexive verb 'a deveni, a se face verde [to become/turn green]'; fig. 'a deveni palid de frică, de furie [to become pale with anger, fury]' (DEX, s.v. *înverzi*).

1.1. Working material

The research relies on a finite corpus of terms derived with *în–*, excerpted from texts belonging to the old age, as were transmitted to us in modern scientific editions, to which we have added some lexicographic works, namely Romanian language dictionaries—the *Thesaurus*, the *Old Romanian Language Dictionary*, the *Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian Language*.

1.2. Working methods

The descriptive analysis requires, as a matter of course, the use of criteria and principles of ordering language facts related to morphology and semantics, because the associative-layered model reflects this approach.

Thus, the descriptive approach sets forth a semantic and morphological analysis in terms of the various possibilities of combining the affix *în–* with certain bases that belong to different grammatical classes. Semantic and morphological interpretations are complemented, naturally, by pointing out some phonological particularities; however, the working method is diachronic, given the sources of the analysed lexical material.

2. Logico-semantic analysis of eventive verbs

The semantic analysis of the prefix *în–* (*îm–*) offers, above all, the opportunity to highlight the relation between the meanings expressed by prefixes and the meanings of some parts of speech, emphasizing, at the same time, the existence of some semantic values, better or poorly represented by the affix, in the old age of Romanian literary language.

2.1. Semantic verb classes – definition and interpretation

Grammars suggest a classification of verbs based on two internal semantic features, with syntactic implications, namely: 'change' and 'agentivity' (cf. GBLR, p. 278–280).

According to the two features, three semantic verb classes stand out:
1) 'state verbs', characterized by the features of [– *change*], [– *agentivity*]:
   (*a*) *dormi* [to sleep], (*a*) *plînge* [to cry], (*a se*) *învecina* [to neighbour], etc.;
2) 'eventive verbs', involving the semes [+ *change*], [– *agentivity*]:
   (*a*) *usca* [to dry], (*a*) *îmbătrîni* [to age], (*a*) *seca* [to drain], (*a*) *înflori* [to bloom], (*a*) *gazifica* [to gasify], etc.;
3) 'action verbs', involving the features [+ *change*], [+ *agentivity*]:
   (*a*) *citi* [to read], (*a*) *mînca* [to eat], (*a*) *alerga* [to run], (*a*) *fugi* [to flee], etc.

This first classification shows that verbs from classes (2) and (3) have the seme [+ *change*] in common; however, they differ in point of the semantic feature of agentivity, which characterizes only action verbs (3).

In order to specify the concepts of 'event' and 'change', respectively, we should point out that each lexico-grammatical class expresses a certain logico-semantic content, depending on the aspects [*material*] and [*dynamic*] (Lieber, 2004, p. 30). Thus, based on the two aforementioned aspects, two major semantic categories stand out, which are represented by 'substances/things/essences', assigned to nouns, and 'situations', indicated by verbs.

'Event', 'change' and 'state' are notions that are subordinated to the general concept of 'situations'. 'Eventive' verbs are, in turn, divided into two subgroups that express 'simple activities' (*a mînca* [to eat]),

on the one hand, and 'change' (*a înălbi* [to whiten]), on the other hand. Hence, 'change' implies various degrees of processuality required by the 'event'.

Therefore, *eventives* are a semantic verb category which indicate the various degrees of change occurring in the subject state, incorporating, in their semantic matrix, the [+ *dynamic*] feature.

'Change' is described in terms of the logico-semantic structure, with two variables – "Subject A passes into state B", taking into account a finality and an internal limit:

A-tînăr [young] passes into the state of *B-bătrîn* [old]: A becomes B → *A îmbătrînește* [A grows old].

2.2. Logical approach in the analysis of eventives

A first approach in the analysis of the category represented by verbs of becoming prompts us to consider the *realia* elements that are subject to change processes indicated by most of the *în–* (*îm–*) derivatives.

