ROMANIAN ASPECTUAL VERBS: RESTRUCTURING AND FUNCTIONAL HEADS

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Abstract: The present paper evaluates Fukuda's (2007a, 2008) Functional Head Analysis of aspectual verbs on the basis of the analysis of aspectual verbs in Romanian with focus on whether they induce restructuring, whether they occupy functional projections, and whether the structural position which they occupy is reflected in their control and/or raising behaviour. The data indicates that Romanian aspectual verbs behave like lexical verbs. They merge in the same syntactic position, irrespective of the complement which they select and which can be uniformly analysed as ModP/FinP. Their control or raising behaviour is not correlated with different syntactic positions.

Keywords: aspectual verbs, Romanian, restructuring, functional projections, control, raising

1. Introduction

Aspectual verbs are known to be ambiguous between control and raising (see Perlmutter 1968, 1970, Ross 1972, Davies and Dubinsky 2004 for an overview[1]). Fukuda (2007a, 2008) argues that this ambiguity stems from the different syntactic positions in which aspectual verbs occur. He puts forth a structural analysis according to which sentences with aspectual verbs are monoclausal. When they merge above the *v*P, in a High-Aspect Phrase, they behave like raising verbs. A syntactic position below *v*P, in a Low-Aspect Phrase, is reflected in control behaviour. Fukuda provides data from Japanese (Fukuda 2007b) and from English (Fukuda 2007a, 2008)[2] in support of his structural analysis of aspectual verbs. He also re-examines data from German, Basque and Romance languages which, according to him, provide evidence that the control-raising ambiguity of aspectual verbs should be analyzed, cross-linguistically, as deriving from syntactic structure. Therefore, extending the investigation to other languages could contribute to the evaluation of the descriptive adequacy of this analysis.

In the present paper I extend the investigation to Romanian aspectual verbs, with a view to evaluating to what extent Fukuda's (2007a, 2008) structural analysis can account for the Romanian data. I focus on the behaviour of aspectual verbs with a non-finite complement.

The paper is organized as follows: in Section 2 I briefly present Fukuda's Functional Head Analysis of aspectual verbs. The validity of this hypothesis is tested on the basis of Romanian aspectual verbs with a supine complement in Section 3 and on the basis of Romanian aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement in Section 3.3. The main findings are summarized in Section 4.

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[1] For an exclusively raising analysis of aspectual verbs see Rochette (1999) for English and, for Romanian, Cotfas (2011) and Nicolae (2013).

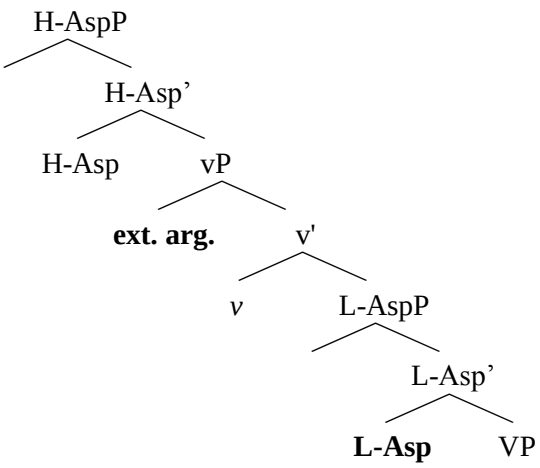
[2] See Lăcătuş (2016) for arguments against such an analysis for aspectual verbs in English.

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2. Fukuda's Functional Head analysis

At the core of Fukuda's (2008) analysis are the following ingredients: (i) aspectual verbs enter a monoclausal structure, i.e. the complement of these verbs is a "reduced" clause, smaller than a TP; (ii) aspectual verbs occupy functional projections[3]; (iii) the projection which they occupy is reflected in control or raising behaviour[4]. Aspectual verbs are interpreted as verbs of control when they merge in a Low-Aspect projection, but as raising verbs when they merge higher than *v*P, in a High-Aspect projection:

(1)



(Fukuda 2007a: 186)

In support of his monoclausal analysis, Fukuda (2008) shows that in English the infinitival complement of aspectual verbs has a reduced functional structure, which is different from that of the infinitival complement of other verbs. The infinitive which occurs with aspectual verbs lacks at least an AspP, given the fact that it is incompatible with the progressive and the perfective aspect, i.e. the complements of English aspectual verbs cannot encode grammatical aspect (see 2 below).

