GALR, A STARTING POINT IN COMPARATIVE AND TYPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON ROMANIAN

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The purpose of the present article has been to inform the foreign readers about the publishing of a monumental work which describes the grammatical structure of Romanian language (GALR = the new **Academic Grammar of Romanian**, Academy Publishing House, 2005). Deepening the description and adopting an 'individualizing' subjacent perspective on Romanian, GALR constitutes a good starting point for future comparative and typological research. The analysis of features that ***individualize*** Romanian (excerpted from GALR and presented in this article), like**:** argument marking, the inventory and typology of complements, the specific features in the typology of impersonal structures or in the encoding of the subject, prove – we hope – that GALR arises the interest of researchers engaged in comparative and typological studies that include Romanian.

1. GALR, the abbreviation of the new **Academic Grammar of Romanian** (***Gramatica limbii române.*** **I,** ***Cuvântul*****, II,** ***Enunțul*****,** Editura Academiei Române, 2005), was elaborated by members of the Institute of Linguistics „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" and of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Bucharest under the auspices of the Romanian Academy, forty years after the GA – abbreviation used for the previous edition, from 1963. GALR enriches Romanian linguistics through an extensive description of the grammatical structure of Romanian – description made in the spirit of academic research and reflecting the scientific level and requirements of nowadays.

GALR brings important methodological and conceptual ***innovations***, a new approach to the organization and distribution of the factual material within the two volumes, novelty of the perspective, refining and deepening of the description.

In the first volume (entitled ***Cuvântul***, 717 p.), the centre of interest is represented by the word, analysed as the representative of a lexical-grammatical class, as the representative of various sub-classes, but also as a concrete unity. Various aspects of the word are described: inflectional, combinatory and semantic characteristics. In the second volume (entitled ***Enunțul***, 1036 p.), the interest shifts towards the organization and functioning of the syntactic groups. Due to this division in the research – word vs. syntactic unit –, the elements of inflection, which represent the grammatical features of the word, are the subject of the first

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volume and are exhaustively treated therein, while syntax is present in both volumes, although from different perspectives. The first volume treats the syntactic valences of the word and of the class which the word belongs to; the second discusses the features of the syntactic units.

The significant innovations of GALR are the introduction of a **structural perspective** (in the description of the phrases: VP, NP, AdjP, AdvP, InterjP and of the structures which result from the reorganization of primary phrases) and the introduction of a **functional-discursive perspective** (see the whole section *Fenomene discursive* in the second volume, and, partially, in the previous sections).

One should not draw the conclusion from the above that the **functional syntactic** analysis (in the section *Funcţii sintactice*) is unchanged with respect to GA (II). Apart from the new aspects of each chapter which are to be expected, we may also mention: (a) the separation of syntactic functions that constituted one and the same function in the previous grammar (the direct and the secondary object; the prepositional and the indirect object; the possessive object, on one hand, and the attribute and indirect object, on the other); (b) the new interpretation of some syntactic functions (the comparative is interpreted as a type of object obtained through syntactic reorganising, and not as adverbial; a predicative complement of the object is recognized, distinct from the predicative adjunct); (c) the introduction of a distinction between the syntactic-sentential predicate and the exclusively syntactic predicate; (d) the distinction between the simple and the complex predicate, with a differentiated interpretation of the complex predicate at various levels (syntactic, semantic, pragmatic-sentential); (e) the syntactic hierarchy of adverbials, which resulted in a great variety of hierarchical positions in general and in a great variety of the adverbial of manner in particular; (f) the distinction between the proper adverbial of manner and its species, the adverbial of modality, and, in general, between the syntactic and the meta-discursive manifestations of some of the adverbials (see the relational, causal, purpose, concession, conditional adverbials) etc.

2. The GALR deepens the analysis and the description of Romanian from a **comparative and typological perspective**, without having this objective manifestly formulated.

The starting point is represented by the theoretical ideas of E. Coşeriu[1] regarding the **linguistic type** and the way type can be examined ***from within the language itself***, without making comparisons with (an)other language(s). The most general, the prototypical features of a language, features that are capable to explain not isolated phenomena of that language, but to connect many features of the same language are extracted.

[1] See Coşeriu (1992-1993); Coşeriu (2000); see also DSL: 513-515.

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Secondly, this research takes into account previous studies on the 'specificity' of Romanian (through parallels with the other Romance languages and with Balkan languages[2]). Thus, GALR pays great attention to **individuating** phenomena, placing them on the foreground of the descriptive interest, even though these phenomena are not named as such. In the following paragraphs, I shall examine several syntactic issues (as they appear in the second volume), signalling the inventory of **individuating** phenomena for which GALR offers supplementary information.

2.1. In the chapter dealing with the Verbal Phrase[3], we examine the specificity of Romanian in the way in which the phrase cohesion is realised, i.e. the syntactic binding of the complements to the head or, in other words, the specifics of **argument marking**.

Argument marking varies: (a) from one verb to another; (b) from one complement to another; (c) from one marking possibility of the same complement to another. The prototypical encoding of complements is nominal, having the case and the preposition as specific argument markers. The functional-syntactic equivalents of the nominal arguments are the non-finite verbal forms and the conjunctional subordinates. The specialised markers of the non-finite verbal forms are prepositions, while those of sentential arguments are conjunctions. In Romanian, each encoding of an argument and each argument marker has a number of specific features, determined by the language system and inter-conditioned with other of its individuating features.

2.1.1. As far as **complements encoded as nominal** are concerned, a relevant feature of Romanian is the oscillation between casual and prepositional argument marking, selected for the same type of complement, or for different complements.

For example, the **indirect object** can be marked by case or by preposition, depending either on the structure of the object nominal phrase or on the stylistic register. The two possibilities occur either as variants (*Aruncă mâncare* ***păsărilor***. / ~ ***la păsări***.), or in complementary distribution, one of the possibilities of lexicalisation – the prepositional one – being obligatory when the nominal phrase has a particular structure (*Trimite cartea* ***la doi copii. / ~ la doi dintre ei. / ~ la asemenea copii. / ~ la ditamai profesorul***.).

