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**ROMANIAN SUPINE CONSTRUCTIONS**

**BY**

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**DIPL. IN PHILOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF TIMISOARA, ROMANIA (1970)**

**A THESIS**

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**IN LINGUISTICS**

**AT THE**

**UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA**



**Rodica Ionescu, Ottawa, Canada, 1990**



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## ABSTRACT

The present research attempts to provide a synchronic syntactic analysis of two Modern Romanian non-finites: the De-Supine and the 'Nominalized' Supine. They are studied in the much debated framework of the similarities and differences between the noun phrase and the sentence. Their external and internal debatable status has been controversial both in early and recent generative grammar. These categories were expected to be so much different and yet very much alike. Their status as two cyclic nodes and two most fundamental categories in every language explains why there has always been an attempt to claim an identical structure for both, to bring them together under a common structure, or to separate them.

The present thesis tries to range among recent attempts to provide a common structure for both noun phrase and sentence in the Non-Finite domain. However, by trying to provide the non-finites and the 'nominalized' non-finites with a similar sentential structure, it becomes quite clear that non-derived nouns and 'nominalizations' are quite different structures. The absence of a verbal stem is essential in claiming two complete different structures for them.

The attempt of the present study to provide the Romanian Supines with a sentential analysis and structure has been done in the background of three crucial analyses: the analysis of the Balkan IP structures ( Joseph, 1983, Rivero, 1988), the DP analysis (Abney, 1987) and the recent analysis of PRO in the Government and Binding framework.

Particular emphasis is given to the special nature of PRO as implicit agent identified through Singular in the 'Nominalized' Supine.

**Thesis supervisor: Professor Maria-Luisa Rivero**

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

Several generative studies (Lees, 1960, Chomsky, 1970, Emonds, 1970, Horn, 1975, Schachter, 1976, Chomsky, 1981) have treated not only nominals / nominalizations but also all sentence-like categories (with internal semantics) which appear in an argument position, as 'nominalized verbals' i.e. NPs.

Another approach is presented by Ross (1973) who places a series of structures with both sentence and NP properties along a continuum. They are ordered according to an increase in nouniness from right to left. The end points of this continuum are assumed to be the tensed IP on the right and the derived nominal / concrete noun on the left. The middle consists of Indirect Question, Infinitive, Acc-ing, Poss-ing and Ing-of constructions (action nominal). This approach is also adopted by Reuland (1983), who assumes a gap between sentence and NP in Ross's scheme between Acc-ing, the most nominal sentential, and Poss-ing, the most sentential NP.

A few examples given by Abney (1987) of these English Gerunds ordered as above are:

### **Acc-ing Gerund:**

- (1) We approve of (him) studying linguistics.

[Ex. section 1.2, Abney, 1987]

- (2) I counted on no one coming.

[Ex. section 1.2, Abney, 1987]

**Poss-ing Gerund:**

(3) John's building a spaceship. [Ex. 1, Abney, 1987]

**Ing-of Gerund:**

(4) John's fixing of the car. [Ex. 230, Abney, 1987]

The literature (Williams, 1981, 1985, Joseph, 1983, Rothstein, 1983, Chomsky, 1986, Abney, 1987, Pollock, 1987, Rivero, 1988) treats non-finites like the Imperatives, the Gerunds and the Infinitives, and even their 'nominalized' correspondents, as belonging to the same class of IP structures.<sup>1</sup>

The main concern of the present thesis is to place the Romanian De-Supine and the Romanian 'nominalized' Supine alongside these sentential non-finites as IP structures and DP structures respectively, following Abney's DP analysis (1987). Abney attempts to demonstrate that even such 'nominalized' verbals as the English Poss-ing Gerunds have a clear sentential structure under the DP analysis. I claim that Romanian has a similar, though not identical construction interpretable as a DP sentential: the 'nominalized' Supine. Here the 'nominalized' Supine is viewed in parallel with the English Poss-ing Gerund (Abney, 1987) in that they both display clear sentential structures and mixed nominal / verbal morphology.

The present thesis has two objectives corresponding to two parts:

---

<sup>1</sup> These three approaches towards non-finites are quoted from literature by Abney (1987) in chapter 3.

- The first aim is to provide the typical sentential De-Supine with an appropriate IP structure and analysis in the spirit of Pollock (1987) and Rivero (1988), in chapters 1, 2, and 3. This analysis is contrasted with Romanian sentential finites such as the Subjunctive and other Romanian sentential non-finites. A typical example of the De-Supine appears in (5):

- (5) [ De fumat ] este dăunător  
of smoked is harmful  
Supine  
'To smoke is harmful'

A diminished sentential behaviour in respect to typical sentential processes such as NP movement (Subject raising), Direct Object raising, ECM, Control, Tough movement is noticed in contrast with their corresponding finite IPs in chapter 3.

I claim that the lack of tensed Inflection in the verbal form doesn't imply that the De-Supine, like the other non-finites, has NP features and structure. Rather it means that non-finite is a category equal to 'less sentential' and not to 'increasing nominal' or NP.

- The second aim of the thesis is to provide the 'normalised' Romanian Supine with a sentential DP structure, under the DP analysis of the English Poss-ing Gerund (Abney, 1987) in chapter 4:

- (6) John 's [ build-ing a spaceship]  
N + Possessive Affix Gerund Affix  
[Ex. 1, Abney, 1987]



(9)	Prin	-s	-ul	fluturi	-lor
	catch-Affix	Supine	-the	butterflies	-of the
			m.sg.N		m.pl.G/D
	'The catching of the butterflies'				

It would seem that less sentential processes would be equivalent to less verbal and increasing nominal characteristics until a complete nominalized construction equal to an NP is reached. However it is argued in chapter 4 that this is not the case, as the English Poss-ing Gerund (Abney, 1987) and the Romanian 'nominalized' Supine stay sentence-like categories with internal semantics even when they appear in an argument position. Therefore it will be argued that 'nominalized' means still IP under DP and not NP.

Chapter 5 focuses on two Romanian nominalizations described generally in section 1.2 : *The Process (Activity) Nominalized Past Participles / The Nominalized Long Infinitives in -re*, (their feminine correspondents). I argue that both have similar DP structures under Abney's DP analysis (1987). Also, based on evidence from Romanian, and on the theory of the syntactic realization through PRO of an 'implicit agent' in the sense of Roeper (1983-84), Williams (1985) and Abney (1987), I attempt to show that in these two constructions the Singular identifies a syntactic PRO as Agent as subject of the Supine.

## CHAPTER 1: DEFINITIONS AND CLASSIFICATIONS

### *1.1 Etymology and Definitions for the Romanian Supine*

The Romanian Supine is assumed to be derived from the Latin Supine lost in most Romance languages, but preserved in Romanian as the Supine Mood, as most traditional grammars call it.

The Romanian Grammar of the Academy (vol.I, 1963) classifies the Supine among the other non-finites and describes it as displaying the same morphology as the Past Participle. It also mentions the lack of agreement, or the unmarked masculine singular form, as well as the obligatory 'prepositions' preceding it: de 'of', la 'at' pentru 'for' după 'after', fără 'without'. Therefore, according to the Academy, the Supine is defined only as the [+Prep] +unmarked Past Participle. The [-Prep] +marked Past Participles are consequently classified as nominalized / adjectival Past Participles.

Lombard (1974) argues that the Romanian Supine is not entirely derived from the Latin Supine, as it is only partially used as the Latin Supine, and therefore it would only partially come from it. According to him (as also pointed out by the Romanian Grammar of the Academy, 1963) the Supine is the invariable Past Participle, often not preceded by any of the above-mentioned 'prepositions' (different from the Romanian Grammar of the Academy), forming constructions unlike the Romance / French Past Participle, for example.

Lombard further argues that the marked Past Participle represents either a nominalized and / or an adjectival Past Participle functionally too.

Baciu (1978) defines the Romanian Supine as a special use of the Past Participle preceded by the 'preposition' de. By this special use he refers to the complementary distribution function also considered by Joseph (1983) as an Infinitival function. Baciu also signals its correspondence to the French de / a Infinitive used as a noun complement

('complément du nom') or attribute of the subject introduced by the ending vowel [a] or any other non-articled form, as in (10):

- (10) Casă [de vîndut]  
 house of sold  
 Supine  
 'maison a vendre'  
 'house for sale' [Ex. 23, Baciú, 1978]

However Baciú does not mention the articulated forms of the nouns used with the Supine (Cas-a de vîndut / Ciine-le de legat 'the house f.sg. for sale / the dog m.sg. to be tied'). Instead he mentions the Romanian Supine used after the verb (completing the verb) a fi 'to be', with the whole construction meaning 'must / needs to', as in (11):

- (11) Cartea e [de legat]  
 book-the f.sg.is of bound  
 Supine  
 'Le livre est a relier'  
 'The book needs to be bound' [Ex. 30, Baciú, 1978]

An example similar to (10), but having an articulated noun would be:

- (12) Calul [de dat] nu se caută în dinți  
 horse-the m.sg.of given not Refl. 3 sg. seeks in teeth  
 Supine  
 'The horse received as a gift must not be sought in-between the teeth'

Joseph (1983) argues that the Romanian Supine reflects the Latin Supine in *-tu* / *-tum*, rather than being a Romanian creation.<sup>2</sup> According to him, it consists of the 'particle / preposition *de* 'of', plus a form identical in morphology to the Past Participle Passive. He does not make explicit reference to the peculiar distribution of this form, its unmarked m.sg. form, or any other 'particles / prepositions' such as: *la* 'at', *pentru* 'for', *fără* 'without', used with it and mentioned in literature.<sup>3</sup>

Mallison (1986) does not relate the Supine to the obligatoriness of one of the above-mentioned 'prepositions'. In fact, he assumes the derived nominal Past Participle which is as productive a nominal as the Long-re Infinitive with which it competes in Modern Romanian, to be a Supine construction too. This is the 'nominalized' Supine analyzed in chapter 4 of the present thesis. Mallison also assumes it derives from the Latin Supine. According to him, it is morphologically identical to the Past Participle, but syntactically different from it, having a different distribution (not complementary) in Latin. Mallison further mentions a similar 'nominalized' form with an adjectival function with a subsequent number, gender, and case agreement with the noun it modifies. Although he does not give an example of this last form, I will do so here:

(13)	Oameni-i	învăta	-t	-i	nu duc lipsă de nimic
	people -the	learn	-ed	-m.pl.N	not bear need of anything
		Supine+	agreement		

'The learned people don't need anything'

---

<sup>2</sup> Joseph, 1983, in chapter 2: 'Infinitive and Supine in Latin and Infinitive and Supine in Common Slavic', in section 6.3. : 'Other Non-Finite Forms in Modern Romanian', and in chapter 8: 'New Perspectives', argues in favor of a Romanian Supine derived from the Latin one.

<sup>3</sup> Such constructions using only the above-mentioned 'particles / prepositions' + the unmarked masculine singular form of the Past Participle must be analyzed rather as PPs than as De-Supines (i.e. as IPs).

A fourth class, mentioned but not exemplified by Mallison, consists of the Past Participle occurring after the Perfective Aux. *avea* 'have', as the non-finite element of some compound tenses: The Conditional Perfect, *aş fi văzu-t* / Past Participial Affix 'I would have seen', The Perfect Future, *vor fi văzu-t* / Past Participial Affix 'they will have seen', The Subjunctive Perfect, *voi să fi văzu-t* / Past Participial Affix 'you (2 pl.) to have been seen', and some others. These forms are not discussed here.

The structural and functional analysis of the Romanian Supine provided in this thesis will result in a classification of the Romanian Supine different from the above traditional ones, namely:

- (a) the *De-Supine* exemplified in (7), sentential under the IP analysis (as seen in chapter 2)
- (b) the 'nominalized' Supine exemplified in (6), sentential under the DP analysis (as seen in chapter 4),
- (c) the 'adjectival' Supine exemplified in (13), not analyzed in the present thesis.

## ***1.2 Distinction among Romanian Participials.***

All categories mentioned above are in fact Past Participial uses with the *De-Supine* on one hand, and the *Nominalized Past Participles* on the other. The chapters of the present thesis dealing with the *De-Supine* and the '*Nominalized Past Participles*' will attempt to show why they are both sentential. The answer will be the DP structure and analysis shared by both.

Other than *De-Supines*, Romanian has the following types of Participial constructions:

**I. *Nominalized Past Participles***: derived nominals, always displaying number, gender, person and case agreement with the subject, semantically subdivided into:

*I- a. Process (Activity) / Concrete (Result) Nominalized Past**Participles:*

They display only the masculine singular definite article forms. Only a few of them have feminine Infinitival correspondents which display the feminine singular definite article. These forms are the *Nominalized Long Infinitives in -re*.

Some of these *Nominalized Past Participles* with their feminine *Nominalized Long Infinitives in -re* correspondents can be very well lexicalized, even with the negation *ne-* prefixed to them. In such cases they lose completely their verbal origin for most of the Standard Romanian speakers. However, some still stay half-lexicalized or non-lexicalized, maintaining their verbal status for most of these speakers:

(14)a. [ usca-t-ul                      rufe-lor ]  
 dry-ing-the                      laundry-ofthe  
 Past. Part.m.sg.=Process      D/G art.f.pl.  
 'the drying of the laundry' (lit.)

b. [ usca-re-a                      rufe-lor ]  
 dry-ing-the                      laundry-ofthe  
 f.sg.=Process / Inf.      D/G art.f.pl.  
 'the drying of the laundry' (lit.)

(15)a. [ ne-dormi-t-ul                      noaptea ]      e      nesănătos  
 not-sleep-ing-the                      by night      is      unhealthy  
 neg.Past Part. m.sg.=Process  
 'the not sleeping during the night is unhealthy' (lit.)

- b. [ ne-dormi-re-a                      noaptea ]                      e                      nesănătoasă  
 not-sleep-ing-the                      by night                      is                      unhealthy f.sg.  
 neg.Inf.                      f.sg.=Process  
 'the not sleeping during the night is unhealthy' (lit.)

It will be shown in chapter 5 of the present thesis that these *Nominalized Past Participles and Nominalized Long Infinitives in -re*, contain an Agent identified syntactically as PRO through the Singular morphology displayed by the articles -ul and -a respectively.

#### ***-I- b. Nominalized Past Participles:***

They denote persons undergoing the action expressed by the verbal stem, have no feminine Infinitival correspondents and display gender, number and case agreement. They can also be negated with ne- as the previous ones.

A few of them will be mentioned in chapter 5. Their structure and analysis seem to differ from the *Nominalizations in I.a*. They will be the object of future study but are not covered in this thesis. Some of them are : rătăcitul m.sg. art. 'the lost person', rătăcita f.sg. art. 'the lost person'; rătăciti m.pl. 'the lost persons', rătăcitele f.pl. 'the lost persons'; nemulțumitul 'm.sg. 'the person who got unsatisfied', nemulțumita f.sg. 'the person who got unsatisfied', nemulțumiti m.pl. 'the persons who got unsatisfied', nemulțumitele f. pl. 'the persons who got unsatisfied'.