In order to classify these elements, we have applied the logico-cognitive format proposed by A. Berrendonner, starting from the two modes of logical existence, consisting of the substances/entities *in re* and the entities/essences *in intellectu* (*apud* Heyna, 2014, p. 162).

Objects		Functions
Realia	*Types*	*Concepts*
Extension	Intension	
Entities existing *in re*	Entities existing *in intellectu*	

Table 1: Formal ontology representation of objects (*apud* Heyna, 2014, p. 162).

We should mention that the created model relies on cognitive theory concepts about language: in terms of speech, objects are substances, in terms of thinking, they are concepts, while the term *entity* is neutral on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axis.

In this regard, we shall make a brief classification of the types of change processes, based on those of the logico-cognitive format represented.

2.2.1. Extensional entities *in re*

- *'Processes of nature'*
  The first group of entities *in re* expresses change processes of states and objects in nature. This category is represented by a small group of denominal verbs derived with *în–*, attested in the old age.
  a înflori [to flower] (< *floare* [flower]) (BB, *Lev*, 13, 39; 13, 42; 13, 57); *a înfrunzi* [to leaf] (< *frunză* [leaf]) (MC, 171ʳ); (*a*) *înrădăcina* [to root] (< *rădăcină* [root]) (MC, 10ᵛ); (*a*) *însera* [to dusk] (< *seară* [dusk, evening]), with the variant (*a*) *însăra* (CD, 8ʳ); (*a*) *înstela* [to cover with stars (ab. sky)] (< *stea* [star]) (CII, II, 1, 156); (*a*) *înnopta* [to grow dark] (< *noapte* [night]) (DVS, 45; CS¹, I, 89); (*a*) *însori* [to become sunny] (< *soare* [Sun]) (MC, 8ᵛ); *a* (*în*)*nuora* [to cover with clouds (ab. sky)] (< *nor* [cloud]) (PS, 146/8; CP, 8/9), etc.

- *'Changes in the chromatic aspect'*
  The second group formed around terms derived from the most common chromatic adjectives indicate an irreversible process of change.
  a (*în*)*roși* [to redden] (BB, *Lev*, 13, 49; 14, 37; 13, 31); *a înnegri* [to blacken] (BB, *Lev*, 13, 6; 13, 26; 13, 25); *a negri* [to blacken] (BB, *Lev*, 13, 21); *a înverzi* [to green] (BB, *Lev*, 13, 37; 13, 49); *a îngălbeni* [to yellow] (CS¹, III, 2, 75); *a înălbi* [to whiten] (PH, 50/9; CC², 87/22); *a se înălbi* [to whiten (refl.)] (CL, 9ᵛ/16); (*a*) *învineți* [to bruise] (CC², 158/36).

- *'Changes in physical features'*
  The third group of entities *in re* shows changes in terms of physical and moral aspect.
  (*a*) *îmbătrîni* [to grow old] (BB, *Gen*, 27, 2; 27, 1; CS¹, III, 2, 77; CII, VII, 413; Vulg., *Gen*, 27, 1; Vulg., *Lev*, 13, 11); (*a*) *îmblînzi* [to milden] (CC², 137/36; CS¹, VII, 64ᵛ/12–13); (*a*) *îmbolnăvi* [to sicken] (CS¹, III, 2, 76; CII, I, 10, 29); *a îngrășa* [to fatten] (CC², 73/29); *a îngroșa* [to thicken] (TS, 42ʳ); *a*

înfrumuseța (CL, 17ᵛ/4; 2ʳ/13–14; 31ʳ/14–15) and *a înfrumșa* [to beautify] (PS, 64, 9; CV, 152, 4); *a (se) însănătoșa / a (se) însănătoși* [to improve in health] (ȘT, 23; 13, 74; CD, III, 2, 6; CS¹, IV, 14, 134; BB, *Lev*, 13, 37); *a însupția* [to thin] (PS, 40; CP, 6; CV, 9); *a învîrtoșa* [to toughen] (CL, 10ʳ/8; 40ᵛ/1; PH, 32/6).

