

THE IMPERSONAL SENTENCE IN RUSSIAN AND ROMANIAN*

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I. OUTLINE OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.0. In "Some Problems for Case Grammar", Fillmore (1971c : 246) reviewing his work of the preceding five years, pointed out the shortcomings of his model, adding: "I believe to this day that the basic ideas were not all wrong". These 'basic ideas' were first expounded in "A Proposal concerning English Prepositions" and an expanded version of it, "Towards a Modern Theory of Case" (1966; reprinted 1969), at which time Fillmore began to question the validity of the notions subject-object on the level of deep structure as proposed by Chomsky.

1.1. In former theories on the 'meaning' and 'classification' of the superficial (surface structure) cases, while all other cases were shown to express many different meanings and relations, the nominative, as the case of the subject was called 'the case of pure reference, without case meaning' (de Groot 1956 : 189) or the 'unmarked member of a correlation' which "in itself does not state either the presence or the absence of a relation to an action" (Jakobson 1966 : 58).¹

1.1.1. Fillmore showed in such examples as "my foot hurt", "the knife hurt" (1966b : 21) or "John opened the door", "The key opened the door", "The door opened", "John believed", "It was apparent to John" (1968a : 25); "The boy fell down", "The boy has blue eyes" (1970b : 34); that "the relation

* No attempt has been made by the author to give an analysis of the impersonal sentence in English. English examples are used for explanatory purposes only.

¹ The original reads: "der N an sich weder das Vorhandsein noch das Nichtvorhandsein eines Bezugs zu einer Handlung angibt", "den N als das merkmallose Glied einer Bezugskorrelation zu betrachten".

of a subject to its clause can vary from one predicator to another and also vary in different sentences with the same predicator" (1971c : 249).

Moreover these relations are independent of the surface form. In the examples "Chicago is windy", "It is windy in Chicago", the relation between the predicator and the noun phrase is the same in either sentence. Fillmore maintained that the nominative, as the surface subject case, is a neutralization of case relations and that one must look for these relations on another, deeper level. To posit a subject in deep structure would mean to lose sight of these relations. The deep structure of a case grammar would have a different and simpler form than the one proposed by Chomsky, as "the deep structure reason for making the first division between noun-phrase and verb phrase was mainly to have a separate immediate denominator for the noun-phrases that were to be defined as 'subject' and 'object'" (1966b : 28).²

1.1.2. In a case grammar, the deep structure would contain a predicator (verb, adjective, or noun) and one or more noun phrases associated with the verb (adjective or noun) in particular case relationship or roles. "These roles comprise a set of universal concepts which identify certain types of judgements human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgements about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, what got changed, etc. (Fillmore 1968a : 24).

In the course of his writings, Fillmore has kept on changing and re-adjusting the number of cases, their definitions, names, and scope. He started with agentive, instrumental, dative, factive, locative, objective, benefactive, time (1968a : 24 - 25, 32) and comitative (1968a : 81). Later he notes (1971c : 248): "The whole thing makes sense only if there are good reasons to believe that there is an irreducible number of role types by which grammatical theory makes its contribution to semantic interpretation; if it turns out that this number is small if there are reasonable principles according to which these role types can be identified..." The new, still tentative list preceded by abbreviations which will be used hereafter, is as follows:

- A. Agent, instigator of an action, animate.
- E. Experiencer of a psychological event, or of a mental state verb, animate.
- I. Instrument, something used to obtain a result, immediate cause or event, stimulus with a psychological predicator.
- O. Object, entity which moves or which undergoes change of state.
- So. Source, starting point, earlier state, location or time period.
- G. Goal, destination, later state, location or time period; end result of a thing which comes into existence as a result of the action identified by the

² Subject defined as the relation between noun phrase and immediately dominating sentence, and object the relation between noun phrase and immediately dominating verb phrase.

predicator; receiver as destination in transfer or movement of something to a person.

- P. Place } these must be kept separate from both So and G.
T. Time }

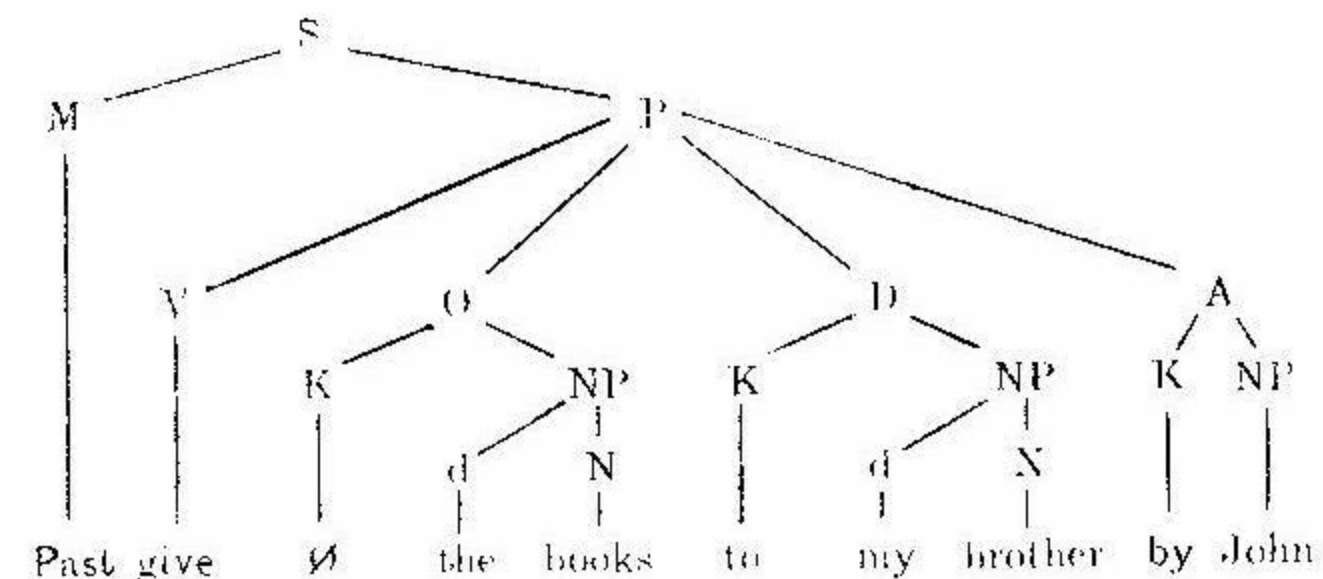
- S. Babcock has made a good argument for separating cause C. from instrument:

"Instruments are at the service of agents, whether or not the sentence contains one, but cause phrases are independent sources of activity" (1972:31).

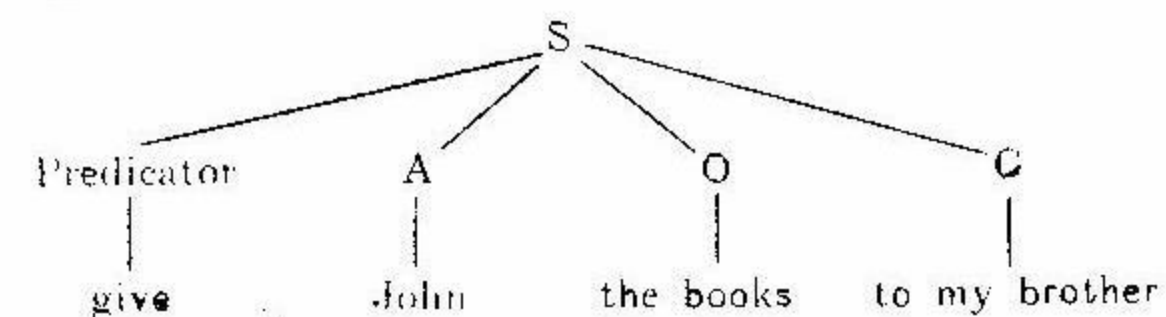
I have reasons to believe that this separation could be shown to be valid for Russian.

Huddleston's suggestion (1970:505) for a separate case, Force, distinguished from Fillmore's I, which might be a complementary variant with A of single case C, is something which will have to be looked into.

It also remains to be proven whether a designative case D is needed, to mark, under G, the entity for which or whom something is intended, as suggested by Kolesnikoff (1972). The formalization of the proposed base also undergoes changes. From a branching diagram which contained modality, predicator, labeled case relations dominating K (case) and a NP (Fillmore 1968a : 35) and which proved too cumbersome,



Fillmore arrives at a simplified semantic representation consisting of a stemma containing a predicator with each case relation directly dominating its own noun phrase:



Although cases in the base structure are not linearly ordered there is a definite hierarchy among the cases for subject and object selection (for those languages which require them) in the unmarked instance. The grammar of a language would provide choice options for shifts in the hierarchical order of deep case relations, depending on topicalization rules or special requirements of different predicators. The surface cases (with or without prepositions or post-positions) would be determined, partially, by the deep structure cases, and, also, by language specific sentence formation rules (SF) which have to do with information about the sentence, such as animateness, definiteness, negation, etc. The choice of particular case forms constitutes the case system of the language. On the deep level a simple sentence is one in which each of the relationships occurs only once. Complex sentences have sentences embedded in underlying representations as occupants of some case role.

1.1.3. One advantage of this model lies in the fact that it separates semantic case relationships from surface morphological cases. In many treatments of grammar, semantic values are attached directly to cases as surface morphological categories with a complete disregard of the complex relationship between underlying semantic case relations and their superficial markers.

1.1.4. An example of such a view of grammar is Iu. Apresian's "Study of the semantics of Russian verbs through their syntactic characteristics" (1970).

On the premise that expressions exhibiting similar syntactic characteristics are close in meaning, while close in meaning expressions enter in similar syntactic relations, Apresian analyses 25,000 examples of sentences with verbs in central position, isolating 4440 "ideal sentences" for 1410 most common Russian verbs.

To determine the meaning of a verb, Apresian examines verbal constructions for their compatibility and for the transformations which they can undergo. Verbs are set in frames with nouns showing the surface case in subscript. Constructions are considered compatible if they can be conflated.

Examples of compatible sentences:

- (a) 'He answered me' $N_n^1 V N_a^2$
 (b) 'He responded to the suggestion' $N_n^1 V \text{ prep na } N_a^2$
 "He answered to the suggestion"³
 (c) 'He responded to me with agreement' $N_n^1 V N_a^2$
 "He answered me with agreement"
 (d) 'He responded with agreement to my suggestion'
 "He answered me with agreement to the suggestion"³

³ Literal translations from Russian in double quotation marks.

Examples of non-compatibility:

- (a) He supported the woman with advice. $N_n^1 V N_a^2 N_c^3$
 (b) He supported the woman by the waist. $N_n^1 V N_a^2 \text{ prep } N_c^3 \rightarrow$
 (c) *He supported the woman by the waist with advice, (can not be conflated).

Sentences are transformations of each other if they contain a semantic invariant. For example:

- (a) This worries him.
 (b) He is worried by this.
 (c) He is in a state of worry because of this.
 (d) He is experiencing worry because of this.
 (e) This fills him with worry.
 (f) This arouses a feeling of worry in him.
 (g) This brings him into a state of worry.

An example of a rule which transforms sentence (a) into sentence (g) is:

$$N_n^1 V N_a^2 \rightarrow N_n^1 [(bring) + \text{prep. } N(V)_a] N_a^2$$

The basic unit of a language described thus is the "Ideal sentence", which consists of a class of sentences with verbs in central position, that show the same syntactic characteristics (compatible constructions and transformations).

Apresian's study, while it provides abundant examples of surface structure frames for 1410 verbs, does not lead to any insight or generalization about Russian syntax. Moreover, it obscures the semantics of the language. For example, as a result of the above analysis the verbs in the following pairs of sentences were entered as having different meanings in (a) as opposed to (b) below:

(a) bake potatoes	(b) bake cakes
O	G
dig the earth	dig a hole
O	G
shave the customer	shave the beard
D	G

In a case grammar model the difference between sentences (a) and (b) would be explained as a difference in role relationships and not in the meaning of the verb. (The relationship in (b) is that of G; in (a) the first two examples are O and the third is D). The confusion between semantic case relations and surface structure morphological cases hampered the attempts to apply a generative transformational model to Russian syntax. Note the sarcastic comment of the Russian linguist O. Akhmanova:

...the very extensive linguistic folklore, the endless series of specially concocted sentences on which are based the methodological expositions of generative linguistics (1972 : 134).

1.1.5. As the following example from R. Růžička's transformation of impersonal sentences (1963 : 30) shows, there was nothing to be gained from a generative transformational model. The following nuclear NP are posited in the deep structure:

NP₁=Nom; NP₂=Gen; NP₃=Dat; NP₄=Acc; NP₅=Instr; NP₆=Loc.

Generation of impersonal sentences first requires a rule to convert

Sent → NP VP to Sent → VP[^] —

to effect the generation of impersonal sentence

strašno (mne)

'it is frightening (to me) (I am frightened)'

from:

NP ₁	+	to be	+	special class	+	(NP ₅)
		present Ø		of adj.		
		past				
<i>poterja</i>		<i>byla</i>		<i>strašna</i>		<i>mne</i>
fem. sing.		fem. sing.		fem. sing.		pronoun
loss		was		frightening		optional
×	--			(to me) ⇒		
		to be	+	special class	+	(NP ₃)
		present Ø		of adj.		
		past				
Ø		<i>bylo</i>		<i>strašno</i>		<i>mne</i>
		neuter sing.		neuter sing.		
		was		frightening		(to me)

In a case grammar model the above sentence would be analysed as having a psychological state predicator which can take experiencer and cause. When the experiencer is shown in the surface structure it is in the dative case and no subject agreement rules apply. When the cause is shown in the surface structure, it takes the nominative,⁴ and requires predicate agreement in number and gender (*poterja* 'loss', used in the above example, is a feminine noun in the singular).

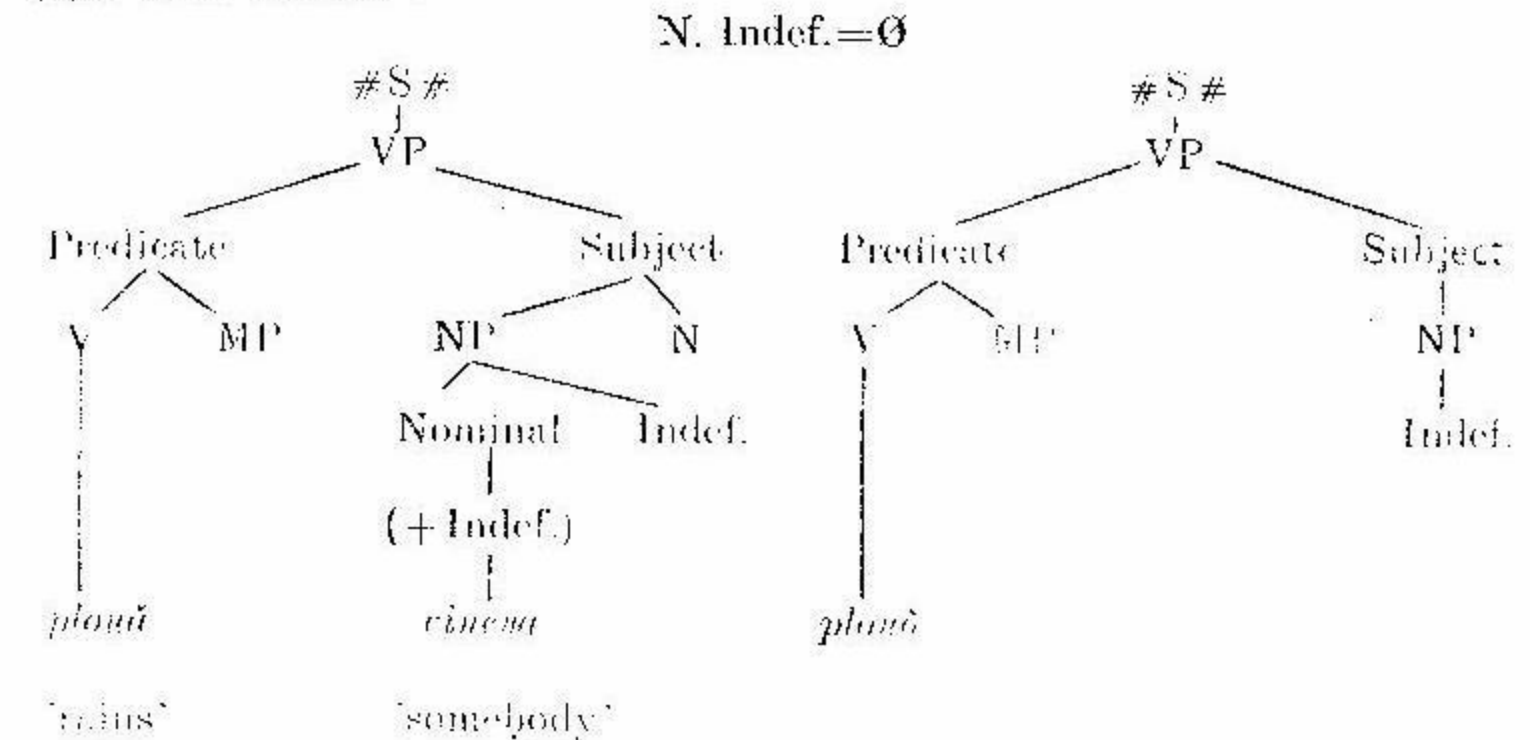
1.2. In Romanian, surface cases play a minor role.⁵ As in Russian, subjects in surface structure are not always obligatory and the language has several types of impersonal sentences. Following is an example of analysis for two types of such sentences by G. Pană-Dindelegan (1971 : 126 - 128). To justify deletion a special type of "indefinite constituents" transformation is first posited. The model used has VP as the governing element in the sentence.

