SOME REMARKS ON ROMANIAN REFLEXIVE VERBS DERIVED BY THE PREFIX *ÎN*

Veronica Tomescu

Abstract: The paper discusses a small group of Romanian reflexive verbs, denominals derived by means of the prefix *în*, as well as a group of transitive verbs which are reflexivized. Their behaviour will be briefly considered. A search on the Internet has also been made alongside the dictionary study in order to gain an insight into the frequency of use of certain forms.

Keywords: denominal verbs, reflexives, reflexivization, unaccusativity

1. Reflexivization and reflexives

1.1 Reflexivization

Reinhart and Siloni (2005) espouse the "active lexicon" view, meaning that there are operations occurring before lexical insertion. In various languages, *the reflexive operation can apply at one of two levels: in the lexicon or at the level of syntax*. All languages belong to either one or the other category. In Hebrew, English, Russian, Hungarian, Dutch, the reflexivization parameter is set to the lexicon, while in Romance, Serb-Croatian, Czech, Greek, German, reflexivization is syntactic; that is, in the first category, reflexive verbs are formed in the lexicon, while in the second they are formed in the syntax.

Unaccusatives and reflexives are derived from transitives by means of reduction / decausativization. According to Reinhart (2000: 5), "a reduction operation applies to a two place relation, identifies two arguments, and reduces the relation to a property". If the internal role is reduced, a reflexive structure is obtained, and by reduction of the external role an unaccusative entry is derived: the remaining internal role surfaces in subject position.

The reflexive is apparent under a certain morphological form: in Semitic languages it is a verbal template (the fifth in Hebrew: *hitpa'el*), a clitic in Romance languages (*se*, *si*), Serbo-Croatian (*se*), in Russian there is the suffix -s' (Reinhart and Siloni 2005). In English the reflexivization need not be marked anywhere: *The child washed*.

Looking across languages, it is noticeable that there is an overwhelming majority of unaccusatives with a transitive alternate; this alternation is not the same in all languages. Unlike English, Hebrew does have transitive/intransitive alternates with the same stem meaning *bring/come* (*hevi/ba*), for *die/kill (met/hemit*). It has been observed that Italian on the other hand has only the unaccusative *crescere* (*grow*). Which could lead us to suppose that unaccusatives with no transitive alternates are derived form an abstract hypothetical transitive verb; that the lexicon should contain frozen forms is not altogether impossible to imagine. There are frozen intrinsic reflexives which cannot be used transitively; in Romanian e.g. *a se împăuna*. There is no transitive form **a împăuna pe cineva*; nevertheless, according to Reinhart the lexicon should contain this non-existent verb whose only role is to derive the reflexive form through reduction. Other verbs marked in the dictionary as purely transitives are: *a îmblăni 'line with fur', a împăia 'stuff', a încolți*'to beset', *a încondeia* 'decorate', *a încasa* 'cash in', *a încazarma* 'put in barracks', *a încăpăstra* 'harness', *a însămânța* 'sow', *a înrăma* 'frame'. Nevertheless it is in order here to mention that by "reflexives" only true reflexives are meant, where the Agent or the Experiencer takes the action or emotion upon itself, and not for instance impersonal reflexives or middles.

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Reinhart and Siloni (2005) present evidence that the reflexive clitic is an external argument. Firstly they need to prove that the Romance clitic *se* does not resemble the anaphor *himself* in English, that is it is not an object clitic.

Causatives require the preposition *à* before the subject if transitive and no preposition with intransitive verbs; reflexives pattern with intransitives in this respect.

(1) a. Je ferai laver Max à Paul.
b. Je ferai courir Paul.
c. Je ferai se laver Paul.

In French *en*-cliticization, which is only possible for objects, is impossible for the reflexive:

(2) a. Il en est arrivé trois hier soir.
There of them arrived three yesterday evening.
b. *Il s'en est lavé beaucoup dans ces douches publiques.
There refl. of them washed many at the public showers.

The two pieces of evidence above were also presented in Dobrovie-Sorin (2000) in order to show that *se* is not an object clitic.