The **direct object** makes also use of both types of marking, either in complementary distribution (*El vede* ***filmul***. / ~ ***pe Ion***.), or as free variants for the same verb and complement (*El (îl) întâlneşte* ***pe student***. / ~ *întâlneşte* ***studentul***.). The distinction between the two markers, very fine and difficult to fully comprise into a rule, regards the lexical and semantic characteristics of the direct object nominal: *Ei aranjează* ***grădina***., with a non-prepositional object, if it is a inanimate noun; *Ei (îl) angajează* ***pe Ion***., with a prepositional direct object, if the noun is

[2] See the bibliography indicated in the GALR.
[3] See GALR, II: 53-56.

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personal and strongly individuated; *Ei angajează **grădinar***., with a non-prepositional direct object, if the noun is personal, but non-individuated, with 'predicative-categorising' reading (category, species); *Ei l-au şters **pe 'i'** din finalul cuvântului.*, with prepositional direct object, although the noun is non-animate, but individuated (proper noun metalinguistically used); *Ea are **pe vino-ncoace***., with prepositional direct object, although the noun is inanimate and non-individuated, where the adjacency of '***pe'*** ensures the categorisation of the sequence *vino-ncoace* as noun.

The **prepositional object** is marked exclusively through preposition (*El se ceartă **cu părinții. / ~** contează **pe părinți. / ~** depinde **de părinți. / ~** se gândeşte **la părinți***.)

In the case of nominal complements, the ambiguity of some prepositional markers in Romanian is relevant, as, from one verb to another, from one stylistic register to another or depending on the features of the nominal, they can introduce different complements. It is the case of the preposition ***pe***, marking, from one verb to another, either the direct object (*Îl întâlnesc **pe** profesor., L-au ales **pe** director.*), or the prepositional object (*Se bizuie **pe** colegi., Contează **pe** colegi., Se supără **pe** colegi.*). It is also the case of the preposition ***la***, which introduces, from one verb to another, different objects; it can introduce an indirect (*Trimit ajutoare **la** copii., Arunc grăunțe **la** păsări., Ofer informații **la** doi dintre ei.*) or a prepositional object (*Mă gândesc **la** copii., Mă refer **la** copii., Mă predispune **la** visare.*). It is as well the case of the preposition ***de***[4], which, depending on the regime of the verb and on its voice, can mark a prepositional object (*Abuzează **de** medicamente., Se apără **de** hoți., Depinde **de** părinți., Se sperie **de** boală., Se teme **de** boală.*) or a complement of agent (*Este ales **de** elevi., Este preferat **de** elevi., Este remarcat **de** vecini., Soluția s-a respins în unanimitate **de** toți participanții.*).

In essence, as far as prepositionally realised complements are concerned, we can notice the ***heterogeneousness*** of the preposition, which can function, from one verb to another, from one syntactic function to another, as a formal restriction (a sub-categorization feature) of the head verb (it is the case of the prepositional object), as a requirement of a certain voice (it is the case of the complement of agent), or unbound to the syntactic restrictions of the verb, marking certain syntactic functions, in specific conditions of realisation (it is the case of direct and indirect objects).

2.1.2. As far as **complements expressed through non-finite verbal forms** are concerned, it is relevant, on the one hand, the specialisation of certain prepositional markers to bind these types of complements to their head (see ***a***, specialised for the infinitive, and ***de***, specialised for the supine), and, on the other hand, the ambiguity of the markers, which function both as morphological markers

[4] For ambiguity of preposition **de**, see also the Manoliu's article (*Innovations within isolation. Regrammation and / or Subjectivization; lat. DE in Romanian*) in the present issue.

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specialised for non-finite verbal forms, and as syntactic markers, of binding; see constructions as: *Se teme* ***a*** *mai* ***insista****.*, *Doreşte, cu toată fiinţa lui,* ***a reuşi****.*, in which the marker ***a*** has both a morphological role, of free morpheme of the infinitive, and a syntactic role, of binding the objects (prepositional and direct) to the verbal head.

The prepositions receive different values depending on the regime of the head verb and on the type of complement which they introduce. For example, ***de***, the argument marker of the complement realised as supine, functions differently in constructions as (a): *Mă apuc* ***de învăţat****., S-a lăsat* ***de băut****., Mă satur* ***de citit****., A scăpat* ***de învăţat****.* or as (b): *Este important* ***de văzut****., Rămâne* ***de văzut****.*, *Mântuie* ***de spus*** *pe de rost* (I. Creangă, *Amintiri*)*.,* *Termină* ***de învăţat****.* In (a), ***de*** is an argument marker independent of the quality of supine which the complement could have, being also selected by nominal complements (***Se apucă de lecţii., S-a lăsat de băutură****.*); in (b), ***de*** is not related to the regime of the verb (since the supine can occur in the position of subject or of direct object), its role being that of argument marker specialized for the supine.

Unlike the infinitive and the supine, the gerund, which appears rather rarely in the position of object or subject, is directly attached to the verb, without a prepositional marker (*Se simte* [***venind*** *o adiere de vânt.*], *Simt* [***venind*** *o adiere de vânt.*]). Only in the special case of the syntactic position of predicative complement of the object, the gerund has the tendency to be used prepositionally, following a prepositional pattern of the noun, with the preposition ***ca*** expressing 'quality' (*L-au denumit / L-au desemnat* [***ca fiind / ca reprezentând*** *alesul nostru.*]). Unlike the other non-finite verbal forms, the participle can not occur in the position of complement.

2.1.3. As far as **complements encoded propositionally** (**event-complements)** are concerned, the great number of type-connectors (complementizers) and of their variants is relevant for Romanian. As type-realisations, we can mention the conjunctional connectors ***că***, ***să***, ***dacă***, the first two selected by the regime of the verb and the last, chosen when a total interogation (or an alternative interrogation) is transposed in indirect speech (*El întreabă* ***dacă***…, *El verifică* ***dacă****...*). The first two connectors are either in complementary distribution, being selected by different classes of verbs, or variants, constructed with the same verb, but with semantic differences for the modal interpretation of the subordinate.

