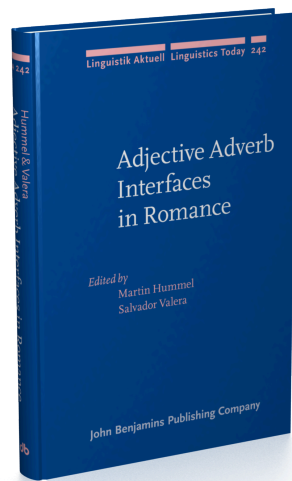


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Historical overview of the Romanian adverb

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This paper provides an overview of adverbs in the diachrony of the Romanian language with data from the 16th–18th century. The analysis starts from the stock of adverbs inherited from Latin: primary adverbs, adverbs derived from other parts of speech, especially adjectives, or borrowed adjective-adverbs. The striking fact is the lack of adverbs ending in *-mente*. The presence of this suffix in Western Romance languages is due to the influence of Late Latin. Being only influenced by Slavic languages at the beginning of its existence, the Romanian language started to use the suffix *-eşte*, the equivalent of *-mente*. However, short adverbial forms rarely combine with suffixes. This indicates that old forms are resistant to derivation, which differentiates Romanian from other Romance languages.

1. Introduction

Over the past few years, Romanists have focused their attention on the diachronic study of language issues, particularly on the way in which certain classes of words have evolved and developed (Ledgeway 2012). Among the uninflected parts of speech, special emphasis has been placed on the adverb. Taking into account these preliminary findings, we undertake to point out the way in which the class of Romanian adverbs developed along the centuries. It differs from the other Romance languages because it had to appeal to borrowings from the languages with which Romanian came into contact or it had to create new types of adverbs with the help of certain Latin derivative bases or affixes. Romanian was isolated for a long time from the other Romance languages because of the Slavic population settled in the territories surrounding the regions inhabited by the Romanians (Densusianu 1997: 230–72; Pană Dindelegan 2013: 2–3). Romanian succeeded in founding a particular adverbial system, which reflects the multiple external influences, but also the internal developments (Chircu 2012; Vasile 2013: 22).

In our article we will focus, on the one hand, on aspects regarding the origin of Romanian adverbs and, on the other hand, on the way in which adverbs developed

on the Romanian territory. In this latter case, we will talk about derivation, conversion, composition, and the adverbial phrases created or taken from the linguistic patterns the Romanian language came into contact with throughout the centuries. The first two sections are meant to underline the Latin adverbial heritage and the reorganization of the adverbial class, which justifies, to a certain extent, the further developments from the oriental part of Latinity. The diachronic perspective itself starts with the borrowed lexical units (Section 3) and continues with the innovations up to the present.

We extracted an important part of the examples from texts which are representative for the evolution of the Romanian language (see bibliography). The great majority of the examples of this study have been quoted from the texts in the References and the *Corpus electronic* (2014). We also excerpted data from texts which were not taken into account by specialists carrying out research on Romanian adverbs in the past. Thus, some of them are presented for the first time.

2. Latin adverbs in Romanian

The Romanian language inherited from Latin a relatively low number of primary adverbial forms. A great number of Latin compounds have been preserved in the language until today as part of the Romanian bulk vocabulary. They have a simple structure and rarely form the derivative lexical basis of other adverbs. By contrast, as it will be seen below, they are members of compound adverbs, which are quite numerous, and, therefore, compensate for the losses suffered by the class of adverbs of Latin origin (Chircu 2008; Popescu-Marin 2007: 260–4; Vasile 2013).

In what follows, we shall list the inherited forms, varying across texts, regions and epochs: *au* ‘or’ (< Lat. *aut*), *bine* ‘well’ (< Lat. *bene*), *ca* ‘as ... as/how’ (< Lat. *quam*), *călare* ‘horseback’ (< Lat. *caballaris*), *cătelin* ‘slowly’ (< Lat. **cautelinus*), *chiar* ‘exactly’ (< Lat. *clarus*), *când* ‘when’ (< Lat. *quando*), *cât* ‘how/what’ (< Lat. *quantus*), *cum* ‘how’ (< Lat. *quomodo*), *d(e)rept* ‘directly’ (< Lat. *directus*), *foarte* ‘very’ (< Lat. *forte*), *ieri* ‘yesterday’ (< Lat. *heri*), *io* ‘where’ (< Lat. *ubi*), *încă* ‘still/yet’ (< Lat. *unquam*), *(în)cet* ‘quietly’ (< Lat. *(in +) quietus*), *înde* ‘where’ (< Lat. *inde*), *jos* ‘down’ (< Lat. *deorsum*), *mai* ‘more’ (< Lat. *magis*), *mâne* ‘tomorrow’ (< Lat. *mane*), *mult* ‘much’ (< Lat. *multus*), *nici* ‘not/no more’ (< Lat. *neque*), *nu* ‘no’ (< Lat. *non*), *puțin* ‘little’ (< Lat. **putinus*), *repede* ‘rapidly’ (< Lat. *rapide*), *sus* ‘up’ (< Lat. *sursum*), *și* ‘also’ (< Lat. *sic*) (see Iliescu 2008: 253–63), *tare* ‘strong(ly), loud(ly)’ (< Lat. *talis*), *târziu* ‘late’ (< Lat. *tardivus*), *tot* ‘all’ (< Lat. *totus*), *unde* ‘where’ (< Lat. *unde*), *vârtos* ‘strongly/vigorously’ (< Lat. *virtuosus*). These adverbs are encountered in most Romanian texts:

- (1) a. *io viermii o răzbesc și putredește*
 where worms.DEF CL.ACC.F.3SG find.PRES.3PL and rot.PRES.3SG
și io furii o sapă
 and where reavers.DEF CL.ACC.F.3SG dig.PRES.3PL
 ‘where it can be found by worms and can rot and where the reaver digs for it and steals it.’ (TEMR, 179v, p. 142)
- b. *ascundeți-vă puținel, citinel, citinel, până*
 hide.IMP.2PL=CL.ACC.2PL a while slowly slowly until
când va trece mîniia Domnului (D, PÎ, 200r, p. 679)
 it fades.away wrath.DEF God.DEF.GEN
 ‘go into hiding for a while, a little, slowly, slowly, until God’s wrath fades away.’
- c. *încinge-veri armele sale pre coapsele sale tare*
 gird=will weapons.DEF his to thigh his strongly
 ‘for he would tightly gird himself up his weapons to the thigh.’ (PH, 38r, p. 125)
- d. *pusă pre ficiorii săi călare, și-i*
 put.PS.3SG DOM sons.DEF his on.horseback and=CL.ACC.M.3PL
trimisă, zicându-le (H, 63, p. 26)
 send.PS.3SG say.GER=CL.DAT.3PL
 ‘he had his sons mount the horses, and then sent them away, saying.’

Alongside the primary forms, Romanian also inherited an important number of Latin adverbial compounds (especially compounds attested in Vulgar Latin), which reflect their importance in the Romanian language. The number is sensibly larger than that of the simple forms, which illustrates a tendency towards analysis, rather than synthesis (Ciompec 1985: 101–3).

Their structure comprises either specialized presentatives (of the *eccum* type) (Grandgent 1958: 25–6), or lexical units (*ad* + *similis*), which were initially autonomous. For objective reasons, linguists (Väänänen 2006: 123; Bourciez 1967: 257) included the presentatives in the deictics category, claiming that they were not construed later on, but were taken over from Latin as such: *abia* ‘barely’ (< Lat. *ad* + *vix*), *aici* ‘here’ (< Lat. *ad* + *hic* + *ce*), *acmu* ‘now’ (< Lat. *eccum* + *módo*), *acum* ‘now’ (< Lat. *eccúm* + *modo*), *acolo* ‘there’ (< Lat. *eccum* + *illoc*), *adevăr* ‘truthfully’ (< Lat. *ad* + *de* + *verum*), *afară* ‘outside’ (< Lat. *ad* + *foras*), *ainte* ‘forward’ (< Lat. *ad* + *ante*), *mainte* ‘forward’ (Lat. *magis* + *ante*), *aiurea/ air* ‘elsewhere’ (Lat. *ali* + (*ubi*) + *re*, *aimintre* ‘otherwise’ (< Lat. *alia* + *mente*), *amu* ‘now’ (< Lat. *ad* + *modo*), *aorea* ‘now’ (< Lat. *ad* + *horam*), *apoi* ‘then’ (< Lat. *ad* + *post*), *aproape* ‘close, almost’ (< Lat. *ad* + *prope*), *asemenea* ‘alike’ (< Lat. *ad* + *similis*),

asupra ‘thereon’ (< Lat. *ad* + *supra*), *așa* ‘thus’ (< Lat. *eccum* + *sic*), *atât* ‘enough’ (< Lat. *eccum* + *tantum*), *atunce* ‘then’ (< Lat. *ad* + *tunc* + *ce*), *deneauri* ‘just before’ (< Lat. *de* + *in* + *illa* + *ora*), *dăunăoară* ‘before’ (< Lat. *de* + *una* + *hora*), *îndărăpt* ‘backwards’ (< Lat. *in* + *de* + *recto*), *lăuntru* ‘inside’ (< Lat. *illac* + *intro*), *nemică* ‘nothing’ (< Lat. + *nec* + *mica*), *nicăuri/ nicăieri* ‘nowhere’ (< Lat. *nec* + *aliubi* + *re*), *neșchit* ‘any’ (< Lat. *nescio* + *quantum*), *numai* ‘only’ (< Lat. *non* + *magis*), *poimă(i) ne* ‘the day after tomorrow’ (< Lat. *post* + *mane*) (see in southern Italy dialects, *pusticras*. In Latin, *mane* ‘morning’), *utrinde* ‘therefore’ (< Lat. *ultra* + *inde*):

- (2) a. *acicea* să înceapă rugăciunea derept prunc
 here să_{SUBJ} start.SUBJ.3SG prayer.DEF for child
 ‘the prayer shall start *here* for a child.’ (TEMR, 255v, p. 194)
- b. *au aicea* învățătură toți creștinii
 have here teaching all Christians.DEF
 ‘for *here* all Christians received the teachings.’ (TEMR, 23v, p. 47)
- c. *fericiți-s morții carii mor de acmu* în Domnul
 blessed=are the dead.PL who die from now in God.DEF
 ‘blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from *now* on.’
 (IZV, SA, 4r, p. 14)

The adverbs presented in the first part of this paper prove that, in the beginning, Romanian has preserved many meanings also present in Latin. The innovations are minor and in agreement with the evolution tendencies in both Vulgar Latin and the Romance languages. As a result of linguistic contact, the adverbs were reconfigured as a class, and they not only multiplied, but also diversified semantically.