#### ***II. Adjectival Past Participles.***

They display number, gender, and case agreement with the noun they modify . Traditional grammars refer to their adjectival function or uses:

(16)	Marea	agita	-ta	e	infricoșătoare	
	sea	-the	agitat	-ed	is	frightening
		f.sg.	Past Part.f.sg.			f.sg.

'The agitated sea is frightening'

***III. The Past Participle*** together with the auxiliaries (avea 'have', fi "be' and voi/oi 'will') form compound verbal forms, i.e. the compound tenses of different moods: Indicative, Subjunctive, Conditional, Infinitive. These tenses and moods are routinely described by Romanian traditional grammars.

The last two Participials are not discussed in the present thesis either.

## CHAPTER 2: THE ROMANIAN DE-SUPINE

### 2.1 *The Infinitival Function of the Romanian De-Supine*

Joseph (1983) mentions the Romanian De-Supine as being equivalent and parallel to the Romanian Gerund(ive) and the Romanian De-Long Infinitive in *-re* in Modern Romanian. All three have the status of non-finite replacements for the Old Romanian Infinitive, and are concurrently in competition to replace it. They replace Old Romanian Infinitives either as complements of adjectives or complements of verbs.

He mentions that one major use of the De-Supine is to have replaced the Old Romanian Infinitive as complement of adjectives:

(17) Nu e greu [de făcut]  
 not is hard of done  
 Supine

'It is not hard to do'

[Ex. 31, Joseph, 1983]

b. Nu e greu [a face]  
 not is hard to do  
 Infinitive

'It is not hard to do'

[dialectal Romanian]

Joseph believes that it is only in the literary language that the Infinitive can still exist as an adjectival complement. Actually it can still be heard in present Romanian dialects as well.



b. Au terminat [de mânca-t]  
 have-they finished of eat-Affix  
 Supine

'They have finished eating'

(20)a. poftă de [plimba-re]  
 desire of walk-Affix  
 Long Inf.

'desire for eating / to eat'

b. poftă [de plimba-t]  
 desire of walk-Affix  
 Supine

'desire for eating / to eat'

The status of all these examples involving both De-Supines and Gerun(dives) is normal everyday speech.

In this context, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the Romanian De-Supine, alongside the other two above-mentioned non-finites, is endowed with verbal features in fulfilling the Infinitival function in complement structures. This means that they all share the distribution of the Infinitive functionally, besides other verbal uses, forming separate verbal categories different from the Infinitive.

Given this Infinitival distribution function, Joseph focuses mainly on two non-finite constructions which he groups together in chapter 2 ('Supine and Infinitive in Latin'), and in chapter 5 ('Supine and Infinitive in Common Slavic'). In the former, he points out that labelling the Infinitive and Supine under the same verbal category in Latin (*Non-Finite*) is interesting for Romanian, if valid, and if the Romanian Supine derives from the Latin

one. This would mean that no major changes in the Non-Finite verbal category of Romanian from Latin have occurred. If this Infinitival functional distribution is a verbal feature, it would undoubtedly serve as one of my claims that the Romanian De-Supine is still verbal .

In section 2.5. ('On Defining Infinitive'), Joseph points out that particular functional considerations coupled with a particular morphology may be the criteria for distinguishing Infinitives from other non-finite forms. According to him, the Latin Supine may be such a form. It is non-finite by Latin internal evidence (morphosyntactic person and number features agreeing with the subject), although the equivalent use of complementizers ut / quod + finite forms would serve to distinguish the verbal feature (system) as well.

Therefore, the conclusion that the Supine and the Infinitive are of the same non-finite kind would derive from Latin internal evidence: i.e. syntactic evidence such as complementary distribution with clausal complements introduced by the ut / quod complementizers.

Hence another question arises: since the Supine is an Infinitive categorially, is it identical to the Infinitive or is it of another non-finite type: i.e. a special Supinal non-finite? An answer to this will be given later in this chapter where a structure and analysis is provided for the Romanian De-Supine.

Therefore the Latin Supine appears to be equal to Non-Finite, i.e. Infinitive by Latin internal evidence mentioned above, and differs morphologically from the Latin active Infinitive ending in -re, consisting of the suffix -tu / -tum.<sup>4</sup>

The analysis of the Slavic Supine (Joseph, 1983, chapter 5), gives a similar view for the Infinitive / Supine parallel as in Latin. Besides other non-finite forms and numerous

---

<sup>4</sup> The use of a universal functional criterion to define the Infinitive (like complement to adjective or noun) in other languages, such as Indo-European, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Tocharian, French, coupled with some language particular morphological or morphosyntactic criteria, allows this cross-linguistic generalization (Joseph, 1983, 31-32)

Participles, there were two non-finite forms traditionally called the Infinitive and the Supine in Common Slavic with the Supine first paralleling, and later on, gradually replacing the Infinitive. The Infinitival use of the Supine led to a new hypothesis stated by Gabinsky for Romanian and Balkan Slavic languages of a Supine as a revived new Infinitive. However, there are strong arguments against this position as Joseph points out.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, similarities of the Infinitival analysis of the Supine (or the Infinitival / Supine analysis) in Latin and Common Slavic, basic languages for Romanian and other Balkan developments, are striking from the same angle of similar morphosyntactic differences (Latin and Old Common Slavic internal evidence) and synchronic as well as diachronic morphological differences between them (in Old Common Slavic the Infinitive has the suffix *-ti* coming from the Dative of a deverbal nominal stem in *\*-ti-*, while the Supine has the suffix *-ti*, identically spelled, coming from an Acc. of a deverbal nominal stem in *\*-tu-*). Moreover, they were syntactically different in that the Infinitive generally governed an object in the Acc., while the Supine governed an object in the Genitive.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Gabinsky argues that Romanian, like Albanian, witnesses a second revival of the Infinitive through the use of the Supine equal to a new Infinitive. There are several arguments against this recent hypothesis. First, the Supine has functionally a different distribution than the Infinitive, being mainly used as complement to adjectives, complement to nouns, and purpose clauses (Sandfeld and Olsen, 1936 in Joseph, 1983, 291). Second, the classification of the Supine, the Infinitive and even the Gerund in Romanian as they were classified in Common Slavic and Latin (as different categories, yet all non-finite, due to their complementary distribution) pleads for no real revival of the Infinitive through the Supine in Romanian. Third, in some uses the Supine can be replaced (as the Infinitive used to be) by some finite sentences. Therefore it is participating in the same retreat involving the Infinitive too (Joseph, 1983, 172)

<sup>6</sup> Joseph, 1983, quotes the following Old Common Slavic examples as such instances:

- |      |   |                      |                       |
|------|---|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (i)  | celitie<br>heal Inf.<br>'to heal them'          | je<br>them Acc.      |                       |
| (ii) | Ceso<br>what/G<br>'What did you go out to see?' | videte<br>see/Supine | izdete<br>go-out/2pl. |

Despite the similarity in the differences between the Infinitive and the Supine which are displayed by Latin and Old Common Slavic, in the latter, the Infinitive and the Supine are closely connected synchronically. They can be considered members of the same grammatical category: i.e. they are in similar distribution functionally. Therefore, the Supine will be the 'functional allo-form' of the Infinitive (Meillet, 1965, in Joseph, op. cit.).

## *2.2 Proposal For an IP Structure and Analysis of The Romanian De-Supine.*

The Romanian De-Supine is analyzed here as a sentential non-finite with an overt complementizer *de* 'of'. This construction is equivalent to the Subjunctive complement with an abstract or overt *ca* 'that' complementizer and an Inflectional particle *sa* 'to' (Rivero, 1988).

It is argued that such Subjunctive complements are replacing the Infinitive complements having the *a* 'to' overt complementizer, from Old to Modern Romanian.

If such an analysis is correct, then it would provide the De-Supine with a simple, clear and general IP structure with *de* in Comp. and the non-finite verb moved from VP to I.

Such an analysis would be similar to Rivero's (1988) for Romanian, Modern Greek and Albanian IP structures for the Imperatives and the Gerunds.

At the same time, such an analysis would result in an IP structure that would fit into Ross' scheme (1973) mentioned in the introduction and conclusion, together with other IP structures on a continuum oriented from Finite to Non-Finite.

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### *2.2.1 The De-Supine in Ross and Reuland's IP Schemes.*

In English the construction allowing ambiguity between the noun phrase and the sentence is the Gerund: i.e. a class of structures headed by Verb+ing (Abney, 1987). In Romanian such constructions are the Non-Finites. They are headed by Verb+Affixes (-t / Participial, -re Infinitival, -ind Gerundial). Such a parallel stems from their 'griffon-like structure'.<sup>7</sup>

Such a puzzle was apparently resolved by Abney's DP analysis (1987) and therefore it is applied here to the Romanian Supine, within more recent developments.

Therefore, as stated in the introduction, a similar scheme to Ross's (1973) as modified by Reuland (1983) could be applied to the Romanian Non-Finites / Infinitives in the sense of Joseph (1983).

In Ross's scheme (1973) the end points of the continuum are the finite tensed clause on the left and the NP on the right.

Under more recent assumptions in Reuland (1983), there is a gap between S and NP. In this scheme the gap is between the Acc-ing, the most NP-like sentence, and the poss-ing Gerund, the most sentence-like NP.

In chapter 6 of the thesis I attempt to reinterpret this scheme by assuming that the end points of this continuum is the finite tensed clause on the left and the non-finite clause on the right. This scheme argues in favor of the disappearance of some non-finites such as the Infinitive in Romanian and some of the Balkan languages.

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<sup>7</sup> This term is used by Abney (1987, 165.) when he refers to their noun phrase-like subject and external distribution as well as to their verbal phrase-like complement structure.

In my modified interpretation in chapter 6, the gap is between the De-Supine, the most sentence-like NP, and the 'Nominalized' Supine / 'Nominalized Long Infinitive in -re, the most noun-like sentence (similarly to the Gerund analysis in English).

However, as I argue in chapter 6, if there is a gap, as Reuland assumes, there is no continuum. Therefore, all NPs must be classified somewhere else, not on the same line with the non-finite sentences ahead of the NPs as Reuland's scheme proposes.

If this is true and all NPs have no non-finite provenance, it remains to be demonstrated that the De-Supines are not the most sentence-like NPs, but the most sentence-like Non-Finites, while the 'Nominalized' Supines are the least sentence-like Non-Finites. In other words, both should have similar sentential structures. Indeed the present thesis analyzes them as typical DP structures in the sense of Abney (1987).<sup>8</sup>

### *2.2.2 The Romanian De-Supine under the DP=IP Structure and Analysis.*

I argue that De-Supines that cannot be used as main clauses have sentential IP structures. The following De-Supines (21-31) will be treated and analyzed as IP structures:

- (21) [ De fumat ] este dăunător  
of smoked is harmful  
Supine  
'To smoke is harmful'

---

<sup>8</sup> The DP analysis is equal to the IP analysis under Abney's attempt to explain the Inflection as a determiner non-categorial head. Such an explanation was required by the necessity of defining an identical Inflectional head in NPs as in IPs for X-bar reasons. A detailed explanation of this substitution will be made in the chapters on the Romanian 'Nominalized Supines'.

- (22) E [de mirat] cum a rezistat  
is of amazed how has resisted

Supine

'It is amazing how he / she resisted'

- (23) Ion e [de dorit] să plece  
John is of wanted to leave  
Supine Prt. Subjunctive / 3 sg.

'John must / has to leave'

- (24) Studentii au fost [de negăsit]  
students-the/m.pl. have been of not-found  
Supine

'The students were not to be found'

- (25) Ion rămîne [de văzut] ce va face  
John remains of seen what will do / 3sg.  
impers. Supine

'John remains to be seen what he will do' (lit.)

'It remains to be seen what John will do'

- (26) Asta-i greu [de făcut]  
this is hard of done  
Supine

'This is hard to be done' (lit.)

'This is hard to do'

- (27) Am terminat [de recoltat] porumbul  
I-have finished of harvested corn-the / m.sg.

Supine

'I have finished harvesting the corn'

- (28) Cărțile sînt ușor [de citit]  
books-the/m.pl. are easy of read

Supine

'The books are easy to be (get) read' (lit.)

'The books are easy to read'

- (29) N -am timp [de pierdut]  
not -I have time of lost

Supine

'I don't have time to lose'

- (30) E [de neconcepu-t] cum a scăpat  
is of notconceiv-ed how has escaped

Supine

'It is inconceivable how he escaped'

- (31) Profesori-i buni sînt greu [de neînțele-s]  
teachers-the good are hard of notunderstood

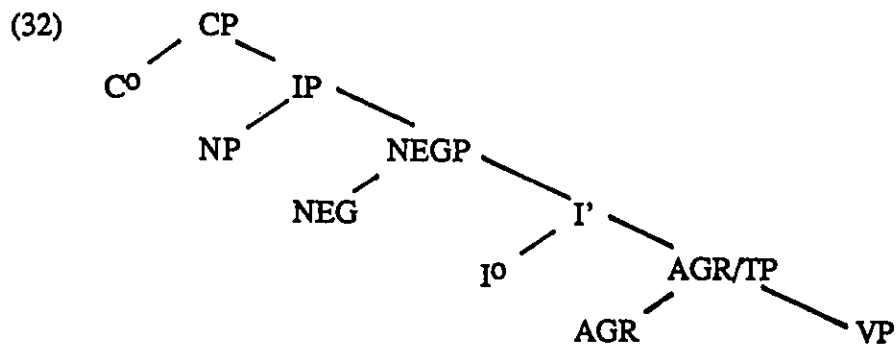
m.pl. m.pl.

Supine

'The good teachers are hard not to be understood'

following additional elements: De-Supines are non-finite because they contain neither AGR nor Tense. They cannot have clitics.

Rivero (1988) discussed the IP layers in some of the Balkan languages, their position in the tree and their role in V-movement. This discussion establishes certain elements peculiar to the Balkan structural layers in finite and non-finite IPs as in (32). For expository reasons in order to understand the structure and analysis of the Romanian De-Supine, I enumerate and characterize these elements briefly here.



[Ex. 5, Rivero, 1988]

(a) The I<sup>0</sup> head is for invariable particles of a modal or aspectual nature, such as the Future markers or the Subjunctive markers. Their position there is motivated by their blocking effect on non-finite V-raising in Balkan inverted conjugation, they block V2 to C (Rivero, 1987a-b, 1988), as in (33):

- (33) Spune  $\dot{\iota}$       -mi    va       $\dot{\iota}$   $\dot{\iota}$   
 tell / 3 sg.    -to me will  
 Future                      Aux.  
 'He / she will tell me...'

[Ex. 28 b., Rivero, 1988]

(b) The Modern Greek and Romanian invariable Gerund affixes -ontas and -înd, 'ing', are also under  $IO$ , generated as head of IP, as aspectual items triggering V-raising into that position .

(c) The place of these different items suggests that aspect / mood may be in I, when devoid of Tense and Agreement: i.e. when morphologically invariable.

(d) I particles are followed by pronominal clitics (see the Romanian Subjunctives and Gerunds, for example). In Rivero's analysis they remain attached to the AGR/TP projection in all structures, since no clitic movement rules in the Balkan languages are assumed.