- *'Changes in perception'*
  In this case, we shall mention the verbs derived from common adjectives belonging to the sphere of physical perception, which refer to taste, such as *dulce* [sweet], *acru* [sour].
  a înăcri [to sour] (TS, 45ᵛ); *a îndulci* [to sweeten] (CS², XIV, 112ʳ/4; TM, 227).

2.2.2. Intensional concepts **in intellectu**

The group of lexical units in the field of intensional essences *in intellectu* refers to verbs that mark mental changes.

a înferica [to gladden] (PS, 427; CP, 251ᵛ); *(a) năspri* [to harden] (DPar., III, 54ʳ; III, 61ᵛ); *a întrista* [to sadden] (BB, *Gen*, 45, 5); *a se însingura* [to seclude (oneself)] (CP, 23; PS, 56; CV, 8); *a înverșuna* [to embitter] (CS¹, V, 12, 233); *a se înrăi* [to become bitter] (CV), *a înrăi* [to fill with malice] (CP, 17, 29, 40); *(a) se îndrăgosti* [to fall in love] (CS¹, VI, 41, 378); *a îmbuna* [to soften] (PH, 143/15); *a îmblînzi* [to milden] (CC², 137/36; CS², VII, 64ᵛ/12–13); *(a) încuraja* [to encourage] (CS¹, IV, 5, 99); *(a) înfuria* [to enrage] (CS¹, V, 12, 226); *(a) îngrozi* [to terrify] (DPar., III, 93ᵛ; III, 120ᵛ; IV, 15ᵛ; MC, 18ʳ; 195ʳ); *(a) înfrunta* [to face, to confront] (DPar., II, 6ʳ; II, 20ᵛ; II, 27ʳ; III, 7ᵛ; III, 18ᵛ; III, 69ᵛ; III, 71ʳ; III, 116ʳ; IV, 11ʳ; MC, 18ʳ); *(a) înspăima* [to appal] (DPar., 15ʳ; II, 38ᵛ; III, 41ᵛ; III, 72ʳ; III, 74ʳ; III, 75ᵛ; III, 104ᵛ; III, 120ᵛ); *(a) însufleta* [to liven] (MC, 55ʳ); *(a) însufleți* [to liven] (DPar., III, 78ʳ), etc.

As regards classes *in re*, it is to be noted that there is a greater number of units expressing physical changes doubled, at the cognitive level, by those which indicate changes in the various experiences, most of them perceived as negative, while a smaller number of them are perceived as positive.

This aspect of the analysis of eventive verbs shapes, essentially, another direction of interpretation of the values of the *în–* (*îm–*) prefix, namely the semantic one.

2.3. Semantic approach in the analysis of eventive verbs

Verbs of becoming are processual verbs characterized by the semes [+ *dynamic*], [+ *change*], [– *control*]. Thus, the semantic matrix of eventives contains the 'operator-verb' (called *atomic predicate*, see Ușurelu, 2005, p. 38) *a deveni* [to become]. However, to this atomic predicate we may add, on the axis of syntagmatic synonymy, the verbs *a fi* [to be], *a se transforma* [to transform, to turn into], *a se face* [to grow (into something), to become].

2.3.1. 'Change, passing from one state into another'

The first value of the general category of eventiveness expresses, in its turn, three levels of change of a state/quality of objects.