Generally speaking, compound adverbs are not modal, but rather deictic: local and spatial. Unlike in current Romanian, in the old language, compounding was one of the major ways of forming adverbial units (Densusianu 1997: 586–609). In modern times, some Romanian linguists have noticed that this means of enriching the vocabulary is in permanent regression and is no longer a characteristic of this class (Ciompec 1985: 101), as borrowings and derivation are now prioritized (Chircu 2008: 123–6).

3. Borrowed adverbs

As a result of language contact, several adverbial units entered the Romanian language, many in their primary forms, which were at times associated with elements of Latin origin (preposition, suffix or particle), and consequently generated new adverbial units.

- (4) că sufletul au săturat deșert / Și de bunătați *berechiet*
that soul.DEF have filled desert and of sweets abundantly
'for the soul was *abundantly* filled with sweets and goods.'
(TC, PV, Ps. 106, 41–42, p. 360)

The presence of Turkish and Greek adverbs is explained by borrowings from the Phanariot period.

With the Modern Romanization (during the 19th century) process, the Romanian vocabulary diversified as well, while some old words were discarded (Graur 1967: 52–72). The language of music was dominated by the Italian influence. The Italian adverbs from the musical language did not manage to enter the vocabulary of the literary Romanian language, but remained outside it. The scientific language was under Latin and French influence, and in the political, social and cultural fields, French came to the fore, mainly due to translations (Chircu 2008: 123).

All these changes in society led to borrowings. We can mention some adverbs that were borrowed from Italian, such as: *agile* ‘lively’ (< It. *agile*), *agiato* ‘quietly, rarely’ (< It. *agiato*), *a giorno* ‘as a day’ (< It. *a giorno*), *allegretto* ‘happily’ (< It. *allegretto*), *allegro* ‘lively’ (< It. *allegro*), *altissimo* ‘with high notes’ (< It. *altissimo*), *andantino* ‘moderately’ (< it. *andantino*), *appassionato* ‘passionately’ (< It. *appassionato*), *a cappella* ‘without musical accompaniment’ (< It. *a cappella*), *accelerando* ‘more and more quickly’ (< It. *accelerando*), *adagio* ‘slowly’ (< It. *adagio*), *decrescendo* ‘less intense’ (< It. *decrescendo*) *diminuendo* ‘diminished intensity’ (< It. *diminuendo*), *furioso* ‘powerfully, passionately’ (< It. *furioso*), *fortissimo* ‘loudly’ (< It. *fortissimo*), *lento* ‘quietly’ (< It. *lento*), *tardo* ‘slowly’ (< It. *tardo*).

From French, there came the following adverbs or adverbial phrases: *apropo* ‘by the way’ (< Fr. *à propos*), *vizavi* ‘across’ (< Fr. *vis-à-vis*), *viceversa* ‘vice-versa’ (< Fr. *vice-versa*), *gratis* ‘for free’ (< Fr. *gratis*), *tête-à-tête* ‘face-to-face’ (< Fr. *tête-à-tête*), *expre(s)* ‘especially’ (< Fr. *exprès*), *angro* ‘wholesale’ (< Fr. *en gros*), *incognito* ‘incognito’ (< Fr./It. *incognito*), *deja* ‘already’ (< Fr. *déjà*). Romanian borrowed *deja* from the French *déjà* when it already had a word for ‘already’, namely the still used *și* (*A venit deja.* / *A și venit.* ‘He has already come.’).

The majority of the French qualifying adjectives are used as adverbs in Romanian, following a model already established in earlier stages of the language: *automat* ‘automatically’, *absolut* ‘absolutely’, *penibil* ‘embarrassingly’, *gratuity* ‘gratuitously’, *eficient* ‘efficiently’, *spectaculos* ‘spectacularly’, *difícil* ‘in a difficult manner’, *normal* ‘normally’, *oficial* ‘officially’, *spiritual* ‘spiritually’, *fizic* ‘physically’, *legal* ‘legally’ etc. (see also infra Section 6.).

4. Adverb derivation in -ește

Romanian is a derivative language (Graur 1967: 32–3; Pană Dindelegan 2013: 599), and the class of adverbs is no exception. Although Romanian did not inherit from Latin a derivative means of adverb formation (*aimintre* is an isolated case), it nevertheless managed to create its own derivative system, continuously innovating and

borrowing affixes from languages it had direct contact with. Generally speaking, Romanian compensated for the loss suffered, by creating a derivational system which, for centuries, proved to be functional in many respects, and survived until today, thus demonstrating its viability. Romanian, as in the case of other Romance languages, lost some of the adverbial primary forms from Latin, but it did not derive the ones it preserved (Chircu 2008: 106).