(e) NEGP is considered to be generated higher than I, in all moods and clauses.

(f) The Romanian Gerund is an IP with an absent CP (root construction that cannot be questioned), and examples such as (34):

- (34) Maria ne      văzîndu-mă      ocupat,...  
 Mary not      seeing -me      busy  
 Gerund

'Mary not seeing me busy...'

[Ex. 52 b., Rivero, 1988]

being quite widespread, it results that negation is attached to NEGP, higher than I, preceded by an NP Specifier subject (preverbal subjects being quite common in both Modern Greek and Romanian Gerunds) followed by the negation, which it is assumed functions as a barrier according to Pollock (1987) and others. It follows that negated Romanian Gerunds, always grammatical, will show a negation position between Spec. of the Gerund and Inflection with the verb moved in it.

(g) Remember that in (d) it was stated that particles are followed by pronominal clitics attached to AGR / TP. They remain anchored to this projection in all structures since no clitic movement rules are assumed in the Balkan languages. Therefore having fixed positions, negation and clitics provide clear positive evidence for V movements.

For example, Modern Greek and Romanian Gerunds may be negated and must have post verbal clitics. This will show that the non-finite verb raises to Inflection.

In Romanian the true adverbs (as niciodată 'never', vreodată 'ever' and many others of the same kind) are always VP final. Nevertheless we have quite often examples of preverbal shorter adverbs. However these are not counterexamples to V movement to Inflection, but they form a special class of clitic adverbials that can precede the finite verb, or interplace between the auxiliary and the non-finite in compound tenses, or precede the non-finites such as Gerunds and, as we soon will see, De-Supines too, only when negated, and follow them when not negated. (Maria nemi lucrînd s-a îmbolnăvit, 'Mary nomore working got sick') This is limited however to a small class of monosyllabic intensifiers such as: mai 'still', 'more', cam 'about', 'a little', prea 'too', și 'also', tot 'still', 'yet' and quantifiers: toți 'all'. It is proposed that they are under Cl in AGR / TP, sometimes even attached to the pronominal clitics or to the verb itself.

Therefore many elements discussed by Rivero (1988) in the context of the Romanian Gerunds, are extremely relevant for the Romanian De-Supine structure and analysis, as seen in tree (41) later.

It is obvious that according to the claim that the clitic is not a maximal projection in the path, the absence of the clitics nearby the De-Supine would show that the AGR / P position is missing. If the R Supine had an AGR / P, clitics would appear. It is also missing because there is no [+Tense] V to move to it (although this is not true for the Romanian Gerunds where Gerunds can be followed by clitics even if there is no [+Tense] )

Again, according to Rivero's discussion (1988) of negation as blocking V-movement from I to C, it doesn't block anything here as V doesn't move to C, as C is filled already with de.

Similarly, negation is discussed as being higher in the tree than Inflection. This would mean that such negative Supines as de neprevăzut 'not foreseeable', with negation between de in C and V in I, will show that de is in C and V is in I of I'.

If negation hadn't had such a position in the Supine, but just a position before de, then de would have been generated in Inflection, the assumed generation place for similar invariable modal particles.

However as things are not like that as far as negation is concerned, de is assumed to be in C and not in Inflection, already filled with V moved from VP (and see tree (41) where the De-Supine is presented).

Another problem raised by this analysis is the impossibility of assuming for de a basic position in Inflection similar to the Gerund affix because of the negation position between de and the verb as in (35) and by the ungrammaticality of the Gerund in (36):

- (35) de    ne-văzut  
       of    not-seen  
       Supine  
       'not seeable' (lit.)  
       de in C-NEG-Affix in Infl.

(36) \*vǎz-ne-înd

see-not-ing

V in C-NEG-Affix in Infl.

(37) ne -vǎz -înd

not -see -ing

NEG-V in Infl./Affix in Infl.

The only non-verbal feature that could be attributed to the De-Supine would be the absence of the clitics. It still is unclear if indeed the absence of clitics is a strict nominal feature *par excellence*.

Therefore the absence of the clitic in the De-Supine will lead to the conclusion that AGR / P is inexistent. This absence will then neither diminish its verbal character nor increase its nominal features, as the clitic is neither a pure verbal or a pure nominal feature.

Further arguments for the Supine being a non-finite sentence with *de* in C and V moved to Inflection are also based on Rivero's analysis (1988) of Gerunds in Romanian and Modern Greek.

There it is argued that unlike Modern Greek where the Gerunds are CPs because, as pointed out by Joseph (1986) they allow Wh-movement to the CP-specifier, the Romanian ones are seemingly IPs. The following arguments would plead for this:

-Unlike Modern Greek where Gerunds can Wh-move to CP Specifier and hence they are CPs, in Romanian they don't have such a movement, the Wh-phrase stays in situ:

### Modern Greek

- (38) *Ti legontas, Xamogjelasai o Giannis*  
 what saying smiled the John  
 Gerund

'When saying what, did John smile?'

[Ex. 49, Rivero, 1988]

### Modern Romanian

- (39)a. \**Maria s -a ruşinat, ce văzînd?*  
 Mary herself-has shamed what seeing  
 Gerund

[Ex. 50 a., Rivero, 1988]

- b. *Maria s -a ruşinat, văzînd ce?*  
 Mary herself-has shamed, seeing what  
 Gerund

'Mary felt ashamed, seeing what?'

[Ex. 50 b., Rivero, 1988]

Therefore Romanian Gerunds are probably not CPs, as this position would be probably non-existent.

Although, the Romanian Supine cannot have Wh-movement, it is a CP with C filled with *de* (operator movement to Spec of CP as seen later for easy to please construction or Tough movement) and V is moved to Inflection. Hence the conclusion that the Romanian De-Supine is a CP.

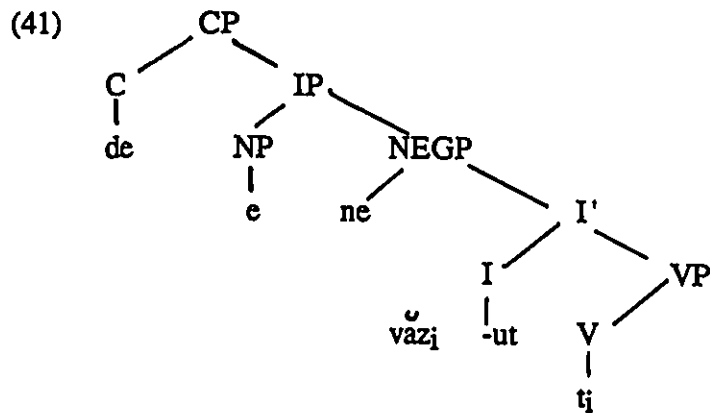
**Proposals:**

Two proposals are made for the structure of the Romanian De-Supines:

1-The Romanian De-Supine is a CP with an overt complementizer, de.

2-The Romanian De-Supine will have the Past Participle affix -t /-s generated in Inflection triggering V raising to it as in (41):

- (40) de      ne-văz-ut  
of      not-seen-Past Part. Affix  
Supine  
'not to see'



On the other hand, the grammaticality of such Supines having the ADV / Q mai 'more' inserted between the negation and the Past Participle affix of the Supine, shows that it has suffixed together with negation to the verb. This would be the only plausible explanation for the following grammatical examples, in the context of the above positioning of the layers:

(42) de nemaipomenit  
 Supine  
 of not-more-remembered

(43) de nemaiauzit  
 Supine  
 of not-more-heard

(44) de nemaifinit  
 Supine  
 of not-more-met

It is also worth noticing in (42-44) that only with the negation preceding mai before Inflection, such constructions are possible (\*de mainteles, \*de mai auzit). This confirms once more Rivero's analysis for the Romanian Adverbs / quantifiers / clitics placed in the AGR/P. They could be placed only there. Whenever they appear higher, they cliticize to negation, they become negation.

This may show that mai is attached within NEGP by using a different analysis where ne- is in Spec of NEGP and mai as head cliticizing to the verb in Inflection forming [nemaivazut].

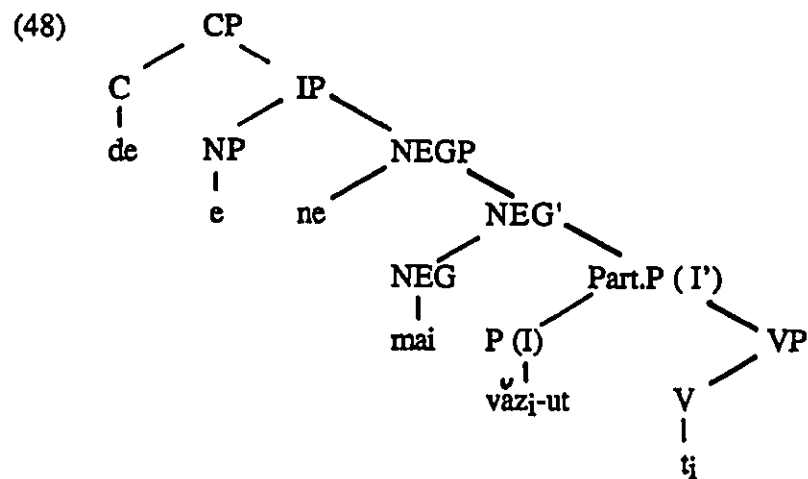
Therefore, this feature of mai calls for its classification rather as a clitic or a Q. This could be the only plausible explanation for having an adverb so high up in the tree: i.e. before Inflection in the Romanian De-Supines and Gerunds. With the normal types of adverbs (other than mai) in the same position, the same Supines are ungrammatical:

(45) \*de neñcãñchipuit  
of notyetconceived

(46) \*de neñcãvãzut  
of notyetseen

(47) \*de nedejañchipuit  
of notalreadyimagined

The possibility of having examples as in (42-44), with ne and mai cliticized to the verb, will call for a second analysis as here below in (48), which I therefore adopt for the negated De-Supines:



### 3. TYPES OF SENTENTIAL DE-SUPINES

#### 3.1 *A Traditional Classification of De-Supines According to their External Distribution.*

##### *I. Attributes or Adjectives to the Verb fi 'be'.*

Such Supines complete the predicate (Mallison, 1986, Joseph, 1983, Lombard, 1974). Romanian traditional grammars consider such types of clauses Predicative. They follow the main clause with the verb *fi* 'be' in the third person singular as an impersonal. They are also followed by Subject clauses in the Subjunctive or Indicative. These Supines are involved in Tough movement as treated at section 3.2.5.

(49)	E	[de mirat]	cum (de)	a	rezistat
	is	of amazed	how (of)	has	resisted
		Supine	Indicative	Clause	

'It is amazing how (come) he resisted' [Ex. 265, Mallison, 1986]

A few constructions of this type can have the de-Long Infinitive in *-re* replacing the Supines. These situations were signaled also by Joseph (1983) in the context of some non-finites competing with other non-finites, or even finites, such as the Subjunctive, in replacing the Old Romanian sentential Infinitive:

(50)	E	[de mirare]	cum (de)	a	rezistat
	is	of amaze	how (come)	has	resisted
		de-Long Inf.-re	Indicative	Clause	

'It is amazing how (come) he resisted'

- (51) E [sǎ te miri] cum (de) a rezistat  
 is Prt. you wonder 2 sg. how (of) has resisted  
 Subjunctive Indicative Clause

'It is amazing how (come) he resisted'

or

- (52) E [de aşteptat] să nu vină  
 is of expected Prt. not come / 3 sg.  
 Supine Subjunctive complement clause

'It is expected he /she will not come'

not replaceable by the de-Long Infinitive in -re as in:

- (53) \*E de aşteptare să nu vină

but marginal (regional) with the Subjunctive as in:

- (54) ? E [sǎ te aştepti] să nu vină  
 is Prt. you expect / 2 sg. Prt. not come / 3 sg.  
 Subjunctive Subjunctive Complement Clause

'You better be sure he / she won't come'

'It is expected he /she will not come'

Such Supines can be headed by subjects nominals / pronominals with operator movement from the object position of a Complement . This is Tough movement as treated in section 3.2.5.



(60) Este [de mirare]  
 is of wonder  
 Long Inf. in-re  
 'It is to wonder'

(61) ? Este [să te miri]  
 is Prt. you / 2 sg. wonder / 2 sg.  
 Subjunctive  
 'It is to wonder'

According to Mallison (1986) such Predicative Supine clauses cannot take arguments or complements either. He argues that the following example doesn't actually involve a real PP argument of the Supine, but a phrasal verb:

(62) Sînt de luat în considerare aici problemele  
 are of taken in account here problems-the / f. pl.  
 Supine  
 'Here the problems must be taken into account'

[Ex. 263, Mallison, 1986]

However, Supine Predicative clauses can indeed take real PPs as in (63):

(63) Aici [e de întrebare pe profesor] cum se rezolvă problema  
 here is of asked Prep.teacher how Refl.solves problem-the  
 Supine 3 sg.  
 'Here is (a question) of asking the teacher how the problem is solved' (lit)



- b. Poate-i nevoie [ sa se facă ceva iute ]  
 maybe-is need Prt. Refl. do something fast  
 Subjunctive / 3 sg.

'Maybe it is necessary to be done / to do something fast'

[Ex. 18 b., Joseph, 1983]

- (67)a. E necesar [de luat decizii bune și nu pripite]  
 is need of done decisions good and not rushed  
 Supine

'It is necessary to take good and not rushed decisions'

- b. E necesar [să se ia decizii bune și nu pripite]  
 is need Prt. Refl. take decisions good and not rushed  
 Subjunctive / 3 sg.

'It is necessary to take good and not rushed decisions'

These Supines are very well represented among Tough constructions (Object raisings) as shown in section 3.2.5.

In these constructions the adjective is claimed to have no agreement but only the invariable masculine singular form. According to Mallison (1986) this [-AGR] form would show that the Supine is an adjective in agreement with a clause (main clause: 3 sg. of be / impers. + adj).<sup>9</sup> An explanation of this Supine is provided in section 3.2.5.

<sup>9</sup> Similar Supines are used after such clauses as: e greu 'it is hard'; e imposibil 'it is impossible'; e bine 'it is good'; e târziu 'it is late'; e devreme 'it is early'. They are paralleled by Subjunctive complements replacing the Old Romanian Infinitival complements. They are mentioned in my research report: 'Some Aspects of Finite and Non-Finite Complementation from Old to Modern Romanian', 1988, in ms., and in Joseph (1983).

**III. Supine Completing the Verb avea 'have'.**

It often implies necessity and can be replaced by the Subjunctive complement:

(68)a. Am ceva [de făcut]

I-have something of done

Supine

'I have something to do' / 'J'ai quelque chose à faire'

[Ex. pp. 302, Lombard, 1974]

b. Am ceva [să fac]

I-have something Prt. do / 1 sg.

Subjunctive

'I have something to do'

(69)a. Are (o scrisoare) [de scris]

has a letter of written

Supine

'He / she has a letter to write'

b. Are (o scrisoare) [sa scrie]

has a letter Prt. write / 3 sg.

