

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

AIDA TODI<sup>1</sup>, MANUELA NEVACI<sup>2</sup>

**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*; *tonĕre* > *tonĕre* (Densusianu 1961: 103,

<sup>1</sup> “Ovidius” University, Constanța, [aidatodi@yahoo.com](mailto:aidatodi@yahoo.com).

<sup>2</sup> “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest, [elanevac@yahoo.com](mailto:elanevac@yahoo.com).

This paper is supported by the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development (SOP HRD), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HRD/89/1.5/S/59758.

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

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: *cadēre* > *cadēre*, *capēre* > *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-Marioțeanu, 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, [-á] and [-éa], 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 **-eári**<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>: **-á-** *cantáre*

2<sup>nd</sup>: **-ě-** *légere*

3<sup>rd</sup>: **-é-** *vidére*

4<sup>th</sup>: **-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”<sup>5</sup>,

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

<sup>5</sup> “The confusion of **ě** and **í** in hiatus, whose final result is the transformation of both sounds into **-ĩ**, 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, **ē** and **ī**

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., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. Pl.
1.	(in)figēre	a înfige	-	(n)hiḍiri	(n)hiḍiṭ	(n)hiḍeári	(n)hiḍeṭ
2.	*ardēre	a arde	-	ardíri	árdiṭ	ardeári	ardéṭ
3.	*disvestēre< dis-vestire	a dezveaște	-	dizveáštiri	dizveáștiṭ	dizvișteári	dizvișteṭ
4.	*ex-battēre	a (se) zbate	a zbătea (inv. reg.) DLR	zbátiri	zbátiṭ	zbăteári	zbătéṭ
5.	*excotēre	a scoate	-	scoátiri	scoátiṭ	scuteári	scutéṭ

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 (*infloresc*), but disappeared in others (*lucesc*, *urăsc*); Brâncuș (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-mulgëre	a zmulge		zmúlđiri	zmúlđiđ	zmulđeári	zmulđzét
7.	*ex-tragëre	a trage	-	astráđiri	astráđiđ	astráđeári	astráđét
8.	*ex-trajicëre	a întrece	-	astreáđiri	astreáđiđ	astriđeári	astriđét
9.	*extra-pungëre	a străpunge	-	strápúndiri	strápúndiđ	străpundeári	străpundét
10.	*exvomëre	a voma	-	(z)voámiri	(z)voámiđ	(z)vumeári	(z)vumét
11.	*investëre<investire	a înveaște	-	nveáštiri	nveáštiđ	nvișteári	nviștét
12.	*ridëre	a råde	-	aráđiri	aráđiđ	aráđeári	arádét
13.	*tragëre<trahere	a trage	-	trádziri	tráđiđ	tráđeári	tráđét
14.	*vendëre vínđu	a vinde	-	víndiri	víndiđ	vindeári	vindé
15.	abbatëre	a abate	-	abátiri	abátiđ	abáđeári	abátét
16.	adjüngëre	a ajunge	-	ađúnđiri	ađúnđiđ	ađundeári	ađundét
17.	adücëre	a aduce	-	adúđiri	adúđiđ	adúđeári	adúđét
18.	alëgëre	a alege	-	aleáđiri	aleáđiđ	aliđeári	aliđzét
19.	apponë	a apune	-	apúniri	apúniđ	apuneári	apunét
20.	apprëndëre	a aprinde	-	apríndiri	apríndiđ	aprindeári	aprindét
21.	cingëre	a încinge	-	țeándiri	țineđiđ	țineári	țineđét
22.	cocëre	a coace	-	coáđiri	coáđiđ	cuțeári	cuțét
23.	collegëre	a culege	-	culeáđiri	culeáđiđ	culiđeári	culiđét
24.	cosëre	a coase	-	coásiri	coásiđ	cuseári	cusét
25.	dicëre	a zice	-	đâđiri	đâđiđ	đâđeári	đâđét
26.	dirigëre	a drege	-	ndreáđiri	ndreáđiđ	ndriđeári	ndriđét
27.	discludëre	a deschide	-	dișclíđiri	dișclíđiđ	dișclíđeári	dișclíđét
28.	disfacëre	a desface	-	disfáđiri	disfáđiđ	disfáđeári	disfáđét
29.	dis-fingëre	a desface (aluatul)	-	disfinđiri	disfinđiđ	disfinđeári	disfinđét
30.	distringëre	a	-	distrinđiri	distrinđiđ	distrinđeári	distrinđét
31.	ducëre	a duce	-	dúđiri	dúđiđ	duțeári	duțét
32.	ex-per-lingëre	a prelinge	-	sprilínđiri	sprilínđiđ	sprilindeári	sprilindeđét
33.	exponëre	a spune	a spune (inv.) DLR	spúniri	spúniđ	spuneári	spunét
34.	ex-ponëre	a spune	a spune DLR	aspúniri	aspúniđ	aspuneári	aspunét
35.	extergëre	a șterge	-	așteárđiri	așteárđiđ	aștirđeári	aștirđét
36.	extinguëre	a stinge	-	astinđiri	astinđiđ	astinđeári	astinđét
37.	facëre	a face	-	fáđiri	fáđiđ	fáđeári	fáđét
38.	fervëre	a fierbe	-	heárbiđiri	heárbiđiđ	hirbeári	hirbét
39.	frangëre	a frânge	-	frándziri	Frándziđ	frânđeári	frândét
40.	frigëre	a frige	-	fríđiri	friđiđ	friđeári	friđét
41.	gemëre (*)	a geme	-	đeámiri	đeámiđ	đimeári	đimét
42.	în-cernëre	a cerne	-	nțeárniri	nțeárniđ	nțineári	nțineđét
43.	includëre	a închide	-	nclíđiri	nclíđiđ	nclíđeári	nclíđét