The first step in this direction was the use of the suffix *-ește*, which still has questionable origins. Some authors claim that its origin is Latin (< *-iscus* + *e*). Bourciez (1967: 260) states: “seulement en Orient que s’est développée une nouvelle formation organique *-isce*, répondant ici à la diffusion des adjectifs en *-iscus*: de *misselus*, *barbatus*, sortirent **misellisce*, **barbatisce* (roum. *mișelește*, *bărbătește*), etc.”. Others, such as Graur (1927: 552), claim that its origin is Thracian:

il est plus vraisemblable qu’on ait affaire ici à une survivance thrace: comme le latin [...] et le vieux slave [...] ont connu des adverbes tirés d’instrumentaux en *-ē*, le thrace a dû connaître lui aussi ce procédé pour former des adverbes, procédé qui survit en roumain dans les mots en *-ește*.

The truth lies, perhaps, in the middle. Probably, the Latin people in the eastern part of the empire adopted a Thraco-Dacian suffix, developed and lent it adverbial force (*-e*: see *bene*), thus marking, as in Classical Latin, its adverbial value.

The addition of the particle *-ē* to adjectives *ē* (Lat. *miser* ‘ugly’ > *miserē* ‘in an ugly way’, *intensus* ‘intensively, attentively’ > *intensē* ‘in an intense way’, *considerātus* ‘tamely, prudently’ > *considerātē* ‘with judgment, with prudence’, *praeproperus* ‘in a hurry’ > *praepropere* ‘in a great hurry’, *transversus* ‘obliquely, transversally’ > *transversē* ‘across’) or of suffixes (for instance, *-iter*, *-im*: *conspiranter* ‘commonly agreeing’, *pressim* ‘squeezing tightly’) implicitly led to the formation of adverbs of manner (De Carvalho 2008: 153–63).

The use of the particle *-e* with adverbs was helped along by the fact that a series of primary adjectives (ending in *-e*) were used in Latin in the eastern territories of the Empire only as adverbs (*repede*, *dulce*, *tare*, *moale*, *rece*). The analogy was effective and the particle started being attached to other adjectives as well.

At first, the particle was attached to adjectives ending in *-esc* (*bărbătesc* > *bărbătește*), but later, it shifted to nouns as well (*stăpân* > *stăpânește*). We consider this to be the evolution of the adverbial suffix in Romanian. Graur’s observation (1927; see above), without a doubt, has to be taken into consideration.

On closer scrutiny of Albanian, we can note an adverbial specialized function of the suffix *-isht*, with origins that are not foreign to the Thracian *-isk*, the latter with adverbial use in Thraco-Dacian, and no longer found in Romanian: *verbërë* ‘blind’ + *-isht* > *verbërisht* ‘blindly’, *besnikërisht* ‘faithfully’, *bukurisht* ‘beautifully’, *burrërisht* ‘manly’, *fatkeqësisht* ‘near, close, around’, *hollësisht* ‘fully’, *kriesisht*

‘especially, chiefly’, *trimërisht* ‘courageously’, *vllazërisht* ‘brotherly’, *vafërisht* ‘poorly’. In Albanian, this suffix is attached to neological adjectives (*absolutisht* ‘absolutely’, *naturysht* ‘normally, naturally’), as it once happened in Romanian (*doctorește* ‘medically’, *filozofește* ‘philosophically’ etc.).

Therefore, in Romanian the suffix *-e* marks the class of adverbs and strengthens it. This is facilitated by the development of the suffix *-ește*, from *-esc* (< *-isk*), already used adverbially with primary adjectives.

Once present in the language, the suffix is attached to derivative noun and adjective bases (and rarely to adverbs *călare* (adv.) ‘meaning’ + *-ește* > *călărește*), leading to the construction of forms in *-ește*, which gain in time wide usage. The suffix also has variants (*-eaște*, *-aște*, *-iaște*), on the one hand due to the bases it is attached to, on the other, to the places/regions where the texts were edited (Vasile 2013: 13–18).

Ciompec (1985: 70–2) recorded some forms in a monograph dedicated to adverbs (*apostolește* ‘apostolically’, *bărbătește* ‘manly’, *îngerește* ‘angelically’, *copilărește* ‘childishly’, *curvește* ‘depravedly’, *dumnezeiește* ‘godly’, *frățește* ‘brotherly’, *mirenește* ‘in a lay way’ etc.), to which we add from our corpus: *arhiereaste* ‘like bishops do’ (TC, PV, Ps. 9, 131–132, p. 157), *cucereaste* ‘piously’ (TC, PV, Ps. 118, 77–78, p. 235), *cereaște* ‘heavenly’ (TC, PV, Ps. 101, 67–68, p. 342), *drăceaște* ‘in a demonic way’ (TC, PV, Ps. 9, 119–20, p. 157), *jidovește* ‘like Jews do, in the Jewish Language’ (NTB, p. 119), *fariseiaște* ‘like a hypocrite’ (V, RCC, 4r, p. 104), *fățărnicéște* ‘hypocritically’ (IZV, SA, 104v, p. 116), *fiaște* ‘brotherly’ (TC, PV, Ps. 47, 17–18, p. 231), *învredniceaște* ‘favouringly’ (PP, 96v, p. 89), *meșterșugeaște* ‘in an artisan manner’ (TC, PV, Ps. 57, 19–20, p. 250), *necurătește* ‘devilish’ (CR, 87r, p. 111), *robeaște* ‘like servants do’ (EÎ, p. 285), *slujitoreaște* ‘like slaves do’ (TC, PV, Ps. 89/65–66, p. 322), *stăpâneaște* ‘like a ruler’ (TC, PV, Ps. 93, 27–28, p. 328), *veseleaște* ‘happily’ (EÎ, p. 246), *tătăraște* ‘like a Tatar’ (TC, PV, Ps. 118, 77–78, p. 235), *ticăloșeaște* ‘meanly’ (TC, PV, Ps. 67, 7–8, p. 267), *vicleneaște* ‘cunningly’ (PP, 144r, p. 129), *vredniceaște* ‘deservingly’ (TC, PV, Ps. 72, 69–70, p. 278):