⁴ Proposed rules for hierarchy in subject selection and surface case allocation will be shown later.

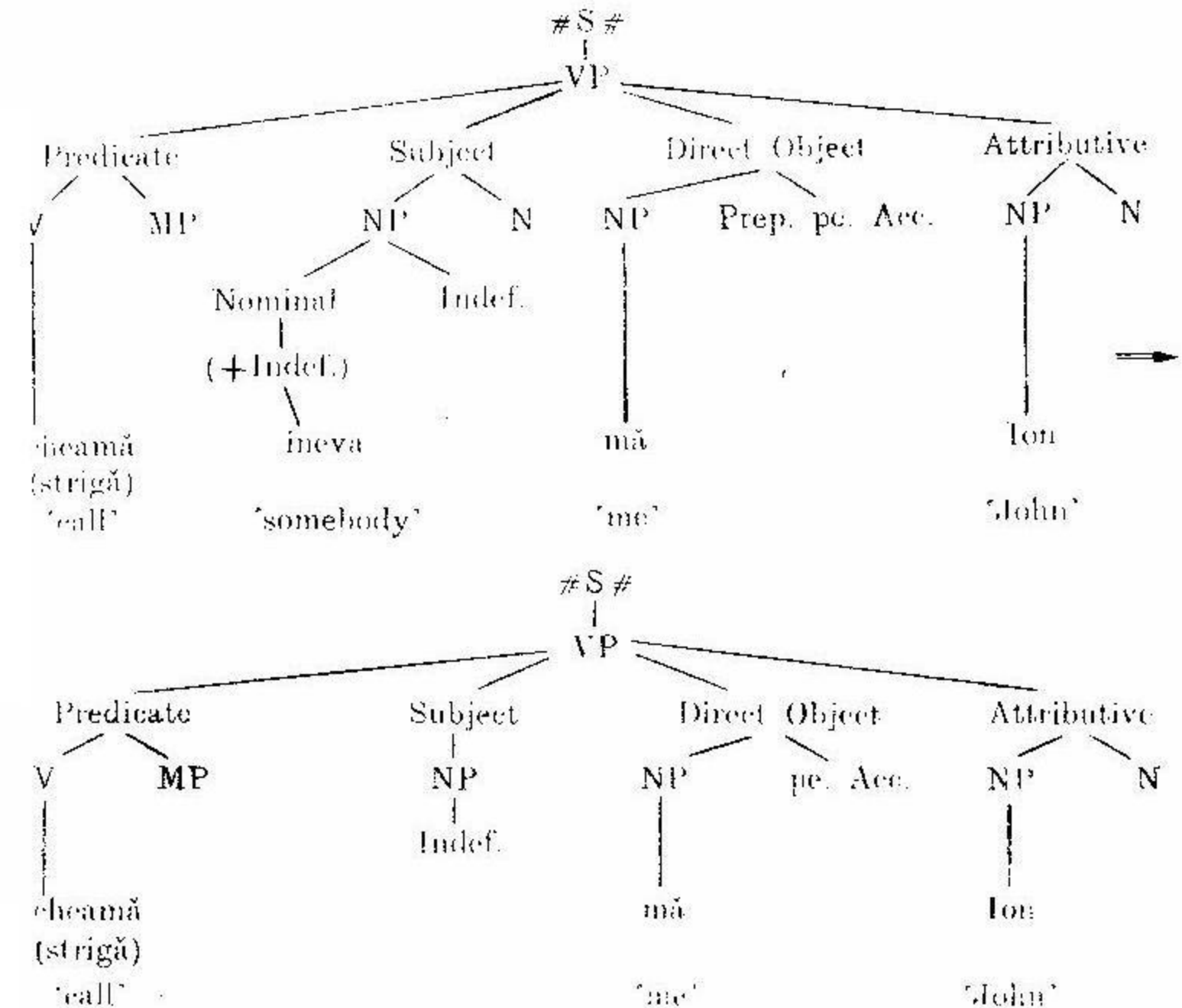
⁵ See Part III on Romanian Impersonal Sentences.

The analyses of sentences *Plouă* and *Mă cheamă Ion*.

(a) *Plouă*. 'It rains'.



(b) *Mă cheamă Ion*. 'They call me Jon'



The author of the article further adds:

"Such utterances as *Mi se spune Ion*, *Mi se zice Ion*, (I am called John), *Mă numesc Ion* (My name is John) are not included in the category of utterances obtained through the application of the indefiniteness transformation, though, semantically, they are similar to *îmi zice Ion*, *îmi spune Ion*, *Mă strigă Ion*, *Mă cheamă Ion*, containing like the latter a denominating verb" (1971 : 128).

In addition to being cumbersome, the above analysis mistakenly lumps together two different types of sentences and fails to show similarities where they occur. In the framework of case grammar where subject-object division is irrelevant in deep structure, sentences of the type "It rains" would be shown to contain a deep case relation O (entity which moves) which in both Russian and Romanian does not appear in surface structure when the verb is marked impersonal (6.3.1). The second sentence (b) has an underlying agent, which, while deleted, is contained in the verb form, as it is in this type of sentence in Russian. It would be much more interesting to show why with some verbs there is a surface structure accusative (similar to the Russian construction of this type) and with others a dative, and whether the underlying relationship in both cases is that of G, and only the surface case varies from one predicator to another.

1.3. The examples of syntactic analyses given above illustrate an approach based on the use of syntactic data from individual languages, rather than crosslinguistic phenomena. The fragmentary grammar concerning impersonal sentences presented in the following chapters uses data taken from two languages and will be analysed according to case grammar principles. These principles are founded on the assumption that while there are superficial processes by which languages assign surface cases, the concords between verbs and certain surface cases are language specific, in their deep structure the propositional nucleus of sentences in all languages consists of a Predicator and one or more NP's, each having a separate case relationship to the Predicator (Fillmore 1968a : 51).

II. THE IMPERSONAL SENTENCE IN RUSSIAN

2.0. Russian grammarians classify Russian sentence types according to their degree of *ličnost'* (from personal to impersonal) and *sostav* (one or two members). Both classifications obscure similarities and differences in the attempt to group the great variety of Russian sentence types neatly. In the most recent grammar of the Soviet Academy (*Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*, Moscow 1970) the chapter on the simple sentence lists 51 possible structure schemes. Of these only 4 are of the NP[^]VP type with subject predicate agreement, and in one of these 4, where VP → Aux NP, the auxiliary

est' 'to be' is omitted in the present tense; in the past and future tenses there can be changes in the formal agreement:

	present	future/past
(a)	<i>on učitel'</i> 'he is a teacher'	<i>on budet/byl učitelem</i> <i>byl učitel'</i> 'he will be/was a teacher' ⁶

The rest of the possible sentence types exhibit different degrees of non-agreement between subject and predicate or complete absence of either one or the other main *člen* 'member'. This seeming departure from an ideal two-member subject predicate relation is discussed at length by Russian grammarians and logicians,⁷ who try to correlate sentence with proposition by using terms like logical, psychological, logico-grammatical in contrast to actual subject and predicate.

2.1. A clear-cut division between one and two-member sentences is obscured in Russian by the fact that a grammatical subject (noun, pronoun, or adjective in the nominative) is not always required in the surface structure.

2.1.1. With verbs inflected in the first and second person, where the verb ending clearly indicates person and number, the subject can be omitted in dialogue:

(a)	<i>pojdu teper' v gorod, a potom pogovorim</i>	'I am going downtown now, we'll talk later'
(b)	<i>znaju, vyjdeš', zabudeš'</i>	'I know, you'll go out, you'll forget'

2.1.2. In the imperative the subject is deleted: 2 sing. or plural *kupi* 'buy it', *zajdite* 'come in'; 1 plural *edem* 'let's go'; 3 sing. or plural in the special construction with *pust'*, *pust' pojdet*, *pojduť* 'let him/them go'.⁸

2.1.3. In dialogue and, in connected discourse, sometimes, third person subject also can be omitted, but the predicate agrees with some previous mentioned subject, and such sentences, although incomplete, are considered two member sentences.

⁶ The Russian examples were all checked in the following dictionaries: Akademija Nauk SSSR (1957), Akademija Nauk SSSR (1970), Smirnitsky, A. I. (1966).

⁷ Kolšanskij (1965); Panfilov (1971); Popov (1956); and Česnokov (1961), to name just a few.

⁸ In modal sentences one can have an imperative in form, though not in content, with surface subject shown: *Ne kupi ona xleba, my vse umerli by* "If she hadn't bought bread, we would all have died"

2.1.4. Then again, in two member sentences of the type NP[^]VP where VP → V (flexional), there is the problem of a break in agreement between subject and predicate, both in number and gender. Quantity words (nouns, indefinite pronouns or numerals), whether followed or not by genitive, can take a verb in either the singular or the plural in the present/future tense, and in the past either agree with the verb in gender and number or take the neuter singular.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) <i>dvoe idet/idut</i> | 'the two are going' |
| (b) <i>pjat' čelovek prišli/prišlo</i> | 'five people came' |
| (c) <i>skol'ko gusej leteli/letelo?</i> | 'how many geese were flying' |
| (d) <i>bol' šinstvo smotrelī/smotrelo</i> | 'the majority looked' |
| (e) <i>blox okazalas' (okazalis') ujma</i> | 'it turned out that there were lots of fleas' |

Russian grammarians consider this a case of formal as against logical agreement dependent (in some instances) on word order. Galkina-Fedoruk (1958: 102) suggests that the cases of non-agreement (singular, neuter) belong to the "category of state" and undergo similar change as the following:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) <i>naexali gosti</i>
(with agreement) | 'the guests arrived' |
| (b) <i>naexalo gostej</i>
(without agreement) | 'there was a situation in which guests had arrived' |
| (a) <i>sobratsja narod</i> | 'a crowd gathered' |
| (b) <i>sobralos' narodu</i> | 'there was a situation in which a crowd gathered' |

According to Galkina-Fedoruk "category of state" is characteristic of impersonal constructions which describe the state of nature, surroundings, and the physical or psychological condition of a living being:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| personal | impersonal |
| (a) <i>ju xorošo živu</i> | (b) <i>mne xorošo živetsja</i> |

Although both sentences are translatable as 'I live well', the second implies a general state in which the experiencer finds himself.

Miller (1970: 9) talking about stative verbs in Russian comments:

"The most interesting phenomenon involving stative verbs in a way which is not possible for sentences with other types of verbs... The crucial fact is that the animate noun turns up in the dative case..."

One can add to his observation that with the addition of particle *sja* (to be discussed in Chapter VI) active verbs can become stative (non-active) (Clark, 1971), when the agent is absent:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| (a) <i>ja pokazal</i> | 'I showed...' |
| (b) <i>mne pokazalos'</i> | 'it seemed to me' |

2.2 Given the above facts about the language: the absence of auxiliary "to be" in the present tense, the possibility of leaving out the subject and flexible agreement,⁹ what is actually meant by one member sentence, and what kind of one member sentences are considered impersonal? Keeping in mind the difficulties and questions an attempt at making clear cut division might raise, simply for the purpose of illustrating and delimiting the material I wish to discuss, I will try to arrange possible sentence types along an axis of definiteness as suggested by Babajceva (1968). Taking as the most definite a two member personal sentence in which the subject is a concrete noun and the predicate a finite verb with personal endings and as the least definite an exclamatory sentence expressed by an interjection, the following sentence types could be enumerated (using the accepted nomenclature found in Russian grammars).

2.2.1. On the borderline between two and one member sentences are situated definite personal sentences where the subject, although not shown, can be deduced from the text (they were discussed in 2.1.1).

2.2.2. In *indefinite personal* sentences, the agent (plural) although not named is implied and the predicate is a finite verb with third person plural ending (considered personal ending as against third person singular present/future or neuter singular past which are called impersonal endings). Because the subject never appears in surface structure this type of sentence is classed as a one member sentence. In meaning and use it is similar to the French *on dit* type of sentence.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| (a) <i>postučali v dver'</i> | 'somebody knocked at the door' |
| | <i>on frappe à la porte</i> |
| (b) <i>vam govornjut</i> | 'You're being told' |
| | 'they're telling you' |
| | <i>on vous dit</i> |
| (c) <i>leper' strojat mnogo domov</i> | 'many houses are built now' |
| | 'they're building many houses now' |
| | <i>on fait bâtir beaucoup de maisons maintenant</i> |

2.2.3. In *generalized personal* sentences the subject, also, never appears in the surface structure. The agent is generalized, and the finite verb is mainly

⁹ In the aforementioned Academy grammar (1970) 13 'schemes' are shown for sentences with broken agreement and 28 'schemes' for one member sentences.

in the second person singular present/future tense, "the unmarked personal ending" according to Jakobson (1966a : 26), but it can be in other persons as well. Generalized personal sentences are genre bound, they are used in proverbs, exhortations. Stylistically, the second person can be substituted for first person in narrative for a general human experience effect.

- (a) *pospešiš' — ljudej nasmešiš'* 'haste makes waste'
 "you will hurry -- you will make people laugh"
 (b) *vek živi, vek učiš', a durakom umreš'* 'you can live and learn a hundred years and die a fool'
 "live a century, learn a century you will die as a fool"
 (c) *v vkusax ne sporjat* 'de gustibus non disputandum'
 "in tastes (they) don't argue"

While some grammarians differentiate between the above as I have shown,¹⁰ others group the indefinite and the generalized personal sentences together. Šaxmatov considers them a variation of personal sentences in which the subject is omitted and calls them "subjectless sentences with inflected verbs" (1963 : 64 - 81). Structurally they do not differ from two member sentences and offer just another example where the surface subject can be left out.

2.3. Subjectless sentences in which the predicate is expressed by a finite verb with an impersonal ending, by the infinitive, by various kinds of predicative words, and in which the subject is either left out, or is in an oblique case, are called impersonal. The criteria for their classification varies from grammar to grammar: semantic, morphological or syntactic. Using a combination of all three. I will try to enumerate them briefly and to point out, at the same time, the deep-lying role relations which they have in common.

2.4. Impersonal sentences with verbal predicate

2.4.1. Predicate expressed by "defective verb" which can only have impersonal forms, or by "personal" verbs used impersonally (third person singular present/future or neuter singular past).

2.4.1.1. State of surroundings and nature.

Can express locative (P) and temporal (T) relations.

- (a) *(na dvore) svetleet* 'dawn is breaking'
 P " (outside) it's getting lighter"
 (b) *(včera) doždilo* '(yesterday) was a rainy day'
 T " (yesterday) it rained"

Limited lexical group, low functional load, non-productive.

¹⁰ A. M. Peškovskij (1956), Akademija Nauk (1960), Galkina-Fedoruk (1964).

2.4.1.2. State resulting from natural phenomenon or inanimate force which has to be shown in surface structure in instrumental case. Potebnja (1958) noted that the instrumental case expresses in these type of sentences the inanimate cause and can never have an agent, being therefore different from the instrumental in passive constructions. This type of sentences can express the object moved (O) P. and T. relations.

- (a) *(v mae) molnej svalilo* '(in May) a cherry tree (in the garden) was felled by lightning'
 T C
višnju (v sadu) "it knocked down with lightning"
 O P
 (b) *pašlo smoloj* 'it smelled of tar'¹¹
 C

2.4.1.3. Psychological or physical state of living beings can be expressed by verb standing alone, or, it can show the entity experiencing the state in the accusative for physical states, dative for psychological states. It can enter in P, T, and C relations.

- (a) *menja znobit* 'I am feverish, I am shivering'
 O "it shivers me"
 (b) *menja vsju znobit* 'all of me is shivering'
 O
 (c) *menja tošnit* 'it nauseates me'
 O
 (d) *(u menja) (ot znoja) zvenelo v golove*
 P C P
 'the heat made my head buzz'
 "from the heat it was ringing in my head"
 (e) *emu l'stit* 'he is flattered' (not Passive in R)
 E "to him it flatters"
 (f) *menja strašilo* 'I was frightened' (not Passive in R)
 E "to me it frightened"¹²

In the last example, the E appears in SS accusative, contrary to the customary dative with psychological verbs. Also, in *ja bojus'* 'I am afraid', E is in SS nominative. Fillmore comments on the possible differences in interpreting case relationships with verbs belonging to this lexical group in English (1971c : 262). Both in Russian and Romanian there is a whole system of active and pseudo-reflexive verbs and nominal constructions dealing with 'fear', which will be discussed later (6.5).

¹¹ Russian has two verbs for 'to smell', '*pašnut'* — non-active and '*njuzat'* — active (see Clark 1971).

¹² In future the literal translations which render the exact grammatical term will be omitted with the exception of those cases where it might be relevant.

2.4.1.4. *State resulting from supernatural powers* E is in dative case and animate O in accusative.