The question that could be raised is what happens to the Accusative case feature. In the case of reflexivization, the role is not eliminated completely. What happens is that two theta-roles are assigned to the same argument; the operation is dubbed "bundling": it is an operation that out of two distinct theta-roles creates a complex one. There is a requirement that one role must be external. First the Accusative feature is checked by the clitic, then on merger of the subject DP the Agent role is assigned and then the role of the object DP bundles with it. Certainly, one may object to this theory based on the theta-Criterion. It is necessary to discard the latter part of the bi-uniqueness condition of the Theta-Criterion: that is that only one theta-role should be assigned to a single argument. But since the prompting behind this argument was to eliminate movement to a theta-position and since this can be outruled by other means, it is no longer necessary to retain the restriction on theta-assignment.

In syntax languages, reflexivization is productive, which is indeed the case in Romanian.

1.2 Romanian *se*

Dobrovie-Sorin (2000) argues that accusative *se* types are all markers of unaccusativity, in the sense that the external theta-role is suspended alongside Accusative Case. Accusative *se* can be *inchoative, inherent, middle and passive.*

Passive *se* is considered to be Accusative in Dobrovie-Sorin (1998), in opposition to the analysis developed by Cinque (1988); firstly, the verbs agree with the overt DP, similarly to other type of Acusative-*se* verbs. On the other hand, Nominative *si* in Italian always presupposes lack of agreement between the verb and the DP.

(3) a. Si mangia le mele.
SI eat (sg.) apples (pl.)
'One eats the apples.'
b. *În această universitate se predă ştiinţele umane.
in this university SE teach (sg.) the humanities (pl.)
'In this university the humanities is taught.'

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c. În această universitate se predau ştiinţele umane
in this university SE teach (pl.) the humanities (pl.)
'In this university the humanities are taught.'

The same agreement is noticeable in Romanian passive *se* constructions; the verb agrees with the DP. Consequently, it is safe to conclude that passive *se* is Accusative in both languages.

Secondly, passive *se* is incompatible with another Accusative clitic, unlike Nominative *se*. This ungrammaticality can be explained if *se* is also Accusative.

(4) a. *Ritengo esserlesi vendute ad un prezzo eccesivo.
(I) esteem (to) have-them-SI sold at an excessive price
b. *Ştiinţele umane le se predă în această universitate
*the humanities ACC-cl SE teach in this university

The floating quantifier *tutti* is also incompatible with Accusative *se* and passive *se* while it is permissible with Nominative *si*.

(5) a. Si è reagito a sproposito tutti
SI is reacted off the point all
'We all reacted off the point.'
b. *S-a reacţionat prost toţi.
SE has reacted badly all

Cornilescu (1998) considers *se* passives as syntactic formations, since they are not listed in the lexicon, unlike reflexives. Passives, unlike reflexives and middles, are not possible in the first and second persons.

(6) a. Eu mă păcălesc uşor. (reflexive/middle)
I SE-1st pers. deceive easily
'I deceive myself easily'
b. Poporul se păcăleşte singur. (reflexive)
people-the SE deceives themselves
'The people deceive themselves.'
c . Poporul s-a păcălit. (inchoative)
people-the se has deceived
'The people got deceived'
d. E uşor să se păcălească poporul (passive)
is easy to se deceive people-the
'It is easy to cheat the people.'

In Romanian there exists the possibility that unaccusatives should co-occur with passive *se*.

(7) Ieri s-a ajuns la timp.
yesterday SE has arrived at time
Yesterday people arrived in time.

The analysis suggested in Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) for this type of sentence is that indeed Romanian does not satisfyingly distinguish between unergatives and unaccusatives, since

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after all most unaccusativity tests, such as auxiliary selection or *en* cliticization, are unavailable in Romanian (*have* is the only auxiliary and no such clitic exists).

Nevertheless, there is some restriction on the reflexivization of unaccusatives. First of all, inherent reflexives of the type *a se aglomera, a se atrofia, a se bifurca, a se bronza, a se caria, a se cicatriza, a se înnora, a se învechi,* cannot be interpreted as co-occurring with passive *se*; Burzio (1996) already observed that inherent reflexives are unaccusatives and therefore cannot passivize. Moreover, Dobrovie-Sorin noticed how *se*-marked inchoatives behave like unaccusatives, while unmarked inchoatives pattern with unergatives. Secondly, the subject selected by the passive se-marked one-argument verb is bound to be interpreted as [+human].