- (5) a. lui Dumnezău de slavă tu jârtvă jârtveaște / Și
 lui.DAT God of glory you sacrifice sacrifice.PRES.2SG and
 lui rugile tale le dă cucereaste
 him.DAT prayers.DEF yours CL.ACC.3PL give.IMP.2SG piously
 ‘you should praise God and bring him sacrifice / And send your prayers
 to him *piously*.’ (TC, PV, Ps. 49/45–46, p. 235)

- b. această spunere și *sintheticește* și *analiticește*
 this statement and synthetically and analytically
 o voi arăta (SMC, L, p. 99)
 CL.ACC.F.3SG will show
 ‘this statement I will present both *synthetically* and *analytically*.’

During the 19th, 20th and the 21st centuries, no major shifts can be observed in the use of the suffix *-ește* (*-icește*). We can notice that the tendency is rather to attach it to neological bases, whether recorded or not in our main works on lexicography (Ion Coteanu et al. 2016) (*americânește* ‘the American way’, *arhitectonicește* ‘architecturally’, *avocătește* ‘lawyerly’, *banditește* ‘like a bandit’, *camaraderește* ‘friendly’, *cavalierește* ‘knightly’, *comicește* ‘jokingly’, *culturalicește* ‘culturally’, *economicicește* ‘economically’, *europenește* ‘in an European way’, *gazetărește* ‘journalistically’, *intelectualicește* ‘intellectually’, *judecătorește* ‘judiciary’, *juridicește* ‘judicially’, *marinărește* ‘nautically’, *militărește* ‘militarily’, *soldătește* ‘soldierly’, *studentește* ‘student-like’, *tehnicește* ‘technically’, *teoreticește* ‘theoretically’, etc.).

The Romanian language also knows adverbs derived in *-iș*, which we analysed in a previous study (Chircu 2006; see also Mîrzea Vasile 2013: 45–71 and Popovici 2006: 137–89).

5. Adverbs ending in *-mente*

The adverbs ending in *-mente* are a feature common to all Romance languages (Bauer 2003; Posner 1998: 117–9), except for Romanian (also southern Italy and Sardinian), which created its own alternative means for the adverbial system. With the exception of the two morphologically opaque forms *altminteri* and *aimintre* (and their allomorphs), in Romanian almost all the adverbs ending in *-mente* are later borrowings. Interestingly enough, we discovered a third example in a dialectal glossary printed years ago in Iași, namely *bunămintre* ‘for instance’. This form has not been discussed yet. We expected it to be registered in a literary text, but the fact that it is used in a dialect/variety (Vișeu de Sus, Maramureș) raises questions. Similar forms are found in other Romance languages. For example in Spanish, there is *buenamente* ‘easily, without much effort, in an unsolicited manner’; in Catalan, *bonament* ‘stress free, with pleasure’; in Sardinian, *bonamente* (Lug.) / *bonamenti* (sth., nth.) ‘with pleasure’. These observations help us reach the conclusion that this type of word formation initially existed. The lack of productive forms in *-ment(e)* in the Romanian language has to be related to the fact that in the Western Romance languages these forms were relatively late creations that managed to gain admittance through the agency of learned Latin (Hummel 2013: 18–30). Prior to the

19th century, Romanian did not have forms in *-mente* for it was isolated from the Roman world.

The presence of the so-called *-mente* adverbs in Romanian is due to French (but we must not neglect the Italian influence as well) (Ciompec 1985: 106–7) which allowed for these forms to enter the written standard language, but not the spoken language: *absolutamente* ‘absolutely’, *actualmente* ‘actually’, *accidentalmente* ‘accidentally’, *probabilmente* ‘probably’, *generalmente* ‘generally’, *excepționalmente* ‘exceptionally’, *exactamente* ‘exactly’, *literalmente* ‘literally’, *loialmente* ‘loyally’, *oficialmente* ‘officially’, *spiritualmente* ‘spiritually’, *psihicament* ‘psychologically’, *forțament* ‘strongly’ (< Fr. *forcément*, It. *forzatamente*):

- (7) Biserica ne face serviciu național conservativ numai
 The church CL.DAT.1PL makes service national conservative only
accidentalmente, numai intru catu stiu respan di lumina
 accidentally only into how.much know spread.INF light.DEF
 ‘The church only *accidentally* pays national conservative service to us, only
 because they can spread the light.’ (Transilvania, 1875, nr. 5, p. 52)

Analogical forms such as *colegialmente* ‘collegially’, *documentamente* ‘as documented’, *exhaustiveminte* ‘exhaustively’, *hellenicament* ‘Hellenistically’, *instintualmente* ‘instinctually’, *neproductivament* ‘unproductively’, *posibilmente* ‘possibly’, *principalmente* ‘principally’, *simțualmente* ‘simultaneously’, *usufructuarment* ‘resultingly’ etc., were formed in Romanian through imitating the Western Romance models, but starting from the masculine form (*principal* + *-mente* > *principalmente*).