Thus, there are verbs which admit in the complement position only sentences connected through ***că***: *El afirmă* ***că****…*, *El consideră* ***că****…, El presimte* ***că****…, El presupune* ***că****...***,** *El prevede* ***că****…*; *Se cheamă* ***că*** *n-ai înţeles., Reiese* ***că*** **/** *Rezultă* ***că*** *eşti incorect.*, while others admit only ***să***: *El adoră* ***să****…, El aşteaptă* ***să****..., El doreşte* ***să****…, El preferă* ***să****…*; *Se cuvine* ***să****…, Merită* ***să****…, Rămâne* ***să****…* There are verbs that admit, successively, either ***că***, or ***să***, with consequences on the modal value of the subordinate (***că*** indicates an assertion in the subordinate, while ***să***, a

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non-assertive utterance, assertion supposing, in most cases, also 'certitude' of the speaker regarding the state of affairs in the subordinate, while non-assertion, supposes also 'possibility': *Mă bucură **că** pot face asta. / ~ **să** pot face asta., Mă impresionează **că** te văd aşa. / ~ **să** te văd aşa.*).

Except for these two type-connectors, Romanian has created a contextual (syntactic) variant, specialized for the preverbal movement of any component of the subordinate (*El doreşte **ca** [**toţi / astăzi / măcar o dată**] **să** încercăm.*). In Romanian, there exists also ***ca să***, free variant of ***să*** (*El doreşte **ca să** plece mai repede.*), unaccepted by the literary norms, but frequent in speech. The two variants (***ca… să***, the dissociated variant, and ***ca să,*** nondissociated) partially solve the ambiguity of ***să*** (in most of its occurrences functions simultaneously as a morphologic marker of the subjonctive and as a syntactic marker of the object sentences). The conjunction *ca... să* and its substandard variant *ca să* (dissociated or non-dissociated variants) have the advantage of distributing the grammatical functions: s*ă* is specialized as morphological marker, and *ca* takes over the role of syntactic marker from *să*.

In Romanian there are also many other variants in use, stylistically and sententially differentiated: ***de, cum că, precum că, cum de, că să***.

2.2. In the chapter on syntactic functions (chapter *Funcţii sintactice*), which is also the most closely related to the previous edition, there are differences, on one hand, at the level of inventory of the syntactic functions, and on the other hand, at the level of description of the functions that are common to the two editions.

2.2.1. It is noticeable that the two new functions regard two objects that are individuating for Romanian: the **secondary object** and the **possessive object**.

The first one covers a syntactic pattern enheritted from Latin, but lost in the other Romance languages (the pattern: *Mă învaţă **lecţia**., Mă întreabă **rezultatul**., Mă anunţă **ora** plecării.*), pattern in which the syntactic signs of strong transitivity (the encoding through pronominal clitic with special accusative form, clitic doubling, passivization) appear with only one object, the one that, paradoxically, expresses the Beneficiary / Recipient, and not with the other, which encodes the Pacient.

The second type of object (possessive object) appears in a verbal construction with two nominals that enter a relationship of possession (inalienable or alienable), pattern which differs from the Romance correspondent through frequence of occurence, through diversity of syntactic constructions and through the specificity of the semantic relationship of possession (see the syntactically different constructions like: ***Îmi** curge nasul., **Îmi** pleacă profesorul., **Îmi** pierd casa., **Îmi** cade părul., **Îmi** caut de sănătate., **Îmi** stă la dispoziţie.*, ***Îmi** cade din braţe., **Îmi** pleacă din casă., Nu-**şi** crede ochilor şi urechilor.*, in which the clitic form – a personal or a reflexive pronoun in dative case – and a second nominal dependant on the verb – be it the subject, DO, PO, adverbial, IO – are bound through their relation of inalienable, as well as alienable possession).

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Each of these objects, as well as the structures in which they appear, constitute a special topic of analysis, the results of the description being incontestably deeper both in interpretation (they form new species of object) and in the pointing out individuating facts.

2.2.2. As far as the functions common to many other languages are concerned (for example, the subject), we insist on the individuating features, determined by the special manner in which the typological parameters operate in Romanian. I choose, as example, a number of features regarding the subject.

2.2.2.1. Thus, the ***parameter of word order***, analyzed in detail in GALR, allowed to deepen the descriptive remarks and to extract the preferences of word order of the Romanian subject.

In a language like Romanian, characterized by a great liberty of word order, the subject makes no exception, accepting both anteposition and postposition to the verb, variation which yields many stylistic and pragmatic effects. In spite of this liberty, there are certain preferences in word order and some restrictions, determined by the syntactic and semantic type of predication, by the type of sentence or by the place of the clause in the complex sentence, by the occurrence of the subject in subordinates that have a special structure. Some of these restrictions are obligatory; others represent only preferences of the syntactic / objective word order, preferences that can be overruled by a certain pragma-stylistic intention.

(A) The following restrictions and preferences can be established for ***postposition***:

● The subject of impersonal verbs and constructions[5] appears in postposition, no matter if the verb has one valence (a) or two valences, having a direct or personal indirect object (b), no matter if the subject is expressed through a nominal or through a clause (b′); no matter if the verb / construction is inherently impersonal or contextually impersonal, as a result of passivization (c):

(a) *Trebuie* ***să pleci****., Merită* ***să pleci****., Se cuvine / Se cade* ***să pleci****., Urmează* ***să pleci****., când este* ***să se întâmple****…, Se întâmplă* ***să faci şi greşeli****., Nu contează* ***dacă reuşeşti sau nu****., Decurge / Reiese /* ***că ai greşit****., Stă în puterea noastră* ***să reuşim***.; *E interesant proiectul, face* ***să te angajezi***.; *Este uşor / greu / important / nesănătos / obligatoriu / necesar* ***să pleci****., E de la sine înțeles* ***că vei pleca***.;

(b) *Îmi place* ***să te văd vesel.****, Îmi convine* ***că ai rămas aici****.,* (*Îmi*) *ajunge* ***că te ştiu lângă mine****., Îmi vine* ***să-mi iau lumea în cap****., Îmi trece prin cap* ***să fac şi aşa ceva***., (*Mi*)*-e greu* ***să aştept***.; *Mă doare* ***că te porți aşa****., Mă surprinde / Mă miră* ***că pleci****., Mă priveşte* ***dacă mă port obraznic***.;

(b′) *Îmi place* ***construcția****., Îmi convine* ***situația****., Îmi ajunge* ***salariul***.;

Mă doare ***situația****., Mă surprinde* ***soluția*** *adoptată., Mă miră* ***propunerea***.;

(c) *Se ştie / Se spune / Se presupune* ***că ai fost spion***., *Este ştiut / Este cunoscut de întreaga comunitate* ***că ai fost spion***.;

[5] See GALR, I: 349-352.

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(*Mi*)-*e dat* / *ursit* / *menit* / *scris* ***să sufăr în viață.*** etc.