- *'Acquirement of the feature'* denoted by the theme
  (a) îmbăta [to inebriate] (PS, 32; CC², 287/9); *(a) îmbătrîni* [to grow old] (BB, *Gen*, 27, 2; 27, 1; CS¹, III, 2, 77; CII, VII, 413; Vulg., *Gen*, 27, 1; Vulg., *Lev*, 13, 11); *(a) îmblînzi* [to tame, to milden] (CC², 137/36; CS¹, VII, 64ᵛ/12–13); *(a) îmbolnăvi* [to sicken] (CS¹, III, 2, 76; CII, I, 10, 29); *(a) îmbuna* [to soften] (PH, 143/15; CD, 98ᵛ); *(a) împuțina* [to lessen] (PH, 11/2; CS², IX, 77ᵛ/2–3; CS¹, VI, 40, 374; DPar., III, 57ᵛ); *a îndulci* [to sweeten] (CS¹, XIV, 112ʳ/4; TM, 227; CC², 132, 135, 136, 157, 494; CB, I, 11–12; CV, 66ᵛ/4; PS, 59); *a înferica* [to gladden] (PS, 427; CP, 251ᵛ); *a înfierbînta* [to heat] (PH, 65/10); *a înflămînzi* [to hunger] (CC², 34/21); *a înfrumuseța* (CL, 17ᵛ/4, 2ʳ/13–14; 31ʳ/14–15) and *a înfrumșa* [to beautify] (PS, 64, 9; CV, 152, 4); *(a) îngreuia* [to make heavy] (BB, *Gen*, 48, 10; BB, *Lev*, 26, 15); *a îngrășa* [to fatten] (CC², 73/29); *a îngroșa* [to thicken] (TS, 42ʳ); *a înmicșura* [to lessen] (PS, 20; CP, 10ᵛ); *a (se) împuțina* [to lessen, to scant] (CS¹, VI, 40, 374; DPar., III, 57ᵛ); *(a) înmulți* [to increase] (PH, 35/8; BB, *Gen*, 7, 18; 38, 12; 47, 27; 34, 1; CII, VII, 359; III, 201; V, 352); *a înrăi* [to fill with malice] (CV; CP, 17, 29, 40); *a (în)ruși* [to redden] (CC², 192/11); *(a) însărcina* [to put in

charge] (мс, 201^v); *a (se) însănătoșa / a (se) însănătoși* [to improve in health, to grow well] (șт, 23; 13, 74; сд, III, 2, 6; сs^1, IV, 14, 134; вв, *Lev*, 13, 37); *a însetoșa, a însetoși* [to thirst] (ст, 56^v; сс^2, 89); *a (se) însingura* [to seclude (oneself)] (ср, 23; рs, 56; сv, 8); *a însupția* [to thin] (рs, 25; ср, 6; сv, 9); *a întări* [to fasten, to strengthen] (сс^2, 290/28; мi, III, 191^r/7; рн, 111/8; șт, 33; 2, 227; 3, 229; вв, *Lev*, 19, 16; 20, 3; 20, 5); *a întăroșa* [to become pregnant] (ро^1, 131); *a întrista* [to sadden] (сс^2, 79/23); *a învîrtoșa* [to toughen] (сl, 10^r/8; 40^v/1; рн, 32/6); *(a) îndoi* [to increase twice, to double; to fold] (Vulg., II, 19, 9; 29, 9; 59, 16; сii, II, 84; DPar., IV, 50^v; сд, IX^r); *(a) însuti* (сii, VIII, 460); *(a) înșepti* [to increase seven times] (DPar., III, 116^v; III, 117^{v400}; сs^1, IV, 6, 105); *(a) întrei* [to triple] (DPar., III, 110a^{r408}; IV, 50^v; сii, XI, 587), cf. *a întrii* [to triple] (Vulg., 21, 14); *(a) înzeci*, with the variant *(a) îndzăci* [to increase tenfold] (сii, IV, 295); *(a) împătri* [to quadruplicate] (DPar., III, 108a^{r408}; сii, XI, 587); *a înjumătăți* [to halve] (сс^2, 99/29).

This group of verbs is homogenous in terms of the lexico-grammatical class which serves as base for the built words. It is to be noted that units derived with *în–* (*îm–*), which include in their lexical information the 'passage from one state into another' (resultative state), belong to the general classes of deadjectival verbs and denominal verbs, in some cases.