Subjunctive

'He / has a letter to write'

(70)a. N-aveau      nimic      [de făcut]  
 not-had-they   nothing      of done  
 Supine

'They didn't have anything to do'

b. N-aveau      nimic      [să facă]  
 not-had-they   nothing      Prt. do / 3 pl.  
 Subjunctive

'They didn't have anything to do'

(71)a. Am      (multor persoane)      [de mulțumit]  
 I-have to-many persons      of thanked  
 Supine

'I have to thank many persons / I have to be thankful to many persons'

'J'ai beaucoup de personnes à remercier'

[Ex. pp. 303, Lombard, 1974]

b. Am      (multor persoane)      [să mulțumesc]  
 I-have to-many persons      Prt.thank / 1 sg.  
 Subjunctive

'I have to thank many persons / I have to be thankful to many persons'

#### IV. The Supine as Circumstantial Clause of the Whole Sentence.

Such constructions have the meaning of 'as far as it concerns / pour ce qui est de / en ce qui concerne' (Lombard, 1974):

(72) [de vorbit] nu vorbește încă  
of spoken not speaks yet  
Supine

'As for speaking, he doesn't do it'

'Parler, il ne le fait pas encore / Pour ce qui est la faculté de parler...'

[Ex. pp. 303 in Lombard, 1974]

Such Supines correspond to the English have to constructions which show necessity / obligation. They can be replaced by adjectives as in:

(73) [de cuminte] era foarte cuminte  
of good was very good

'As far as goodness is concerned, he / she was very good'

They could be interpreted as a left dislocation with the De-Supine as topic.

V. The Supine as Complement to Nouns (Lombard, 1974).

This construction is close to a nominalized unit or compound noun in which the sentential nature of the Supine is hardly felt. Therefore, the finite (Subjunctive) replacements are all ungrammatical in equivalent environments except the ones with an overt Comp ca 'that':

(74)a. ac [de cusut]  
needle of sown  
Supine

'needle for sowing / sowing needle'

b. \*ac [sǎ coși]  
 needle Prt.sow / 2 sg.  
 Subjunctive

(75)a. lamă [de ras]  
 blade of shaven  
 Supine  
 'blade for shaving / shaving blade'

b. \*lamă [sǎ razi]  
 blade Prt.shave / 2 sg.  
 Subjunctive

(76)a. apă [de băut]  
 water of drunk  
 Supine  
 'water for drinking / drinking water'

b. \*apă [sǎ bei]  
 water Prt.drink / 2 sg.  
 Subjunctive

However, replacements involving the Subjunctive with an overt Comp., ca, 'that', are not bad at all: ac ca sǎ coși 'needle to sow / for sowing'.

**VI. Supines as Direct Object Complements to Certain Verbs.**

De-Supine complements to Control verbs enter this class and are discussed in sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

**3.2 *Non-Finiteness / Finiteness in the Light of Sentential Processes Found in Non-Finite and Finite Complementation.***

The issue of sentential processes in non-finite structures is extensively treated in the literature. For the purpose of this thesis four treatments are considered: Joseph (1983) Mallison (1986), Grosu and Horvath, (1987) and Abney (1987).

For ease of exposition, I will start the analysis of this phenomenon by considering Abney's list of some sentential processes not found in NPs (derived nominals) but in sentences:

- Raising (True Raising = Raising to Subject)
- ECM (Raising to Object) versus Subject Control
- Subject Control,
- Object Control,
- Object Raising ('Tough' constructions)
- Case Assignment

In this chapter, I shall attempt to see to what extent they equally work within the sentential framework, both in finite Subjunctive and in non-finite De-Supine complements. I interpret the fact that the above processes occur less frequently <sup>10</sup> in the Supines as a result of their being CPs not that the Supines acquire more nominal features and less sentential features.

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<sup>10</sup> Very often they are equally represented in both; moreover, Object Raising is better represented in Supine than in Subjunctive complements (Grosu and Horvath, 1987).

In other words, these sentential phenomena which represent differences between NP and IP structures do not imply parallelism between these two structures because of similar specifier structures in them, as postulated by Abney's (1987) DP analysis. Most of the differences noticed here clearly have to do with finite complement structure versus non-finite complement structure: i.e. most finites and non-finites have similar external distribution. Such differences have nothing to do with noun complement structure versus sentence complement structure. Therefore, less sentential would mean less finite in terms of [-Tense].

### 3.2.1 Raising to Subject (True Raising)

True raising verbs in Romanian are a se nimeri 'to happen' (Grosu and Horvath, 1984, Rivero, 1987) and a trebui 'must / be necessary' (Manoliu-Manea, 1985, Rivero, 1987). They allow NP-movement out of the subject position of the Subjunctive complements. This process is noticeable in Subjunctive complements but excluded by the De-Supine complements:

(77)a. Toți baietii<sub>̣</sub> i s -au nimerit [ t<sub>i</sub> să fie bolnavi ]  
 all boys-the Refl. have happened Prt.be sick  
 m.pl.3 pl. 3 pl. Subjunctive / 3pl.  
 'All the boys have happened to be sick' [Ex.1b., Rivero, 1987]

b. \*Toți baietii<sub>̣</sub> i s-au nimerit [ de t<sub>i</sub> fost bolnavi ]  
 Supine

- (78) Studentii<sub>i</sub> trebuiau [ t<sub>i</sub> să plece ]  
 students-the must Prt.leave  
 m.pl. 3 pl. Subjunctive / 3 pl.  
 'The students had to leave' [Ex. 2 b., Rivero, 1987]

- (79) \*Studentii<sub>j</sub> trebuiau [ de t<sub>i</sub> plecat ]  
 Supine

However there is evidence in the Old Romanian texts, that such raisings were quite frequent from within the Infinitival complements. This will entail that maybe in Old Romanian the raising verbs were extracting only from the subject position of an Infinitive complement and not from a similar position of a Supine. The explanation for that would be that De-Supines are CPs (rather than 'nouns') with a complementizer with phonological content, and Infinitives are IPs or CPs with null complementizer in the context of Balkan transparency (Rivero, 1988).<sup>11</sup> Therefore the conclusion is that Raising into subject is not

<sup>11</sup> Rivero (1988), in the context of the 'parametrization of Balkan transparency' discusses that Romanian, on one hand, restricts NP-movement to Subjunctive Complements:

- (i) Studentii<sub>i</sub> trebuiau [ CP  $\emptyset$  [ IP t<sub>i</sub> să plece ]  
 students-the must / 3 pl. Prt.leave  
 Subjunctive / 3 pl.  
 'The students had to leave'  
 [Ex. 4a., Rivero, 1988]

On the other hand, NP-movement out of Subjunctive clauses is always possible when the complementizer is null (Grosu and Horvath, 1984) as in (4 a.) (Standard Romanian). It is excluded in Standard Romanian (but not in Non-Standard Romanian) when the complementizer has phonological content as in (4 b.):

- (ii) Studentii<sub>i</sub> trebuiau [ CP ca [ IP în privința asta t<sub>i</sub> ]  
 students-the must 3 pl. that in respect this  
 să aibă dreptate ]  
 Prt. have right

possible as the Supine is a CP with *de* in C<sup>0</sup> and no agreement procedure makes CP transparent.

### 3.2.2 Exceptional Case Marking (Raising to Object)

This may be a similar situation as with raising from the Subject position of a Supine. The verbs that usually assign ECM in Romanian in Subjunctive clauses do not in the Supine. The typical ECM verb is the volition verb *a vrea* 'want':

(80)a. Am vrut [ca cineva [să citească cartea ]  
 have-I wanted that someone Prt. read book-the  
 Subjunctive / 3sg.

'I wanted someone to read the book' [Ex. 5 a., Rivero, 1988]

b. Am vrut [pe cineva [să citească cartea ]  
 have-I wanted Prep. someone Prt.read book-the  
 Accusative Subjunctive

'I wanted someone to read the book' [Ex. 5 b., Rivero, 1988]

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Subjunctive / 3 pl.

'The students had to be right in this respect'

[Ex. 4b., Rivero, 1988]

The distinction in (4) follows from the Balkan transparency formalization of a minimal governor (minimal governors are usually phonological Cs, and they block government of NP1 by V1): a Romanian null C is not a minimal governor in general, and hence it does not block output of extraction while a Romanian phonological C is a minimal governor only in Standard Romanian.

Rivero's analysis provides an explanation only for the Balkan transparency versus Romance opacity as far as barrierhood for external government and consequent exclusion of true raising are concerned. It will have similar consequences for non-finites with phonological and null Cs too, such as the De-Supine and the Old Romanian Infinitive as well. Under this assumption Romanian De-Supines and Subjunctives are equally non-finite.

(81)a. \*Am vrut [ ca cineva de citit cartea ]

Supine

b. \*Am vrut [ pe cineva de citit cartea ]

Supine

This is not entirely similar to raising. Since special verbs such as a face (causative) 'to make' 'to determine', a vrea 'to want,' demand ECM in Standard Romanian Subjunctive complements only, Old Romanian just like Standard Romanian could not use the Infinitive / De-Supine complements either.

This might be due to the fact that ECM excludes ungoverned subjects, while the Supine demands them obligatorily. This constitutes more evidence for a PRO in the Supines and Old Romanian Infinitives. Or better, if De-Supine is CP and de is in C<sup>0</sup>, ECM would not apply. This will also follow from Rivero's analysis (1988): only Subjunctive complements with null C will be open to ECM of the embedded NP in Romanian and in Greek as a consequence of the linear adjacency requirement coupled with Balkan transparency. As with true raising, this will apply to Romanian non-finites too which pleads again for the non-finiteness of Romanian De-Supines and Subjunctives.

Therefore, this lack of ECM in the Romanian Supine is not a sign of nouniness but it entails preference of certain processes for certain sentential constructions irrespective of their finiteness or non-finiteness.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the terms 'Supine opacity' for both NP

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<sup>12</sup> As seen here Supines and Old Romanian Infinitives both show preference for Control and not for ECM, while a finite such as the Subjunctive complement can have them both.

Raising and ECM and 'Supine transparency' for Subject Control is preferred here. And this pleads for the De-Supine as a CP.

### 3.2.3 Subject Control

It is very well represented by both De-Supine and Subjunctive complements. Old Romanian and dialectal Modern Romanian provide evidence for Subject Control in parallel constructions:

(82)a. Constructorii au avut [ de distrus oraşul ]  
 builders-the have had of destroyed city-the  
 m.pl. Supine m.sg.

'The builders had to destroy the city'

b. Constructorii au avut [ să distrugă oraşul ]  
 builders-the have had Prt. destroy city-the  
 m.pl. Subjunctive / 3 pl. m.sg.

'The builders had to destroy the city'

c. Ei au avut [ a merge cale lungă ]  
 they have had Prt. go way long  
 Infinitive

'They had to go a long way'

By looking at the Old Romanian Infinitive preference for NP Raising and the Modern Romanian Supine opacity for NP Raising, it becomes clear that the Supine cannot



### 3.2.5 Object Raising (Tough Construction)

Joseph (1983) signals the more revealing cases of Supines occurring in Object Raising sentences which are also quoted by Togeby (1962) and Sandfeld and Olsen (1936). According to Joseph, these examples also correspond to the Mediaeval Greek and putative Old Albanian types, having a non-finite complement verb and no overt object with that verb.

The Supines which entail such raisings were already mentioned in section 3.1 as constructions filling some Infinitival function such as sentential complements to adjectives or adverbs.

As previously suggested by Joseph (1983) and in the present thesis, the parallel constructions will be either the Reflexive Passive third person singular Subjunctive complement, or the second person singular or plural Subjunctive complement. Both replacements have a generic implication.

As seen below both the Supine and its two Subjunctive replacements involve such Object raisings which are analyzed as cases of operator movement into the Spec of CP of the Supine by Grosu and Horvath (1987) (and see later discussion in section 3.2.6):

(84)a. asta i nu-i greu [de făcut i]

this not-is hard of done

Supine

'This is not hard that it be done / This is not hard to do'

[Ex. 37 a., Joseph, 1983]

b. asta<sub>i</sub> nu-i greu [să se facă<sub>t i</sub>]

this not-is hard Prt. Refl. do

Subjunctive / 3 sg.

'This is not hard that it be done (lit) / This is not hard to do'

[Ex. 37 b., Joseph, 1983]

c. asta<sub>i</sub> nu-i greu [sa (o) faci<sub>t i</sub>]

this not-is hard Prt. it do 2 sg.

Subjunctive

'This is not hard that it be done (lit) / This is not hard to do'

The parallel Reflexive passive Subjunctive for the Romanian Supine is quite different from the Modern Greek and Albanian finite developments. It involves the raising of an underlying Complement Clause Object that becomes the Subject of the Subordinate Clause through the Reflexive Passive construction.<sup>13</sup>

Standard Romanian has quite a lot of these parallel constructions, Object Raising being equally involved in all three constructions as in the above (84) and in (85):

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<sup>13</sup> Greek and Albanian didn't develop such a passive procedure in the complement clause of the corresponding Direct Object Raising construction. There is however a similar procedure of developing the Object Raising sentences in all three languages. This consists in maintaining a raising construction by avoiding an active complement verb that is finite and has no object. That is, they developed a means of avoiding the appearance of a superficially transitive verb in the complement clause unless its transitivity is expressed on the surface structure. This device would be in Romanian the Reflexive Passive, while Greek and Albanian would have an underlyingly transitive verb in the complement clause, marked on the surface structure through an overt object: the pronominal copy of a raised nominal (Joseph, 1983, 234).



b. \*Ei<sub>i</sub> sînt greu [să se suporte t<sub>i</sub>]  
 They are hard Prt. Refl. stand Subjunctive / 3 sg.<sup>14</sup>

This shows then that Object Raising in Romanian is equally accepted by finite and non-finite constructions.

According to Mallison (1986), these are the cases where the de+Long Infinitive in -re does not parallel the Supine and the only replacement is the Subjunctive complement. Therefore, these Supines have more clear clausal connections being related to English examples which result from Tough movement.

Indeed Tough movement is involved in all examples where the Supine can have an underlying Direct Object. These examples and their corresponding Subjunctives are 'Passive-like' constructions.

The ungrammaticality of the de+Long Infinitive in -re in these cases shows that such an Infinitival non-finite is not passive at all. Hence, this would support one of my claims that the Supine is not equal to the Infinitive and therefore cannot be a 'new Infinitive' as Gabinsky (1964) in Joseph (1983) stated.

The only instances where such a replacement is possible is when the Supine doesn't involve an underlying Direct Object: i.e. when the Supine verb is intransitive. But in such cases the Supine is no longer a passive. The test for that is the ungrammaticality of Passive Reflexive Subjunctives as above.

An example quoted by Mallison (1986) involving Tough movement as it takes place from within the Direct Object position of the Supine clause is:

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<sup>14</sup> Here presumably the true reflexivity of the verb hinders its syntactic function of Passive identifier. This would explain the grammaticality of the same (81 b.) construction under a reflexive reading.