6. Adverbialized adjectives

Conversion of adjectives was possible in Latin. Therefore its development in Romanian was not difficult, and the examples of other lexical and grammatical evolutions are at hand. Up to a point (Proto-Romance), all Romance languages used the adverbial adjective (Hummel 2013), which confirmed the presence of some common structures with adverbialized adjectives.

The conversion of adjectives is present from the first Romanian texts (the 16th century) and it can be seen also in the case of borrowed adjectives. Lat. *carus* ‘expensive, dearly’ did not exist in Romanian and the language had to innovate. Consequently, it used with the same value the adjective: Sl. *skopŭ* (> Rom. *scump*): Fr. *vendre cher*, It. *vendere caro*, Sp. *vender caro*, Pt. *vender caro*, Cat. *vender car*, Prov. *vendre car*, Corsican *vende caru*.

Today, the phenomenon is almost general in the language and became the standard form in oral and written communication. It was present in the old language as well, but they were in serious competition with the adverbs ending in *-ește* and with the numerous adverbial phrases which assigned different nuances to the text. The contact with the Slavic people and their cultural influence (especially in writing) strengthened the adverbial use of the adjective (with the appropriate translation of religious texts). In the first texts, one can encounter adjectives of Latin origin and of Slavic origin used adverbially, which proves that in the beginning common structures cohabited, joined later on by adjectives from Turkish, Neo-Greek, Hungarian, which, too, in time, were adverbialized:

- (8) a. cel ce cu vederea și cu audzul *Dereptu*
 H who with sight.DEF and with hearing.DEF rightfully
 viia întru ei (CV, 86v/7–8, p. 400)
 leave.IMPERF.3SG in them
 ‘he who with the sight and with the hearing *rightfully* live in them.’
- b. adecă acmu ce e binre sau ce e *frumos*, numai se
 that.is now what is well or what is beautifully only SĂ_{SUBJ}
 vie ca frați depreună? (PH, 114r/19, p. 199)
 come.PRES.3PL like brothers together
 ‘is it that only what is good and what is *beautifully* presented should be merged?’
- c. Moisi grăia și Domnedzeu *chiaru-i*
 Moses speak.IMPERF.3SG and God rightly=CL.DAT.3SG
 răspundea lui (PO, 19/19, p. 179)
 answer.IMPERF.3SG him
 ‘Moses asked God, and He *rightly* so answered him.’

The generalization of the adverbialization of adjectives *via* conversion was laid on solid ground when the Modern Romanization process of the Romanian language was resumed and when several borrowings from other Romance languages and from Latin were accepted. In the texts of the classic, modern and contemporary writers we find numerous examples that reinforce our statements.

Today, the number of neological adjectives that are adverbialized exceeds the number registered during the old stages of the language (Ciompec 1985: 98–100). This is due to the refusal to accept neological forms in *-mente*: *abil* ‘aptly’, *actual* ‘actually’, *anterior* ‘previously’, *anticipat* ‘anticipatively’, *aparent* ‘apparently’, *automat* ‘automatically’, *brusc* ‘suddenly’, *real* ‘really’, *categoric* ‘categorically’, *corect* ‘correctly’, *elegant* ‘elegantly’, *elocvent* ‘eloquently’, *mecanic* ‘mechanically’, *modern*

‘modernly’, *periodic* ‘periodically’, *personal* ‘personally’, *serios* ‘seriously’, *sincer* ‘sincerely’, *subtil* ‘subtly’, etc.

7. Adverbialized participles

Participles have high incidence in Romanian. In the past, the inventory of adverbialized participles was far from limited, as considered in the specialized literature. Today, we can ascertain that several participles can be used with an adverbial value, transiting into (participial) adjectives and then into adverbs (as in the case of the old language stages) (Vasile 2013: 33–7). Ciompec maintains that these adverbs are given less importance, for several studies consider the adverbialization of the participles “less common than that of the adjectives” (1985: 75). However, a close study of the texts consulted by us reveals that the adverbialization of the participles is frequent across texts and centuries. The origin of the verbs being used as a source of such participles is diverse. This shows their natural adaptation to the Romanian language system. The adverbial use of the participles concords with the analogous use of the Latin participles, an aspect that facilitated future developments.