44.	mergēre	a merge	-	neăđiri	neăđiđ	niđeári	niđeđ
45.	mulgēre	a mulge	-	múlđiri	múlđiđ	mulđeári	mulđzét
46.	nascēre	a naște	-	năștiri	năștiđ	nășteári	nășset
47.	pascēre	a paște	-	păștiri	păștiđ	pășteári	păștét
48.	perđere	a pierde	-	kárdiri	kárdiđ	kirđeári	kirdét
49.	per-trajicēre	a petrece	-	pitreátiri	pitreátiđ	pitriđeári	pitriđeđ
50.	pingēre	a împinge	-	piňđiri	piňđiđ	pinđeári	pinđeđ
51.	plangēre	a plânge	-	plânđiri	Plânđiđ	plânđeári	plânđeđ
52.	ponēre	a pune	-	púniri	puniđ	puneári	punét
53.	prehendēre	a prinde	-	príndiri	príndiđ	prinđeári	prindét
54.	rodēre	a roade	-	aróadiri	aróadiđ	arudeári	arudét
55.	rumpēre	a rupe	-	arúpiri	arúpiđ	arupeári	arupét
56.	sorbēre	a sorbi	-	soárg'iri	soárg'iđ	surg'ári	surg'iđ
57.	spargere	a sparge	-	spárđiri	spárđiđ	spârđeári	spârđeđ
58.	stingēre	a stinge	-	stínđiri	stínđiđ	stinđeári	stindét
59.	stringēre	a strânge	-	strínđiri	strínđiđ	strinđeári	strindét
60.	sugēre	a suge	-	súđiri	Súđiđ	suđeári	suđeđ
61.	tendēre	a întinde	-	tíndiri	tíndiđ	tinđeári	tindét
62.	tondēre< tondēre	a tunde	-	túndiri	túndiđ	tundeári	tundét
63.	torquēre	a toarce	-	toárđiri	toárđiđ	turđeári	turtét
64.	traicēre	a trece	-	treátiri	treátiđ	triđeári	tritét
65.	ungēre	a unge	a ungea DLR	aúnđiri	aúnđiđ	aunđeári	aunđeđ
66.	vincēre	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., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl.	infinitive	pres. ind., 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pl.
1.	jacēre	-	a zăcea	zâțeári	zâțeđ <sup>8</sup>	zátiri	zátit
2.	tenēre	a ține	a ținea (inv.) DLR	țineári	țineđ	țâniri	țâniđ
3.	*umplēre <sup>9</sup>	a umple	a umplea (inv. reg.) DLR	umpleári	umpleđ	úmpliri	úmplit

<sup>8</sup> It is confused with *dzâțeđ* '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 *úmplere*, Catalan *umpir*".