(87)a. Cartea <sub>i</sub> e greu / ușor [ de citit t <sub>i</sub> ]  
 book-the is hard / easy of read  
 f.sg. Supine  
 'The book is easy / difficult to read' [Ex. 256 a., Mallison, 1986]

b. Cartea <sub>i</sub> e greu / ușor [ sa se citească t <sub>i</sub> ]  
 book-the is hard / easy Prt. Refl. read  
 f.sg. Subjunctive / 3 sg.  
 'The book is easy / difficult to read'

c. Cartea <sub>i</sub> e greu / ușor [ sa (o) citești t <sub>i</sub> ]  
 book-the is hard / easy Prt. (it) read  
 f.sg. Subjunctive / 2 sg.  
 'The book is easy / difficult to read'

According to Mallison (1986) such examples containing greu 'hard' / 'difficult' and ușor 'easy' demonstrate their adjectival status in Romanian with agreement patterns like the following :

(81) Viața e grea / ușoară  
 life-the is hard / easy  
 f.sg. f.sg. f.sg.  
 'Life is hard / easy' [Ex. 266, Mallison, 1986]

His explanation is as follows: as the agreement of these two adjectives do not occur in [Ex. 256 a.] versus [Ex. 266], it is clear that greu and ușor have a different status in those two examples: i.e. adverbs versus adjectives. Consequently, the Supine is labelled as

an adverb in situations similar to [Ex. 256 a.] by traditional Romanian grammars. Mallison claims that in that instance the Supine is an adjective in agreement with a clause (not with the Subject or raised Object). Hence, its unmarked masculine singular form.

This statement serves as a new definition for the Romanian De-Supine. It distinguishes it from the status of a verbal nominal or verbal adjective in chapter 1.

Therefore, the De-Supine is an adjective in agreement with a clause; hence its masculine singular unmarkedness (Mallison, 1986). Or the De-Supine is sentential complement to adjectives or adverbs (Joseph, 1983). I adopt the latter analysis.

### 3.2.6 Case Assignment

Nouns do not case assign their objects, verbs do. Therefore, nouns may not appear with their bare-noun-phrase-complements (Abney, 1987). Supine and Subjunctive complements can case assign their objects and therefore can be followed by their bare-noun-phrase-complements as seen in (83) among other examples:

(89)a. Caesar destroyed the city.

b. \*Caesar's destruction the city.

(90)a. Ei      au      distrus      oraşul  
           they    have    destroyed    city-the

m.sg.

'They destroyed the city'

b. \*Ei    distrugerea    oraşul  
       they    destruction    city-the

m.sg.

### ***3.2.7 Preliminary Conclusion***

Romanian De-Supines allow Control and Tough movement, but not Raising or ECM. Therefore, this argues for a very well defined CP structure for the Romanian De-Supines.

### ***3.2.8 Finiteness Restrictions in Romanian Extraction Constructions.***

#### ***A Critique of Horvath and Grosu (1987).***

Grosu and Horvath claim that like other languages, Romanian clearly displays limitations on the distribution of finite clauses in extraction constructions. According to them, such restrictions appear in Object Raising (Tough) constructions, in Object Deletion constructions and Relative and Purpose clauses.

Since the present discussion will focus on complement clauses, I will refer only to the first two constructions.

Horvath and Grosu base their claim on the ungrammaticality of the Subjunctive complements which involve Tough movement and Object deletion, and the grammaticality of De-Supine complements involving the same movements.

The following examples are analyzed by them:

(91)a. E greu [ de citit aceste cărți ]  
 is hard of read these books  
 Supine

'It is hard to read these books'

b. E greu [ să citim aceste cărți ]  
 is hard Prt. read these books  
 Subjunctive / 1 sg.

'It is hard for us to read these books'

Tough construction:

(92)a. Aceste cărți sînt greu de citit  
 these books are hard of read  
 Supine

'These books are hard to read'

b.\*Aceste cărți sînt greu să citim  
 Prt.read  
 Subjunctive / 1 pl.

'These books are hard for us to read'

(93)a. E greu de încetat de ronțait aceste alune  
 is hard of stopped of gnawed these hazelnuts  
 Supine Supine

'It is hard to stop munching on these hazelnuts'



c.\*Farfuriile    sînt gata    de început    să punem [e]    pe masă  
 dishes-the    are ready    of started    Prt. put    on table  
 Supine    Subjunctive / 1 pl.

d.\*Farfuriile    sînt gata    să începem    să punem [e]    pe masă  
 dishes-the    are ready    Prt.start    Prt. put    on table  
 Subjunctive / 1 pl. Subjunctive / 1 pl.

Their interpretation is the following: Tough movement and Object deletion entail the movement of an empty operator to the Comp of the complement clause. The movement of an empty operator to that position is possible only in non-finite clauses (Chomsky, 1977, 1981 and Stowell, 1985 partially based on Rizzi, 1982).

However, even the authors agree that these three analyses do not fully account for such an empty operator interpretation of the Romanian finite restriction phenomenon. Therefore, it is not clear that either analysis can be extended to cover all relevant Romanian data.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Grosu and Horvath quote Chomsky who proposes and motivates a restructuring account for Object Raising constructions in English relating structures such as in (i):

(i)a. [ NP e ] is [ AP [ A tough ] [  $\bar{S}$  PRO<sub>i</sub> [ S PRO to please<sub>i</sub> ] ] ]

b. [ NP e ] is [ AP [ A tough to please ] t<sub>i</sub> ]

[Ex. 15a,b., Grosu and Horvath, 1987]

This restructuring process would take place in order for the matrix argument in Subject position to receive a theta-role, according to the theta-criterion. This is so because in a Tough construction the Subject position is a non-theta position. Therefore only in the restructured position as in (i b.) would the matrix Subject form a syntactic chain with a complement clause trace that could theta-mark it.

Chomsky's analysis suggests that that the finite embedded complements may be more resistant to restructuring than non-finites / infinitivals. Therefore the authors claim that Chomsky's analysis could be extended to Romanian, providing an account for the finiteness restrictions as in the examples discussed by them.

Actually I argue that there are no such finite limitations in both Tough movement and Object deletion. This would be supported by the fact that all the b., c., d., examples do not parallel the respective Supines in the sense that they are not passives. Indeed all the ungrammatical constructions are active Subjunctives in the first person plural.

As seen above, in chapters 2 and 3, and as also stated by Joseph (1983), the Supines are very well paralleled by such passives as the third person singular reflexive Subjunctive and the second person singular / plural Subjunctive, both generic.

It is these Subjunctives that should parallel the Supines in the b., c., d., examples, and they are all grammatical with both Tough construction and Object Deletion:

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However, Grosu and Horvath point out that this analysis does not account for Object Deletion constructions where *it* is redundant as the matrix subject occupies a theta-position, and hence there is no need for restructuring

Further, Grosu and Horvath criticize Stowell's analysis partly based on Rizzi, as well. Stowell's analysis of an empty operator is based on English data as in (ii a. b.):

- (ii)a. These books will be hard to persuade our students to read
- b. ?? These books will be hard to persuade our students that they should read

[Ex. 16a,b., Grosu and Horvath, 1987]

These examples provide similar data as the Romanian examples in this article. Therefore his analysis is expected to account for the Romanian finiteness restriction as well. He claims that the trace bound by the null operator may not appear inside a finite clause. This is based in turn on his claim that null operators may not function as proper (antecedent) governors for the ECP purposes. That is, the intermediate traces in Comp. left behind by the null operator would not be properly governed. Such a derivation would lead to ECP violations and would predict (i a.) to be ungrammatical too. The only remaining alternative derivation would be to directly extract the operator. This way the ECP is satisfied, but Subjacency is violated. It follows that Subjacency violation would wrongly render (i a.) ungrammatical. But Stowell accounts for the grammaticality of (i a.) on the basis of Rizzi's analysis that the boundaries of non-finite clauses are not bounding for Subjacency, except when there is an Infinitival Comp in [+Wh]. However, Grosu and Horvath remark that under this account, all null operators exhibit non-finite restriction and therefore such an analysis would render all non-finites ungrammatical whereas only those with non-finite top clauses are.

Therefore Grosu and Horvath conclude that none of these operator analyses can account for the Romanian data.

(96) Aceste cărți sînt greu să se citească.  
 these books are hard Prt.Refl. read  
 Subjunctive / 3 sg.

'These books are hard to be / get read'

(97)b. Farfuriile sînt gata să se înceapă de pus pe masă  
 dishes-the are ready Prt.Refl.start of put on table  
 Subjunctive / 3 sg. Supine

'The dishes are ready to start / getting started being put on the table'

c. Farfuriile sînt gata de început să se pună pe masă  
 dishes-the are ready of started Prt.Refl. put on table  
 Supine Subjunctive / 3 sg.

'The dishes are ready to start / getting started being put on the table'

d. Farfuriile sînt gata să se înceapă să se pună pe masă  
 dishes-the are ready Prt.Refl. start Prt.Refl.put on table  
 Subjunctive / 3 sg. Subjunctive / 3 sg.

'The dishes are ready to start / getting started being put on the table'

However the issue here is the analysis of (98). One possibility is to move NP  
 Object to the Subject position in the embedded clause :

(98)a. Eu vînd case  
 I sell houses

b. Case  $i$  se                       $\hat{v}$ nd  $t_i$   
 houses Refl. Passive sell  
 'Houses are sold'

with se / Refl. as equivalent to the Passive in 'absorbing' thematic role so that movement can proceed.

Alternatively, the 3 sg. agreement on the verb in (98) shows impersonal se 'one'. This indicates that the NP Object, cărți 'books' in (96) in the lower clause does not move to subject position, but rather to CP as operator.

This calls once more for the Romanian De-Supine as being Passive-like in that it involves movement of the object. I also conclude that there is no such finiteness limitation in Romanian extraction constructions as Tough movement and Object Deletion equally involve both finites and non-finites. Since many languages have these types of restrictions, one can alternatively conclude that both Supines and Subjunctives are equally non-finite and finiteness restrictions fail to apply to them.

### 3.2.9 Conclusion

In Balkan languages such as Romanian, *Non-Finiteness / Finiteness* distinction is not relevant for sentential processes as both finites and non-finites equally display them. On the other hand, as these sentential processes involve all complement structures, it follows that both finites and non-Finites have equal / similar internal and external structures.

#### 4. THE ROMANIAN 'NOMINALIZED' SUPINE

This chapter attempts to fulfil the second objective of the present thesis stated in the introduction: to provide the Romanian 'Nominalized' Supine with a sentential structure similar to that of De-Supine. This will be the DP structure similar to the DP analysis of the Poss-ing Gerund (Abney, 1987). Abney attempts to demonstrate that even such 'nominalized' verbals as the English Poss-ing Gerunds have a clear sentential structure under the DP analysis.

I claim that Romanian has a similar, though not identical construction, the 'nominalized' Supine interpretable as sentential under the same DP analysis.

Here the 'nominalized' Supine is viewed in parallel with the English Poss-ing Gerund in that they both display clear sentential structures and mixed nominal / verbal morphology.

The 'Nominalized' Supines analyzed in this chapter are as in:

(90)	Citi	-t		-ul		cărti-lor
	read	-Affix	Supine	-the		books-of-the
					m.sg.N.	f.pl. G / D
	'The reading of the books'					

It is noticed however that some of the trees Abney used in his DP analysis do not comply with X-bar principles in a clear way, so I adopt an updated version along binary lines under Pollock and Chomsky-like assumptions, coherent with my analysis of the De-Supines in the first part of the thesis.

***4.1 Reasons for Establishing a Parallel between the Poss-ing Gerund and the Romanian 'Nominalized' Supine.***

In the previous analysis of the De-Supine, I analyzed it as a typical sentence, being primarily led by the evidence of an overt Comp, de, and by certain typical sentential features belonging to both external and internal distribution.

However attention was not paid to the identification, interpretation and analysis of the head of the IP. Nor was its non-lexicality used for categorial purposes. Therefore I did not try to answer the question: What category is the head of a non-finite IP?

Such a question is answered by Abney (1987) and the answer is the DP analysis. The essence of it will be summarized here further.

This categorial issue is primarily necessary at this point as the 'Nominalized' Supine, unlike the De-Supine, and like the English Poss-ing Gerund (John's singing a song), displays both typical verbal affixes and nominal determiners. The verbal affixes are -ing, and -t or -s and the nominal determiners are 's possessor marker and the -ul,-a, m / f. sg., -ii, -le, m. / f. pl., definite articles. Such forms are therefore categorially ambiguous.

They are also ambiguous because of their similar NP-like external distribution. They appear in NP positions from which sentences are excluded: embedded Subject position, or object of preposition <sup>16</sup> :

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<sup>16</sup> This is true for English, but in Romance these positions are possible for sentences too. Some Romance languages could have an Indicative clause in these two spots. If this is true for Romanian too, then these fail to be typical NP positions here and this is not a test for 'nouniness'. The truth is that Romanian allows NPs in these positions generally with only one exception: it allows the Indicative Relative introduced by faptul că 'the fact that'

(100)a. I wondered if [John] had upset you

b. I wondered if [John's building the spaceship] had upset you

[Ex. 2 b., Abney, 1987]

(101)a. Mă<sup>̂</sup> întreb dacă [cartea] te-a<sup>̂</sup> întristat

myself wonder if book-the you-has upset

'I wonder myself if the book has upset you'

b. Mă<sup>̂</sup> întreb dacă [citi-t<sup>̂</sup> -ul cărți-i] te-a<sup>̂</sup> întristat

myself wonder if read-Affix -the book-of-the you-has upset

'nominalized' Supine

'I wonder myself if the reading of the book has upset you'

(102)a. I told you about [John]

b. I told you about [John's building a spaceship]

[Ex. 2 c., Abney, 1987]

(103)a. Ți-am povestit despre [carte]

you-have-I told about book

2 sg.

'I have told you about the book'

b. Ți-am povestit despre [citi-t-ul cărți-i]

you-have-I told about read-Affix-the / m. sg book-of-the

2 sg.

'nominalized' Supine

'I have told you about the reading of the book'

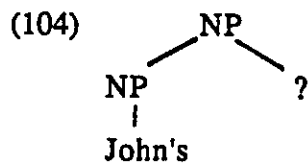
Such an ambiguity leads to an analysis envisaging the category of the non-lexical Inflection head present in both constructions. This analysis is based on a parallel between the English Poss-ing Gerund and the Romanian 'Nominalized' Supine as both seem categorially ambiguous for the same reasons.

To provide such a 'griffon-like' construction with a proper structure and analysis, Abney was obliged to identify categorially the head of it . Therefore he identified it as the Determiner.