● The subject appears in postposition in constructions expressing meteorological states (d) or physical sensations and psychological states (d′):

(d) *Este* ***frig / cald / secetă / întuneric / noapte / iarnă / vară***.

(d') *Îmi este* ***frig / cald / lene / somn / ruşine / greață / lehamite / dor / jenă.*** etc.

● The subject of existential verbs is in postposition: *a fi, a exista, a se afla* (e):

(e) ***Există*** *în creier* ***o porțiune*** *puternic afectată., Erau* ***zile*** *în care nu întâlneam pe nimeni., În interior se aflau* ***zeci*** *de oameni., E* ***un*** *singur* ***fel*** *de prietenie, sunt multe* ***feluri*** *de dragoste.*

● It appears in imperative constructions like invectives or volitional structures, with the inversed conditional mood or with the subjunctive (f):

(f) *Alege-s-ar* ***prafu****l!, Înghiți-l-ar* ***pământul****!, Mânca-v-ar* ***câinii****!, Ucigă-l* ***crucea****, ucigă-l* ***toaca!****, Bat-o* ***pustia*** *s-o bată!, Arză-l* ***focul*** *măritişul!* (Descântece); *Lovi-te-ar* ***moartea****!* (Blesteme)*, Pupa-l-ar* ***mama*** *de puişor!*

● The subject of interrogative sentences in which another component then the subject or one of its subordinates is interrogated appears in postposition (g):

(g) *Se întreabă cu voce tare: Cine sunt* ***eu****?, Ce-nseamnă toată* ***nebunia*** *asta?, Când pleacă ultimul* ***tren****?, Unde s-au dus* ***copiii****?*

● The subject of exclamative sentences whose structure includes a copula appears in postposition (h), except the cases of left dislocation (h′):

(h) *Ce frumoşi sunt* ***copiii****! , Ce vrednică e* ***Ioana****!*

(h′) ***Copiii,*** *ce frumoşi sunt!*

● The subject of incidentals appears obligatorily in postposition, after *verba dicendi* or which contextually receive *dicendi* uses (i):

(i) *Nilă, hai că vreau să vorbesc ceva cu tine, spuse* ***Birică*** *în şoaptă groasă.; Nilă, şopti* ***el*** *mohorât.; Hai, Tito, du-te odată şi spune-i Ilinchii, se supără* ***Nilă****.; „Mutule", strigă* ***şeful*** *căluşarilor spre mut.; Hăp-şa! răspunse* ***şeful*** *căluşarilor.; Nu ştii despre ce e vorba?! se miră* ***jandarmul***. (M. Preda, *Moromeții*).

● The lexicalized subject of the infinitive, no matter which its syntactic position is, appears obligatorily post-posed, as centre of an absolute infinitive construction and in other syntactic positions (j). As a preference, the subject of the gerund is in postposition, when it is different from the subject of the predicate-verb (k), and the subject of the verbal supine is obligatorily in postposition, in the rare cases in which this is lexicalized (l):

(j) *Înşelând, arăți dorința de a fi* ***şi tu*** *înşelat.*; *Vai de omul care simte nevoia de a se lăuda* ***el.***; *Înainte de a ajunge* ***profesorul*** *în sală, studenții luaseră o decizie.*;

(k) *Simt venind* ***o adiere*** *de vânt., Se aude trecând* ***o căruță***[6].

(l) *Este dificil de înțeles acest* ***exercițiu*** *de întreaga grupă de studenți*.

[6] The ante-position of the subject of the gerund makes the structure ambiguous (*Se aude* ***o căruță trecând***.), favoring the amalgamation of the predicate verb phrase with the gerund phrase and the interpretation of the construction as having a predicative adjunct.

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(B) The following restrictions and preferences can be established for ***ante-position***:

● The subject expressed through an interrogative pronoun (or through a group that contains an interrogative adjective or an interrogative pronoun in genitive) is anteposed, even for verbs which, besides these constructions, prefer the postposition of the subject; see (a):

(a) ***Cine*** *a plecat?,* ***Ce*** *s-a întâmplat cu ei?*[7]*,* ***Ce carte*** *a apărut?,* ***Câți copii*** *sunt pe stradă?,* ***Al cui copil*** *a reuşit primul?*

● Any subject, personal or non-personal, expressed through a relative (a proper relative or a relative-interrogative pronoun, a relative or a relative-interrogative adjective, the last one having as governor a subject nominal) is ante-posed; see (b):

(b) *Mă miră* ***ce*** *s-a întâmplat., Nu se ştie* ***câți elevi*** *au lipsit., Mă gândesc* ***la ce*** *s-ar putea întâmpla., Totul depinde* ***de ce*** *se va hotărî în consiliu.*

(C) Without having very rigid rules of use, other preferences of word order than the ones mentioned above can be noticed, depending on the nature of predication, on the personal vs. non-personal character of the subject, on the articulation vs. non-articulation, on the appearance of the subject in the main clause or in the subordinate, such as:

● All non-personal subjects (expressing parts of the body) that establish a relationship of inalienable possession with a dative or accusative pronominal clitic (which has possessive value) appear as a preference in postposition; see: *Îmi dogoresc* ***obrajii****., Îmi curge* ***nasul****., Îmi cade* ***părul****., Mi se rup* ***unghiile****., Mi se frânge* ***inima****., Mi se înfundă* ***nasul****., Mi se închid* ***ochii****., Mă doare* ***capul****., Mă ustură* ***pielea****.* etc.

● Action (thus, agentive) verbs appear more often with an ante-posed subject than event and state verbs. The usual answers at the questions: *Ce* ***se întâmplă****? / Ce* ***s-a întâmplat****?,* containing a substitute-verb for an event, have a post-posed subject (see a); the answers to the questions that refer to processes of the type action, in the rare cases in which the subject is lexicalized, contain the subject in ante-position (see b):

(a) *A venit* ***salvarea*** *la vecini., A căzut* ***televizorul****., Ne-a părăsit* ***profesorul****., A apărut noul* ***director****., S-a îmbolnăvit* ***directorul****., A venit* ***vestea*** *că…*;

(b) ***Ion*** *se antrenează, iar* ***celălalt*** *munceşte în grădină.,* ***Amândoi*** *învață.*

● Articulated subjects, as compared to non-articulated ones, appear more frequently in ante-position, as a consequence of the incompatibility between thematization and non-articulation (see c):

[7] Keeping the interrogative *in situ*, although possible, is not usual, being limited in conversation to the interrogatives *of interruption*, to obtain a supplementary information or to recuperate the lost information (*A plecat,* ***cine****?, S-a întâmplat,* ***ce?***).