(2) a. *He began [$_{\text{progressive}}$ being running down the road].
b. *He began [$_{\text{perfective}}$ to have finished his homework].
(from Akmajian et al. 1979: 40, example (112), in Fukuda 2008: 174)

Compare this to (3), which shows that infinitival complements are not incompatible with the progressive and the perfective across the board:

[3] In this respect, his analysis is similar to the one in Cinque (2001, 2006), where aspectual verbs are argued to occupy positions in the functional domain of the clause (completive Aspect Phrase, inceptive Aspect Phrase).
[4] Such a structural approach, which maps the control/raising distinction onto different syntactic positions is not new. Wurmbrand (2001) argues that in German control verbs head a VP projection, whereas raising verbs occupy the position of auxiliary verbs, in AuxP, in the functional domain of the clause.

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(3) a. We'll try to make him [$_{progressive}$ be singing 'Coming through the Rye']...
b. I will try [$_{perfective}$ to have finished the work] by the time ...
(from Akmajian et al. 1979: 40, in Fukuda 2008: 174)

Building on this empirical observation, Fukuda suggests that the infinitival complement of aspectual verbs lacks an AspP; it projects only a *v*P, lacking any functional projection.

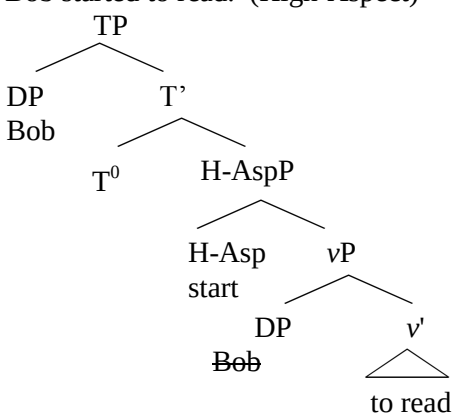
Gerund complements are even structurally 'smaller' than the infinitival ones, they only project a VP. Evidence in favour of this claim comes from the interpretation of adverbs such as *stupidly*. *Stupidly* is ambiguous between a speaker-oriented and a manner-oriented reading. The former is associated with a high syntactic position, while the latter is associated with a low syntactic position. According to Fukuda (2008), the adverb *stupidly* can either be speaker-oriented or manner-oriented under an infinitive complement but it can have only a manner-reading under a gerund complement, i.e. the interpretation of the adverb depends on the type of the complement of the aspectual verb:

(4) a. [...] found everyone around me grew quiet as I stupidly began *to say* what I really think.
b. [...] found everyone around me grew quiet as I stupidly began *saying* what I really think.
(Fukuda 2008: 176)

The data in (4) show that with gerunds *stupidly* is interpreted only as a manner adverb. Since manner adverbs attach to VP, this is taken as evidence that the status of the gerund is that of a VP. The ambiguity between a speaker-oriented reading and a manner adverb reading when the complement is an infinitive indicates that the latter is a *v*P.

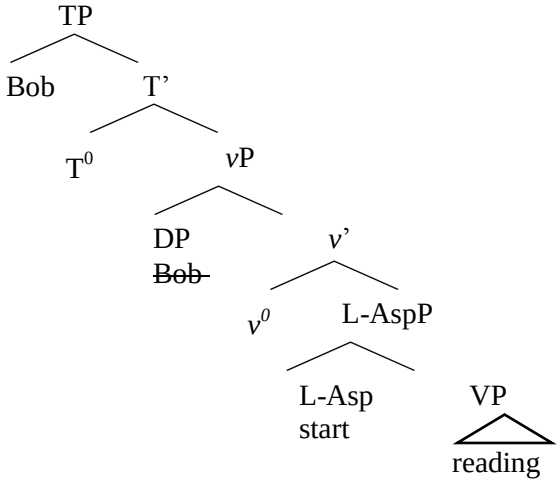
The fact that aspectual verbs can take two complement types, of different structural complexity, is reflected in these verbs' occupying two distinct positions, as shown in (5) and (6) below:

(5) Bob started to read. (High-Aspect)



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(6) Bob started reading. (Low-Aspect)



Such an analysis predicts that when the aspectual verb merges in High-Aspect, it will scope over the external argument in Spec *v*P, but when it merges in Low-Aspect, it will scope below the external argument. According to Fukuda (2008), this prediction is borne out by the data. Quantifiers in subject position under raising verbs are ambiguous between a specific reading and an existential reading, as in (7) below:

(7) Someone from New York is likely to win the lottery.
   a. There is someone from NY who is likely to win the lottery. (specific)
   b. It is likely that a person from NY will win the lottery. (existential)

With raising predicates, "the quantifier is base-generated as the embedded subject and undergoes NP-movement to become the matrix subject" (Fukuda 2008: 176). The specific reading is obtained when the quantifier scopes over the raising predicate after moving to the matrix subject position. The existential reading occurs when the quantifier is under the scope of the raising predicate. The same ambiguity should obtain with an aspectual verb in High-Aspect but not in Low-Aspect. The subject is under the scope of High-Asp in its Spec *v*P position, but it scopes over High-Asp when it moves to the Spec of TP. This kind of ambiguity is not expected with verbs in Low-Asp, because Low-Asp is lower than *v*P.

(8) a. Someone from New York started to win the lottery.
(infinitive = High-Aspect)
   (i) *someone* > *start* (specific)
   (ii) *start* > *someone* (existential)

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b. Someone from New York started winning the lottery.
(gerund = Low-Aspect)
(i) *someone* > *start* (specific)
(ii) ??*start* > *someone* (existential)
(from Fukuda 2008: 177)

Long passive formation is another argument which Fukuda brings in favour of his theory. Long passive formation is the passivization of an embedded object with the passive morpheme appearing only on the matrix predicate. It appears in languages such as German (Wurmbrand 2001), Italian (Cinque 2003), some aspectual verbs in Portuguese and Catalan (Cinque 2003), Basque (Arregi and Molina-Azaola 2004) or Japanese (Fukuda 2007b). The example below illustrates long passive formation in German. The embedded object moves to the matrix subject position where it is assigned Nominative case, and therefore triggers agreement on the finite matrix verb.

(9) a. [Der LKW und der Traktor] wurden zu reparieren versucht
[the truck and the tractor]-NOM were to repair-INF try-PASS
'Somebody tried to repair the truck and tractor.'
b. [Estas paredes$_i$] estan siendo terminadas de pintar t_i.
these walls were being finished to paint t_i
'Somebody finished painting these walls.'
(Wurmbrand 1999: 183)

3. Romanian aspectual verbs and restructuring

3.1 Romanian aspectual verbs in a nutshell

Romanian aspectual verbs select a subjunctive complement as in (10), a supine complement as in (11), and an infinitive one as in (12) (see also Lăcătuş 2016):

(10) Vasile a început să scrie cărţi.
Vasile has begun SBJV write books
'Vasile has begun writing books.'
(11) Vasile a terminat de scris o carte.
Vasile has finished DE write-SUP a book
'Vasile finished writing a book.'
(12) Vasile a încetat a scrie cărţi.
Vasile has ceased INF write- INF books
'Vasile stopped writing books.'

The pattern of complementation is not the same across these verbs (Guţu Romalo 1961). Those which denote the beginning of a state of affairs preferentially take subjunctive complements (see 11 above) and, less frequently, infinitival complements (as in 12 above). Those which belong to the *a termina* 'to finish' class usually select the

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supine (as in 11 above). Some of the verbs belonging to this semantic class can also select a subjunctive (13) and an infinitive (14) complement.

(13) Maria a încetat să mai vină la şedinţe.
Maria has ceased SBJV more come at meetings
'Maria ceased coming to the meetings.'

(14) a. Nu înceta a le spune fetelor să
not stopped INF CL-3.F.PL.ACC tell-INF girls-the-DAT SBJV
nu mai bea.
not more drink
'He wouldn't stop telling the girls not to drink anymore.'

b. Am încetat a -l mai privi ca pe un duşman.
have ceased INF CL-3.M.SG.ACC more look as PE an enemy
'I have ceased considering him an enemy.'