Most of the derivatives have qualifying adjectives as bases, of which those referring to colours and common features are the most frequent.

In terms of logical semantics, the *adjective* is considered as the 'base-predicate' that imposes a resultative state on the verbs called 'process-predicates'.

Given the intrinsically [+ *progressive*] feature some adjectives have, this is also reflected in the lexical information of deadjectival eventives.

  – *a se îngreuna* [to become heavier];
  – *a se împuțina* [to become less];
  – *a se îmbuna* [to become good/better];
  – *(a) se înmicșora* [to become smaller].

The relational feature is also preserved with verbs whose theme/root is an abstract noun[7], derived, in its turn, from a progressive qualifying adjective, such as *frumusețe* [beauty], *bunătate* [goodness] or *răutate* [wickedness]:

  – *înfrumuseța* [to beautify] < *frumusețe* [beauty] < *frumos* [beautiful] + *–ețe*;
  – *îmbunătăți* [to better, to make good] < *bunătate* [goodness] < *bun* [good] + *–ătate*;
  – *înrăutăți* [to worsen] < *răutate* [wickedness] < *rău* [bad, wicked] + *–ătate*.

Verbs from the category of eventives that indicate the resultative state into which the subject passes highlight a dynamic-evolutional process, characterized by the semes that are connected in the following way:

  – 'development', two-fold [+/–] 'positive development' (marked D^1) and 'involution' (D^2), which expresses a relationship of complementary antonymy;
  – 'becoming', under two aspects: 'absolute becoming' (D^3) and 'relative becoming' (D^4)[8].

• *'Positive development' (D^1)*
The seme D^1 is represented by the ability of the subject to acquire a new state, which regards, on the one hand, the qualitative side and the quantitative side, and, on the other hand, a general neutral evolution:

  – The qualitative side is rendered by verbs such as: *(a) îmblînzi* [to tame, to milden] (сс^2, 137/36; сs^1, VII, 64^v/12–13); *a înfrumuseța* (CL, 17^v/4, 2^r/13–14, 31^r/14–15) and *a înfrumșa* [to beau-

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[7] For an approach to this perspective of the subject, Manea Hoancă (1994, p. 219); галр (I, p. 456).

[8] Some studies also mention the seme 'redevenire' (i.e. becoming again) of the eventive process, obtained by means of the iterative prefix *re–*, attached to initial eventives: *(a) reînfrunzi* [to leaf again], etc. Cf. Evseev (1974, p. 101–102).

We consider that this seme may characterize a limited number of verbs of change of state, for most of the units in this category express an absolute becoming, the process being irreversible *(a) îmbătrîni* [to grow old] – # *(a) reîmbătrîni* [to grow old again]. Therefore, derivational schemes are not universally valid.

tify] (PS, 64, 9; CV, 152, 4); (*a*) *înălbi* [to whiten] (PH, 50/9; CC^2, 87/22; CL, 9^v/16; CII, V, 346); *a înnoi* [to renew] (PH, 509/13; CL, 10^r/4); (*a*) *înferici* [to make happy] (PH, 43/9), etc.

- The quantitative side is rendered by deadjectival and denominal verbs: (*a*) *înmulți* [to increase] (PH, 35/8; BB, *Gen*, 7, 18; 38, 12; 47, 27; 34, 1; CII, VII, 359; III, 201; V, 352); (*a*) *însuti* [to centuple] (CII, VIII, 460); (*a*) *înșepti* [to increase seven times] (DPar., III, 116^v; III, 117^{v400}; CS^1, IV, 6, 105), etc.

- The general evolution: *a* (*se*) *însănătoșa* / *a* (*se*) *însănătoși* [to improve in health, to grow well] (ȘT, 23; 13, 74; CD, III, 2, 6; CS^1, IV, 14, 134; BB, *Lev*, 13, 37); (*a*) *însărcina* [to put in charge] (MC, 201^v).