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(c) *Vin* ***copii*** *de pretutindeni.* vs. ***Copiii*** *noştri sunt bine pregătiți.*; *Cad nenumărate* ***frunze****.* vs. ***Frunzele*** *căzute acoperă aleile.*; *Aici lucrează* ***fizicieni****.,* vs. ***Fizicienii*** *au intrat în grevă.*

● No matter the type of verb, ante-position is more frequent in the main clause than in the subordinate clause (this concerns mainly non-adverbial subordinates, but the statistical observation is valid also for adverbials).

In order to establish the type of syntactic word order of the subject, we must mention the fact that the word order of the subject in the main clause is less conclusive, considering that, in the main clause, the position of the subject is ***less syntactically controlled and more textually-pragmatically determined.*** In other words, in a main clause placed in frontal position in the sentence, the position of subject is filled more often by the Theme / Topic, the sentence being organized in such a way for the subject and the Theme / Topic to coincide.

Excepting several cases of fixed ante-posed word order (see supra **B**), as well as the frequent use in ante-position in the main clauses, the word order preference in the case of subordinates and of non-thematised subject is V(erb) – S(ubject). One may also invoke the fact that Romanian has diversified the types of subordinating connectors, creating the variant ***ca...să***[8], specialized exactly for thematisations in the subordinate clause, including the preverbal positioning of the subject, indication of the fact that the syntactic word order of the subject is post-posed; see constructions like: *El doreşte* ***ca fratele*** *lui să-şi continue studiile., El speră* ***ca fraţii şi surorile lui*** *să ajungă la facultate., Este important / obligatoriu* ***ca întreaga familie*** *să fie liniştită., înainte* ***ca el*** *să vină pe lume.*

The order with post-posed subject, suggested, to a certain extent, by the use, can be also supported by theoretical deductions. In typological characterizations regarding the postposition of the subject, structural implications[9] were established, of the type: (a) in V-S-O languages, the adjective is post-nominally placed, the canonical order being Noun-Adjective; (b) in V-S-O languages, the auxiliary precedes the verbal base. The two features are obvious for Romanian, in which the evaluative adjectives (*caiet frumos*), possessive adjectives (*caietul meu*), as well as a class of demonstrative adjectival determiners (*caietul acesta / acela / celălalt*) appear, all, in postposition and in which the auxiliary, with a few marginal exceptions, is generally ante-posed.

2.2.2.2. ***The pro-drop parameter*** (of the dropping of the pronominal subject, but also of the subject in general) is a special preoccupation of GALR, as this work offers many new descriptive details, regarding the non-lexicalization of the first or second person subject (the so-called *included subject*) and of the third person subject (the so-called *implied subject* and the *non-determined subject*), and the examination of the effects obtained by their lexicalization.

[8] See also Dobrovie (1994: 106).
[9] See Renzi (1989: 21-25); Dobrovie (1989: 1123-1134).

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The class of constructions with dropped / non-lexicalized subject covers constructions with included / implied or non-determined subject, each with extremely diverse variations in discourse values. The ambiguity of the constructions with included subject in the second person, which oscillates between deictic and generic readings, the ambiguity of the constructions with unexpressed subject in the third person, which varies between completely recoverable and vaguely or non-recoverable readings, are characteristic features of Romanian, deriving both from the more general feature of subject dropping.

(A) ***The included subject***, a frequent construction, characteristic to Romanian, is the type of omitted subject of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th person, whose information regarding the person is recovered *contextually*, from the inflected form of the verb, as the verb duplicates the information of number and person of the subject through agreement. Once the information of person is obtained, the referential source is recovered deictically, from the situational context.

The recovery of referential information is *total* or *partial*, depending on the person of the subject and on its special value, but also depending on the form of the verb.

● If the verb has a non-finite form, the *contextual* recovery of the person is blocked, as the verbal context does not offer the necessary information. The recovery of information is transferred to the larger context, be it situational or textual, or it is imperfect, remaining, to a certain extent, ambiguous; see constructions like:

Odată plecat ***Ø*** [who? I or somebody else?], *am început să respir liniştit.*

Ajungând ***Ø*** *la facultate* [who? I or somebody else?], *s-a pornit ploaia*.

In the case of the infinitive and of the gerund, which keep their pronominal clitics, the person of the absent subject can be recovered through reflexive grammatical anaphora, obligatorily associated to the infinitive or to the gerund: *A-****ți*** *căuta* ***Ø*** [tu] *de lucru este prima preocupare., Ajutându-****ți*** *semenii* ***Ø*** [tu]*, te simți mai aproape de Dumnezeu.*

● In the case of the 4th and the 5th person, given their special semantics, which *noi* = 'I' + 'you' (2nd sg. or 2nd pl.), 'I' + 'he / she / they'; *voi* = 'you' (2nd sg.) + 'you' (2nd sg.), 'you' (2nd sg.) + 'he / she / they', the disambiguation is made, also here, by the situational or by the large textual context.

● Also for the 1st and 2nd person, given the homonymy of some of the verbal forms (1 = 2: *tai, sui, continui, contribui*; 1 = 4: *am suit, suiam*), the disambiguation is transferred from the verbal context to the situational or textual context.

● In the case of the 2nd and the 4th person, which from one occurrence to another can receive deictic or generic reading, given their special value, the recovery of information is not obtained fully from the form of the verb, as the type of reading and, implicitly, the referent or the class of referents is specified exclusively by the general discourse frame.

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● The only situation in which the identity of the subject is fully recovered is that of the 1st person subject, if this appears in relation with non-ambiguous verbal forms (of the type: *aflu, voi reuşi, am să cânt, aş cânta*).