(8) S-a acostat departe de aici.
SE has landed far from here
'The landing was far from here, They landed far from here.'

The conclusion drawn by Dobrovie-Sorin (1998) is that it is only derived unaccusatives that allow this construction.

2 Romanian verbs derived by means of the prefix *în*

There are numerous Romanian denominal and deadjectival verbs derived by means of *în*, broadly split into denominals and deadjectivals. The main criterion of classifying denominals is argument structure: transitive verbs have been grouped together, and then further subdivided according to the thematic roles present in their makeup. A second category comprises reflexives, and then there is a smaller category of intransitive verbs. The classification is mainly based on whether the verb was listed in the dictionary first as a transitive, reflexive etc. Since such a distinction was made in dictionaries, I considered it to be important and hope to be borne out by their further behaviour; mention should be made of the fact that the classification below is based on a survey of the following dictionaries (*Dicţionarul limbii romîne moderne*, *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române*, *Dicţionarul limbii romîne literare contemporane*).

The discussion below highlights reflexives and reflexivization.

2.1 Classification

2.1.1 Transitive denominal verbs with an Agent subject:

The verb can be paraphrased as "put in Location": *a îmbarca* 'embark', *a îmbăia* 'bathe' = în + baie 'bath', *a împacheta* 'wrap' = în + pachet 'package', *a înmagazina* 'store', *a încadra* 'frame', *a înrăma* 'frame' = în + ramă 'frame', *a îngropa* 'bury' = în + groapă 'hole', *a înmormânta* 'bury' = în + mormânt 'grave', *a întemniţa* 'jail' = în + temniţă 'jail', *a încartirui* 'quarter', *a încasa* 'cash', *a încăpăstra* 'harness' = în + căpăstru 'harness', *a înhăma* 'harness' = în + ham 'harness', *a încercui* 'circle' = în + cerc 'circle', *a înregistra* 'register' = în + registru 'register', *a înregimenta* 'enrol' = în + regiment 'regiment', *a înfăşa* 'swaddle', *a înfăţa (o pernă) 'put (a pillow) in case'; a îngloda* 'stick in mud' = în + glod 'mud', *a învălui* 'surround' = în + văl 'veil', *a înveşmânta* 'dress' = în + veşmânt 'clothes'

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(9) a. 10.000 de profesori au încercuit Parlamentul.[1]
10,000 of teachers have surrounded Parliament-the
10,000 of teachers have surrounded Parliament
b. Niculescu a preluat echipa ..., a înglodat-o în datorii …
has buried-it in debts
'Niculescu took over the team, buried it in debts...'

The verb can be paraphrased as: to fill with N, where this N is the one entering with the prefix *în* the word formation process; the object DP is Patient/Location/Locatum : *a îmbăla*'cover in saliva' = în + bale 'saliva'*, a îmbălsăma* 'embalm' = în + balsam 'balm', *a însângera* 'blooden' = în + sânge 'blood', *a înmiresma* 'scent' = în + mireasmă 'scent', *a încleia* 'cover in glue' = în + clei 'glue', *a întina* 'dirty' = în + tină 'earth', *a împodobi* 'decorate' = în + podoabă 'ornament', *a înzorzona* 'ornament' = în + zorzoane 'ornaments', *a înflora* 'decorate with flowers' = în + floare 'flower'*, a împăia* 'stuff' = în + paie 'straw', *a înfrumuseța* 'embellish' = în + frumusețe 'beauty', *a îmblăni* 'line with fur' = în + blană 'fur', *a împânzi* 'spread out over' = în + pânză 'cloth', *a însămânța* 'sow' (the direct object is *soil*) = în + sămânță 'seed', *a înzestra* 'endow' = în + zestre 'dowry'

(10) războiul civil care va însângera Spania
war-the civil which will blooden Spain
'the civil war which will cover Spain in blood'