- *'Involution'/'Negative development' (D^2)*
  The seme D^2 marks the loss of a quality or quantity of the subject:
  - 'numerical decrease' [– *quantity*]:
    a înmicșura [to lessen] (PS, 20; CP, 10^v); *a* (*se*) *împuțina* [to lessen, to scant] (CS^1, VI, 40, 374; DPar., III, 57^v); (*a*) *înjumătăți* [to halve] (CC^2, 99/29; PS, 20), etc.
  - 'deprivation of a certain quality' [– *quality*]:
    (*a*) *îmbăta* [to inebriate] (PS, 45); (*a*) *îmbolnăvi* [to sicken] (CS^1, III, 2, 76; CII, I, 10, 29); (*a*) *îmbătrîni* [to grow old] (BB, *Gen*, 27, 2; 27, 1; CS^1, III, 2, 77; CII, VII, 413; Vulg., *Gen*, 27, 1; Vulg., *Lev*, 13, 11); *a întrista* [to sadden] (CC^2, 79/23); *a* (*se*) *însingura* [to seclude (oneself)] (CP, 23; PS, 56; CV, 8); *a însupția* [to thin] (PS; CP, 6; CV, 9); *a înrăi* [to fill with malice (CC^2), etc.

- *'Acquirement of a feature similar'* to that of the object denoted by the theme; *'resemblance with that object'*
  The second category of eventives belonging to the general class of 'transformation' is marked by the ability of the subject to acquire a quality/characteristic that is similar to that denoted by the lexico-grammatical theme.
  (*a*) *îmbărbăta* [to encourage] (PH, 26/14; TS, 51^r; CC^2, 183/26); (*a*) *împăinijina* [to not see clearly, to see through glass, darkly] (CC^2, 252/37); (*a*) *încuraja* [to encourage] (CS^1, IV, 5, 99); (*a*) *îndumnezei* [to deify] (CC^2, 487/18; DPar., III, 75^v; III, 90^r; III, 93^r; III, 111^v; MC, 140^v); *a încremeni* [to freeze, to become speechless or immobilized] (B1795, *Fap*, 9, 7); (*a*) *împietri* [to stun, to petrify] (DPar, III, 56^r; MC, 2^r; 5^v; 40^v; 43^v; CII, VI, 372); (*a*) *împlătoșa* [to wear/put on a breastplate] (DPar., IV, 16^r); (*a*) *îndrăgosti* [to fall in love] (CS^1, VI, 41, 378); (*a*) *înformui* [to form; to take the shape of, to turn into] (CII, II, 141); (*a*) *înfrăți* (DPar., III, 98^v); (*a*) *înfîrtăți* [to befriend] (MC, 368; ȘT, 19, 262); (*a*) *învrăjbi* [to split, to grow dissension] (PH, 26/29; CC^2, 246/28; MI, 193^r/5; ȘT, 22, 101); (*a*) *îngrozi* [to terrify, to appal] (DPar., III, 93^v; III, 120^v; IV, 15^v; MC, 18^r; 195^r); *a întrupi* [to embody, to incarnate] (CC^2, 2/19).
  Verbs expressing the acquirement of a similar feature to the theme are derived from nouns which designate entities characterized by the semes [+ *abstract*] and, in some situations, [+ *concrete*]. Basically, these words derived with *în–* fall into the general class of parasynthetic denominal verbs. However, they differ from other semantic classes of denominal verbs in terms of the specific nature of the lexical information they carry.

2.3.2. 'Transformation' into the object denoted by the base

The category of verbs indicating a process of 'transformation into the object denoted by the base' is represented by the ability of the base—concrete or abstract—to express absolute or relative becoming.

As regards the semes that are characteristic of this numerous group of verbs from the old age of the literary language, we shall take into account the two-fold 'becoming': absolute and relative.