The lexicalization of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th person subjects receives special values, either emphatic, or reflecting special meanings (the underlining of the uniqueness of the referent, the insistence on personal opinion, the delimitation or opposition to another person / to other persons); see constructions as:

(a) ***Numai tu singur*** *eşti în stare să convingi asistenţa.*

(b) ***Eu cred*** *că nu s-a lucrat bine.,* ***Eu am părerea mea*** *în legătură cu treaba asta, adică* ***zic eu după mine*** **/** ***după mintea mea****.*

(c) *Greşesc* ***şi eu****, greşeşti* ***şi tu****.*

(d) *Am să-ţi arăt care sunt rezultatele. Restul, că* ***tu*** *m-ai rugat să renunţ şi* ***eu*** *nu te-am ascultat, e treaba mea.*

(e) ***Tu, şi nu Ion,*** *ai făcut asta.*

(f) *Mergem să-l ajutăm* ***sau eu, sau tu****.*

(g) ***Ba eu, ba tu*** *făceai câte o năzbâtie.*

(h) **–** ***Tu*** *eşti*? **– Eu.** / **–** ***Eu*** *sunt*.

In (a, c) *insistence* on the 1st or 2nd person subject is obtained, an effect marked also through associating other means of insistence: either the association with a specialized adverbial clitic (*şi*), or the association with the adverbial clitic *numai* and with the adjective *singur*, both with the role of specifying the uniqueness of the referent. In (b), the personal opinion is insisted upon, through the combination with verbs 'of opinion': *cred, am părerea mea* or with prepositional constructions 'of opinion': *după mine, după mintea mea.* Among the characteristics of oral communication, the presence of an *egocentrical syntax,* strongly oriented towards the speaker, is frequently mentioned, syntax whose effect is the current lexicalization of the 1st person subject pronoun. In (d), the alternative lexicalization of the 1st and of the 2nd person has as effect the setting of the two referents in opposition. In (e, f, g), the special semantic values (opposition, exclusion, alternation), contained by the type of coordination, can only be obtained through the lexicalization of the subject pronominal deictic. The question of identification *Tu eşti?* (see h) can not receive the answer **Sunt,* but ***Eu.*** / ***Eu*** *sunt,* because the answer must include the confirmation / invalidation of the comment element; thus, in the variant of confirming, the presence of ***eu*** is obligatory.

(B) ***The implied subject*** is the non-lexicalized subject which corresponds to a predicate in the 3rd and 6th person, subject whose semantic recovery is *full* and obtained exclusively *anaphorically,* through the appeal to a referential source previously mentioned. In comparison with the included subject, whose referential identification is deictic, in the case of the implied subject, the identification is anaphoric. The implied subject is the most characteristic form of *zero anaphora.*

Sometimes, an implied subject is obligatorily imposed, through the phenomenon of *control of the subject* of the subordinate or of the subject of the

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non-finite verbal forms by one of the nominal components of the main clause / head, with which the controlled subject is obligatorily co-referential. The function of 'controller' can be of:

- The subject of the main clause (or of the head of the non-finite verb): *Ion$_i$ începe* [*să învețe* (Ø$_i$)]., *Ion$_i$ poate* [*să învețe* (Ø$_i$)]., *Ion$_i$ are* [*de învățat* (Ø$_i$)]., *Ion$_i$ binevoieşte / catadicseşte* [*să răspundă* (Ø$_i$)]., *Ion$_i$ se apucă* [*de învățat* (Ø$_i$)]., *Ion$_i$ se pune* [*pe plâns* (Ø$_i$)]., *Uşa$_i$ stă* [*să cadă* (Ø$_i$)]., *Copilul$_i$ dă* [*să se ridice* (Ø$_i$)].;
- An indirect object of the main clause (or of the head of the non-finite verb): *Îmi$_i$ vine* [*să plâng* (Ø$_i$)]., *Îmi$_i$ este greu* [*să plec* (Ø$_i$)]., *Îmi$_i$ este greu* [*de acceptat* (Ø$_i$)]., *Îmi$_i$ rămâne* [*de repetat* (Ø$_i$)].;
- A direct object of the main clause (or of the head of the non-finite verb): *Părinții l$_i$-au făcut pe copil$_i$* [*să renunțe* (Ø$_i$)]., *L$_i$-au sfătuit pe copil$_i$* [*să renunțe* (Ø$_i$)]., *L$_i$-au lăsat pe Ion$_i$* [*să plece* (Ø$_i$)]., *L$_i$-au pus pe Ion$_i$* [*să slăbească*(Ø$_i$)]., *L$_i$-au lăsat pe copil$_i$* [*a plânge* (Ø$_i$) / *plângând* (Ø$_i$)].

The characteristic of the constructions with controlled subject is the (obligatory) syntactic determination of the referential identity of two nouns (in the main clause and in the subordinate). These constructions have a high degree of ***syntactic and semantic cohesion*** in the phrase [Verb + Verb], cohesion which is frequent in the case of aspectual, modal or causative governors (see: *Ion începe să învețe., Copilul se apucă de învățat., Ion se pune pe plâns., Mama dă să plece., Îmi vine să plâng., M-au făcut să plâng.*).

In the construction of texts, the *thematic continuity* has as a consequence the fact that the subject can be omitted from more adjacent clauses / sentences and reappear only if its referent changes. In the evolution of the text, the implied subject modifies its referent, expanding the referent, reducing it, grouping it with others, as the predications refer only to one of the previously announced thematic referents or refer to more, all or partially combined, which makes the permanent comparing of the predication against the commune thematic background necessary:

Tătica$_i$ şi fetele$_j$ ieşiră din cârciumă la cinci după-masă şi-o luară (Ø$_{ij}$) *pe jos, pe Mihai Bravu, se-încâlciră* (Ø$_{ij}$) *în mahalale singuratice* […] *până ajunseră* (Ø$_{ij}$) *la casa Rădiței, unde au înnoptat* (Ø$_{ij}$). *Nenea$_k$ Florea$_k$ era pe frontul rusesc şi Rădița$_m$, mică negustoreasă$_m$ cu o prăvălie* […], *rămăsese singură* (Ø$_m$), *înfricoşată* (Ø$_m$), *plângând* (Ø$_m$) *nopți după nopți, iar ziua aşteptând* (Ø$_m$) *de dimineață până seara să primească* (Ø$_m$) *de pe front vestea morții bărbatului ei$_m$. Ascultară* (Ø$_{i,j,m}$) *împreună, dar nu-nțeleseră* (Ø$_{i,j,m}$) *nimic din emisiunile de propagandă.* (M. Cărtărescu, *Orbitor*).

(C) ***The non-determined subject*** is a non-lexicalized subject (omitted) which corresponds to a 3rd person or, more rarely, to a 6th person verb, with no modification of the rest of the sentence (it appears in constructions in the active voice, not in passive, reflexive-passive or impersonal structures).