Ciompec (1985: 75–6) recorded adverbs of participial origin for the old language (*prelinsu* ‘neatly’, *amânatu* ‘extendedly’, *alesu* ‘the one elected’, *neopritu* ‘inexorably’, *osăbit* ‘distinctively’, *desăvârșit* ‘completely’, *acoperit* ‘covertly’, *neapărat* ‘necessarily’ *neîncetat* ‘neîncetat’, *nepărăsit* ‘forsakenly’, *negreșit* ‘certainly’), to which we add other identified forms that support the importance of this tendency, often considered minor: *neoprit* ‘unstoppable, inexorably’ (EÎ, p. 315), *deșchis* ‘openly’ (EÎ, p. 314), *necurmat* ‘relentlessly’ (EÎ, p. 403), *netocmit* ‘shapeless’ (EÎ, p. 453), *neșinut* ‘decently’ (EÎ, p. 455), *luminat* ‘brightly’ (SMC, L, p. 50), *întins* ‘neatly’ (IC, PARC, p. 104), *întunecat* ‘dimly’ (SMC, L, p. 50), *nemutat* ‘still’ (SMC, L, p. 60), *neclătit* ‘steadily’ (V, RCC, 31v, p. 228), *nepărăsită* ‘continually’ (CR, 19r, p. 97), *smerit* ‘humbly’ (CR, 61r, p. 106), *netăgăduit* ‘undeniably’ (MAB, p. 195):

- (9) a. *prea svintelor lui cuvinte glasul/ Auziți neconținut în tot*
 too holly his words voice hear.PRES.2PL continually in all
ceasul (TC, PV, Ps. 102, 77–78, p. 345)
time.DEF
 ‘we *continually* hear/The holy words in his voice.’
- b. *această Evanghelie, dragii miei, arată noao deschis doao*
 this Gospel dear.PL.VOC my shows us openly two
firi întru Hristos (EÎ, p. 314)
 natures in Christ
 ‘this Gospel, dearly beloved, *openly* reveals to us Christ’s two natures.’

- c. și-i dă, Doamne, *netăgăduit* să
and=CL.DAT.3SG give.IMPER.2SG God.VOC undeniably să_{SUBJ}
petreacă spre el numele Tău cel Svânt
bear.SUBJ.3SG towards him name.DEF your DEF holly
'and tell him Lord, to *undeniably* bear with him Your Holy name.'
(MAB, p. 195)

It is interesting that many adverbialized participles were preserved in the language. The vitality of the process also involves participles of neological origin: *calculat* 'cautious', *diversificat* 'diversified', *divizat* 'divided', *multiplicat* 'multiplied', *echilibrat* 'balanced', etc.

There are a series of semantic and/or syntactic restrictions which impede the generalization of the adverbial use of participles (*mâncat* > **Noi plecăm mâncat*. 'We leave after eating', lit. 'he leaves eaten'). In the last example, *mâncat* cannot be used with an adverbial function like in the case of *calculat*, in the example *Ei acționează calculat*. 'They act rationally', but not **Ei acționează calculați*. 'They act rational'.

8. Adverbial phrases

The number of studies dedicated to adverb phrases is not very large (Ciompec 1985; Vasile 2013), in spite of their common use in Romanian. Adverbial phrases were not numerous in Latin, but over time, their number grew significantly in Romance. Today, adverbial phrases are difficult to account for. Romanian, as well as the other Romance languages, has managed to create a rich inventory of phrases originating in the spoken language. From a grammatical standpoint, they behave like adverbs and bear, in most of the cases, syntactic or discursive functions. The number is quite high, and their origin can be diverse (Chircu 2008: 128–31). The adverb phrase system varied across the centuries, but in time it gained stability. Still, if we were to compare the old centuries to the modern ones, we must admit that in the old language the number of phrases was larger and more diversified (Densusianu 1997: 586–609).

The majority of the adverb phrases belonging to this type were formed in Romanian through preposition(s) + noun. Many nominal elements that were part of adverbial structures had origins other than Latin. The origin of the constitutive elements (nouns) can be traced, as in the case of primary adverbs, in the language strata overlapping Romanian in the course of time (Ciompec 1985:82–5). Different prepositions could be used in the same phrase, which once more certifies that the phrase units had not yet become definitive (*întru deșert*, *pre deșertu* ‘in vain’ / *de*

alean, *în alean* ‘yearningly’. Borrowed prepositions were rare. They were used as calques in phrases (*contra cost* ‘in exchange for money’). Over time, losses prevail over innovations. Adverbial phrases were lost for being considered obsolete in comparison to neological borrowings, the latter contributing to the Romanization of the Romanian language.