Verbs with an embedded abstract noun: *a înființa* 'create' = în + ființă 'being' (possibly 'to put into being')*, a întrupa* 'embody' = în + trup 'body' ('to put into a body'), *a înfăptui* 'create' = în + faptă 'fact'*, a înjgheba* 'create' = în + jgheab 'trough' (obviously no longer transparent), *a încetățeni* 'make citizen' = în + cetățean 'citizen', *a întemeia* 'found' = în + temei 'grounds', *a împărtăşi* 'share' = în parte 'part', *a împroprietări* 'endow' = în + proprietar 'owner', *a însărcina* 'assign' = în + sarcină 'task'

(11) a. România şi Polonia au permis CIA să înființeze închisori secrete.
Romania and Poland have allowed CIA to found prisons secret
'Romania and Poland allowed the CIA to found secret prisons.'
b. Mafia de partid… a împroprietărit molozul securist.
mafia of party has endowed rubbish-the secret-service
'the party mafia … endowed the ex-secret service scum'
c. …pentru a întemeia "Averea", publicație redenumită ulterior
for to found Averea, paper renamed later
'in order to found *Averea*, paper later renamed'

Object-Experiencer verbs: *a îndurera* 'grieve' = în + durere 'pain', *a îngrozi* 'terrify' = în + groază 'terror', *a înspâimânta* 'terrify' = în + spaimă 'terror', *a îmbărbăta* 'encourage' = în + bărbat 'man' (make brave like a man), *a însufleți* 'animate' = în + suflet 'soul', *a înflăcăra* 'animate' = în + flacără 'flame', *a înfoca* 'heat' = în foc 'fire'

(12) Această perspectivă mă îngrozeşte.
this perspective me terrifies
'The perspective terrifies me'

[1] examples are taken from online versions of newspapers (*Cotidianul*) or other internet pages.

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Verbs with an embedded Instrument: *a înfiera* = în + fier 'iron' (a marca cu fierul roşu 'mark with redhot iron'; fig. 'strongly criticize'), *a încondeia* = în + condei 'pen' (a decora cu condeiul 'decorate by means of a pen pen, usu. of Easter eggs'), *a împuşca* = în + puşcă 'gun' (a răni cu puşca 'hurt with gun, shoot), *a îndigui* = în + dig 'dam' (a opri cu un dig 'stop with dam', fig. 'restrain, set limits to'); and, less transparent: *a împrăştia* 'spread' (it comes from în + praştie 'slingshot', according to the *Dicţionarul limbii romîne moderne), a îmboldi* 'nudge' (în + bold 'pin').

(13) a. În loc să înfiereze pirateria online, îi preia metodele.
instead of to damn piracy…
'Instead of criticizing online piracy, it takes over its methods.'
b. Au putut vedea şi cum se încondeiază ouă la români.
how SE decorate eggs
'They could also see how eggs are decorated in Romania.'
c. Cei care apelează la schemele de "întrajutorare" sunt cei încondeiaţi de către Centrala Riscurilor Bancare. (fig.)
those marked by
'Those who request aid are those marked by the Bank Risk Centre'
d. …să împuşte iepuri în câmpia Bărăganului
to shoot hares in plain.the Bărăgan.of
…to shoot hares in the plains of Bărăgan
e. După ce vom îndigui râul Moldova…
after that will dam river Moldova
'After damming the river Moldova…'
f. o strategie eficientă de a îndigui ascensiunea noului politician. (fig.)
a strategy efficient of to dam rise.the new.of politician
an efficient strategy to stop the rise of the new politician.
g. Vezuviu care împrăştie magma
Vesuvius which scatters magma
h. Această întrebare împrăştie la fel de mult mister
this question dissipates as much mystery
i. …îi îmboldesc ghizii pe vizitatori.
them invite guides Acc-PE visitors
'…the guides invite the visitors'
j. Va fi poate îmboldit să-şi ia carnet
will be maybe prompted to him take card
'He may be egged on to get a membership card'
k . îmboldeşte-l uşor cu un deget
nudge-it gently with one finger
'Nudge it gently with your finger.'

The verbs can all undergo reflexivization, either as inchoative reflexives (14f), middle passives (14a, b) or as passive reflexives (14c, d, e), following the analysis of Romanian *se* sentences put forth in Cornilescu (1998). While reflexives presuppose coindexation of the subject and object, in passive sentences the Agent and the Theme are referentially distinct.