- *'Absolute becoming' (D^3)*
  The seme D^3 marks the radical transformation of a quality/state, a passage into a qualitatively new state, which entails the annulment of the former quality of Old subject.
  (*a*) *înălbi* [to whiten] (PH, 50/9; CC^2, 87/22; CL, 9^v/16; CII, V, 346); (*a*) *încenușa* [to turn gray; to turn into ashes] (BB, 623b; DVS, 42); (*a*) *împlătoșa* [to wear/put on a breastplate] (DPar., IV, 16^r);

(*a*) *îmbătrîni* [to grow old] (DPar., III, 79ʳ; IV, 45ʳ); (*a*) *îmbogăți* [to richen, to grow rich] (cs¹, I, 6, 11); (*a*) *împietroșa* (cɪɪ, II, 123) and (*a*) *împietri* [to stun, to petrify] (cɪɪ, II, 130); *a înnoi* [to renew] (ᴘʜ, 509/13; cʟ, 10ʳ/4); *împestrițat* [variegated] (cs¹, VI, 4, 271); (*a*) *înnegri* [to blacken] (ʙʙ, *Lev*, 13, 6; 13, 26; 13, 25); (*a*) *îngălbeni* [to yellow] (cs¹, III, 2,75); *a îngheța* [to freeze] (cc², 364/11); *a învineți* [to bruise] (cc², 158/36).

Also in this case, verb bases are derived with concrete and abstract nouns and with qualifying adjectives indicating colour and abstract adjectives indicating moral traits, attitudes.

- *'Relative becoming' (D⁴)*
  The seme D⁴ regards a transformation of *în–* derivatives that produces a relative becoming based on relational adjectives or nouns derived from this type of adjectives, concrete adjectives, respectively.
  (*a*) *îmbunătăți* [to better, to make good] (cɪɪ, IV, 275); *a înăcri* [to sour] (ᴛs, 45ᵛ); (*a*) *încălzi* [to warm] (cc², 159/3); (*a*) *împărechea* [to pair] (DPar., III, 133ʳ); *a se înneoa* [to get covered in snow] (ᴘʜ, 15); *încărnat* [plump, chubby] (DPar., III, 136ᵛ); *înfrîmșa* [to beautify] (DPar., III, 77ʳ); *înfrumșățat* [beautified] (cɪɪ, IX, 503); (*a*) *înrobi* [to enslave] (cs¹, 10b); *(în)venina* [to poison, to envenom] (cc², 203/1).

2.3.3. *'Resemblance' to the object denoted by the base (with regard to the action it performs)*

Less numerous than other categories, the words in this group indicate a resemblance to the object denoted by the theme with regard to the action it performs; they are denominal verbs and abstract nouns. They also imply, essentially, the mark of a transformation.

a înd(e)repta [to right, to better] (DPar., II, 14ᵛ; ʙʙ, *Fap*, 16, 29; 35, 36); *indireptare* [betterment] (șᴛ, 2; ᴠʀc, 29ʳ/2); (*a*) *împleti* [to entwine] (ᴍc, 264ᵛ); (*a*) *împletici* [to twine] (cɪɪ, III, 184); *a împresura* [to envelop] (ᴘʜ, 188/4, 266/17); *învîrtejire* [spin, twirl] (CD, 22ᵛ); *a împerechea* [to pair] (ᴛs, 37ʳ; 18ᵛ); *a înceti* [to accompany, to join] (cc², 615; cʟᴍ, 86); *a înschimba* [to change] (cf. Istrate, 1981, p. 245, with the variant (*a*) *înstimba*); *a întocmi* [to form, to organize] (cc², 246/27); (*a*) *întipări* [to engrain, to imprint] (cs¹, V, 12, 231); (*a*) *înțeleni* [to go to waste (ab. land)] (ᴍc, 195ʳ; CazV, 8/17; ᴀᴅ, 6).