Examples for traditional adverbial phrases: *cu adevăr* ‘indeed, sincerely speaking’ (PAB, p. 1049), *cu alnicie* ‘cunningly’ (IZV, SA, 93r, p. 96), *cu amar* ‘bitterly’, *cu ascuns* ‘secretly’, *cu cale* ‘naturally, directly’ (IC, PARC, 7r, p. 4), *cu degrabă* ‘quickly’ (PAB, p. 1069), *cu nevoie* ‘hardly’, *cu îndrăzneală* ‘daringly’ (TC, PV, Ps. 3, 28–29, p. 148), *cu îndrăznire* ‘courageously’ (EÎ, p. 336), *cu ogoadă* ‘pleasantly, fearfully’ (TC, PV, Ps. 93, 3–4, p. 327), *cu grăbire* ‘hastily’ (GC, ISG, p. 52), *cu osârdie* ‘ardently’ (TUTR, 438v, p. 30), *cu sârguială* ‘hastily’ (CAM, 274v, p. 87), *cu stajă* ‘hastily’, *cu zăbavă* ‘slowly’ (H, 184, p. 176), *cu liniște* ‘quietly’ (CAM, 258, p. 60), *cu tocmală* ‘understandingly’ (H, 60, p. 24), *de alean* ‘against’ (IZV, SA, 94v, p. 106), *de față* ‘presently’ (IZV, SA, 93v–94r, p. 105), *de iznoavă* ‘again’ (CAM, 297v, p. 125), *de pripă* ‘immediately’ (EÎ, p. 213), *de sârg* ‘soon, quickly’ (H, 209, p. 87), *din vecie* ‘for a long time, anciently’ (TEMR, 4r, p. 33), *fără de veste* ‘immediately, surprisingly’ (GC, ISG, p. 128), *fără de vrașbă* ‘peacefully’ (GC, ISG, p. 154), *fără zăbavă* ‘quickly’ (TC, PV, Ps. 49, 77–78, p. 236), *în alean* ‘against’ (PP, 76r, p. 69), *în taină* ‘secretly’ (TC, PV, Ps. 102, 1–2, p. 343), *în zădar* ‘in vain’ (PÎ, 40r, p. 359), *în vază* ‘at sight’ (TC, PV, Ps. 100, 51–52, p. 340), *într-ajutoriu* ‘supportively’ (IZV, SA, 42v, p. 52), *în deșert* ‘in vain’ (PÎ, 40r, p. 359), *într-o clipală* ‘immediately, right away’ (EÎ, p. 246), *la ivală* ‘at sight’ (H, 185, p. 77), *pre adevăr* ‘indeed’ (EÎ, p. 254), *pe adevărat* ‘truthfully’ (GC, ISG, pp. 164–165), *pe dreptate* ‘correctly’ (GC, ISG, p. 221), *pe înțeles* ‘clearly’ (SAM, L, p. 112), *pre rând* ‘in turn’ (PAB, p. 85), *întru ascunsu* ‘secretly’ (NTB, 114r, p. 280), *pre ascuns* ‘secretly’ (NTB, 4r, p. 123), *supt cumpăt* ‘prudently, undecidedly’ (IZV, SA, 93r, p. 106):

- (10) a. și iarăș de acolo să de cu vasăle în iazăru, și
and again of there să_{SUBJ} give.SUBJ with ship.DEF in lake and
așa să fie foarte cu zăbavă mărșul (H, 184, p. 176)
like.this să_{SUBJ} be.SUBJ very slowly course.DEF
‘and again from there he would sail with the ship on water, and *slowly*
sailed away.’
- b. și să perit cu degrab din calea dreaptă
and să_{SUBJ} leave.SUBJ.2PL hastily from path.DEF right
Nesocotindu-vă voi strâmba voastră faptă
disregard.GER=CL.ACC.2PL you wrong your doing
‘and you shall *hastily* leave the righteous path/ For you go back on to your
wrong doings.’ (TC, PV, Ps. 2, 29–30, p. 147)

- c. care să face într-ascuns și pre supt cumpăt
 which CL.REFL.IMPERS makes secretly and undecidedly
 ‘which is *secretly* and *undecidedly* done.’ (IZV, SA, 93r, p. 106)
- d. când cu alnicie sfîrșește unul viața altuia (IZV, SA, 93r, p. 96)
 when cunningly ends one life.DEF other.DAT
 ‘when *cunningly* one ends another’s life.’

Although language productivity has decreased, adverbial phrases have emerged in different registers as there were no correspondents in Romanian for the meanings of the borrowed words. The majority of the neological adverb phrases are, in essence, the result of borrowings from French in the 19th century (Pană Dindelegan 2013: 5), which led to restructuring the adverbial system and its dynamics. From among the new phrases we can mention the following: *cu aproximație* ‘approximately’, *cu atenție* ‘attentively’, *cu forță* ‘forcefully’, *cu intenție* ‘intentionally’, *cu intermitențe* ‘intermittently’, *cu nonșalanță* ‘nonchalantly’, *în aparență* ‘apparently’, *în detaliu* ‘particularly’, *în esență* ‘essentially’, *în fond* ‘basically’, *în principiu* ‘virtually’, *în speță* ‘chiefly’, *în totalitate* ‘completely’, *fără discuție* ‘undoubtedly’, *din start* ‘offhand’, *din oficiu* ‘ex officio’, *din principiu* ‘virtually’, *din abundență* ‘abundantly’, *la discreție* ‘unlimited’, *la perfecție* ‘perfectly’, *la termen* ‘on time’, *pe parcurs* ‘in the course of’, *prin excelență* ‘principally’:

- (11) câte secunde are cu aproximație un secol?
 how.many seconds has with approximation a century
 ‘how many seconds does a century *approximately* have?’ (www.calificativ.ro)

Roughly speaking, the phrases that have old elements as constituents are specific to everyday language, while the phrases with neological elements are characteristic of the educated, such structures being acquired most likely in school or in other environments.

9. Conclusions

In Romanian, language change has led to the semantic and functional development of some suffixes (-*esc*, -*ește*, -*iș*, -*mente*), by borrowing some lexemes or phraseological units from contact languages (the Slavic language, Greek, Turkish, French, Italian, etc.) and by conferring new values to some parts of speech already present in language. These changes occurred according to the possibilities of the Romanian language system. As a result, the Romanian language occupies a special place among Romance languages. The changes involved both inventory change and structure change. Today, the Romanian adverb with its old types has been relegated

to regional speech, and the new tendencies in usage, including borrowings, are a characteristic of highly educated people.

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