- (a) *mne vezet v karty* 'I am lucky at cards'
 E G
 (b) *ee manilo tuda* 'she was enticed there'
 O G

2.4.2. *Verbs ending in sja, S'* state of nature, surroundings can show P and T relations:

- nad bolotom zasinelos'*
 P
 'the sky became clear over the swamp'
 (dusk was falling)
 "it was blueing"

2.4.2.2. Same as 2.4.1.3 above, psychological or physical state of living being, E or animate O relations in SS dative.

- (a) *mne nezdorovitsja* 'I don't feel well' as against *ja nezdorov*
 O 'I am unwell'
 (b) *mne (zdes') nraivitsja* 'I like it (here)'
 E P
 (c) *pomutilos' u nego v glazax* 'his vision became blurred'
 P

In examples 2.4.1.3 and 2.4.2.2 we have in surface structure what would appear as two P relations, a locative with preposition *v* 'in' and a genitive with preposition *u* similar in meaning to the French *chez*:

- u menja* 'at me' *v golove* 'in the head'
 "chez moi"
u nego 'at him' *v glazax* 'in the eyes'

With body parts, the entity to which the body part belongs does not have to be overt in surface structure. When overt, the "possessor" of the body part and the body part are considered as one "location". (The view of possessives as locatives in English was expressed by Lyons (1967: 390 - 396) and by Fillmore, who analyses the verb 'to have' as one of the surface manifestations of the verb 'to be' (1968a: 47)).

2.4.2.3. Like 2.4.1.4 above, *state resulting from supernatural powers*. (E) when shown in the surface structures is in dative.

- (a) *mal'čikum posčastivilos'* 'the boys were lucky'
 (b) *slučilos'* 'it happened'¹³
 (c) *polučilos'* 'it came to pass'

¹³ *Slučit'sja, slučat'sja* 'happen' as an impersonal verb with experiencer in surface

2.4.2.4. *State pertaining to phenomena which appear to lie outside the domain of physical law*. (E) appears in the surface structure in the dative case.

- (a) *emu čuditsja* 'it seems to him that he sees (or hears)'
 (b) *mne snitsja* 'I dream'
 (c) *ej grezitsja* 'she sees as in a reverie'

2.4.2.5. *State of predisposition with pseudo-reflexives*. Verbs in this group, whether active, non-active, or psychological have a corresponding form without *sja*. When used without *sja*, the respective A, O or E appears in SS nominative, when they are used with *sja*, in dative.

- (a) *ja verju* 'I believe'
 E
 (b) *mne veritsja* 'I am inclined to believe'
 E
 (c) *včera ja guljal* 'yesterday I celebrated'
 T O
 (d) *včera mne guljalos'* 'yesterday I really celebrated'
 T O
 (e) *my rabo'ali* 'we worked'
 A
 (f) *nam (xrošo) rabotalos'* 'we worked well'
 A (legko) 'with ease'
 (ploxo) 'badly'

structure dative is usually followed by the infinitive, and no other relationship is posited:
 (a) *emu slučilos' pobrvat' tam* "It happened that he had occasion to spend some time there"

(b) *nam slučalos' vstretit'sja* "We happened to meet on occasions" When the cause or content of the 'happening' appears, the experiencer, which can be coreferential with the content of the 'happening' appears, the experiencer, which can be coreferential with the entity that undergoes a state (object), is in SS instrumental. The verb, though defective (permits only 3 sg. and pl.), agrees in gender and number with the SS subject. Place and time relationships can also be shown.

(c) *čto s vami slučilos'?* "what happened to you?"
 O E=O

(d) *s mirom ničego ne slučilos'* "nothing happened to the world"
 O O

(e) *s nimi slučilas' bol'saja beda* "a great misfortune has happened to them"
 O

(f) *s nej večno slučajutsja raznyje istorii* "All kinds of things happen forever to her"
 O T

(g) *čto slučilos' u vas?* "what happened at your place?"
 O P

(h) *včera, v gorode slučilsja požar* "a fire happened yesterday in town" (for the formation-alization of verbs in *sja* see 6.2.1., 6.2.2.)

vot nam rabotalos' 'how we worked'

A

nam ne rabotalos' 'we just couldn't work'

The modality is especially pronounced in the negative

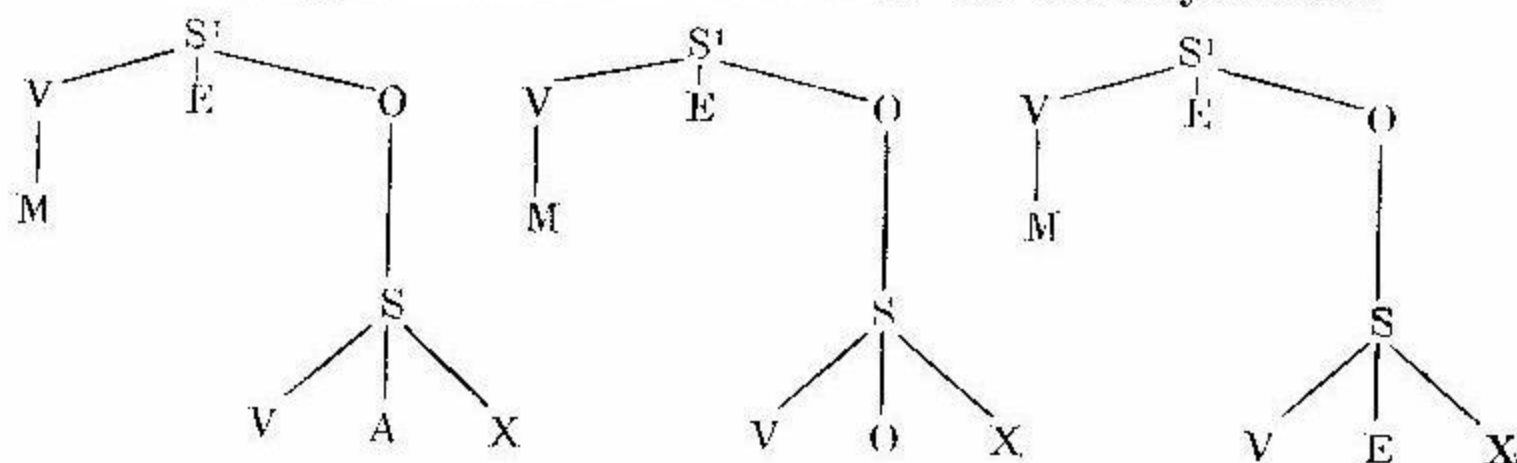
(g) *ja ne spal* 'I didn't sleep'

O

mne ne spalos' 'I just couldn't get to sleep'

O

NOTE: The particle *sja* lends to these verbs a psychological predispositional nuance of being in a mood, enjoying or disliking one's state or activity. As E. Růžicková (1971 : 206) notes, discussing another Slavic language, "the agent himself evaluates his action". The active verbs are often qualified in Russian by manner adverbials (which are obligatory in Slovak; in Russian either particles, intonation or negation are sufficient). Růžicková proposes an analysis in which the sentence is embedded in an evaluative sentence with adverb of manner as predicator, an E and the embedded sentence under O. Her deep structure (proposed mainly for active verbs with manner adverbials) can be adjusted for all three types of verbs in Russian a) active, b) nonactive, c) psychological. Under V in upper sentence one would show the modality element.



The rules shown in her paper would perform all the necessary operations to get from DS into SS (Růžicková 1971 : 207).

2.4.2.6. *Passive with agent not named*, similar to indefinite personal sentences but with greater degree of indefiniteness, semantically belonging to elocutionary verbs. Verbs in this group have a corresponding form without "*sja*". G when shown, which is seldom in this type of sentences, is in dative (the accepted surface case for animate G).

Indefinite sentence	Impersonal sentence
(a) <i>govorjat</i> 'it is said'	<i>govoritsja</i> 'the saying is'
"(they) say"	"it is said"
(b) <i>pozvoljali zdes' žit'</i>	<i>pozvoljalos' zdes' žit'</i>
P	
"it was permitted to live here"	
"they permitted"	"it was permitted"

Sentences of this type are used in notices:

Po trave xodit' vospreščaetsja 'It is forbidden to walk on the grass'

P

2.4.3. *Verbal predicate expressed by infinitive*. There has been a lot of discussion by Russian grammarians on the nature of the infinitive and its syntactic functions. Some grammars, among them the latest Soviet Academy Grammar (1970) consider that it can occupy the subject slot in two member sentences of the type Inf-Verb, Inf-Aux NP,

(a) *kurit' zapreščaetsja* 'smoking prohibited'
 "to smoke is forbidden"

(b) *kurit' vredno* 'it is harmful to smoke'

while *zapreščaetsja kurit'* 'it is forbidden to smoke' is an impersonal sentence in which the infinitive is a verb phrase complement.

The Academy Grammar shows more schemes with infinitive supposedly in subject position:

(a) *žit' tak žit'* 'if one must live then one should live well'

(b) *žit' kak žit'* 'if one must live then one might as well accept it'

As can be seen from the last two examples the infinitive introduces modality. This is one of the main functions of the infinitive when used independently and not as complementation.

Russian has no subjunctive or optative. It has only a modal particle *by*, and a conditional conjunction *esli* 'if'. Modality can be expressed by infinitive (with or without *by*).

Galkina-Fedoruk (1958) cites 10 types of infinitive sentences expressing different shades of modality. A few random examples will suffice:

(a) *byt' emu v raju* 'he wishes he were in heaven'
 E
 "to be for him in Paradise"

(b) *ne rasti trave* 'grass could not grow'

O

(c) *prinesti mne?* 'should I bring it?'

A=E

(d) *emu li žalovat'sja?* 'why should he be complaining?'

A=E

(e) *tebe li ne pet'?* 'who else should sing but you?'

A=E

(f) *dožit' (nam)* 'to be able to live until then'

O

- (g) *emu u nas ne rabotat'* 'he will never have occasion to work
 A=E for us'
 (h) *tebe by pomoč' nam* 'you should be the one to help us'
 A=E
 (i) *vernut'sja by emu zdorovym* 'to be able to return healthy'
 A=E
 or with the infinitive not shown in surface structure, and the modality expressed by particle *by*
 (j) *deneg by nam pobol'se* 'how good it would have been, had we
 E had more money'.¹⁴

An analysis on the lines of the one proposed for Predisposition Pseudo-Reflexives could be used here, embedding in a higher sentence with psychological or modal verbs such as wonder, believe, wish, should, or modal predicative words (2.5.2), which as a rule can only take a verb in infinitive. (I will return to this in 6.4.4).

Šaxmatov (1963) sees in the infinitive only the name of a verbal sign without reference to an agent and further refers to it as describing a state, likening it to an adjective. If one were to accept this analysis and make the role of A in these sentences coreferential with O or E, one could say that what characterizes the impersonal sentences discussed so far is the absence of an agent. On this assumption I will proceed with my description of impersonal sentences in Russian.

2.4.4. Before discussing the type of sentence in which the verb 'to be' appears strictly as an auxiliary: zero form in the present; *byl, bylo, byla, byli* in the past, and *budet, budut* in the future, I should mention the *existential* sentences in which the verb *est'* appears in SS meaning 'exists, exist, there is, there are'. The past tense appears in the impersonal form *bylo* and for future there is only the singular form *budet*. The entity, the existence of which is affirmed, can appear in SS genitive (partitive or quantitative genitive). In this case, because of their form they are classed by some grammarians with impersonal sentences. When they contain an SS nominative they are considered personal sentences:

- (a) *est' xleba i mjasa* 'there is some bread and butter'
 (b) *bylo narodu* 'there was a crowd'
 (c) *takova dobra est' u nas* 'such wealth we have'
 (d) *u menja est' otec i mat'* 'I have a mother and a father'

¹⁴ The last two examples are from Jakobson (1966 : 75) who notes "die Schicksalsgabe kann dabei als Wunsch oder Befürchtung des Sprechenden geschildert werden".

2.4.5. The existential negative sentence with *net, ne bylo, ne budet* requires SS genitive for the entity whose existence is negated. This type of sentence is considered by all grammarians as impersonal.

- (a) *u menja net otca (materi)* 'I have no father (mother)'
 (b) *net vremeni* 'there is no time'
 (c) *ne bylo u menja deneg* 'I had no money'
 (d) *davno takoj grozy ne bylo* 'there hasn't been such a storm for a long time'

Galkina-Fedoruk (1958 : 195) while giving examples of negative impersonal constructions with other semantic groups of verbs notes that "it is inconceivable to have negative impersonal constructions with concrete verbs expressing actions of a person". As we noted before, there can not be an A role in the DS of an impersonal sentence.

2.5.0. *Nominal Predicate*. Impersonal (subjectless) sentences with the heaviest functional load are those which express state and modality. They contain a part of speech formally characterized by the ending "o" (similar to the ending of adverbs and neuter short form adjectives). They are referred to as adverbs,¹⁵ category of state (Galkina-Fedoruk 1964), and predicatives or predicative words (Isačenko 1956). They can be used with or without negative. Semantically they can be divided as referring to:

2.5.1. *State of nature and surroundings, physical or psychological state of living beings* with or without reference to an experiencer E or O or animate O in Dative. They can have P and T relations.

- (a) *pasmurno* 'it is cloudy'
 (b) *skučno* 'it is boring'
 (c) *teplo* 'it is warm'
 (d) *v komnate teplo* 'the room is warm'
 P (it is warm in the room)
 (e) *mne teplo* 'I am warm'
 O
 (f) *mne bol'no* 'it hurts me'
 O
 (g) *mne veselo* 'I am having a good time'
 E

or they can take infinitive complementation:

- (h) *mne prijatno čitat'* 'reading gives me pleasure'
 E "to read is pleasurable to me"

¹⁵ Akademija Nauk SSSR (1960) and most of the school grammars.

2.5.2. *Modality*. We saw that some shades of modality can be conveyed by infinitive sentences, but the most common way of expressing obligation, necessity, permission, possibility, impossibility, is by modal predicative words (they end in "o", with the exception of *nel'zja*). They form an impersonal construction with auxiliary (for tense) and can be followed by infinitive. The entity expressing the above states is in the surface Dative case. The words *nado*, *nužno*, *neobxodimo* meaning 'need, necessity' can enter in D relations expressed by prep. *dlja*+Genitive. (There is also a personal construction with *dolžen*, *dolžna*, *dolžno*, *dolžny* 'must'. The impersonal *mne dolžno* can be found in written literary and official styles).

(a) <i>možno</i>	'it is permitted'
(b) <i>možno skazat'</i>	'one could say'
(c) <i>mne nužno čitat'</i>	'I must read'
E	
(d) <i>nel'zja</i>	'must not'
(e) <i>nel'zja skazat'</i>	'it's impossible to say, one can't say'
(f) <i>mne etogo nel'zja</i>	'this is forbidden to me'
E	
(g) <i>mne nado bylo masla</i>	'I needed some butter' ¹⁶
E	
(h) <i>emu neobxodimo</i>	'it's necessary for him'
E	
(i) <i>neobxodimo dlja nego</i>	'it's necessary for him'
D	

2.5.2.1. A limited group of nouns expressing emotional valuation or necessity connected with time can also enter in similar impersonal constructions (mostly followed by infinitive).

(a) <i>mne žal' kupit'</i>	'I regret having to buy'
E	
(b) <i>mne žal' ee</i>	'I have pity for her'
E G	
(c) <i>styd skazat'</i>	'it is shameful to say it'
(d) <i>mne len' rabotat'</i>	'I don't feel like working'
E	
(e) <i>pora nam idti</i>	'it's time for us to go'
E	

¹⁶ Sentences (f) and (g) do not have surface subject, negation and partial quantity requiring SS genitive.

2.5.2.2. The small group of impersonal modal verbs expressing obligation are now outdated, encountered only in written official language. They are followed by infinitive and take a SS dative for the entity experiencing the obligation. Still in use are *sleduet*, *stoit*:

(a) <i>vam sleduet učit'sja</i>	'you ought to study'
E	
(b) <i>stoit emu tol'ko sprosit'</i>	'he needs only to inquire'
E	

2.5.3. *Predicate expressed by past passive participle short form neuter*. To justify the inclusion of this type of construction among impersonal sentences with nominal predicates it is argued (Šaxmatov 1963; Galkina-Fedoruk 1958) that the past passive participle, short form, depicts a finished process which has become established as a state and can be regarded as a stative adjective. This construction is impersonal because it lacks a subject in nominative and the auxiliary in the past and future tenses is in the impersonal form "*bylo*, *budet*". Its derivational history is different from those discussed previously. It is a passive construction with undefined agent. According to the rules of passive transformation, the surface nominative of the active construction appears in the surface instrumental case of the passive construction. It is interesting to note that when C or I occupies the subject slot in the active sentence it can appear in the surface structure of the past passive participle in the instrumental, but if it is an agent A it cannot.¹⁷

Indefinite personal	Passive impersonal
(a) <i>xorošo skazali</i>	<i>xorošo bylo skazano</i>
'they said'	'it was well said'
(b) <i>veleli vsex zaderživat'</i>	<i>veleno bylo vsex zaderživat'</i>
'it was ordered that everybody should be stopped'	
'they ordered'	
Personal active	Impersonal passive
(c) <i>voda zalila (pogreb)</i>	<i>vodoj bylo zalito</i>
I	I
'water flooded (the cellar)'	'it was flooded (by water)'
(d) <i>oni ukazali na ošibku</i>	<i>bylo ukazano na ošibku</i>
A G	G
they pointed to the mistake'	'attention was drawn to the mistake'

2.6. The so-called *nominal one-member sentences* are sentences which lack a VP constituent: autumn, rain, fallen leaves, Fire!, Lots of roses. Peškovskij

¹⁷ Akademiya Nauk SSSR (1960, vol. II, part 2 : 38).