2.3.4. *'Intension of action'*

Verbs expressing an intension of action are derived from nouns or other verbs, which themselves include the idea of [+ *intensity*].

a închipui [to imagine] (șᴛ, 13, 85); *îndrăgi* [to grow fond of] (ʙʙ, *Gen*, 29, 18; 29, 30; 44, 20); *a încrede* [to trust (to, with)] (cc², 276/23); *a înfrunta* [to confront] (DPar., II, 6ʳ; II, 20ᵛ; II, 27ʳ; III, 7ᵛ; III, 18ᵛ; III, 69ᵛ; III, 71ʳ; III, 116ʳ; IV, 11ʳ; cᴍ, 18ʳ); *a îndemna* [to prompt] (șᴛ, 23, 146; 37, 218); *a învrăjmăși* [to split, to sow dissension] (cc², 285/21); *a învrăjbi* [to split, to sow dissension] (ᴘʜ, 26/29; cc², 246/28; ᴍɪ, 193ʳ/5); *a înverșuna*]to embitter] (cs¹, V, 12, 233); (*a*) *încelui* [to cheat, to befool] (Vulg., *Gen*, 31, 7; 8, 29); *a se încămăta* [to become an usurer; to contract a debt; to engage to keep an obligation] (cc², 351); *a înlumina* [to lighten, to brighten] (cᴍ, 251ᵛ; ᴘᴏ¹, 9); *a înmări* [to increase, to enlarge] (ᴘᴏ², 145; cᴛ, 152, 6).

2.3.5. *'Interiority'*

The primary meaning inherited from Latin is presented in a few verbs of the old age: (*a*) *înmijlocia* [to come/go between] (cᴅ, Iᵛ); (*a*) *înnopta* [to grow dark] (cᴅ, 8ʳ); (*a*) *însera* [to dusk] (DPar., III, 9ᵛ; cɪɪ, I, 9, 12); (*a*) *îngropa* [to bury, to pit] (ᴘʜ, 78/3; cc², 138/4; ᴛs, 100ᵛ, 49ᵛ, 20ʳ, etc.; ᴍɪ, 186ᵛ/6), cf. *îngrop* (ᴇʀ, 11ʳ); (*a*) *înmormînta* [to bury, to inter] (cs¹, V, 12, 223).

As can be noticed, verbs which have the feature [+ *interiority*] in their semantic matrix express, on the one hand, spatial location, and on the other hand temporal location, which are more or less abstracted.

3. Conclusions

Speech acts in texts written in the 16ᵗʰ–18ᵗʰ century point to the productivity of some patterns of derivation with the productive affix *în–* (*îm–*) in old Romanian. This procedure contributes to establishing

some patterns of thought reflected in the hierarchical configuration of elements related to the reciprocity between language compartments: vocabulary, morphology, semantics.

Essentially, these words derived with *în*− confirm the fact that any idiom, however limited it may be in point of linguistic resources, has the power to produce its own lexical creations which should express various notions. Moreover, the inventoried corpus highlights the fact that some derivatives proved to be occasional forms, others archaic and obsolete—which shows the extremely dynamic nature of Romanian.

ÎThe logico-semantic analysis of prefixes draws attention to aspects that have to do with the dynamics of vocabulary, in general, and with the dynamics of prefixes, in particular.

In old Romanian, the fundamental value of *în*− (*îm*−) is to indicate 'change', 'passing from one state (in)to another', followed by the 'acquirement of object denoted by the base' and the 'achievement of an action'. 'Interiority', a primary Latin value, is poorly represented in the stage we have analysed, being expressed by analytical constructions with prepositions (with a local and temporal meaning).

The ways of expressing the logico-semantic values of *în*− derivatives are formed according to the parts of speech that serve as base for the built words.

The differences in rendering transformation are explained in terms of the 'change of state' expressed by verbs that have an adjectival base, indicating 'absolute' or 'relative becoming'.

Verbs with nominal base (noun or numeral) mark various degrees of 'transformation', involving the features [+ *comparison*], [+ *modality*].

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