#### 4.2 Summary of Abney's DP Analysis

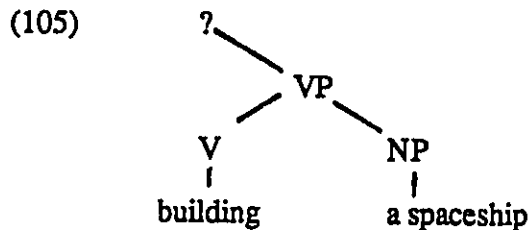
The following steps were taken in his analysis:

1 -Since externally and with respect to the subject (which receives Genitive case), the Poss-ing Gerund looks like an NP, the following piece of structure is proposed for it:



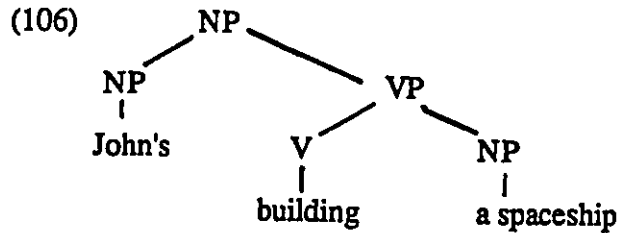
[Ex. 4, Abney, 1987]

2 -However, as the remainder of this Gerund, building a spaceship, constitutes a VP, this gives another piece of structure:



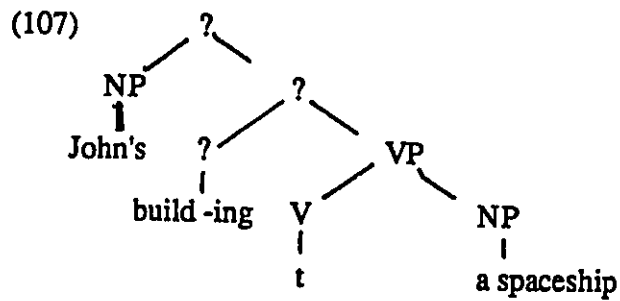
[Ex. 6, Abney, 1987]

3 -For reasons of not violating the X-bar principles for IPs displaying both verbal and nominal markers, NPs as in (106) are avoided <sup>17</sup> :



[Ex. 7, Abney,1987]

4 -So the missing node between the highest NP and the highest VP is the puzzling, mysterious node ? as in:



5 -Therefore a structure as in (108) is proposed:

---

<sup>17</sup> This structure has the highest NP lacking a head. VP cannot be the missing head as it doesn't have the same syntactic category as NP.



10 -But as the Turkish Poss-ing Gerund (which was established to parallel the Hungarian NP Inflectionally) is equal to the English Poss-ing Gerund Inflectionally too, It follows that all the four constructions are parallel in the same respects.

11 -Consequently all will share a construction as in (108).

12-The only problem will be for the Poss-NPs in Turkish and Hungarian to adopt this construction that cannot be labelled either IP or NP, but a kind of Inflectional NP. What will be the label for this new nominal Inflection?

13 -The head of Inflection is categorially identified as Determiner, a functional category.<sup>20</sup> It is argued that Inflection shows Modality / Mood in IPs. Reverseely, the nominal equivalent of mood will be the Determiner in NPs. This translated into the Supine means that the Determiner of it hosts the definite article. A Determiner was necessary in the analysis of the 'Nominalized' Supine to provide an Inflectional place for the nominal Determiner.

14 -Further evidence of an OAGR adjoined to the V head in NPs is brought as an argument for a perfect sentential structure in them. Such an analysis is too extensive and complicated to be discussed here.

The only conclusion relevant for the purpose of this chapter is that one can adopt for NPs a DP structure as they are Inflection-like constructions. The same thing can be extended to the non-finites with nominal markers too. Therefore the only reason for adopting a D label in them is to provide the nominal determiners with a position in Inflection as in the case of the Romanian 'nominalized' Supine. For a similar reason, the need to justify a Specifier Poss Subject under Government through AGR in an IP style but

---

Possessor. The only difference from Hungarian is that in the Turkish constructions the SAGR assigns Genitive case to the subject.

<sup>20</sup> There is a distinction between functional categories: D<sup>0</sup>, C<sup>0</sup>, I<sup>0</sup>, and lexical categories: P<sup>0</sup> ; N<sup>0</sup>, V<sup>0</sup>, A<sup>0</sup>.

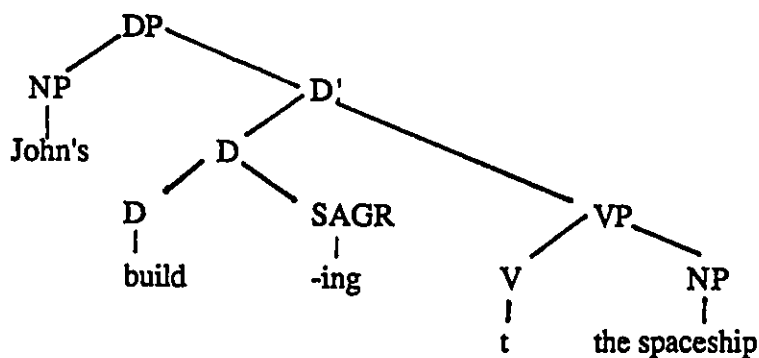
with evidence from similar mechanism in some NPs, entailed a DP analysis for the English Poss-ing Gerunds.

#### 4.3 The Romanian 'Nominalized' Supine a DP Structure

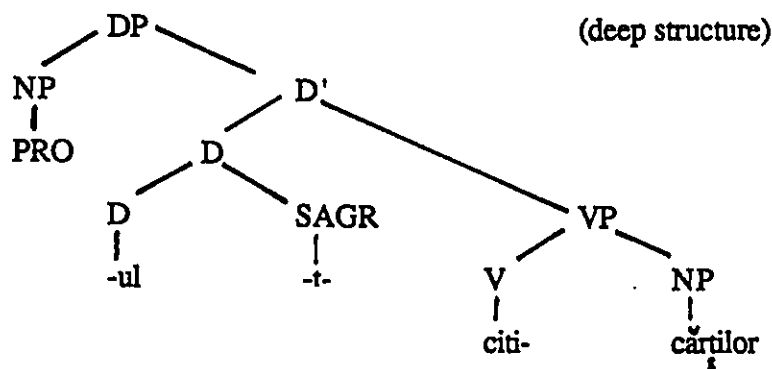
As there is no clear evidence yet for a Subject position in the 'Nominalized' Supines, for now we just assume such a position. Later on, in chapter 5 the existence of it will be confirmed by the syntactic licensing of an implicit agent through PRO.

Abney's DP analysis can be applied to both English Poss-ing Gerund and Romanian 'Nominalized' Supines with my updating of Abney's tree, (109), in (110):

(109) <sup>21</sup>



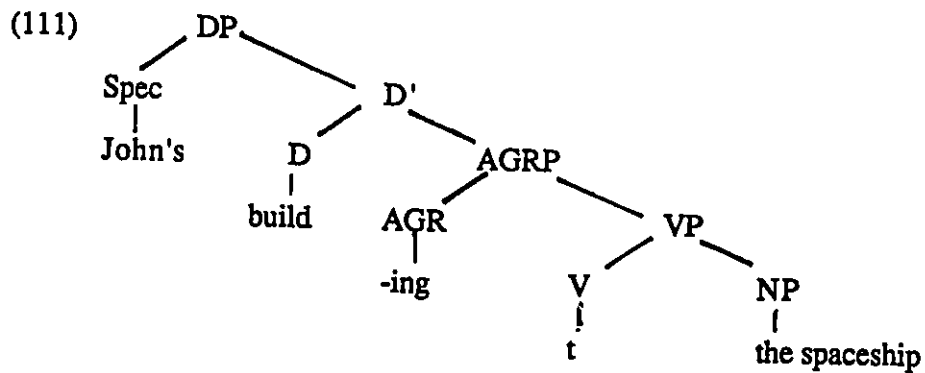
(110)



<sup>21</sup> It is true that 's is often assumed to be under D<sup>0</sup> in Abney. This analysis is adopted by him later. However his first analysis which has 's in Spec of DP is used by him in the first place as it could allow a parallel with Inflectional NPs. It is this analysis that led him to a DP interpretation.

(110) shows that without such an updating, the movement of the Supine verb is impossible as  $D^0$  is filled with the -ul m.sg. definite article. Even if -ul would be generated in Spec of DP, as Abney's second analysis for 's (the Possessive Affix) claims, this is excluded by the Romanian Supine construction as that position is occupied by PRO.

Therefore such a 'Nominalized Supine in Romanian is as sentential as the Poss-ing Gerund in English. But as one can easily see the movement of the complex Vo+Participle into the empty Specifier is problematic. Furthermore, PRO subject remains empty. On the other hand, if Abney is followed, -ul has to be the head  $D^0$ . But then the order *citi-t-ul* is not justified and the Supine verb cannot move to Inflection. Therefore these trees suggested by Abney must be updated along Pollock and Chomsky's lines. The following binary trees are proposed for both constructions:

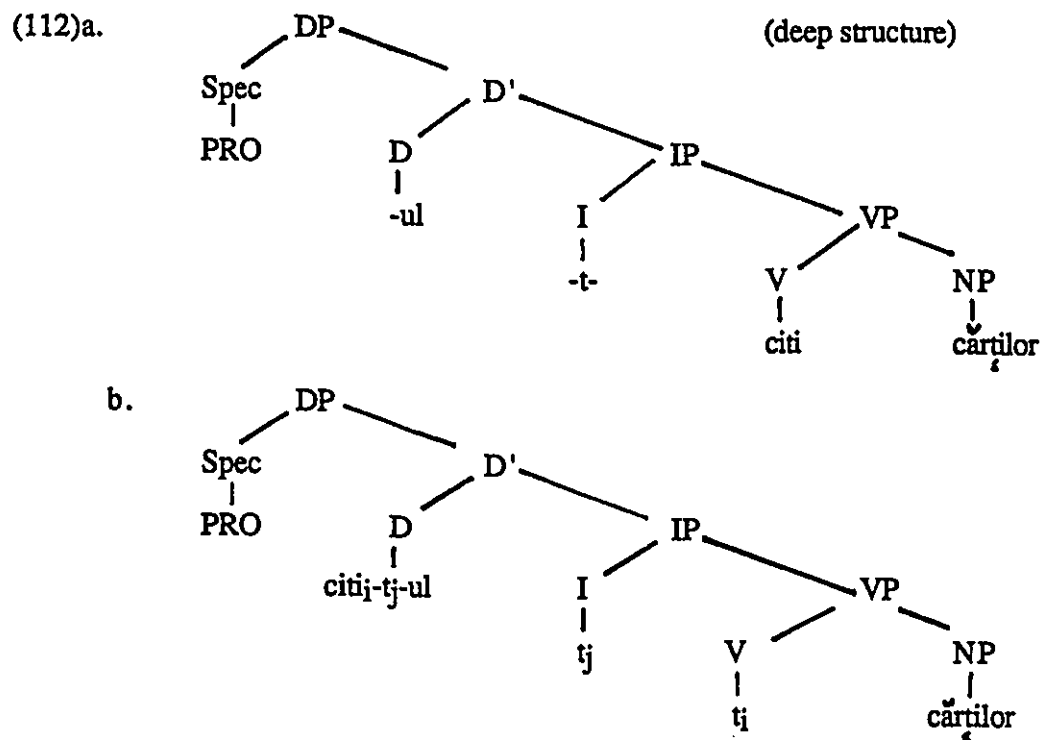


But presumably Abney would not agree to have such an updated tree for his Poss-ing Gerund, with build under D. Nor is it in my intention to propose such a tree for the English Poss-ing Gerund. Therefore such a proposal applies only to the Romanian 'Nominalized' Supine.

For the Romanian 'Nominalized' Supine I also assume a head to head movement of the verb, first into the Participial / Supine layer, AGRP (IP)<sup>22</sup>, where it incorporates and hence into Do: -Vo moves to Participle = Supine and incorporates

-Complex Vo + Participle = Supine moves to Do heading DP and incorporates: [[citi-t] ul]

My analysis also shows a PRO which will be discussed in chapter 5.



If SAGR exists in the Poss-ing Gerund and is situated in an Inflectional AGR, in an adjoined position to the head of Inflection, (similarly to the discussed NPs), then

<sup>22</sup> Abney's analysis suggested the Gerund Affix to be in AGR. Therefore the Past Participial Affix would be in the same AGR. However, as seen in the analysis of De-Supine, I assumed the Past Participle Affix to be I<sup>0</sup>. But this is mere terminology. Therefore, in order to be coherent, I consider I=AGR. Also, if I use AGR, clitics could be present. Therefore this clarification is perfectly justified.

Abney's construction in (108) has to be (109) under his DP analysis. But obviously such a tree creates problems.

**5. IMPLICIT AGENT IN ROMANIAN 'NOMINALIZED SUPINES'  
AND 'NOMINALIZED LONG-RE INFINITIVES'**

I argue that under Abney's DP analysis (1987) updated along the lines of current work on the structure of IP, the Romanian 'Nominalized Supines' and the Romanian 'Nominalized Long-re Infinitives' have similar sentential structures. Both Romanian constructions can be approached under the DP analysis similar to the English Poss-ing Gerund, as both display verbal and nominal affixes attached to the same verbal root, as well as similar external distribution.

The constructions discussed are:

(113)a. [Culca -t -ul devreme] reface  
 go-to-sleep Affix the early refreshes  
 Supine m.sg.  
 'Going to bed early refreshes'

b. [Culca -re -a devreme] reface  
 go-to-sleep Affix the early refreshes  
 Infinitive Affix f.sg.  
 'Going to bed early refreshes'

(114)a. Am criticat [pleca -t -ul în grabă]  
 I-have criticized leav Affix the in haste  
 Supine m.sg.  
 'I have criticized the leaving in a hurry' (lit.)  
 'I have criticized the hasty / rushed leaving'

b.	Am	criticat	[pleca	-re	-a	în grabă]
	I-have	criticized	leav	Affix	the	in haste
			Infinitive		f.sg.	

'I have criticized the leaving in a hurry' (lit.)

'I have criticized the hasty / rushed leaving'

Based on evidence provided by these two Romanian nominalizations, the present chapter argues that the syntactic realization through PRO of an 'implicit agent' in the sense of Roeper (1983-84), Williams (1985) and Abney (1987) is ultimately assured by the preservation of the verbal agent  $\theta$ -grid in Process but not in Result derived nominals in the sense of Grimshaw (1986).

I apply Grimshaw's diagnostics of this preservation in Process versus Result nominals to both Romanian derived nominals.

Grimshaw proposes three diagnostics: (1) Process nominals do not occur with demonstrative determiners, (2) Result nominals often require a determiner (3) Process nominals do not pluralize. I conclude that in Romanian the last one, pluralization, is the real test for the preservation / loss of the verb's agent  $\theta$ -grid.<sup>23</sup>

Pluralization, as a matter of fact, is felt also by Grimshaw to be a far better criterion in distinguishing Process versus Result nominals. She admits that pluralization leads to an

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<sup>23</sup> The fourth criterion in Grimshaw, 1986, i.e. that of of-NPs as adjuncts only to Result nominals, giving them a concrete-possession reading:

- (i)a. \*the discovery of the vaccine's occurred at an opportune moment
- b. the vaccine's discovery occurred at an opportune moment

cannot be tested in Romanian nominals, as Romanian doesn't have a construction similar to of-NPs i.e. the equivalent of John's before the head N.

extra improvement in obtaining a Result reading of the discussed derived nominals when all tests are applied.<sup>24</sup>

It is always in the singular that Result / Process ambiguities still maintain when Grimshaw's other two diagnostics are applied to both 'Nominalized Supines' and 'Nominalized Long-re Infinitives'.

This will lead to the conclusion that here the Singular functions as an identifier of syntactic PRO, i.e. of a PRO Agent  $\theta$ -assigned.