While grammars (e.g. Academia RSR 1966 : 81 - 95) refer to 5 surface cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative and vocative, formally one can distinguish at most only 3 case endings. The vocative, semantically limited to certain classes of nouns (animate, personified animate) is being replaced in contemporary Rom by nominative and need not concern us further.

All syncretize	Nominative	Genitive
	Accusative	Dative

with the exception of personal pronouns which have different endings for nominative and accusative. This is why, when one wants to determine the case of a noun, I. Jordan (1967 : 93) advises to substitute pronouns for nouns and where this is impossible as in

l-a numit profesor 'he was named professor'

different solutions are put forward. Sextil Pușcariu (1940 : 144) proposes a "non-case" called "general" which expresses the nominal idea without any grammatical relationship. Hořejši (1960 : 495) would call it "direct" case, a zero form in which the opposition between Nominative and Accusative is neutralized, P. Diaconescu (1962 : 32) calls it "neuter" case. (The above is an indefinite personal sentence with A, O and G).

Genitive and dative are considered by some grammarians (Sandfeld-Olsen 1936 Vol. I : 62) as one case "genitive-dative", their distribution and functions being complementary: genitive, determining nouns and dative,

destinația acțiunii, pentru cine, în folosul sau paguba cui, de obicei o persoană sau un lucru asimilat cu persoane "the goal of the action, for whom, to whose benefit or loss, usually a person or a thing assimilated to a person" (Jordan 1967 : 96).

There is also an (old) dative locative with limited distribution and an instrumental dative preceded by the prepositions:

datorită, grație, mulțumită 'due to, thanks to'

which are the only prepositions which can be followed by the dative. In all, Rom has about 40 prepositions, most of which take the accusative, the case with the greatest functional load of all the surface cases. The case of the surface subject is nominative with a few exceptions. Showing quantity Prep. *la* + Accusative:

au venit la oameni 'a lot of people have arrived'¹⁹

¹⁹ The Rom examples have been taken from the grammars and textbooks shown in the bibliography and have been checked in the following dictionaries: Academia Republicii Populare Române (1958); Levițchi, L. (1971); Korițăoanu, N. G. (1967); Academia Republicii Socialiste România (1971). The usage of these examples have been confirmed by native speakers Iona and Constantin Măruțescu.

or in subordinate sentences, presenting an interesting example of pronoun deletion:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <i>o dau, cui vrea s-o ia</i> | 'I give it to whom [unmarked!] wants to take it' |
| (b) <i>îl trimit, pe care termină mai repede
cui -- dative, pe care</i> | 'I [am] send[ing] the one [who] finish[es] first [verbs in pres.]
-- accusative |

Other examples cited in grammars:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (c) <i>începură cu toți a mânca</i> | 'they started with all to eat'
[all started at the same time'] |
|-------------------------------------|---|

as against:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (d) <i>toți începură a mânca</i> | 'they all started to eat' |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|

or ellipsis:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (e) <i>ai casei au venit, a lui a întârziat</i> | 'of the house have arrived, his was late'
'those (belonging) in the house have arrived, but his kin was late' |
|---|--|

3.2.1. All that must be noted, at this point, about the Rom verb, is the fact that the desinences of all the finite forms show number and person, with the exception of the auxiliary of the past compound tense, where the form for the first singular = the first plural. Therefore, in the first and second person the surface subject is a marked category to avoid ambiguity:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| (a) <i>ați citit această carte?</i> | 'have you (plural or polite form) read this book?' |
| (b) <i>eu n-am citit-o</i> | 'I haven't read it' |
| (c) <i>noi n-am citit-o</i> | 'We haven't read it' |

The third person can also be omitted in dialogue

- | | |
|---|--|
| (d) <i>m-a asigurat că nu a văzut-o</i> | 'he assured me he had not seen her' |
| (e) <i>ce făcea când l-ai strigat?</i> | 'what was he doing when you called him?' |

In narrative, one can find whole paragraphs without an overt subject.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (f) <i>Era un om de teatru. Venise pe lume într-o familie de actori. Fusesse suflor și copist de roluri.</i> | 'He was a man of the theatre, born to a family of actors. He had been a prompter and had transcribed roles. He had lived on the stage and had taken part |
|--|--|

*Trăise pe scenă și luase
parte la toate spectacolele
vremii...* in all the performances of the time'.

3.2.2. Rom is less dependent on overt subject than Rus, the past tense in Rus not being marked for person. Also, the verb *a fi* 'to be', which in Rus has only one form for present, and is as a rule omitted, in Rom has a full paradigm and is only left out for stylistic purposes in poetry.

ea, un înger ce să roagă- el, un demon ce visează (Eminescu) 'she, an angel who prays- he, a demon who dreams'

As we have seen, in Rom, as in Rus, the surface subject does not have to appear when it is deducible from either the verbal form or from context. One would expect, therefore, to find sentences in which the subject is left unmentioned.

3.3. In Rom, *generalized personal sentences* have the same structure as those in Rus as well as having the same function and distribution. They appear in proverbs, exhortations, directions. The verb, mostly in second person singular, can be, also, in first person plural:

- (a) *dacă vrei, poți* 'if you want to, you can'
 (b) *mîncăm cu să trăim...* 'we eat to live...'
 (c) *îndată ce intri, vezi* 'as you go in, you see'

3.4. *zn indefinite personal sentences*, the verb is in third person singular, with or without the reflexive particle *se*

- (a) *ne duce pe front* 'they are taking us to the front'
 (b) *spune la sfînta carte* 'they say in the Holy Book'
 (c) *se zice, se spune* 'on dit' 'it is said'
 (d) *se vede, se știe* 'on voit, on sait' 'it is seen, known'
 (e) *se vorbește, se aude, se scrie* 'is spoken, heard, written'

Expressions with particle *se*, followed by a sentential complement, have a very high functional load. The identity of an agent in these types of sentences tends to be vaguer than in those without *se*, as can be seen from the following example:

- (f) *se zice că-i bate și-i tin cu
mîncări rele* (Slavici) 'it is said that they beat them and keep them badly fed'

The particle *se* in the above examples changes the verbs from *personal into impersonal*. As such they can only have the third person singular form. The stative (nonactive) verbs in our examples *vede, aude, știe* 'see, hear, know'

can have also a personal reflexive form *se vede, se aude, se știe, se* in this instance being the accusative case of the reflexive pronoun.

- (g) *eu mă văd, el se vede* 'I see myself, he sees himself'
 A O A O

besides the impersonal

- (h) *se vede* 'it is visible'

3.4.1. In Rom there are two types of reflexives: with accusative and dative reflexive pronouns. In the accusative reflexive there can be an A-O or E-O relation:

- (a) *(eu) mă duc* 'I go'
 A O
 (b) *(eu) mă îmbrac* 'I dress myself'
 A O
 (c) *(eu) mă gândesc* 'I think'
 E O
 (d) *el se miră* 'he wonders'
 E O

while with the dative reflexive there is an A-D or E-D relation:

- (e) *(eu) îmi fac* 'I do it for my benefit'
 A D
 (f) *(tu) nu-ți închipui* 'you can't imagine'
 E D

Some verbs can show both types of relationships:

- (g) *(eu) mă spăl, te spăl* 'I wash myself, I wash you'
 A O O
 (h) *(eu) îmi spăl rufe* 'I wash my clothes [for myself]'
 A D O

as opposed to the possessive

- (i) *(eu) spăl rufe* 'I wash your clothes'
 A O
 (j) *îți spăl rufe* 'I wash your clothes'
 D O 'I wash clothes for you'

The semantic implication of the dative reflexive as compared to the accusative reflexive has been noted by Sandfeld & Olsen (1962 Vol. III : 123 - 124)

Le pronom réfléchi (datif) sert à relever que l'action en question a lieu par rapport au sujet ou à son intention... son emploi laisse entrevoir un certain degré d'intérêt ou une certaine valeur affective de l'action en question par rapport au sujet.

which is clearly a designative or beneficial relationship. Designative being a broader term will be used henceforth. The examples given, besides verbs of jeering, mocking *a-și bate joc de*, *a-și râde de*, contain verbs which can have also accusative reflexive (see above)

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--|
| (k) | <i>își vedeau de treabă</i> | 'they minded their own business' |
| | D O | "they saw after the work for themselves" |

That designative is a separate relationship from goal as receiver or destination can be seen from the fact that a sentence can show both relationships.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (l) | <i>(el) și-a croit cărare prin grădini până la o vădană</i> | |
| | A D O P G | |
| | 'he made himself a path through the garden to a widow' | |

or in Rus

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (m) | <i>ju dal ej knigu dlja mamy</i> | 'I gave her a book for mother' |
| | A G G | |

3.4.2. Some of the verbs appearing in impersonal constructions can have both a personal and an impersonal form, others only an impersonal form with or without *se*. The surface case of the O or E, where it can be shown, is in the dative.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) | <i>se zvonește</i> | 'it's rumored' |
| (b) | <i>se poate</i> | 'it's possible' |
| (c) | <i>(mi) se cade</i> | 'it's fitting' |
| (d) | <i>(mi) se cuvine</i> | 'it's proper' |
| (e) | <i>(mi) se întâmplă</i> | 'it happens' |
| (f) | <i>mi se urăste</i> | 'I am bored' |
| (g) | <i>mi se pare</i> | 'it seems' |
| (h) | <i>îmi pare (bine)</i> | 'I'm glad' |
| (i) | <i>îmi pasă</i> | 'I care' |
| (j) | <i>nu-mi pasă</i> | 'I don't care' |
| (k) | <i>îmi place</i> | 'I like it' |
| (l) | <i>îmi șede bine</i> | 'it suits me' |
| (m) | <i>îmi vine</i> | 'I feel, like, it's easy' |
| (n) | <i>îmi merge</i> | 'I'm lucky' |
| (o) | <i>îmi ajunge</i> | 'I have enough' |
| (p) | <i>îmi arde de glumă</i> | 'I feel like joking' |
| (q) | <i>îmi trece prin minte</i> | 'I have an idea' |
| (r) | <i>îmi trebuie</i> | 'I need' |
| (s) | <i>trebuie</i> | 'I must' |

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| (t) | <i>mi-e de</i> | 'I am in a mood for' |
| | | 'I want to have something, I desire' |

3.5. Another type of impersonal construction refers to meteorological conditions. Most of the verbs in this group are impersonal, some can be used personally in poetry:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>viscolul viscolea</i> | 'the snowstorm stormed' |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|

They are quite numerous and have not become obsolete.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | <i>plouă</i> | 'it's raining' |
| (b) | <i>burează, brumează, burni-
țează</i> | 'it's drizzling' |
| (c) | <i>toarnă cu găleata</i> | 'it's pouring' |
| | | 'it's raining buckets' |
| (d) | <i>rouează</i> | 'dew falls' |
| (e) | <i>grindină</i> | 'it is hailing' |
| (f) | <i>fulgeră, trăsnește</i> | 'lightning strikes' |
| (g) | <i>tună</i> | 'it thunders' |
| (h) | <i>vremuiește</i> | 'it is bad weather' or
'the weather is breaking' |
| (i) | <i>ninge, fulguiește</i> | 'it snows' |
| (j) | <i>viscolește</i> | 'it is a snow storm' |
| (k) | <i>trage</i> | 'it's draughty' |
| (l) | <i>se înnoarează</i> | 'it becomes cloudy' |
| (m) | <i>se înserează</i> | 'evening falls' |
| (n) | <i>se înnoptează</i> | 'it's becoming night' |
| (o) | <i>se întunecă</i> | 'it's becoming dark' |
| (p) | <i>se lumina de ziuă
se amîjea, se albia</i> | 'day was breaking' |

To express change from one state to another the impersonal form of the verbs *a da* 'give', *a sta* 'stands' and *se face* 'to become' can be used:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) | <i>dă în iarnă</i> | 'it's becoming winter' |
| (b) | <i>stă să ploaie</i> | 'it's going to rain' |
| (c) | <i>se face noapte, ziuă</i> | 'it becomes, night, day' |

3.6. With an animate O which can be interpreted as an E, since it can express both psychological or physical well being, the verb *se face* 'to become' shows a change in a person's state:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>mi se face bine, rău, greu</i> | 'I am starting to feel well, bad' |
| | 'things are becoming difficult for me' |

3.7. A person's physical or psychological state is expressed by an impersonal construction with the verb *a fi* 'to be' in the third person singular (any tense) and the animate O or E in surface dative case. Usually in these constructions the shortened form of the verb *e* (for *este*) is used enclitically with the unaccented pronoun form.

(a) <i>mi-e lene</i>	'I am lazy'
(b) <i>mi-e milă</i>	'I have pity'
(c) <i>mi-e urât</i>	'I am bored'
(d) <i>mi-e dor</i>	'I long'
(e) <i>mi-e ciudă</i>	'I am angry'
(f) <i>mi-e rușine</i>	'I am ashamed'
(g) <i>mi-e teamă,</i> <i>mi-e frică,</i> <i>mi-e groază,</i>	'I am afraid'
(h) <i>mi-e drag</i>	'dear to me'
(i) <i>mi-e grijă</i>	'I am worried'
(j) <i>mi-e greu</i>	'it is hard (for me)'
(k) <i>mi-e ușor</i>	'it is easy (for me)'
(l) <i>mi-e grabă</i>	'I am in a hurry'
(m) <i>mi-e la îndemână</i>	'it is handy (for me)'
(n) <i>mi-e somn</i>	'I am sleepy'
(o) <i>mi-e bine</i>	'I feel well'
(p) <i>mi-e foame</i>	'I am hungry'
(q) <i>mi-e sete</i>	'I am thirsty'
(r) <i>mi-e cald</i>	'I am warm'
(s) <i>mi-e frig</i>	'I am cold'

3.7.1. Some of the above can be used without mention of E or animate O to a general state or as predicate of a sentential subject (introduced by *că*, *să* or expressed by infinitive or supine).

(a) <i>e bine, e rău, e adevărat</i>	'it is good, bad, true'
(b) <i>e ușor, e lesne, e greu</i>	'it is easy, hard'
(c) <i>e cald, e frig, e plăcut</i>	'it is warm, cold, pleasant'
(d) <i>e ger, e vînt, e soare,</i>	'it is freezing, windy, sunny'
(e) <i>e exclus, e imposibil</i>	'it's impossible'
(f) <i>e adevărat, e probabil</i>	'it's true, probable'
(g) <i>e sigur, e important</i>	'it is sure, important'
(h) <i>e negreșit, e bineînțeles</i>	'it's without a doubt'

The predicative word can be used alone, without *e*, 'is' *firește, neapărat, desigur* 'surely', *poate* 'perhaps', *păcat* 'it's a pity', *pesemne* 'presumably', *bineînțeles*.

3.8. The third person singular of the verb *a fi* 'to be' can be used impersonally with the meaning of *il y a, c'est* and the temporal *c'était*:

(a) <i>este niște castraveți în oțet</i>	'there are some pickled cucumbers'
(b) <i>mai este</i>	'there is more of it'
(c) <i>așa-i²⁰</i>	'it is so'
(d) <i>nu-i așa? (n'est-ce pas?)</i>	'isn't it so?'
(e) <i>era de mult</i>	'it happened long ago'
(f) <i>era într-o după amiază</i>	'it was on an afternoon'
(g) <i>era un moș și o babă</i>	'(once) there was an old man and woman'

The verb 'to be' can be also used with the meaning of 'fated':

(a) <i>a fost să fie așa</i>	'it was meant to be so'
(b) <i>n-a fost să mi se întâmple,</i> <i>nu era să-mi fie dat</i>	'it was not fated to happen'

3.9. The verb *a da* 'give' can also convey this meaning *mi-e dat* 'it is fated'. The verb *a avea* 'to have' can be used impersonally in a negative construction meaning, 'there is nobody at all' with O shown in surface accusative.

(a) <i>n-are cine mă spăla</i>	'there is nobody at all to wash me'
(b) <i>n-are cui să rămîie,</i>	'there is nobody to whom it could be left'

IV. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RUSSIAN AND ROMANIAN IMPERSONAL SENTENCES

4.0. The preceding is a broad outline of the impersonal sentences of Romanian; in this chapter I will take the Russian examples and compare them with the Romanian data in an attempt to find a corresponding form. The base is thus taken to be Rus, the comments pertaining to Rom.

4.1.1. Verbal Predicate with or without *sja, s* or *se* expressing state of surrounding. (2.4.1.1, 2.4.2.1) There is a larger lexical group in Romanian (3.5) with a higher functional load than in Russian. They are discussed and analysed in chapter VI (6.3).