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

No.	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
	4 <sup>th</sup> conjugation	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	amurțăt	amurțari	amurțat
2.	amarire	-	a amări	amărări	amărăt	amărari	amărăt
3	grunire	-	a grohăi	gurnări	gurnăt	gurnari	gurnăt
4	tusire	-	a tuși	tușări	tușăt	tușari	tușăt

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

No.	LATIN	DACO-ROMANIAN		AROMANIAN			
	4 <sup>th</sup> conjugation	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	ansărăt	ansăreări	ansăreăt
3.	scire	-	a ști	știri	știt	șteări	știeăt
2.	venire	-	a veni	viniri	vinăt	vineări	vinăt

In Aromanian, the verb *scriu* < Lat. *scribere* has inflectional forms of the 3<sup>rd</sup> conjugation: *scriiri/scriăt* and of the 1<sup>st</sup> conjugation: *scriări/scriăt*.

In Aromanian the verb *stau* < Lat. *stare* (I: *stări/staăt*, II: *stăteări/stătăt*.) 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: *adăvgu*<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 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, Brăncuș 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) – adăogesc (adăogesc);*
- adăuga (adăoga) – adaug (adaog).*

Romanian), *așternu* < lat. *asternere* (in Aromanian), *pitrîndu* < lat. *pertundere* (in Aromanian).

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

c) IV, III, II: *arăkescu* < 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 *adaugere*, *adaugeo* (in Lat. cl. *-gere*, *-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. *-ere* had switched, from as early as vulgar Latin, to *-ere*. 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 *adăoșatură*. 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.) *tunsérăm*.

*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. *ruđen*, vb. IV, (reg.) *ruđená*, 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.), *ímple*, vb. III, *ímpleá*, vb. II, (reg.) *ímple*, vb. III.

*a záceá*: and: *záce*, vb. III, *jáceá*, vb. II.

In Aromanian, the following verbs exhibit mixed conjugation: *arăkéscu*, *fug<sup>u</sup>*, *tușéđ<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 vînslleadze* (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 curățeăște* (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: *învisе* (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. *incalresco* 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 cearcete* (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 învîrteșe-vă* (CV, 82 v/2); *a repausa*: *repausă* (CV, 80 v/2); *a se scurta*: *se nu scurte-se* (CV, 77 r/1); *a urdîna*: *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 *rămîne*, *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> la 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: derepteadză-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 **-i** appear sporadically in northern texts as well, alongside the forms in **-î**: *amări, 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 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 vǎpǎi* / *a vǎpǎia* (obsolete) – *vǎpǎiește* / *vǎpǎiază*; *sǎ vǎpǎiascǎ* / *sǎ vǎpǎieze*; *a mihona* / *a mihoni* (reg.) – *mihonǎ* / *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 curǎța*; *a datora 1* / (obsolete) *a datori 1* (to have a financial or moral duty) – pres. ind. 3 sg. *datoreazǎ* / *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 datoreazǎ* / *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 descotoșmǎna* (colloquial), pres. ind. 3 *descotoșmǎneazǎ* (DOOM<sup>1</sup> *a descotoșmǎni*, pres. ind. 3 *descotoșmǎnesc*); regarding the double *a împǎturi* / *a împǎtura* (DOOM<sup>1</sup>), DOOM<sup>2</sup> proposes a single form *a împǎturi*; 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 încǎpuși* (colloquial) in DOOM<sup>1</sup> (pres. ind. 3 *încǎpușește*), DOOM<sup>2</sup> allows the forms in free variation *încǎpușa* / *încǎpuși*; for *a încǎina* (DOOM<sup>1</sup>), DOOM<sup>2</sup> allows the double *a (se) încǎina* / *încǎini* (obsolete, colloquial).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Banfi, E., 1985, *Linguistica balcanica*, Bologna, Zanichelli.
- Bourciez, E., 1967, *Éléments de linguistique romane*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Brâncuș, G., 2002, *Introducere în istoria limbii române I*, București, Editura Fundației România de Mâine.
- Capidan, T., 1932, *Aromânii. Dialectul aromân – studiu lingvistic*, București, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului.
- Caragiu-Marioșeanu, M., 1968, *Fono-morfologie aromână*, București, Editura Academiei.
- CDDE – I.-A. Candrea, O. Densusianu, 2006 [1907], *Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române. Elementele latine*, G. Brâncuș (ed.), București: Paralela 45.
- DA / DLR – Academia Română, *Dicționarul limbii române*. (1913–1948), București, Socec, Universul, Monitorul Oficial; (1965 – 2010), serie nouă, București: Editura Academiei Române.
- DDA – T. Papahagi, 1963, *Dicționarul dialectului aromân: general și etimologic*, București, Editura Academiei.
- Densusianu, O., 1961, *Istoria limbii române*, II, București, Editura Academiei.
- DELR – Academia Română, 2011, *Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române*, vol. I A–B, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- DER – A. Ciorănescu, 1954-1966, *Diccionario Etimológico Rumano*, Biblioteca Filológica, Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife. / A. Ciorănescu, 2002, *Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române*, București, Saeculum I. O.