Alternatively, Plural will show Result nominals in which the Theme  $\theta$ -grid becomes obvious. They clearly don't license a PRO of a Rationale clause. Therefore it could be argued that such constructions are either passive-like derived nominals of the \*enemy's destruction of the city type, where a kind of NP movement from AGR takes place, or that PRO remains unprojected as it cannot be Theme  $\theta$ -marked as it must be licensed as implicit Agent.

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<sup>24</sup> By combining properties of Result nominals with properties of Process nominals in a way that is consistent with one or the other reading, there is often an improvement of otherwise ambiguous examples: the arrival has a prominent Process reading and a less available Result reading. The of-NP is \* with the obvious Process reading of the nominal. The adding of a demonstrative determiner improves the Result reading:

- (i) that arrival of John's.

Pluralization leads to further improvement:

- (ii) (all) these arrivals of John's

**5.1 Romanian 'Nominalized' Supines and 'Nominalized' Long-re Infinitives.**

**5.1.1 Classification (Semantic)**

*The 'Nominalized' Supine*, sometimes quoted as 'Nominalized' Past Participle by traditional grammars, is a derived nominal that always displays number, gender and case agreement with the Subject. They are mentioned in chapter 1 and analyzed in chapter 4 of the present thesis. A further semantico-morphologic subdivision would classify them into:

*a. 'Nominalized' Supines* denoting activity (event) or Process, always bearing only the masculine singular definite article on them. Their feminine correspondents will be the *'Nominalized' Long-re Infinitives* having the same semantics: activity (event) or Process. Some Supines do not have Infinitival correspondents:

(115)a.	Ghici	-t	-ul	numere	la	Lotto	e	dificil
	guess	Affix	the	numbers-of-the	at	Lotto	is	difficult
	Supine		m.sg.		G/D art.			m.sg.

'The guessing of the Lotto numbers is difficult'

b.	Ghici	-re	-a	numere	la	Lotto	e	dificilă
	guess	Affix	the	numbers-of-the	at	Lotto	is	difficult
	Infinitive		f.sg.		G/D art.			f.sg.

'To guess the Lotto numbers is difficult'

(116)a.	Fuma	-t	-ul	este dăunător
	smok	Affix	the	is harmful
	Supine		m.sg.	
	'Smoking is harmful'			

No corresponding feminine singular Long-re Infinitive :

b.	*Fuma	-re	-a	este dăunătoare
	smoking	Affix	the	is harmful
	Infinitive		f.sg.	f.sg.

Both nominalisations can bear the negation ne- as a prefix so that a new negative lexicalized item results: necumpărarea Infinitive f.sg. 'the not buying', nelămuritul Supine m.sg. 'the not clarifying', nelămurirea Infinitive f.sg. 'the not clarifying', neîntrebatul Supine m.sg. 'the not asking', neîntrebarea Infinitive f.sg. 'the not asking', nespălatul Supine m.sg. 'the not washing', nespălarea Infinitive f.sg. 'the not washing'. However it should be pointed out that usual sentential negation is nu rather than ne-.

*b. 'Nominalized Supines'* denoting persons / objects that experienced the verbal action displaying gender, number and case agreement: rătăcitul Supine m.sg. 'the person who got lost', rătăcita Supine f.sg. 'the person who got lost', rătăciti Supine m.pl. 'the persons who got lost', rătăcitele supine f.pl. 'the persons who got lost'.

These Supines don't usually have the feminine singular or feminine plural Infinitival correspondents. If they do, then the meaning is quite ambiguous between action(s) as completed (i.e. as result) and action(s) as process.<sup>25</sup>

- (117) Nemultumi -t -l -ui i se ia darul  
 unsatisfi ed the from-the Cl. Refl. takes gift-the  
 Supine Affix m.sg. G / D art. m.sg. m.sg.  
 'From the unsatisfied person the gift is taken away' (lit.)

Both types of 'Nominalized Supines' and 'Nominalized Long-re Infinitives' in I a. and I b. are sometimes referred to in the literature (Mallison, 1986) as 'action nominals', at the border line between nominals and verbals. They have such a nominal feature as taking clausal arguments rendered by Genitive Case Marking:

- (118) răsări -t -ul soare-lui  
 rising Affix the sun-ofthe  
 Supine m.sg. G / D art.m.sg.  
 'the rising of the sun / the sun-rise'

---

<sup>25</sup> Here a new aspectual distinction can be introduced besides process / action versus result, namely the distinction between generic / repetitive versus momentary / completed in the singular:

- (i) plimbările 'several walks' / plimbarea 'the walking'  
 (ii) adunările 'the meetings' / adunarea 'the gathering'

- (119) căzu -t -ul zăpez-ii  
 falling Affix the snow-of-the  
 Supine M.sg. G/D art. f.sg.  
 'the falling of the snow'
- (120) ara -t -ul pământ -ul -ui  
 ploughing Affix the ground the of  
 Supine m.sg. G/D art. m.sg.  
 'the ploughing of the ground' [Ex. 258, Mallison]

What we really have in these examples are nominalizations either of intransitive or ergative verbs with their subjects, or of transitive verbs with their objects. Long-re Infinitives are also possible as we will see below in (131).<sup>26</sup>

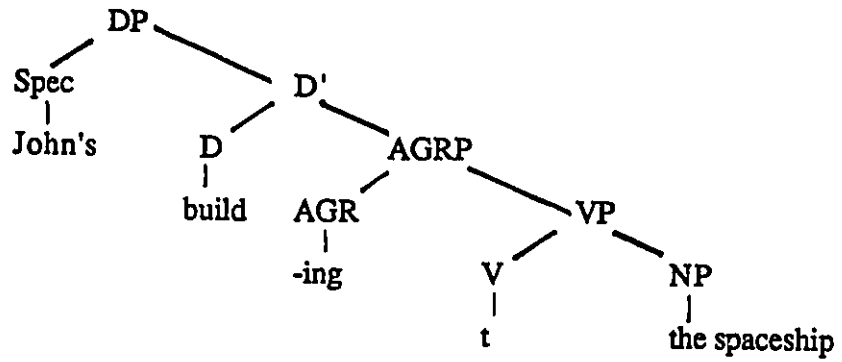
### *5.1.2 Similar Internal Structures for the 'Nominalized Supine' and for the 'Nominalized Long-re Infinitive'*

Taking into account similarities displayed by these two Romanian constructions, I argue for similar sentential structures for both under the DP analysis (Abney, 1987):

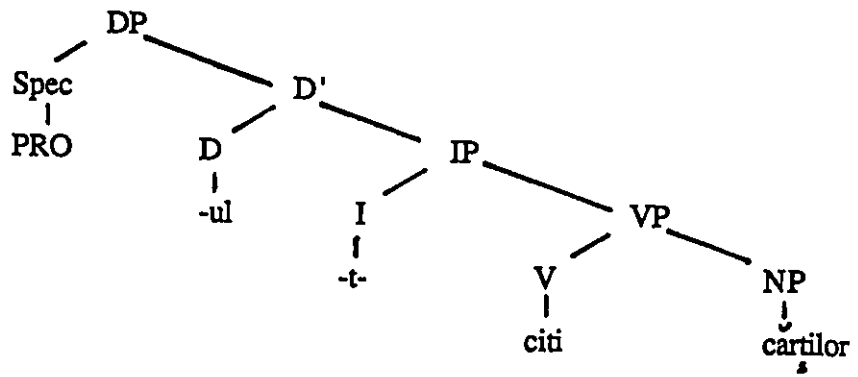
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<sup>26</sup> These will be the type *I. a. 'Nominalized Supines'* and *'Nominalized Long-re Infinitives'* described in section 1.2.

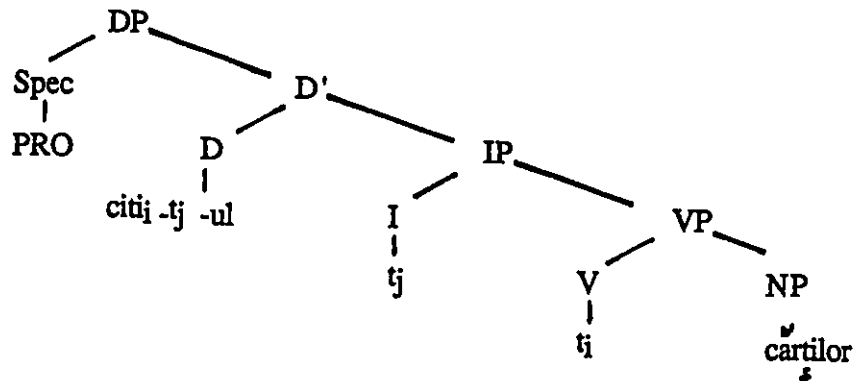
(121)a. Poss-ing Gerund (my binary interpretation of Abney's tree the same tree as in chapter 4., (111))



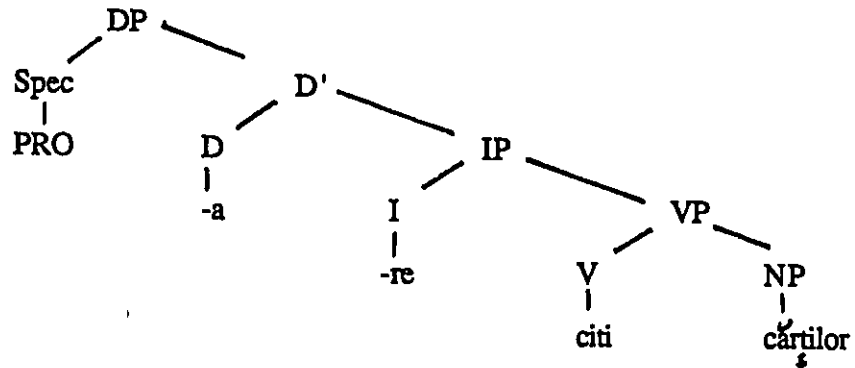
b. 'Nominalized Supine' DS



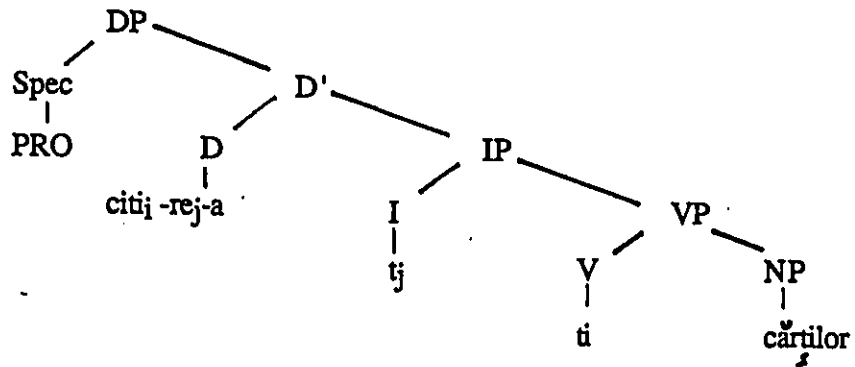
c. 'Nominalized Supine' SS



## d. 'Nominalized Long-re Infinitive' DS



## e. 'Nominalized Long-re Infinitive' SS



In the present analysis I assume a PRO as the presence of an expletive pro is excluded by such examples as:

- (122) \*Am găsit păru -t -ul bizar al situației interesant  
 I-have found seeming Affix the weird of situation interesting  
 Supine m.sg.

'I have found the weird seeming of the situation interesting'

I also assume the same analysis mentioned in chapter 4, i.e. a head to head movement of the verb, first into the Participial / Supine layer : (AGRP=IP), where it incorporates and hence into D<sub>0</sub>:

- Vo moves to Participle=Supine / Infinitive and incorporates
- Complex Vo+Participle=Supine moves to Do heading DP and incorporates: [[citi-t] ul]
- Complex Vo+Infinitive moves to Do heading DP and incorporates: [[citi-re] a]

My analysis also shows a PRO at both DS and SS as argued in the next section.

## 5.2 *Some Aspects of $\theta$ -Theory in Derived Nominals*

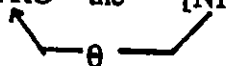
The literature shows numerous approaches towards the optionality / obligatoriness of PRO Subject in the non-derived or zero-derived NPs versus the derived NPs.

For the purpose of the present chapter I will consider only three of them: Roeper's, (1984), Grimshaw's (1986) and Abney's (1987).

Abney (1987), signals that the first argument arguing for the existence of a PRO Subject in the DPs comes from  $\theta$ -theory, namely from the  $\theta$ -criterion in its simplest form. This predicts a recipient of an external  $\theta$ -role in action nominalizations such as the destruction of the city, and an Agent is understood.

Therefore we would expect the Agent to be syntactically realized. Abney assumes this realization to be accomplished by the external  $\theta$ -role assigned to PRO of an NP predicate in such derived nominals as in (123):

(123) [DP PRO the [NP destruction of the city]]



[Ex. 70, Abney, 1987]

Grimshaw (1986), proposes that arguments stand in a grammatically significant relationship to a predicate and that argument-taking nominals (Process nominals) differ from Result nominals, that are not argument taking nominals, by other properties that correlate with the distinction between them (diagnostics).

Roeper (1984), demonstrates that 'implicit agents' behave as if they are syntactically present, licensing syntactically, through control, the PRO of Rationale Clauses. This will show that 'implicit agents' are indeed present as PRO.

Roeper also argues that the Rationale Clauses are licensed only if the Agent is syntactically realized i.e. if the Agent  $\theta$ -role is assigned to PRO as in (124-125).

- |         |                                 |                        |
|---------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| (124)a. | the PRO destruction of the city | [PRO to prove a point] |
| b.      | *the city's destruction         | [PRO to prove a point] |
| (125)a. | the PRO review of the book      | [PRO to prove a point] |
| b.      | *the book's review              | [PRO to prove a point] |

[Ex. 103, 104, Roeper, 1984 in Abney, 1987]

In the a. examples PRO is Agent  $\theta$ -assigned so it can control the PRO of the Rationale Clause, while in the b. examples this cannot be done as the NP occupying the prenominal position as the result of NP-movement excludes PRO. Hence the Agent is not syntactically realized through PRO.

A similar solution has been proposed by Williams (1985), who suggests that implicit arguments are syntactically accessible in a very restricted way, acting as controllers only of complements and not of adjuncts (Grimshaw, 1986).

In other words PRO is present syntactically only when the Agent  $\theta$ -role is assigned to it. I try to use the negative version of this statement here further in section 5.3 where I try to explain some ungrammaticalities displayed by the two Romanian nominalizations in

the Plural, when used with Rationale Clauses. And this will be very simply that PRO cannot be realized syntactically when it is not  $\theta$ -assigned with Agent.

### 5.3 Evidence from Romanian

The Two Romanian derived nominals discussed here display two distinct situations.

In the Singular both 'Nominalized Supines' and 'Nominalized Infinitives' are grammatical with Rationale Clauses. This would mean that in both PRO is syntactically realized through the Agent  $\theta$ -role assignment.

(126)a. PRO  $\hat{\text{Încerca}}$  -t -ul de PRO a merge cu bicicleta a eșuat  
 trying Affix the of to go with bicycle has failed  
 Supine m.sg. Prt. Inf.