4.1.2. State resulting from natural phenomenon (2.4.1.2). The second example 'it smelled of tar' is expressed in Romanian by an impersonal sentence: *mirosea*

²⁰ *i*, short unaccented form of *este* is used enclitically.

a smoadă. Cause is expressed by surface accusative as there is no surface instrumental case in Rom. The difference between an instrumental and passive agentive construction is lost therefore in Rom,

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) <i>vișinul a fost trăsniț de fulger</i> | 'the cherry tree was felled by lightning' |
| O | C |
| (b) <i>vișinul a fost tăiat de mine</i> | 'the cherry tree was cut by me' |
| O | A |

as compared to Rus where (a) is impersonal and (b) passive with SS subject:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (a) <i>molniej svalilo vișnju</i> | |
| C | O |
| (b) <i>vișnja byla svalena mnoj</i> | |
| O | A |

4.1.3. *Psychological or physical state of living beings* (2.4.1.3, 2.4.2.2). The only example having a corresponding impersonal verb form in Rom is 'my head or my ears ring'

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) <i>îmi vijie în cap (capul)</i> | |
| O | P |
| (b) <i>îmi țiuieîn urechi (urechile)</i> | |
| O | P |

to be scared, nauseated, unwell are all expressed in Rom impersonally by means of nominal predicates: *mi-e groază*, *mi-e greață*, *mi-e rău* (3.7).

4.1.4. *State resulting from supernatural powers* (2.4.1.4, 2.4.2.3). The impersonal verb used in 'the way the cards are falling' must be qualified with amelioratory or derogatory adverbs.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| (a) <i>îmi cade bine în cărți</i> | 'I have good cards' |
| E=D | |

There is an impersonal construction for 'to be lucky'

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| (b) <i>îi merge</i> | 'he is lucky' |
| E | |

Finally 'it happens' impersonal verb with E, when shown in surface dative (3.4.1).

4.1.5. *Phenomena which appear to lie outside the domain of physical law* (2.4.2.4) 'it seems to him... 'has two corresponding impersonal verbs in Rom:

- | |
|---------------------------|
| (a) <i>i se năzarește</i> |
| E |

- | |
|---------------------------|
| (b) <i>i se nălucește</i> |
| E |

'to dream' is a personal verb in Rom.

4.1.6. *Predisposition* (2.4.2.5) is not expressed in Rom by a special verb form as in Rus. It can be expressed by an impersonal dative reflexive form of the verb *a veni* 'come' followed by infinitive or subjunctive, or by the impersonal form of the verb *a fi* 'to be' followed by infinitive.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (a) <i>îmi vine a crede</i> | 'I am inclined to believe' |
| (b) <i>îmi vine să râd și să dansez</i> | 'I feel like laughing and dancing' |
| (c) <i>mi-e a dormi</i> | 'I am sleepy, I'd like to sleep' |

It is customarily used with negative to show disinclination:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (d) <i>nu-i venea a crede</i> | 'he just couldn't believe it' |
| (e) <i>nu-i este a lucra</i> | 'he doesn't feel like working' |

The *passive with agent not named* (2.4.2.6) has been discussed in 3.4.

4.1.7. *Verbal predicate expressed by infinitive* (2.4.3) can be used in Rom with negation in notices of prohibition or warning:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| (a) <i>a nu face zgomot</i> | 'quiet, please' "not to make noise" |
| (b) <i>a nu se pleca în afară</i> | 'do not lean outside' (railroad notice) |
| (c) <i>a se feri de soare</i> | 'beware of the sun' |

or in a compound predicate:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| (d) <i>a răspunde bine înseamnă a ști bine</i> | 'to answer well means to know well' |
|--|-------------------------------------|

There are no modal infinitive sentences in Rom.

4.1.8. *Existential sentences* (2.4.5) were discussed in 3.8.

4.2. Nominal predicate

4.2.1. *State of nature and surroundings, physical, psychological state* (2.5.1). Here we find many identical constructions (3.8)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <i>este posomorît</i> | 'it is cloudy' |
| (b) <i>e cald</i> | 'it is warm' |
| (c) <i>mi-e cald</i> | 'I am warm' (with surface dative) |

The verb 'to hurt' *a durea* is a 'defective' verb with only 3 sing. and pl. It is classed as a personal verb with impersonal uses in constructions

- (d) *îl durea să se gîndească* 'it was painful for him to think'
 (e) *mă doare capul* 'my head hurts'

We found so far that in Rom both E and animate O experiencing a psychological or physical state was always in surface dative.

With impersonal expressions of localized pain, agent unnamed we found a surface accusative for O.

- (f) *mă strînge în spate* 'my back pulls'
 O P
 (g) *o înjunghie între coaste* 'she has a stabbing pain between her
 O P ribs'
 (h) *îl secă la ficat* 'his liver feels squeezed'
 O P

In Russian, similar expressions have a compound surface P.

- u menja sošet pod ložečkoj* 'I have a gnawing pain in the pit of my
 'at me' 'under rib' stomach'

It is possible that the same analysis (2.4.2.2) should be proposed for Rom.

4.3. *Modality* (2.5.2). Rom has one impersonal modal verb *trebuie* 'must' or *îmi trebuie* 'I need', (with SS dative) also the verb *a putea* 'can' in its impersonal form *se poate* 'it's possible, it's allowed' and predicative words with or without auxiliary *este, e, i* 'is' (3.7.1).

4.4. *Past passive participle* (2.5.3). Only a limited number of verbs can be used in a passive impersonal construction *a fost spus* 'it was said' *e scris* 'it is written'.

Table III. *A comparison of predicate types in impersonal constructions*

	State of nature and surroundings		Physical and psychological state of individuals		Predisposition		Modality	
	Rus	Rom	Rus	Rom	Rus	Rom	Rus	Rom
Impersonal verbs	×	×	×	×				×
Verbs used impersonally	×	×	×	×		×	×	
Verbs in <i>sja, se</i>	×	×	×	×	×		×	×
Infinitive							×	(prohibition only)
Nominal Predicate	×	×	×	×			×	×

There is a considerable degree of correspondence between the means of expressing the predicate in impersonal constructions in Rom and Rus languages, as indicated in the above table. Only in expressions of modality do differences

appear. This is as expected, for while the use of particles and modal verbs occur in both languages, the type and number of actual moods to express modality differ in the languages under comparison.

V. THE NOTION OF MOOD

5.0. In the preceeding discussion of impersonal sentences, it was mentioned that modality can be expressed in Rus by infinitive and modal predicative words, while in Rom such constructions are few. The Rom verb has, instead, a well-developed paradigm of verbal moods. A closer look at what is understood by "modality" and "mood" is, therefore, in order.

5.1. "Modality" is the broader term of the two and it indicates the speaker's subjective evaluation of the manner in which the utterance corresponds to reality; whether by means of intonation, choice of verbs, modal particles and verbal moods. The term Mood refers to a specific verbal form arrived at by inflection or by means of auxiliaries.²¹

Semantically identical modal meanings can be expressed by different moods (synonymy of form). A given mood can also be syntactically determined and unmarked for modality.

5.2. There is no one to one correlation between a specific mood and its modal meaning, as can be seen from definitions, such as:

In exhortations and in prohibitions with *me* the subjunctive has an imperative force... the optative represents a dependent subjunctive or future indicative (Goodwin 1890 : 3 ff.)

Meillet's summing up of Indo-European moods seems an over-idealization:

Les nuances de sens exprimées par l'indicatif, le subjonctif et l'optatif sont donc respectivement celles des procès: positivement, affirmé, attendu ou éventuel, possible... L'impératif... exprime un commandement ferme et participe au sens affirmatif de l'indicatif (1964 : 226, 235).

5.2.1. Whether the origin of IE moods was aspectual and temporal (vivid and remote futurity) (Hahn 1953 : 139) or a difference in the relative degree of probability, (Gonda 1956 : 117) there is no ground to suppose that at any time there was a fixed set of verbal moods and that the "expressions of their semantic properties were co-extensive with their form" (Seiler 1971 : 79), and the best one can do is to give an approximate representation of their 'nuances' of meaning:

²¹ Panfilov (1968 : 82) differentiates between modality as a logico-grammatical category, the property of a sentence taken as a whole, and mood as a grammatical category related only to the grammatical predicate.

The Indo-European moods and what they express may be tabulated as follows:

<i>Indicative:</i>	Whether a fact, or what is alleged to be a fact, did or did not take place
<i>Subjunctive:</i>	volition (indirect), futurity; in conditions: contingency
<i>Optative:</i>	wish (direct), potentiality; in conditions: contingency
<i>Imperative:</i>	command, prohibition, exhortation, entreaty
<i>Injunctive:</i>	„ „ „ „
<i>Infinitive:</i>	can be used in the sense of imperative, optative, and in exclamations of surprise and indignation. ²²

5.2.2. Shifts in meaning and form occur from the earliest attested times. In Latin the Indo-European optative and the subjunctive fused morphologically and syntactically into one mood—the subjunctive, which had six forms: present and past. A look at the verbal paradigms of some modern Romance languages, show how these forms subsequently proliferated:

<i>Spanish:</i>	Subjunctive:	present, imperfect (two forms) present perfect, pluperfect (two forms) future, future perfect.
	Conditional:	present, perfect.
<i>French</i>	Subjunctive:	present, past, imperfect, pluperfect, double-compound past.
	Conditional:	present, past, double-compound past.
<i>Romanian:</i>	Subjunctive:	present, past.
	Optative-Conditional:	present, past.
	Optative-Presumptive	„ „

5.3. In Slavic the IE optative gave the form of the imperative (which kept some of the modal values of the optative). The optative form of the verb *to be* used periphrastically with the past active participle in *l* formed a new mood, the conditional (or subjunctive). In East Slavic (Rus., Ukr., Belr.), Slovak and Slovenian the modal auxiliary became a modal particle *by/bi*.²³ The Russian Academy Grammar stresses that:

²² For more on the IE moods and tenses, see Meillet (1964), Goodwin (1890), and Gray (1939).

²³ The modal auxiliary e.g. OCS *bim*, (or *biml*) *bi*, was replaced by the perfective Aorist of *byti*, *byz*, (or *byxŭ*) *by* used as a conditional auxiliary. See the different forms in the various Slavic languages: Ukrainian *by*, Slovak *by*, Belorussian suffix *by*, *b*, Czech and Upper Lusatian *bych*, *bys*, *by*, Lower Lusatian *by* for all persons, Polish enclitic *bym*, *byś*, *by*. Slovenian and Macedonian invariable particle *bi*, and Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian *bix*, *bi*.

Only when this particle appears in combination with the past tense can it be considered a verbal mood, and not when it appears with imperative, infinitive or participle (1970 : 356).

As the modal meaning is contained in the particle, which can combine also with modal predicative words, the above restriction can only have historical grounds. The positing of a separate mood to account for this one environment only complicates the grammar.²⁴

5.3.1. The infinitive can express a wide range of modal meanings, including obligation, or necessity (depending on aspect). The choice of aspect in conjunction with negation can have a bearing on the modal meaning of the imperative as well.

5.3.2. In Bulgarian and Macedonian (which do not have an infinitive) there is, in addition to the periphrastic conditional discussed above, a subjunctive form (*da*+pres. ind.) used in environments where other Slavic languages use the infinitive. This subjunctive has assumed many of the modal meanings, associated with infinitive both in independent and subordinate clauses.

It should be pointed out that Rom, while still retaining an infinitive, has replaced it with the subjunctive in many of the same environments as Bulgarian:²⁵

(a) Fr. <i>je veux lire</i>	'I want to read'
inf.	
(b) Rus. <i>xoču čitat'</i>	„ „ „
inf.	
(c) Rom. <i>vreau să citesc</i>	„ „ „
subj.	
(d) Bulg. <i>iskam da četa</i>	„ „ „
subj.	
(e) Fr. <i>donne-moi à boire</i>	'give me to drink'
(f) Rus. <i>daj vypit'</i>	„ „ „ „
(g) Rom. <i>dă-mi să beau</i>	„ „ „ „
(h) Bulg. <i>daj mi da pija</i>	„ „ „ „

5.4. In conclusion, modality can be expressed in *Rus* by means of:

- (a) Modal predicative words²⁶
 (b) Particles: *pust'*, *da*, *liš'*, *razve*, ... etc.

²⁴ Šaxmatov (1963 : 481 - 86) talks about morphological and syntactical 'moods' and tries to differentiate them using semantic and functional criteria.

²⁵ This departure from a prevailing pattern in both Slavic and Romance languages has been attributed to Greek influence. See K. Sandfeld (1930).

²⁶ I hesitate to group them together with the particles because of their different syntactic behaviour and function.

'let', 'if only', 'is it really?'. The particle *by* alone, or together with any of the above, when combined with past tense and considered a verbal mood.²⁷

- (c) Verbal moods: indicative, infinitive, imperative
 (d) Addition of suffix *sja*
 (e) Aspect
 (f) Modal verbs: *xotel'*, *moč'* (want, can) which in their turn can be affected by all the above.²⁸

And in *Rom* by means of

- (a) Particles in conjunction with verbal moods
 (b) Moods: indicative, imperative, infinitive, subjunctive:
 present:— particle. *să*²⁹ + special verbal paradigm
 past:— particle. *să* + inf. of *a fi* 'to be' + past part.
 optative:
 present:— aux. *aș*³⁰, *ai*, *ar*, *am*, *ați*, *ar* + inf.
 past:— aux. *aș*, *ai*, *ar*, ... + inf. verb *a fi* 'to be' + inf.
 presumptive: adding past participle or gerund to indicative future, or present subjunctive or optative.
 (c) Modal verbs: *a putea* 'can', *a trebui* 'must',
a vrea 'want', *a veni* 'to come',
a fi 'to be', *a avea* 'to have'³¹

VI. THE FORMALIZATION OF SENTENCE AND FUNCTION RELATIONSHIPS

6.0. The examples of subjectless sentences (Chapters II, III, IV) make it obvious that neither Rus nor Rom requires SS subjects in certain types of sentences. It is my opinion that a grammar of the type $S = NP \wedge VP$ (both for DS and SS) where an NP, which is an immediate constituent of the sentence in question, is defined as its subject, would not be suitable for these languages as the subject position for every type of sentence is not necessarily filled in

²⁷ On the same pattern Šaxmatov (1963 : 485) posits the 'unreal' mood *čut'*, *edva*, *bylo*— past tense (just about to, on the verge of ... but)

²⁸ Except they can not take an imperative, and *moč'* does not have a form in *sja*.

²⁹ The particle *să* is used in the formation of two of three forms for future: with aux. have, will, *o* + subj., *am* + subj., *o să fac*, *am să fac*.

³⁰ It is not clear whether the origin of this aux. is the imperfect of Lat. *volere*, or the subjunctive of *habeo*, *habuisse*. Lausberg (1962 : 219).

³¹ In special constructions; for example the English verb 'need'

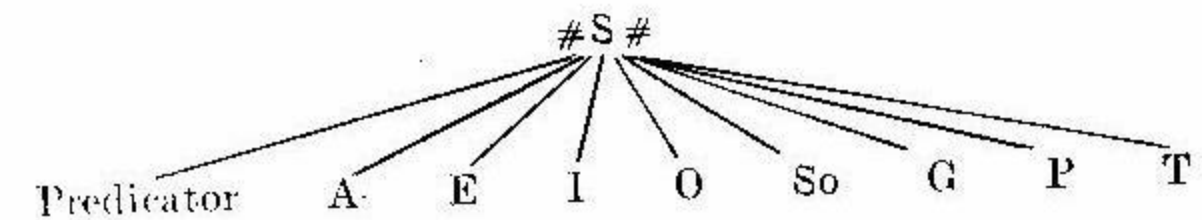
Rom Dat + *a fi necesar*, Nom + *a avea nevoie*

Rus Dat + *nado* or *nužno*, Nom *dolžen* (*a*, *o*, *y*)

DS either, as will be shown. A grammar which posits a DS subject for some sentences and not for others would lose in generality and would blur the distinction between syntactic configurations and semantic relations. A suitable deep structure for Rus and Rom would take the form:

$$\begin{aligned} \neq S \neq &\rightarrow \text{Predicator} \wedge \text{NP}^{(n)} \\ \text{Predicator} &\rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Verb} \\ \text{Predicative words (adv., adj., noun)} \end{cases} \\ \text{NP}^{(n)} &\rightarrow \text{one or more arguments...} \end{aligned}$$

Throughout our presentation we have shown the role relations of NP according to the model proposed by Fillmore, which can be represented by:



However, we have shown the need to use beside goal another role relation, that of D, and we have shown C as separate from I. The material under discussion does not point to the necessity of postulating a relation C as opposed to I. (It might even seem counterintuitive in Rus where SS instrumental case is used with causal verbs such as *interesovat'sja* 'to be interested', *wlekat'sja* 'to be emotionally carried away' and, where, in expressions of sickness the cause of sickness is in SS instrumental, *bolet' anginoj*, *zabolet' grippom* 'to have, catch the flu'. Nonetheless, I feel that an additional DS case, C, is needed because of the sentence type (both in Rus and Rom),

Rus *molnija oslepila menja svojim bleskom* 'the lightning blinded me with its brightness'
 C O I

Rom *fulgerul m-a orbit cu lumina lui*
 C O I

One could analyse 'lightning' as *So*, like *fabrica* in the sentences:

(a) *Fabrica oglușila menja svojim šumom* 'The factory deafened me with its noise'
 C=S O I

Fabrica m-a asurzit cu zgomotul ei
 C=S O I

(b) *Šum fabrici oglușil menja* 'The noise of the factory deafened me'
 I S O

Zgomotul fabricii m-a asurzit
 I S O

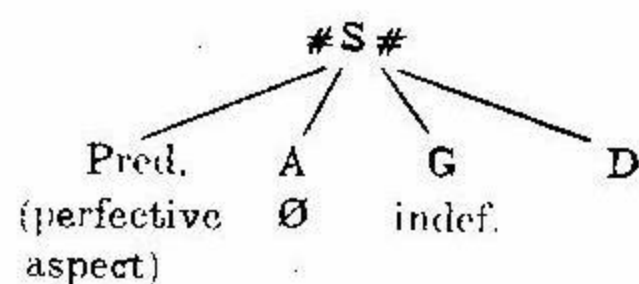
(c) *Šum iz fabrici oglușil menja* 'The noise from the factory deafened me'
 I S O

7. Subject deletion
8. (optional D)

The positing of an indefinite G, in its resultative meaning, would account for the impersonal form of the verb (3 sing. and the neutral past in Rus).