- DEX – Academia Română, 1998, *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*, București, Univers Enciclopedic.
- DLPE – T. Vianu (ed.), 1968, *Dicționarul limbii poetice a lui Eminescu*, București, Editura Academiei.
- DOOM<sup>1</sup> – M. Avram (ed.), 1982, *Dicționarul ortografic, ortoepic și morfologic al limbii române*, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- DOOM<sup>2</sup> – I. Vintilă Rădulescu (ed.), 2005, *Dicționarul ortografic, ortoepic și morfologic al limbii române*, București, Univers Enciclopedic.
- Fischer, I., 1985, *Latina dunăreană*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Gheție, I. (ed.), 1997, *Istoria limbii române literare. Epoca veche (1532-1780)*, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- Graur, A., 1936, “Sur les changements de conjugaison en roumain”, *Bulletin Linguistique*, IV, 189–193.
- Graur, A., 1962, “Evoluția conjugării în românește”, *Studii și cercetări lingvistice*, XIII, 2, 153–160.
- Graur, A., 1968, *Tendențele actuale ale limbii române*, București, Editura Științifică.
- Gutu Romalo, V. (ed.), 2005, *Gramatica limbii române, I (Cuvântul)*, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- ILR – Coteanu, I. (ed.), 1969, *Istoria limbii române II.*, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- Jordan, I., M. Manoliu, 1965, *Introducere în lingvistica romanică*, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică.
- Ivănescu, G., 1980, *Istoria limbii române*, Iași, Junimea.
- ÎOOP – Academia Română, 1995, *Îndreptar ortografic, ortoepic și de punctuație*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, București, Univers Enciclopedic.
- Lausberg, H., 1988, *Lingvistica romanică*, II, Madrid, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica.
- Lombard, A., 1955, *Le verbe roumain. Étude morphologique*, II, Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup.
- Nevaci, M., 2003, “Schimbări de conjugare la verbele moștenite de aromână din latină”, *Analele Universității Ovidius (Studia linguistica et philologica in honorem Marin Petrișor)*, XIV, 134–144.
- Nevaci, M., 2006, *Verbul în aromână. Structură și valori*, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- Pană Dindelegan, G., 1987, *Aspecte ale dinamicii sistemului morfologic verbal*, București, Tipografia Universității din București.
- Reinheimer Rîpeanu, S., 2001, *Lingvistica romanică*, București, All.
- REW – Meyer-Lübke, W., 1935, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, Dritte Auflage.
- Rusu, V. (ed.), 1984, *Tratat de dialectologie românească*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc.
- Sala, M., 1998, *De la latină la română*, București, Univers Enciclopedic.
- Saramandu, N., 1969, “Sistemul formelor verbale compuse în aromână”, *Fonetica și dialectologie*, VI, 155–162.
- Saramandu, N., 1984, “Aromâna”, in: V. Rusu (ed.), *Tratat de dialectologie românească*, Craiova, Scrisul românesc, 423–475.
- Todî, A., 2002, *Aspecte ale morfologiei verbului în secolul al XVI-lea*, Constanța, Ex Ponto.
- Todî, A., 2004, “Din istoria unui verb: a adăuga”, in: G. Pană Dindelegan (ed.), *Tradiție și inovație în studiul limbii române*, București, Editura Universității din București, 583–589.
- Todî, A., 2007, “Fluctuații în flexiunea verbului în limba română actuală”, in: C. Stan, R. Zafiu, A. Nicolae (eds.), *Studii lingvistice. Omagiu profesoarei Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, la aniversare*, București, Editura Universității din București, 213–219.