'The trying (in order) to ride the bicycle has failed'

b. PRO  $\hat{\text{Încerca}}$  -re -a de PRO a merge cu bicicleta a eșuat  
 trying Affix the of to go with bicycle has failed  
 Infinitive f.sg. Prt. Inf.

'The trying (in order) to ride the bicycle has failed' (lit.)

(127)a. PRO  $\hat{\text{Vîna}}$  -t -ul pentru PRO a supraviețui se mai practică  
 hunting Affix the in-order to survive Refl. still practises  
 Supine m.sg. Prt. Inf. 3.sg.

'The hunting for survival is still done / practised' (lit.)

- b. PRO Vîna -re -a pentru PRO a supraviețui se mai practică  
 hunting Affix the in-order to survive Refl. still practices  
 Infinitive f.sg. Prt. Inf. 3 sg.  
 'The hunting for survival is still done / practised' (lit.)

On the contrary, when pluralized, both Romanian nominals cannot license a Rationale Clause. Either they turn into nominals that have a Theme, denoting notions or objects that experienced the verbal action, or they still denote repetitive / generic actions but of course no Agent  $\theta$ -role is assigned to them as they are ungrammatical with Rationale Clauses too:

- (128)a. \*Încerca -t̄ -ii de PRO a merge cu bicicleta  
 Supine Affix m.pl. Prt. Inf.  
 'the persons experienced in riding the bicycle'
- b. \*Încercă -ri -le de PRO a merge cu bicicleta  
 Infinitive Affix f. pl. Prt. Inf.  
 'the attempts (in order to) of riding the bicycle'
- (129)a. \*Mînce -t̄ -ii pentru PRO a supraviețui  
 Supine Affix m.pl. Prt. Inf.  
 'the persons who got filled by eating'  
 also  
 'the persons who got eaten'

b. \*Mîncă -ri -le pentru PRO a te reface  
 Infinitive Affix f.pl. Prt.pron. 2sg Inf.  
 'the eatings (several / repetitive) to heal'  
 also  
 'the foods to heal'

(130)a.\*Vîna -t -ii pentru PRO a supraviețui se mai practică  
 Supine Affix m.pl. Prt. Inf. Refl.  
 'The animals hunted for surviving still is done / practised'

b.\*Vînă -ri -le pentru PRO a supraviețui se mai practică  
 Inf. Affix f.pl. Prt. Inf. Refl.  
 'The huntings for survival still is done / practised'<sup>27</sup>

I argue that all the examples with the singular are grammatical with Rationale Clauses. This is because in the framework of Roeper (1984), and Abney (1987), PRO appears because the Singular is capable of identifying PRO syntactically through the preservation of the Agent  $\theta$ -grid of the verb.

In order to understand the 'preservation' of the  $\theta$ -grid it is necessary to make reference to Abney (1987), and to Grimshaw (1986), namely to their discussion of the distinction that has to be made between Process nominals versus Result nominals.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Unlike Romanian in English and French such Past Participial constructions seem to be able to control:

(i) those experienced in PRO riding bicycles.

<sup>28</sup> This distinction was first explained by Anderson (1984) and Grimshaw (1986). But as Abney admits, it has been completely ignored by the literature. This would explain the fact that a lot of arguments concerning the derived nominals were compromised.

Process nominals denote actions / events while Result nominals denote concrete or abstract notions instead of events.

Abney mentions the consistent preservation of the  $\theta$ -grid of the verb only in Process nominals. Grimshaw refers to the same phenomenon but in terms of argument taking nominals (Process nominals).

Abney tries to distinguish these two types of nominals and he quotes Grimshaw's four criteria. I repeat them here and I try to show how they apply to the Romanian 'Nominalized Supines' and 'Nominalized Infinitives':

-Process nominals do not pluralize: the clipping of the grass / \*the clippings of the grass; this applies to all \*(128-130 a.b.) Romanian examples.

-Result nominals often require a determiner: \*examination was ten pages long / examination of the students took ten hours.

(131)a.Examina	-t	-ul	(studenti- <sub>g</sub> lor)	a	durat	zece	ore
examining	Affix	the	(students-of-the)	has	lasted	ten	hours
Supine		m.sg.	G/D art.				
'The examining (of the students)				has lasted ten hours' (lit.)			

b.Examina	-re	-a	(studenti- <sub>g</sub> lor)	a	durat	zece	ore
examining	Affix	the	(students-of-the)	has	lasted	ten	hours
Infinitive		f.sg.	G/D art.				
'The examining (of the students)				has lasted ten hours' (lit.)			

(131 a.b.) show that this criterion doesn't work in Romanian nominalizations because such Process nominals as in b. are grammatical with Genitive marked determiners.

-Process nominals do not occur with demonstrative  
determiners: ? that examination of the students occurred a  
week ago / that examination is twenty pages long

while

(132)a.\*Acel  $\hat{v}$ ina -t -ul de vulpi a avut loc ieri  
that hunting Affix the of foxes has taken place yesterday  
dem. Supine m.sg.

b.\*Acea  $\hat{v}$ ina -re -a de vulpi a avut loc ieri  
that hunting Affix the of foxes has taken place yesterday  
dem. Inf. f.sg.

(132 a. b.) are ungrammatical not because they are Process nominals, but because in Romanian the definite article is actually a demonstrative determiner and the nominal cannot bear two determiners, one enclitic and one proclitic. This explains why such examples are grammatical with either one or the other determiner: acel  $\hat{v}$ inat-t-~~Art.~~ de vulpi / acea  $\hat{v}$ ina-re-~~Art.~~ de vulpi. 'that fox hunting'.<sup>29</sup>

-Process nominals do not occur with of NPs. This  
criterion cannot be tested in the Romanian nominals  
as such a construction doesn't exist.

<sup>29</sup> Also this shows that raising occurs only with article not with the demonstrative which doesn't allow incorporation.

The result is that for Romanian the only viable test for distinguishing Process from Result nominals is pluralization. In the singular, by applying Grimshaw's other two tests, ambiguous readings between Process and Result are obtained, and never a clear Result reading can be obtained. At the same time all singular nominals are grammatical with Rationale Clauses.

This can be due only to the presence of Agent  $\theta$ -marked PRO in the syntactic representation, due to the preservation of the verb's initial  $\theta$ -grid with Agent in it.

This can be done only in the singular because only the Singular can identify PRO syntactically in Romanian, so the singular morphology can maintain the Agent-label of the verb and assure the assignment of this Agent  $\theta$ -role through predication.

Only the Singular can preserve the verbal argument structure of such derived nominals. In the plural we get another paradigm which is not discussed here.

In these two Romanian derived nominals an apparent morphological singular assures the syntactic accomplishment of a semantic phenomenon, i.e.  $\theta$ -label preservation and  $\theta$ -role assignment.

However further study is necessary in the direction of a semantic control of a whole matrix situation over a subordinate situation of the  $R(\alpha, \beta)$  interpretation where the purpose of  $\alpha$  is  $\beta$ . There the subject of a Rationale Clause is PRO, though R is subject to a condition on control (Abney, 1987).

#### **5.4. Conclusion**

This chapter does not pretend to have given the solution to the fuzzy problem of a syntactic PRO in derived NPs. However it is an attempt to show at least how semantic facts, such as the existence of Rationale Clauses even there where apparently no control is involved, (due to the matrix situation that functions as a semantic controller in action versus status nominals, Abney, 1987), as well as the possibility of middles to be used with

Rationale Clauses (by making the +[stative] matrix generic) demonstrates that the controller acquires other attributes that makes it rather pragmatic.

Therefore control facts become too pragmatic and too loose a syntactic phenomenon as to restrict such a syntactic fact as PRO. In other words control would become less and less a means of detecting PRO in Rationale Clauses.

As a result there must be found other arguments of a pure syntactic or semantic nature to account for PRO in derived nominals.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Recent literature largely treats similarities between noun phrase and sentence and interprets them as symptoms of noun phrases acquiring sentential features and sentences acquiring noun phrase features.

In order to clarify my position on non-finites such as the De-Supine and the 'Nominalized' Supine entailed by their analysis in the present thesis, a few of these similarities and differences are listed below.

Abney (1987) refers to the traditional view represented by Lees (1970). He attributes similarities between noun phrase and sentence to their similar external distribution: they both occur as subject or direct object and they both undergo passivization:

- (133)a.     John                   surprised me.  
              That John came       surprised me.
- b.         I know     John  
              I know     that John came
- c.         John                   was known by many linguists  
              That John came       was known by many linguists

[Ex. 17a., 17b., 17c., Abney, 1987]

Hence he assumed that embedded sentences were dominated by an NP node. At least in some contexts embedded sentences were dominated by NPs, sometimes including noun heads which were deleted before surface structure.

A more plausible alternative represented by Abney (1987) argues that phrases sharing similar external distribution and similar transformations (and here Abney refers to non-finites and verbally derived nominals) do not necessarily belong to the same category, that of NP or sentence in our case. Instead, it would be more reasonable to say that processes treating NP and S-bar the same do not plead for S-bar being more NP-like or NP acquiring S-bar features. But that they are stated so as to operate on a class of categories, of which NP and S-bar are members, that of non-finites including the derived nominals, with end points such as the tensed finites on the right and the concrete NPs on the left, as Ross (1973) argues. This is a modern view under which NP and S-bar are arguments.

However as seen in section 2.2.1., Abney (1987) shares Reuland's gap hypothesis (1983) between the Acc-ing, the most NP-like sentence and the Poss-ing Gerund, the most sentence-like NP. In other words this gap is between the non-finites with verbal affixes, and the ones with both verbal and nominal markers mentioned in section 2.2.1. of the present thesis.

However Abney doesn't seem to make any distinction between, on one hand the derived nominals with verbal affixes located in Inflection and those with nominal affixes and, on the other hand the derived nominals and the non-derived ones. Hence he treats all the nominals after the gap similarly, all sharing an Inflection i.e. a similar Specifier structure and therefore a DP analysis.

Therefore it is not clear at all how the categories after the gap should be ordered. It seems to me that there are still essential differences among these three classes of nominals that are not taken into account when similarities and differences between NPs and S-bar are discussed.

One essential is for instance different  $\theta$ -grids between S-bar and the non-derived nominals. This is mentioned by Abney only in passing.<sup>30</sup> However this distinction is

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relevant when we explain differences in internal structures and hence in transformations between non-finites and non-derived nominals and similarities in internal structures and transformations between non-finites and derived nominals.

This distinction is not coherently taken into account by Abney when he discusses the similarities and dissimilarities between NPs and S-bar as he discusses similarities / differences between S-bar and NPs sometimes in terms of non-derived NPs, sometimes in terms of derived inflectional NPs. However when he discusses differences between NPs and S-bar such as  $\theta$ -assignment to the subject and case assignment to the subject under Chomsky's (1986) standard recent interpretation, he envisages nonderived NP versus S-bar.<sup>31</sup> Therefore I conclude that non-derived NPs should be excluded from this scheme as they have different internal structures.

The present thesis hopes to provide a few elements resulted from the analysis of two Romanian non-finite constructions: the De-Supine in chapters 3 and 4, and the 'Nominalized' Supine in chapters 4 and 5, in support of similar sentential structures for both.

I assume based on the analysis of both De-Supine and the 'Nominalized' Supine that sentential equally involves finites, non-finites, and verbal 'nominalizations'.

However, based on such evidence (as true Raising and ECM absent from De-Supines complements but well represented by their finite Subjunctive corresponding

30 Abney quotes Lees who assumed that similar transformations are applied to both NPs and S if we assume that in the light of current  $\theta$ -grid theory both NP and S-bar have the same  $\theta$ -grid. Hence similar internal structures as far as the Specifier is concerned are postulated in finites, non-finites and verbally derived nominals.

31  $\theta$ -assignment to the Subject is performed differently in NP and S-bar. In the NP the noun head's external  $\theta$ -role is assigned internally, through C-command to its maximal projection, while in the sentence the head's (the verb's) external  $\theta$ -role is assigned externally to its maximal projection through M-command: i.e. government. Case assignment to the Subject is performed by different assigners in NP and S-bar. In the former, the assigner is assumed to be the noun-head while in the sentence it will be the AGR in Inflection. But in either case the relation between the assigner and the assigned will be that of M-command and not C-command.

complements in sections 3.2.1. and 3.2.2.), that less involve non-finites than finites, it is argued that this is not a sign of the Romanian De-Supine becoming less sentential and more NP-like, but it would be a confirmation of its CP structure, or, as in the case of the Romanian Infinitive, its disappearance. Therefore this would be one more reason why concrete nouns should be excluded from Ross and Reuland's schemes.

On the other hand sentential processes argued to be non-existent in non-derived nominals (Abney,1987) sometimes equally and even better represented by non-finites versus finites (such as Subject and Object control, and Tough movement in De-Supines complements versus Subjunctive complements in sections 3.2.3, 3.2.4., and 3.2.5.) will furthermore plead for non-finites not being at the origin of nouns. This approach to a whole category of non-finites subject to more or less sentential processes versus the finites accounts for their sentential CP / IP structure and the Romanian Supine is one of them.

Although the 'nominalized' Supine has not been discussed in the light of sentential processes, but only under control, this is for now a sufficient reason to confirm its sentential DP structure postulated by Abney for a similar English derived nominal.

As the result of their morphologies, sentential analyses and structures proposed for the De-Supine and the 'Nominalized' Supine, they should both fit into Reuland's scheme with the former the most sentence-like non-finite, and the latter, the least sentence-like non-finite sentence (similarly to the Acc-ing / Poss-ing Gerund analysis in English). The apparent gap captured by Reuland and Abney is really determined by morphological reasons and is levelled by Abney's DP analysis by assuming an Inflection and hence similar specifier structures in both non-finites with verbal affixes and verbally derived 'nominals' with both verbal and nominal markers.

As a result of the above-mentioned considerations on non-derived nominals no gap should really exist between non-finites and verbally derived nominals. They all should form a continuum with non-derived nouns not as the right end of it, but classified somewhere else, not following this non-finite continuum.

However a fair number of questions have still to be studied:

(a) The extent to which the other sentential processes such as Raising, Object Control, Tough movement involve the Romanian 'Nominalized' Supine as well

(b) The treatment of Subject / Object distinction both in De-Supines and 'Nominalized' Supines under C-command perspective expected to be similar in terms of a similar internal (specifier) structure in both S-bar and derived nominals. Hence such a similarity will be captured in similar binding and control facts.

(c)  $\theta$ -assignment and case assignment mechanism to the subject in both De-Supines and 'Nominalized' Supines.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Acc.	Accusative case
AGR	agreement
art.	article
Aux.	auxiliary
Comp.	complementizer
D	Dative case
EC	Empty Category
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
ECP	Empty Category Principle
G	Genitive case
GB	Government and Binding
f.	feminine
Inf.	Infinitive
Infl.	Inflection
lit.	literal
m.	masculine
Past Part.	Past Participle
pl.	plural
Poss	Possessive
Prep.	preposition
Prt.	particle
Refl.	reflexive
sg.	singular

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