6.1.3. The same analysis as in 6.1.2, can be proposed for the Rus constructions with predicate expressed by past passive participle short form neuter (2.5.3), the type of passivization depending on the aspect of the verb:

Impersonal construction: (*bylo skazano* 'it was said' (perfective))



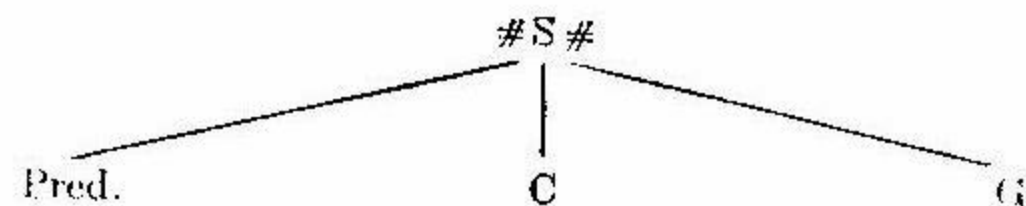
- SF. 1. Passivization
 2. Subject formation
 3. Subject predicate agreement
 4. Subject deletion
 5. Optional D-SS dative

The personal construction would contain A, optional G and D:

Ja (ej) (eto) skazal 'I said (this/it) (to her)'

- SF. 1. Subject formation
 2. Subject predicate agreement
 3. Surface case assignment for any other role relations if shown.

6.1.4. We noted above (2.5.3) that I or C relation can appear in both personal and impersonal sentences:



a) Personal sentence active

voda zalila pogreb 'water flooded the basement'
 I G

- SF. 1. Subject formation
 2. Subject predicate agreement
 3. G → SS accusative

(b) Personal sentence passive

pogreb byl zalit vodoj 'the basement was flooded by water'
 G I

- SF. 1. Passivization
 2. I (C) shunting
 3. Subject formation

4. Subject predicate agreement
5. I (C) → SS instrumental

(c) Impersonal sentence passive

bylo zalito vodoj 'it was flooded by water'

I

SF. Condition G = Indef.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, as in (b)

6. Subject deletion

Impersonal SS marker for participle

6.2. Before proceeding with impersonal constructions containing verbs with reflexive marker, referred to in the course of my exposition as reflexive, pseudo-reflexive or passive verbs, a brief elucidation is in order. In both Rus and Rom (but not necessarily for the same lexical items) the addition of *sja*, *se* marks:

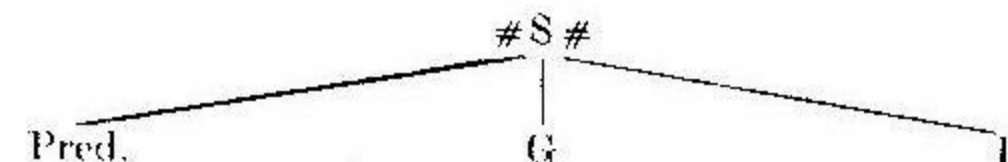
- i. reflexivization
- ii. reciprocity
- iii. passivization (one of the two ways of forming it)
- iv. change of state
- v. phasal action
- vi. intensification
- vii. mental and psychological condition
- viii. impersonal verbs
- ix. change in lexical meaning
- x. permanent characteristic
- xi. shades of modality (Rus only)

Some verbs (mostly psychological) do not have a corresponding unmarked form. In both languages some of the functions overlap.

6.2.1. Different analyses will have to be proposed depending on the function of the marker: Passivization rules as for *se zice* can be proposed for active verbs like *a zvonii* -- *se zvonește* 'to ring, it is rumored', and for non-active verbs where O is substituted for A.

E. g., *eu pot, știu, cad* -- *se poate, se știe, se cade*
 'can, know, fall -- it is possible, known, fitting',
se cade can have an optional D relation.

6.2.2. Some verbs can have only the marked form, personal or impersonal:
se întâmplă, slăbește 'it happened'



6.2.2.1. SF. for impersonal construction

Condition G= Indefinite

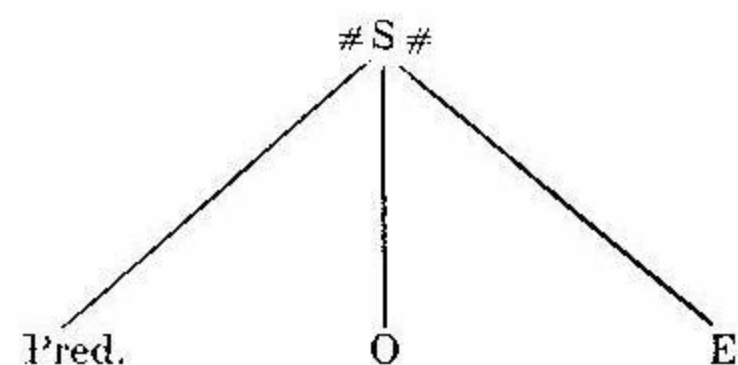
1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
3. Subject deletion
4. Optional D-SS dative

Since there is only one possible form for impersonal verbs, rules 1, 2, 3 can be replaced by one rule, subject blocking, (the SS nominative and accusative being identical for the indef. pronoun).

6.2.2.2. SF. Condition G=Indefinite

1. Verb marked impersonal
2. Subject blocking
3. Surface case assignment for optional D-SS dative optional G-SS accusative

6.2.2.2. Would allow for verbs in *sja*, *se* which do not have a personal form such as *mi se năzărește*, *mne čuditsja* 'it seems that I see', *mne snitsja* 'I dream'. For verbs like *mne nraivitsja*, *imi place* 'I like it, it pleases me', which can have both personal and impersonal forms, 6.2.2.1. would be preferable.

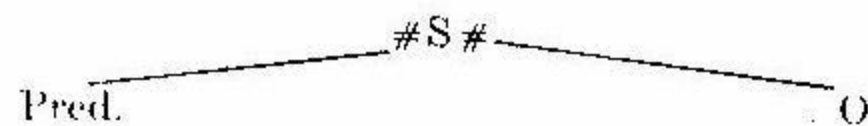


- SF. 1. Experiencer shunting (for either personal or impersonal)
2. Subject formation
 3. Subject predicate agreement
 4. E → SS dative
 5. Subject deletion when verb marked impersonal.

6.2.3. The particle *se* can mark the verb as a mental or psychological state verb.

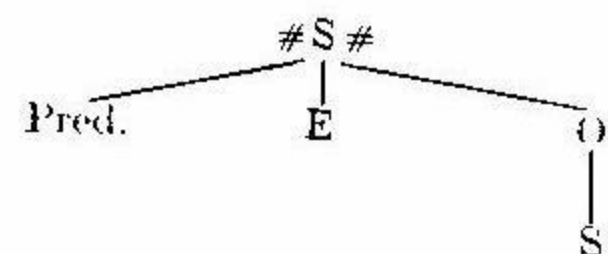
A. Personal construction

Eu par 'I appear, I seem'



B. Impersonal form

(*mî*) *se pare* (*că*) 'it seems (to me) (that)'



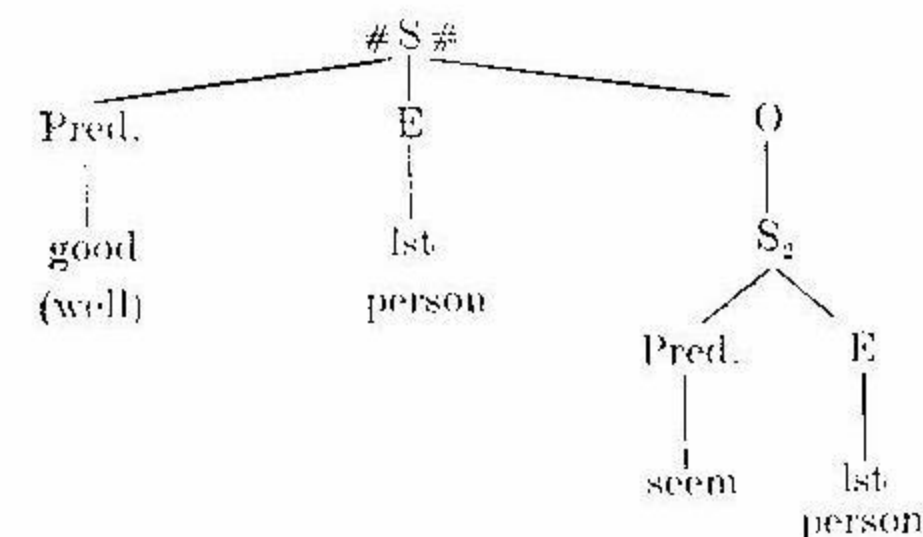
- SF. 1. Impersonal marking
2. Subject blocking
 3. SS case assignment for optional roles
E-SS dative
O-Sentential complement

In Rom there is an impersonally used form *părea* without *se* which can take sentential complement but not E. (In Rus, *kažet'sja* 'to seem', has only the *sja* form but can appear as personal and impersonal with the same SF as in Rom).

C. Evaluative reflexive (no comparable form in Rus)

imi pare bine, rău

'I'm glad, sorry' 'it seems to me good, bad'
"well", "badly"



- SF. 1. Impersonal marking
2. Reflexivization
 3. Equi-NP deletion
 4. Predicate raising
 5. Subject blocking
 6. E - SS dative

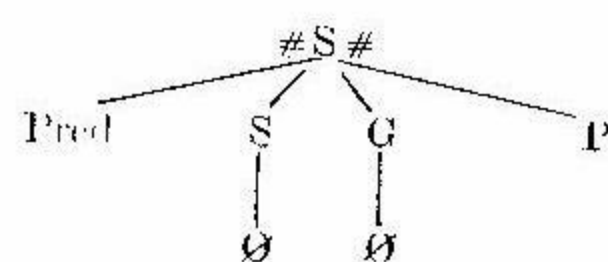
6.2.4. Particle *se* marking impersonal change of state verbs of the type: *se înnoptează*, *se amijește* 'it becomes night, morning'. They would show an earlier and later state, S, G, which get deleted in SS.

With some verbs G remains and appears in SS accusative:

se lumina de ziuă 'dawn was breaking'

In Rus some verbs in this lexical group can have impersonal forms both with or without *sja*: *temneet*, *temneetsja* 'it gets darker'. Without *sja* they can appear in personal constructions with SS subject.

(a) *na dvore svetleet* 'outside 'in the yard' it's getting lighter'



SF. Cond=verb marked impersonal

1. Subject blocking
2. P → SS locative

(b) *vzgljad svetleet* 'one's look brightens'

SF. Cond=verb marked personal

1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement (defective verb with only 3rd person form)

6.3. At the mention of impersonal constructions, the first thing people comment on are meteorological expressions: it rains, it snows.

While in Rom they form an extended lexical group (3.5) with a high functional load, in Rus they all but disappeared. *Snežit* 'it snows' is archaic, *doždit* 'it rains' conveys a special poetic mood of 'steady rainy weather', and have been replaced by *dožd'*, *sneg idet*, *padaet*, 'the rain, snow falls (goes)'. Other Slavic languages also show this gradual change from impersonal to personal constructions. Cz., Stvk. *prši*, Slov. *dežujit*, Mac. *vrne*, Bulg. *vali*, *vali dožd*, Ser.-Cr. *kiši*, *pada kiša*.

In the Romance languages the impersonal form prevails (e.g. Fr. *il pleut*, Sp. *llueve*, It. *piove*), and the personal form is stylistically marked (poetical language), It. *la pioggia cade*, Fr. *la pluie tombe*.

The question has been debated by grammarians whether in sentences of this type there is an underlying mythological agent, a force of nature, or inanimate causer. I propose here to analyse them by positing an O relationship.

6.3.1. *Dožd'* in *dožd' idet* is obviously O (entity which moves); there is no reason to suppose that it could be anything else in a DS of the form *dožd' doždit* (poetical alliteration).

A. Impersonal sentence:

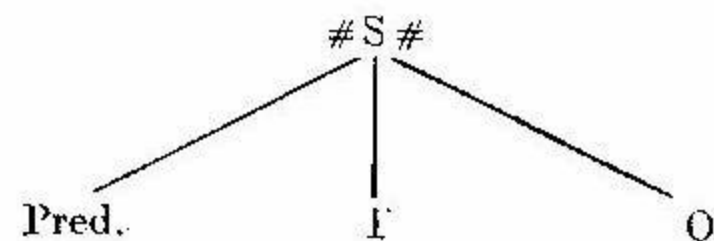
toarnă cu găleata, plouă cu găleata 'it rains buckets'



- SF. Cond=verb marked impersonal.
1. Subject blocking
2. I-SS accusative+prep.

B. Personal sentence:

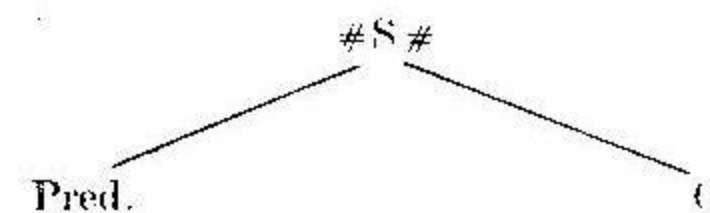
ploaia toarnă cu găleata 'the rain pours in buckets'



- SF. Cond=verb marked personal.
1. I shunting
2. Subject formation
3. Subj. Pred. Agreement
4. I-SS accusative+prep.

6.3.2. Alliterative, poetically marked constructions:

- Rus (a) *grom gremel* 'thunder thundered'
Rom (b) *viscolul viscolea* 'the snowstorm stormed'
Rus (c) *gremelo* 'it thundered'
Rom (d) *viscolea* 'there was a snowstorm'



- SF. (a) and (b)
Cond=verb marked personal
1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
SF. (c) and (d)
Cond=verb marked impersonal
1. Subject blocking
2. O deletion

6.4. Impersonal constructions with nominal predicate (verb 'to be' sing. or neuter past, marking tense followed by adv., adj. or noun) have a high functional load both in Rus (2.5.1) and Rom (3.7 and 3.7.1). Using Fillmore's definitions, we have differentiated between E for psychological state and O (animate being undergoing a physical state). The SS form for either, both in Rus and Rom, is dative. In fact there is only an E relation in DS both for 'psychological' and 'physical' conditions.

6.4.1. Personal sentence.

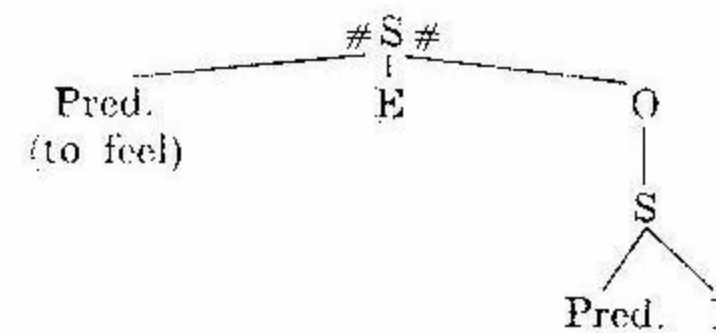
Rus *dom byl teplyi, (priyatnyj)* 'the house was warm, pleasant'
Rom *casa era caldă, plăcută*



- SF. 1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement

6.4.2. Impersonal sentence.

Rus *(v dome) (mne) bylo teplo, priyatno* '(in the house) it was warm, pleasant (for me)'
Rom *(in casă) (mi-) era cald, plăcut*



- SF. Cond=Impersonal Pred.
1. Higher predicate deletion
2. Predicate raising
3. Subject blocking
4. SS case assignment for optional E, P, T.

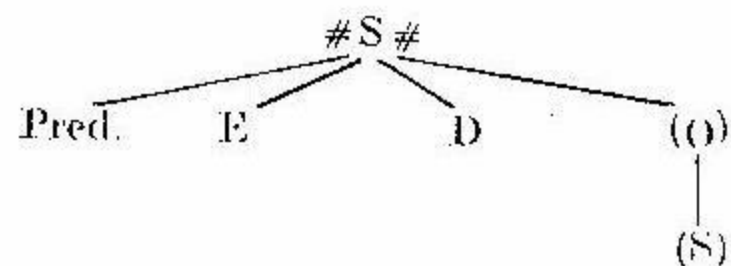
(With some predicators, E can be blocked in SS, e.g. (Rus), *pasmurno* 'it's cloudy'). The same analysis is proposed for "psychological state" expressions.

Rus *mne stydno, len', trudno...* } 'I am ashamed, I feel lazy'
Rom *mi-e rușine, lene, greu* } 'it's hard for me'

6.4.3. Nominal constructions with modals:

Rus (*mne nado (dlja zdorov'ja)*)...
 Rom (*(mi-)e necesar (pentru sănătate)*)...