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The indetermination of the subject is possible for any type of verb, both for agentive verbs, with animate subjects (see a) and for non-agentive verbs, with inanimate or propositional subjects (see b). The indetermination of the personal subject associates with the singular or plural form of the predicate verb, this variation appearing sometimes within the same sentence (see a: ***a*** *spus* vs. ***au*** *în stoc*). The indetermination of the non-personal or propositional subject associates only with the singular form of the verb.

(a) ***Scrie*** *în ziare.*,

– Sunt curios şi eu ce ***scrie****-n contractu ăsta. / – Ce* ***să scrie****-ntr-un contract de sponsorizare?* (colloquial conversation)

Au făcut *solduri.,*

Au mărit *taxele.*,

Bate **/** ***Sună*** *la uşă.,*

*– Eu am sunat la Panasonic. Şi mi-****a spus*** *că* ***au*** *în stoc* […] *reportofonul căutat.* (colloquial conversation)

(b) *– De ce te porţi aşa?/ – Mă* ***priveşte*** √*.,*

– Cum îţi ***merge*** √*?/ –*√ ***Merge****,* ***merge****, n-am de ce să mă plâng.,*

O.K.! Dacă ***e*** √**,** *îţi mai dau eu un telefon după aceea.* (colloquial conversation)

*– Nu, deocamdată stau tot în cămin. / – A, lasă că-****i mai bine*** √*, într-un fel* […] *Lasă că deocamdată e bine că* √ ***te costă*** *mai puţin. Nu?* (colloquial conversation).

In opposition with the ***implied subject***, for which the referential recovery is *total,* in the case of the ***non-determined subject***, deletion takes place due to the non-determination, i.e. to the (total or partial) non-recovery of the referential information, the only information retrieved from the verb being the one referring to the person of the subject (the 3rd or the 6th) or to the fact that the subject satisfies the same context as the pronominal subjects in the 3rd or 6th person (it belongs to the classes noun, pronoun, substitute-numeral).

2.2.2.3. ***Impersonality***, another feature that characterizes Romanian, concerns both the matrix (inherent) characteristics of the construction of some verbs and the regular syntactic mechanisms to obtain the same feature from patterns of construction which are personal in the primary construction. GALR brings many details concerning the inventory of impersonal constructions. A division was operated between the class of ***inherently impersonal*** verbs and ***contextually impersonal*** verbs.

(A) Romanian is characterized by a great number and syntactic variety of ***inherently impersonal verbs***. The following subclasses of inherently impersonal verbs can be distinguished, from the point of view of the sub-categorization features:

(a) ***zero-valent verbs***, which don't have any argument. It is a semantically homogenous class, of meteorological verbs (zero-valent verbs), extended to verbs with temporal uses: ***Era*** *în primăvara lui 1990,* ***Era*** *spre seară când*...The pattern

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of zero-valent verbs is productive, remaining open to all the verbs and periphrastic verbal formations which, accidentally, receive a meteorological meaning or become time indicators: *Vara* ***se luminează*** *pe la ora 5.,* ***Se înstelase*** *de mult când…,* ***Mijea*** *bine de ziuă când…,* ***Toarnă*** *cu găleata.,* ***Curge*** *din cer cu găleata.,* ***O dă*** *în lapoviță, pe urmă* ***o dă*** *în frig şi ninsoare.* (I. Creangă, *Amintiri*). It is an oscillating pattern, which sometimes can manifest the possibility to saturate the subject-position, either through an 'internal subject' (*Ploaia plouă., Neaua ninge.*), or through a subject that expresses the locative Source (*Cerul plouă*) or, rarely, the Agent (*Dumnezeu plouă., Sfântul Ilie plouă.*).

(b) ***mono- or bivalent verbs whose argument does not occupy (whose arguments do not occupy) the position of subject.*** The verbs discussed here are grouped in two semantically homogenous subclasses; they are non-agentive verbs, of physical or psychological state, individuated by the presence of an argument with the feature [+Personal] which functions as an Experiencer. Syntactically, the Experiencer is encoded through a dative or an accusative, not through a nominative.

See subclasses (b′), in which the Experiencer is encoded as a dative pronominal clitic, and (b″), in which the Experiencer is encoded as an accusative pronominal clitic:

(b′) *Îmi merge bine., Îmi pare bine de tine., Îmi pasă de familie., I se face de plecare., Îi arde de plimbare., Îi căşunează pe familie.*;

(b″) *Mă doare la burtă., Mă apasă la stomac., Mă mănâncă în palmă / ~ în ureche., Mă furnică pe spate., Mă ustură pe gât / ~ în capul pieptului., Mă roade la călcâi., Mă înjunghie între coaste., Mă strânge în spate., Mă înțeapă în inimă., Mă arde la stomac.*

The pattern is specific to the colloquial speech, oscillating, like the one before, either in the sense of attracting other verbs (*Îmi place de / ~ pe*[10]*..., Îmi vine în cap de..., Ne trece de râie.*; *Mă ține în piept.*; *Mă taie la inimă.*; *Mă strânge în spate.*), or in the sense of substituting the prepositional position with a subject nominal (*Mă doare capul., Mă ustură brațul., Mă arde stomacul.*).

(c) ***monovalent verbs whose unique position is encoded through a conjunctional clause or through non-finite verbal forms:*** *Se cade să..., Se cuvine să..., Era să..., Merită să...,* (*Se*) *părea că..., Rămâne să..., Reiese că..., Se întâmplă să..., Trebuie să..., Urmează că...* It is an oscilating pattern, because, in speech, the need to ‚subjectivize' (to involve the speaker as subject of the enounciation) is strong, leading often to syntactic reorganising and, implicitly, to the ‚personalising'

[10] One should notice that not all these variant constructions are accepted by the literary norms (see the prepositional constructions: *Îmi place de..., Îmi vine în cap de..., Îi trece de...,* not admitted by the literary language). The variation, present in the colloquial speech, is significant exactly because it shows the *permissiveness of the Romanian system*, as well as the possibility for structures with an unfilled subject position to occur.

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of the verb (eg. ***Trebuiam*** *să plec.,* ***Eram*** *să cad.,* ***M-am întâmplat*** *la locul accidentului.,* structures that are not recommended by the literary norm, but that are frequent in use).