(14) a. nici sticla de sampanie nu se împacheteaza foarte greu.
neither bottle-the of champagne not SE packs very hard
'Champagne bottles are not hard to pack either'

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b. O plantație de afin se înființeaza usor .
a plantation of blueberry SE starts easily
'A blueberry plantation is easy to start.'
c. lipirea pânzei pe un suport mai tare, care ulterior se înrămează t
which later SE frames t
'glueing the cloth onto a harder support which is later framed'
d. nu se va mai însămânța nici măcar jumătate din suprafața…
not SE will anymore sow not even half of area
'not even half of the area will be sown'
e. Au putut vedea şi cum se încondeiază ouă la români.
how SE decorate eggs
'They could also see how eggs are decorated in Romania.'
f. Contramanifestanții se împrăştie ca potârnichile.
counter-protester SE scatter like partriges
'Counter-protesters scatter like partriges'

2.1.2 Denominal reflexives

Denominal reflexives include *a se înrădăcina* 'take root', *a se învăpăia* 'enflame', *a se împăienjeni* 'blur', *a se împământeni* 'take root', *a se împielița* 'become devilish', *a se împăuna* 'plume oneself'. The verbs *a se înnopta* (which also has another intransitive use with a different meaning: 'to spend the night'), *a se întomna* are marked as alternatively intransitive/reflexive. *Înnoptează* is overwhelmingly used in its reflexive form, the two exceptions under (13 a, b) are one a 19th century literary text and the other dialectal; as for *întomna*, in *Dicționarul limbii romîne moderne* it is only marked as intransitive; it is only in *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române* that the reflexive form is also registered. Hence the conclusion can be drawn that in this case it is the reflexive form which is derived; in addition, it is not unlikely that the intransitive, less used, will be replaced completely by the reflexive.

(15) a. până când înnoptează (Kogălniceanu)
until night.falls
'until nightfall'
b. se adună neamurile… după ce înnoptează
SE gather relatives after grows.dark
'the relatives gather after nightfall'
c. îmi întomnează sufletul
me autumn comes soul-the
'the autumn comes in my soul'

Interestingly, it has been extremely difficult to encounter the reflexive use of the verb *a se înrădăcina* on the Internet: at first the only results were either a transitive use (16a, b, c), not mentioned in the dictionary as yet, or the adjectival participle. A similar observation is valid for *împământeni* (16h and i – transitive). As for *împielița* appeared once as reflexive (16l) and once as transitive (16k). Only *împăuna* does not have transitive occurrences.

(16) a. Să își înrădăcineze puterea personală pe terenul ... tranziției.
their take.root power
'make their personal power take root on the land of transition'

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b. Dar un fapt mult mai grav înrădăcinează toate aceste atribute într-o obişnuinţă malignă.
but a fact much more grave take.root all these attributes in-a habit malignant'but a yet graver fact makes all these attributes take root in a malignant habit'
c. Mentalul colectiv remanent comunist a înrădăcinat în minte faptul că legea este doar pentru cei mici
has taken.root in mind fact.the...'the remaining communist collective mentality has made the fact that the law is only for common people take root in people's mind'
d. Partea dinspre pământ se înrădăcinează, iar partea opusă continuă să crească
part.the towards earth SE take.root...
'the part close to the ground takes roots, and the opposite part continues to grow'
e. Acțiunea socială se înrădăcinează profund în viața liturgică (fig.)
action social SE take.root deeply in life religious'social action takes deep roots in religious life'
f. Ale căror inimi s-au învăpăiat
of whose hearts SE have fired'whose hearts have become passionate'
g. I s-a împăienjenit vederea.
him SE has blurred sight'
his sight has become blurred'
h. pentru a împământeni valurile de imigranți
for to assimilate waves.the of immigrants'
to assimilate the waves of immigrants'
i. Cunoscută pentru capacitatea ei de a împământeni împrumuturile, limba română…
to assimilate loans
'known for its capacity to assimilate loans, the Romanian language…'
j. Dar dacă aceşti intruşi s-ar împământeni devenind peste noapte respectabili?
these intruders SE would assimilate'
what if these intruders were to assimilate and become respectable over night?'
k. Coada la mai orice îmbrobodeşte umbra naţiei expuse diverselor forme de iradiere stalinistă
make-devilish shadow.the'
queues for almost anything made devilish the shadow of a nation exposed to various forms of Stalinist irradiation'
l. Mi-e scârbă de ei, cât se pot îmbrobodi pe la televizor şi cât de puţin fac.
how SE can make-devilish'
I'm sick of them, how they can play the devil on TV and how little they do'
m. Parlamentarii se vor împăuna cu Vulturul României.
Members of Parliament SE will boast with The Romanian Eagle'
Members of Parliament will sport The Romanian Eagle.'