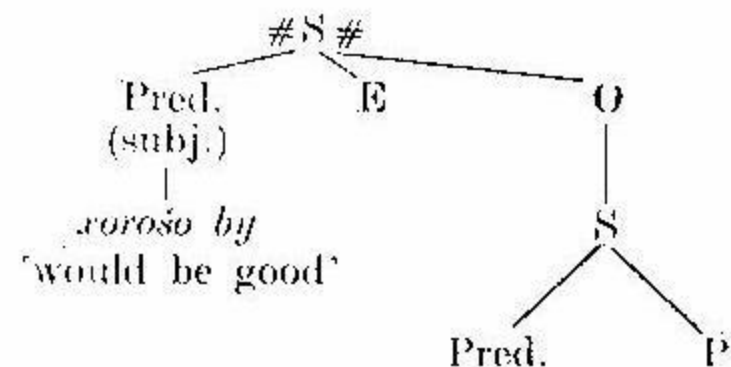
'it is necessary (for my health)'



SF. Cond=Impersonal predicate.
 1. Subject blocking
 2. SS case assignment for optional DS relations

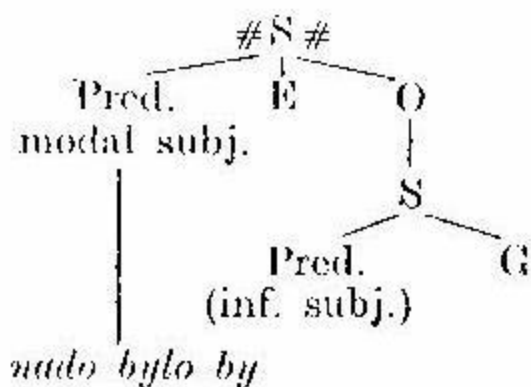
6.4.4. The infinitive modal constructions in Rus (2.4.3) contain in the DS a modal or modal evaluative predicator which gets deleted in SS:

(a) *byl' emu v rajju* 'if he could be in paradise!'



SF. Cond=Impersonal predicate.
 1. Higher predicate deletion
 2. Predicate raising
 3. Subject blocking
 4. SS case assignment

b) *tebe by pomoč' nam* 'you ought to be the one to help us'



SF. Cond=Impersonal predicate.
 1. Higher predicate deletion
 2. Predicate raising
 3. Subject blocking
 4. Case assignment

'it would have been necessary'

nado bylo by

'it would have been necessary'

The seeming shifts in many sentences which occur when negatives are used have nothing to do with role relations, and will therefore not be discussed here. The majority of sentences involving modals and negatives may be analysed as sentences with sentential embeddings.

An interesting example of such sentences contains two surface structure datives, one for E and another for G. Word order is used to disambiguate them:

(a) *mne nekomu pisat'* = *net nikogo komu ja mog by (na)pisat'*
 E G G E

'there is absolutely nobody I could write to'

(b) *nekomu mne pisat'* = *net nikogo kto mog by mne (na)pisat'*
 E G E G

'there is absolutely nobody who could write to me'

(For an attempt at formalization see footnote 32).

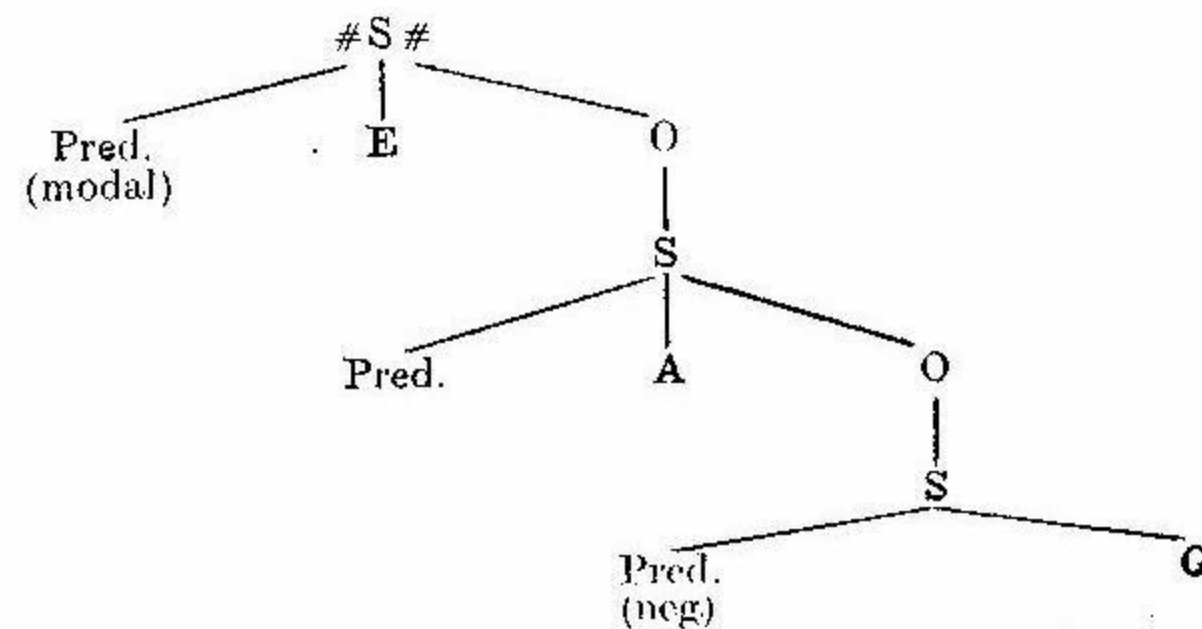
³² (a) *mne nekomu pisat'* = *net nikogo komu ja mog by (na)pisat'*

SF. Condition=A coreferential with E impersonal sentence

1. Case assignments E, G → SS dative

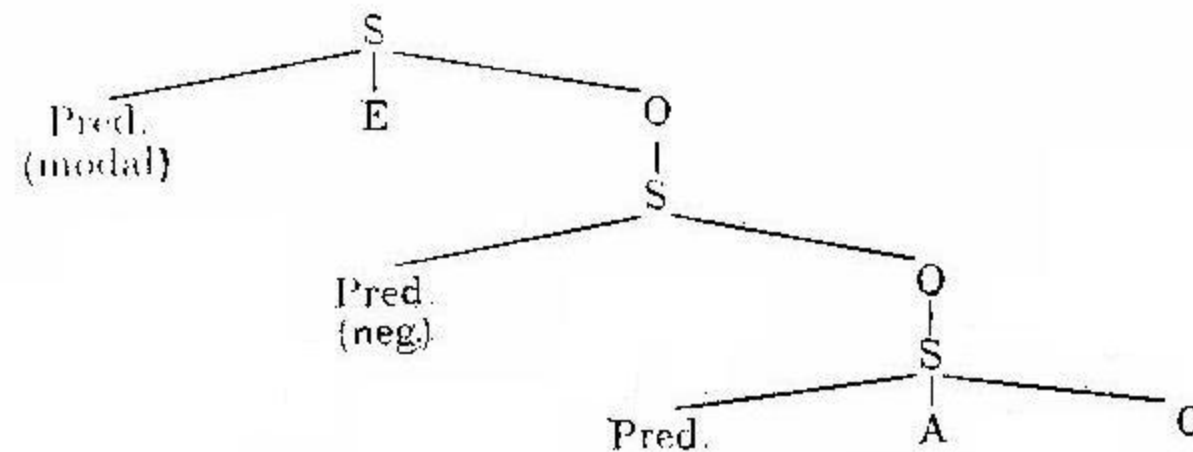
2. Deletion of modal

3. (Optional) topicalization verb in final position



mog by	ja	pisat'	ja	net	nikogo
1	2	3	4	5	6
∅	2	3	4 - 2	5 + 6	
	mne	pisat'		nekomu	

(b) *nekomu mne pisat'* = *net nikogo kto mog by mne (na)pisat'*



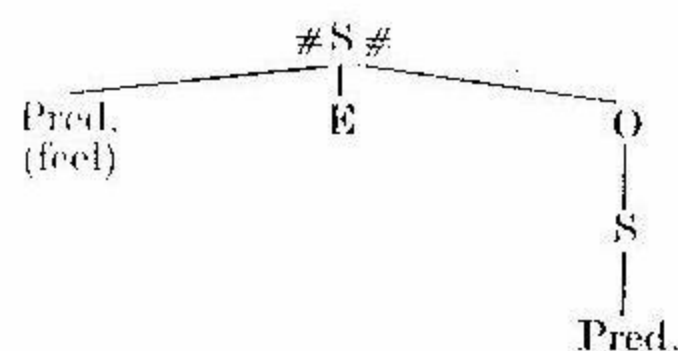
6.5. Among the impersonal nominal predicate constructions are expressions of fear:

Rus *mne strašno, mne bojazno, mne žutko*

Rom *mi-e teamă, mi-e frică, mi-e groază*

'I am scared, frightened, terrified, horrified, awestruck'

They can be analysed in a manner similar to that of the psychological state expressions (6.4.2).



SF. Cond=Impersonal predicator

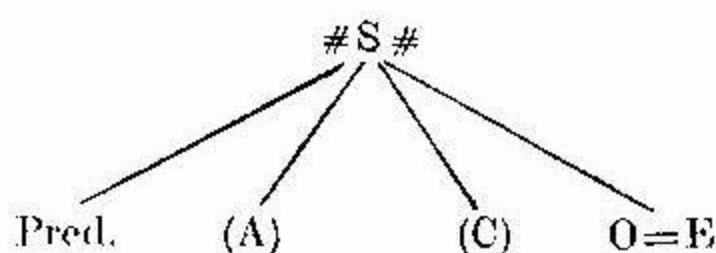
1. Higher predicate deletion
2. Predicate raising
3. Subject blocking
4. SS case assignment E - dative

6.5.1. Active verbs with A or C take O (animate object which undergoes a state state).

(a) Personal construction:

Rus *strašcat', nastrašcat', strašit', ustrašit', ustrašat', pugat', ispugat', napugat', perepugat', užasat', užasnut'*

Rom *a speria, înspăimînta, înfricoșă, intimidă, îngrozi*
'scare, frighten, intimidate, terrify, horrify'



- SF. 1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
3. SS case assignment for
E=O — accusative
pe + accusative Rom

(b) The above Rom verbs undergo passivization with past participle, also the Rus perfective verbs with the exception of *užasnut'*.

footnote 32 contd. from p. 53

mog by	nikto	net	pisat'	kto	ja
1	2	3	4	5	6
φ		2+3	4	5-2	6
		nekomu	pisat'		mne

There are no similar impersonal constructions in Rom. The closest to it in meaning is a construction with the verb 'to have' and subordinate sentence with subjunctive:

(c) *n-am cui să-i scriu* 'I don't have to whom to write'

G G

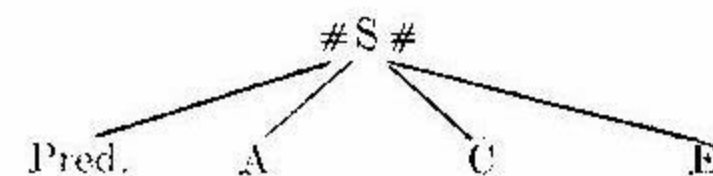
(d) *n-are cine să-mi scrie* 'there is nobody who could write to me'

A G

(agent apparent from the form of the verb)

- SF. 1. A or C shunting
2. Subject formation
3. Subject predicate agreement
4. SS case assignment for A or C (optional, can be deleted)
Rus → instrumental Rom → *de* + accusative.

(c) All the verbs in (a) with the exception of the first Rus pair) have a form in *sja, se*. C or A need not be shown in DS. When shown, it appears in SS in the genitive case in Rus and *de* + accusative in Rom.



- SF. 1. A or C shunting
2. Subject formation
3. Subject predicate agreement
4. SS case assignment

(d) Verbs with only the form in *sja, se*:

Rus *bojat'sja, opasat'sja* } 'to fear, to dread'

Rom *a se teme*

Rom *a se sfi, a se înfiora* 'to be intimidated, to quail, to shudder'

have the same DS and SS as (c) above.

In this lexical group we see a gradual change from an active causer (A or C) inflicting fear, experienced as a physical state (SS accusative) in active and passive sentences to E as focus, *sja, se* verbs, with causer in the background, still capable of being expressed, to constructions (in Rus)³³ where no C or A can ever be shown in SS and 'fear' is strictly a psychological condition.

6.6. In this chapter we have attempted to show how the Fillmorean model can be applied to crosslanguage analysis of similar forms. As many models are limited by the type of material which they can handle, this is of prime importance. The demonstration that a case-grammar model possesses the capability of dealing with similar data from different languages (here Rus and Rom) which express these similar data in different surface ways, is in fact, a demonstration of the strength of the case model.

VII. CONCLUSION

7.0. The preceding has been an attempt at demonstrating the utility of a case grammar model for explaining similar forms of syntactic structures

³³ In Rom the impersonal constructions (6.5) can have an optional C or A shown in SS *de* + accusative.

in two diverse languages, one with an elaborate overt case system and simple use of prepositions, the other with a simple case system, but with elaborate use of prepositional phrases.

7.1. The point of reference is Rus, and this has determined the direction of the enquiry. As stated previously, Rus grammarians have always been very much concerned with the interrelationship between the grammatical structure of language and the structure of thought as illustrated in logical versus grammatical modality, and in the structure of the sentence. The question as to just what form of thought is expressed by the impersonal and the one member sentence has been widely debated. There are many types of sentences (in addition to passives) in Rus, where the logical subject is expressed in an oblique case:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) <i>starik ne spit</i> | 'the old man doesn't sleep' |
| O | |
| <i>stariku ne spitsja</i> | 'the old man has trouble sleeping' |
| O | |
| (b) <i>mne nado</i> | 'I need' |
| E | |
| (c) <i>sneg zanes dorogu</i> | 'the snow covered the road' |
| I P | |
| (d) <i>snegom zaneslo dorogu</i> | 'the snow covered the road' (impersonal) |
| I P | |
| (e) <i>doroga byla zanesena snegom</i> | 'the road covered by snow' (passive) |
| P I | |

7.2. Although impersonal constructions in Rom have nearly as wide a distribution as in Rus (Table III), their study as a specific sentence type has been neglected. This is due to the following factors:

1. The greatest number of impersonal verbs, semantically limited to expressions of atmospheric conditions, are considered a relic of a "primitive form of thought" (Poalelungi, 1957);
2. Other impersonal verbs can take sentential subjects (as in other Romance languages)

- (a) *trebuie să mă duc* (Fr. *il faut que j'aille*)
'I must go'
- (b) *mi se pare că este aici* (Fr. *il me semble que c'est ici*)
'it seems to me that it is here';

3. In nominal predicates, where the NP is a noun, it can be analysed as subject of the construction

- (c) *mi-e lene* 'I am lazy'
'laziness is at me';

4. Constructions where no formal subject could be proposed are considered idioms

- (d) *mi-e de* 'I am in a mood for'
(e) *nu-mi pasă* 'I don't care'

7.3. I have attempted to show that in Rom as in Rus certain sentence types can be classified as impersonal, and that their distinguishing mark is the absence of an agent in DS. Case grammar, where role relationships such as agent, experiencer, place... are posited in the DS is, therefore, more suited to my analysis than a Transformational model where a sentence in DS is diagrammed as $S \rightarrow \rightarrow NP \wedge VP$. I will illustrate this with a set of simple sentences in Rus, Rom and their English counterparts:

I Russian

- (a) *moloko teploe*
(b) *komnata teplaja*
(c) *on teplyj*
(d) *on teplyi (čelovek)*
(e) *emu teplo*
(f) *v komnate teplo*

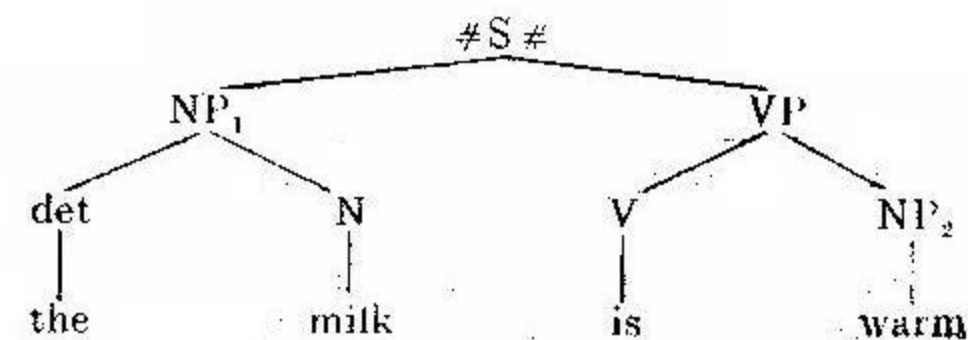
II Romanian

- (a) *laptele e cald*
(b) *camera e caldă*
(c) *el e cald*
(d) *el e (un om) cald*
(e) *ii e cald*
(f) *in cameră e cald*