(d) ***bivalent verbs which refer to the person through dative (d') or accusative (d''), having a conjunctional clause, or by a non-finite verbal form in the position of subject:***

(d') *Îmi convine că..., Mi se cuvine să..., Nu-ți merge să..., Îmi place să..., Nu-mi strică să..., Îmi trece prin gând să..., Îmi vine să..., Îmi ajunge că...*;

(d'') *Mă avantajează să..., Mă interesează să..., Mă miră că..., Mă surprinde că..., Mă uimeşte că....*

Class (d) includes only non-agentive verbs of physical and / or psychological state, characterized through the presence of an Experiencer encoded as dative or accusative nominal, and, through a Theme, encoded as conjunctional clause, occupying the position of subject. For most of these verbs, the position of subject can be also occupied by a nominal with the feature [−Human] (see: *Îmi convine propunerea., Mi se cuvine onorariul., Nu-mi merge afacerea., Nu-mi strică o vacanță.*) and, much more rarely, by a nominal with the feature [+Human] (ex. *Îmi placi., Mă surprinzi prin ceea ce faci.*). These verbs, that have greater liberty of construction (see: *a plăcea, a surprinde, a uimi*), oscillate between the impersonal use, constituting a majority as frequency, and personal use.

(e) ***verbs included in impersonal complex predicates***, combined with appreciative, deontic or appreciative-deontic adverbs, admitting in the subject position either conjunctional clauses, or non-finite verbs:

Este uşor / important / greu / util / necesar / recomandabil să.../ de făcut asta. / a se cerceta asta.; *Devine/ Ajunge important pentru mine să…*

The (e) class includes copulas characterized by the possibility to associate the features [+Copulative], [+Impersonal].

One should notice that the ***inherently impersonal patterns*** are represented by either constructions without subject (for which it is impossible to attach a subject; see (a) and (b)), or by constructions which, even having a subject, are inherently impersonal, since the subject has the feature of being encoded propositionally or through non-finite verbal form (see (c) - (e)).

(B) ***Contextually impersonal verbs*** are represented by verbs which contextually become unable to receive a subject, or which contextually become impersonal when the position of subject exists.

This class includes the syntactic forms of 'impersonal' (the impersonal passive and the proper impersonal).

The proper impersonal, structure which consists only of intransitive constructions (which can not receive a direct object) and of transitive verbs used as absolute constructions (admitting a direct object, but not lexicalizing it contextually), is characterized by the complete loss of the position of subject and by the impossibility of the verb to assign this position in the given construction (*Se*

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aleargă mult., Se înoată mult., Se merge pe jos., Se vine târziu.; *Se citeşte zilnic., Se mănâncă prost.*). The verbs behave as zero-valent, although, in their matrix, they have the possibility to receive a subject-argument.

The impersonal passive construction, in each of the two constructions (with the operator *a fi* or in its reflexive form), is possible only for transitive verbs and appears when the direct object in the active construction is expressed as conjunctional clause or as non-finite verb (*Oricine ştie că… → Este ştiut că…, Se ştie că…*; *Toată lumea cunoaşte că… → Este cunoscut că…, Se cunoaşte că…; Oricine aude tunând → Se aude tunând.*). The placing of the direct object (encoded propositionally or as a non-finite verbal form) in the position of the subject leads to the accidental (contextual) impersonal construction.

Although the proper impersonal and the passive one have the same 'impersonal' sense and receive an identical contextual marker (the morpheme ***se***), the two constructions concern complementary classes of verbs (intransitive vs. transitive), and the syntax of the constructions is totally different (the first is a construction in which the position of subject is 'erased' and impossible to be filled, while in the second the verb has a subject, but a subject expressed by the propositional component or by a non-finite verbal form moved from the position of direct object).

If we add the regular syntactic forms of 'impersonal' (the passive impersonal and the proper impersonal) and the impersonal value obtained as an effect of the 'generic' reading of the 2nd person (see above), then the possibility of a relatively simple shift from one class to the other, made through various procedures, becomes clear. In some cases (see verbs in classes (c) - (d)), the verb itself allows both uses. As an effect of this syntactic feature of Romanian, the speaker has the possibility to ***choose*** (in constructions with many verbs, but not with all) between an impersonal and a personal phrase turn and implicitly, he has the possibility to shift the *communicative interest* from the participants to the predication towards the predicate itself, a shift possible both ways.

As an effect of the peculiarity of Romanian to dispose of different constructions for the marking of the same value of ***generic predication***[11], the speaker has the possibility to ***choose*** between different impersonal constructions, some of the patterns having a subject, some lacking a subject. See, for example, fragments of text in which impersonal constructions of different type appears in the same sentence or in adjacent sentences: ***Se adoarme*** *greu* [the impersonal form of an intransitive verb] *când* ***eşti îngrijorat.*** [generic 'YOU']; ***Se suferă*** *mult* [the impersonal form of an intransitive verb] *când* ***eşti conştient*** [generic 'YOU'] *de neputinţa* ***ta.***

See, also, a fragment of a text characterised through the maximum reduction of the deictic markers, a non-temporal language as the one used in cooking recipes, in which different impersonal patterns coexist: *După ce* ***s-a scos*** *rinichiul* [reflexive-passive of a transitive verb], ***se toarnă*** [reflexive passive of a transitive

[11] See Zafiu (2003).

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verb] *în tavă vinul**, se lasă*** [reflexive passive of a transitive verb] ***să dea*** [ergative] *câteva clocote, în timp ce **tăiem*** [generic 'WE'] *rinichiul. **Se ține*** [reflexive passive of a transitive verb] *la cald, dar numai câteva minute, până **pregătim*** [generic 'NOI'] *sosul.* (S. Marin, *Carte de bucate*).

3. The purpose of the present article has been to inform the foreign readers about the publishing of a monumental work which describes the grammatical structure of Romanian language, containing also comparative and typological elements. Moreover, it is an invitation to read this grammar. Deepening the description and adopting an 'individualizing' subjacent perspective on Romanian, GALR constitutes a good starting point for future comparative and typological research. The analysis of features that ***individualize*** Romanian, like: argument marking, the inventory and typology of complements, the specific features in the typology of impersonal structures or in the encoding of the subject, is another reason to accept the invitation that we made. We offered a short presentation of several sections of the grammar, but many other sections can serve as illustration for the same purpose.

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