2.1.3 Denominal inchoatives

Denominal inchoatives include *a încolți* 'germinate', *a înmuguri* 'burgeon', *a îmboboci* 'blossom', *a înflori* 'bloom'. The latter alternates with a transitive form which is only figurative. There can be of course no question of reflexivization except for the the transitive verb which seems to be an exception and patterns with the transitive verbs above.

2.1.4 Deadjectival verbs (în + A)

Deadjectival verbs (în + A) transitives alternate with a reflexive form (17) and intransitives alternate with a transitive form (18), which are similar to the "plant life" verbs above:

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(17) a. a împărţit la fiecare de ne-a îmblânzit (Creangă)
has handed.out to each so.that us has pacified
'He handed out to each of us so that we were pacified'
b. glasurile se îmblânziseră
voices.the SE mellowed
'The voices had mellowed.'

(18) a. numai omul îmbătrâneşte (Delavrancea)
only man.the grows.old
'It is only man who grows old.'
b. vremea ne îmbătrâneşte (Ibrăileanu)
time us makes.old
'Times makes us grow old.'

2.2 A comparison between reflexives and inchoatives

Labelle (1992) makes the following distinction between root inchoatives and reflexives; she considers that while in root inchoatives the properties of the entity in subject position are sufficient for bringing about the event, the reflexive is a sign that the subject cannot in itself be initiator of the event and another causer is implied. If this causer is overtly mentioned then we have the transitive configuration.

(19) a. Jeanne rougit.
Jeanne reddens.
b. Il vit le mouchoir se rougir soudain.
He saw the handkerchief SE redden

The suggestion is that the intransitive construction "linguistically asserts the autonomy of the process", while the reflexive meaning fails to yield the same process meaning.

On the other hand, some of the examples provided by Labelle to prove that the intransitive is used in order to prove that the subject entity has sufficient properties to cause the action alone are formulated in Romanian with a reflexive:

(20) a. Après l'extraction du nerf les dents noircissent.
after the extraction of the nerve the teeth blacken
b. Dinţii se înnegresc.
teeth.the (SE) blacken
The teeth go black.
c. Les murs se noircissent.
the walls SE blacken
The walls blacken.
d. Pereţii se înnegresc.
walls.the SE blacken

The difference between (21a) and (21c) is that teeth blacken by themselves, without any external cause; it is due to their internal properties (lack of nerve) that they undergo the change of state. Whereas in the (c) example the walls blacken owing to an external cause: soot, dirt, etc. The intransitive construction, says Labelle, describes a process internal to the subject, while the reflexive is viewed as leading to a final state of the entity described. In the reflexive construction no responsibility is attributed to the entity which is changing. On the

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other hand, in Romanian, despite the dictionary entry mentioning a root inchoative for *înnegri*, speakers find the reflexive constructions the only or the better alternative. Indeed, an internet search has yielded no inchoative examples for *înnegri*, showing a clear preference of speakers for the reflexive form.

3. Conclusion

While unsurprisingly the category of transitive în-verbs lend themselves easily to reflexivization of any kind, intrinsically reflexive verbs are often encountered under a transitivized form. As for inchoatives, in many cases there is a clear preference to use a reflexive instead, this preference probably being rather recent, since in one case at least the reflexive form has only recently been legitimized by a dictionary entry. The alternation reflexive-transitive is very frequent, showing the productivity and availability of the process.

Veronica Tomescu
University of Bucharest
veronicatomesc@yahoo.com

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