III English

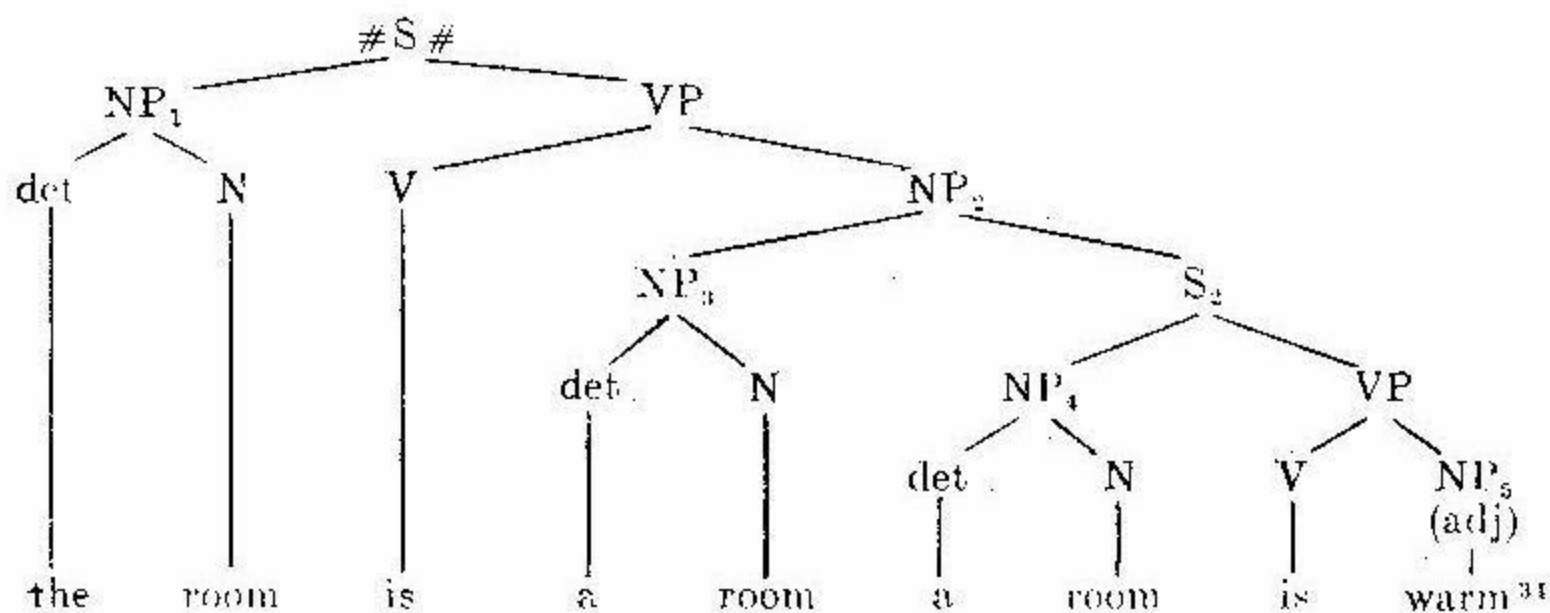
- (a) the milk is warm
(b) the room is warm (the room is a warm room, easy to heat, friendly)
(c) he is warm (to the touch)
(d) he is warm (he is a warm, friendly man)
(e) he is warm (it is warm to him)
(f) it is warm in the room (the room is warm)

7.3.1. First I will propose descriptions according to the transformational model starting with the English examples
i)



SD for sentence (a) and with slight modification, pronominalization having previously applied, for sentence (c).

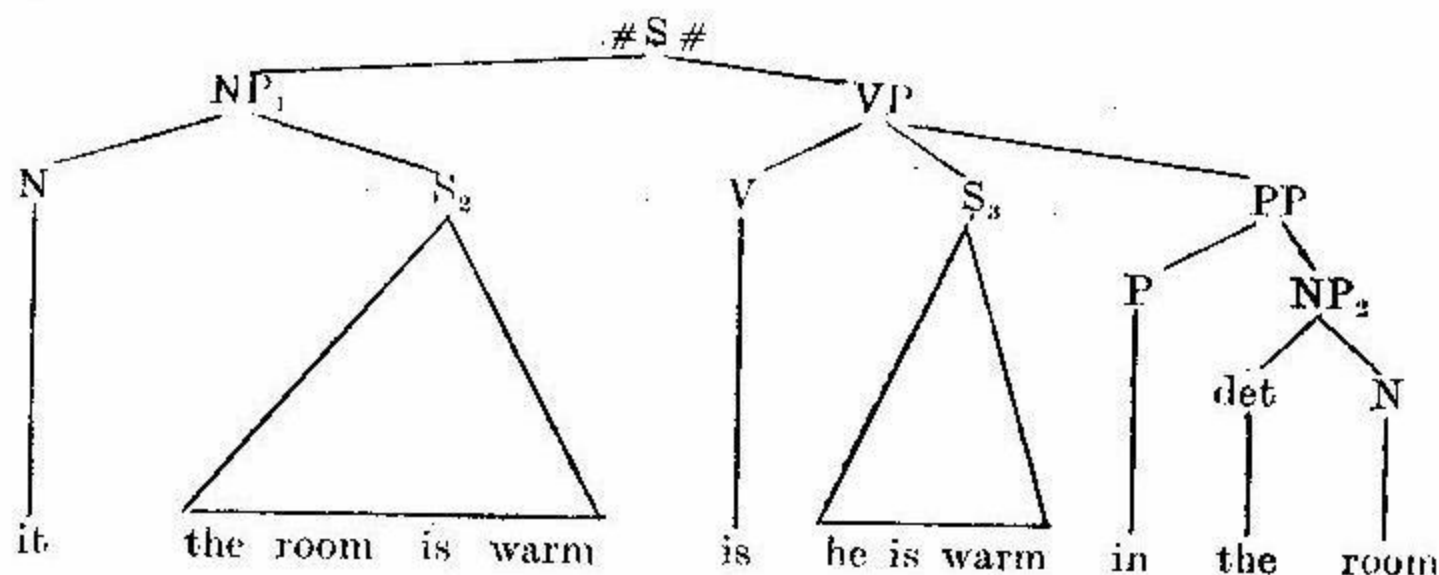
(ii)



This, after the application of relativization, relative clause reduction, modified shift and equi-NP deletion, results in sentence (b); sentence (d) requiring an additional pronominalization transformation.

7.3.1.1. The same description would fit the Rom sentences (a), (b) (c) and (d). For Rus, sentences (a), (b), (c), (d) as shown require description (ii) to account for the attributive (long) adjectival form. Sentences (a), (b) and (c) also have a predicative (short) adjectival form, *moloko teplo*, *komnata tepla on tepel*, for which SD (i) is adequate.

7.3.1.2. Underlying sentences (e) and (f) would propose the following SD. (iii)



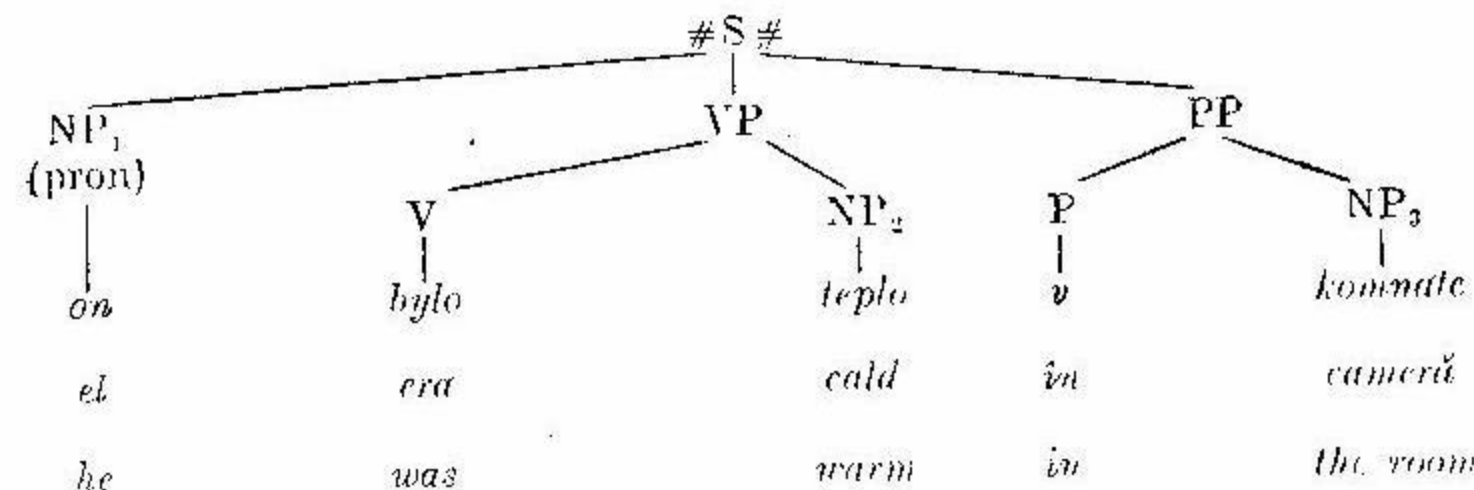
²⁴ I have indicated adj. as NP as in Chomsky (1965). The notion of adj. as verbal, not nominal (which dates back to Aristotle), does not change the analysis materially.

The application of 'it' deletion, extraposition, relative clause formation, 'to be' deletion, relative clause deletion, and optional PP deletion would result in sentence (e).

To obtain sentence (f) the following transformations are necessary: extraposition, relative clause formation, 'to be' deletion, pronoun deletion, relative clause deletion and PP clause deletion.

7.3.1.3. For Rus and Rom the pronoun "he" would have to undergo a further dative formation rule and SS rules of gender agreement. SD (iii) is unacceptable on other grounds. The embedded sentence 'the room is warm' cannot refer in Rus or Rom to temperature, and its presence is gratuitous. A simple parsing PS description suffices to generate (e) and (f).

(iv)

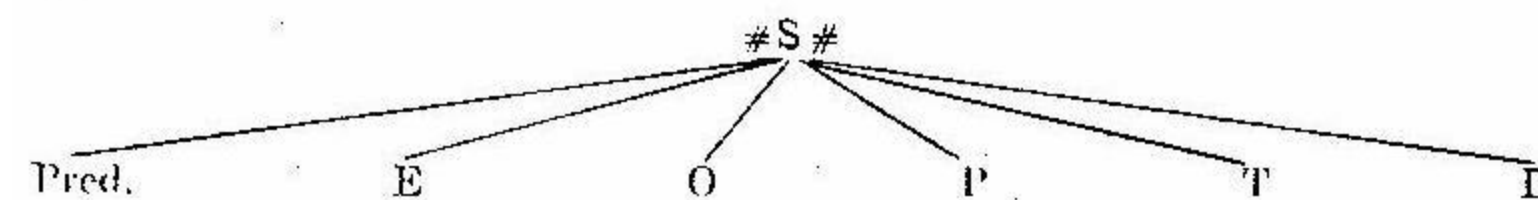


to which obligatory dative formation rule and optional pronoun and PP deletion rules apply. For (f) a further optional topicalization rule which would front the PP applies.

7.3.1.4. The preceding descriptions would be further complicated were we to introduce adverbial phrases of time (e.g., "now", "always"), which can apply to all of the above sentences, and prepositional phrases showing to whose advantage or disadvantage the above propositions are directed ('the milk is warm (enough) for the baby', 'he is warm to you but cold to me'). The latter can apply only to sentences (a), (b), (c) and (d).

7.4. The advantage of a case grammar model lies in its ability to deal with these problems. In a case grammar model a predicator of the type 'is warm' is shown capable of taking five arguments,

(v)



subject to the following provisions:

1. The predicator can enter into either E or O relationships at any given time, but never both.
2. E permits P and/or T relationships. In Rus or Rom it marks the sentence as impersonal, followed by subject blocking. Whether the E is shown or not in SS, the sentence remains impersonal and neither P nor T can occupy the subject position. In English, E can become SS subject, when elliptic, P or T can take this position. When no argument is shown in SS, the indefinite pronoun "it" fills the subject position "it is cold". (The conditions for generating "it is cold in the room" as against "the room is cold" remain unexplained).³⁵
3. A simple sentence containing O can also show T and/or D relationships. The O occupies the SS subject position.
4. P can appear with T and D relationships and occupies SS subject position.
5. When T appears in a sentence, whether alone or with D, it can become SS subject.
6. D cannot become SS subject, 'it's too warm for me here'.
7. When P is shown in the SS of a sentence which contains O, it is analysed as deriving from an embedding 'the milk in the jug is warm'.³⁶

The above rules illustrate the hierarchical ordering of the case relationships and how it is applied.

7.4.1. In 6.4.2. I analysed sentence (f) as embedded in a higher sentence with a psych-predicator. This was in keeping with the latest Fillmorean (1971c : 251) definition of E role as "the experiencer (animate) of a psychological event or of a mental state verb". With other types of predicators I posited O defined as "the animate entity which undergoes change of state". I differentiated between animate O in

Rus <i>mne nezdorovitsja</i>	'I don't feel well'
Rom <i>mi-e foame</i>	'I am hungry'

and E in

Rus <i>mne nravitsja</i>	'I like it'
Rom <i>mi-e grijă</i>	'I am worried'

If one were to enlarge the scope of E to "animate, affected by non-active verbs" it would simplify the analysis of the impersonal constructions discussed. It would still differentiate between

³⁵ In a localistic case grammar model J. Anderson (1971 : 97) discussing the two interpretations of "John is cold", ducks the issue, defining one as a stative and the other as a stative locative or reflexive locative and concludes: "In view of the uncertainty with respect to such an interpretation of these forms, I shall not conclude the appropriate rules among these proposed below".

³⁶ Sentences which are shown only in English have surface structures in Rus and Rom similar to those in English.

Rus (a) <i>mne lstit</i>	'I am flattered'
E	
(b) <i>menja znobit</i>	'I am shivering'
O	'I am made to tremble'
(c) <i>menja manilo</i>	'I was enticed, lured'
O	
Rom (d) <i>ii era somn</i>	'he was sleepy'
E	
(e) <i>il trăgea la somn</i>	'he was sleepy'
O	'it pulled him to sleep'

The verb 'to hurt' in Rom would seem an exception if one were to consider it impersonal, as Sandfeld & Olsen (1962) do in constructions such as

(f) <i>te doare</i>	'it hurts you'
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That the construction is not impersonal is obvious from the subject predicate agreement in a similar sentence

(g) <i>mă dor ochii</i>	'my eyes hurt'
P	

(Besides, I proposed a compound-locative analysis for this type of sentence in 4.2.1).³⁷

7.5. One can conclude that in Rus, and Rom, the E in impersonal constructions always takes the dative case in SS. The impersonal constructions in both Rus and Rom offer an example where relational semantic features in DS have an exact counterpart in SS.

The material under discussion is too limited for any attempt at generalizations concerning the correlation between DS case relationships and SS cases; any search for a general meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*) of cases can only be undertaken on the DS level; its manifestation in SS, the grammatical form, being subject to DS and SS contextual constraints.

I have not shown any of these constraints in my thesis, but I have limited myself to signaling role relationships as they appear in impersonal constructions. These roles were mostly O, C or I (inanimate), E (animate) and marginally P, T and D.

7.5.1. The criticism that animateness as a property of the participant is not relevant to its role is unfounded (Huddleston 1970 : 504). Animateness is a semantic category and roles are analysed as semantic relationships. Impersonal constructions provide evidence that animateness can have grammatical impli-

³⁷ The other example in Sandfeld & Olsen (Vol. III, 1962 : 28).

(a) *il durea gândindu-se că* "it hurt him thinking that ..." can be encountered as
(b) *mă doare sufletul să mă gândesc* "it hurts my soul to think"

cations. The proposal that agent in complementary distribution with force should combine in one case to produce causer would not be feasible. Inanimate force can appear in impersonal constructions while animate agent cannot (2.5.3, 4.1.2.).

7.5.2. The absence of an agent in DS characterizes this type of sentence, a fact intuitively perceived by grammarians and referred to as *sostožanie* 'state' (Galkina-Fedoruk 1958), *pereživanje* 'experience' (Šaxmatov 1963), or as "all-encompassing event or state" (Chafe 1970: 102).

7.6. I have shown the different means, including impersonal constructions, to express modality in the two languages. A detailed application of case grammar to the analysis of modality was not within the scope of this thesis. I feel that further work on these lines would help to explain the abstract structure of modality and its syntactic manifestation.

7.7. In accord with the term of reference, this analytic examination of impersonal sentences has revealed two notable results, (a) that the Fillmorean model applied to two different languages, Rus and Rom reveals remarkable likeness, and (b) that the strength of the model has been substantiated. In order for this or any other theory to have true explanatory value, however, the continued examination of empirical data is of prime importance.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent	NP	noun phrase
acc.	accusative	O	object
adj.	adjective	P	place
aux.	auxiliary	part.	participle
C	cause	pl.	plural
D	designative	prep.	preposition
dat.	dative	PP	prepositional phrase
det.	determiner	pred.	predicator
DS	deep structure	pron.	pronoun
E	experiencer	Rom	Romanian (Roumanian)
F	force	Rus	Russian
G	goal	S	sentence
gen.	genitive	SF	sentence formation
GLR	Gramatica limbii române	sing.	singular
I	instrument	So.	source
indef.	indefinite	SS	surface structure
inf.	infinitive	subj.	subjunctive
instr.	instrumental	T	time
loc.	locative	V	verb
M	modal	VP	verb phrase
MP	modal phrase	WPL	Working Papers in Linguistics, Columbus, Ohio
N	noun		
nom.	nominative		

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