Given the different complementation properties illustrated above it is plausible to assume that in Romanian aspectual verbs may have different properties which correlate with the different complement types with which they merge in the derivation (Lăcătuş 2015, 2016). The structural properties of the clausal complement may induce different degrees of restructuring. These different properties of the clausal complement can also be reflected in control vs. raising behaviour. Previous results reported in various studies support this point of view. Cotfas (2011), on the basis of the investigation of the behaviour of some aspectual verbs (*a începe* 'to begin', *a continua* 'to continue', *a înceta* 'to stop, end') in structures with a subjunctive complement, reaches the conclusion that in Romanian aspectual verbs pass the diagnostics of raising verbs. Lăcătuş (2016) investigates those Romanian aspectual verbs which denote the end of an activity and which select a supine complement. She argues that these are verbs of exhaustive control which trigger restructuring.

In the present paper I focus on aspectual configurations with supine and infinitival complements.

3.2 Fukuda's analysis: The view from Romanian

3.2.1 Predictions

Fukuda's analysis presented in section 2 crucially builds on the assumption that aspectual verb structures are monoclausal and that they can appear in two distinct structural positions. The exact position may differ from one language to another. But what we should find across languages is a position for aspectual verbs higher than *v*P and one lower than *v*P. In what follows I will investigate aspectual verbs in Romanian. Fukuda's functional head analysis predicts that these configurations should be monoclausal and that aspectual verbs should occupy a functional position higher than *v*P when they behave like raising verbs and a position lower than *v*P when they behave like control verbs.

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3.2.2 Aspectual verbs with a supine complement and control

Romanian aspectual verbs which select a supine complement[5] behave like *bona fide* verbs of control and induce restructuring effects (see also Lăcătuş 2016). The arguments in favour of a control analysis of aspectual verbs with a supine complement are the following:

(i) They impose a ban on disjoint subjects. The aspectual verb assigns an agent theta-role to the external argument, and it does not allow the subject of the main clause to be different from the one in the embedded clause.

(15) a. Copiii$_i$ au terminat de scris e$_i$ eseul.
children-the have finished DE write-SUP essay-the
'The children have finished writing the essay.'
b. *Ion a terminat de reparat Mihai maşina.
Ion has finished DE repair-SUP Mihai car-the
'Ion has finished Mihai repairing the car.'

(ii) Aspectual verbs which select a *de* supine complement are compatible with agent-oriented adverbs, such as *înadins* 'on purpose'.

(16) Copiii terminau înadins de alergat.
children-the stopped on purpose DE run-SUP
'Children would stop running on purpose.'

(iii) Aspectual verbs can be embedded under verbs of control such as *try, convince, force*, as shown in (17):

(17) a. Au încercat să termine de reparat maşina la timp.
have tried SBJV finish DE repair-SUP car-the at time
'They tried to finish repairing the car on time.'
b. L- am convins să termine de scris romanul.
him have convinced SBJV finish DE write-SUP novel-the
'I have convinced him to finish writing the novel.'

(iv) Aspectual verbs with a supine complement can occur in imperative sentences, as shown in the examples below:

(18) a. Termină de scris!
finish-IMP DE write-SUP
'Finish writing!'

[5] The aspectual verbs which select a *de* supine complement are a *termina* 'to finish', *a înceta* 'cease', *a sfârşi* 'finish, end', *a isprăvi* 'finish, end', *a izbuti* 'manage', *a începe* 'begin, start', *a se apuca* 'begin, start', *a continua* 'continue'.

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b. Mai terminaţi de spus prostii!
more finish-$_{IMP}$ DE say-SUP stupid things
'Stop saying stupid things!'

The fact that they assign an agent theta-role to their external argument is directly linked to the loss of idiomatic meaning in the case of idiom chunks (see 19 below):

(19) a. ?Ulciorul a încetat de mers de mai multe ori la apă.
pitcher-the has stopped DE go-SUP of more many times at water
'The pitcher has stopped going to the well on several occasions.'
Idiomatic meaning: 'The pitcher goes only so often to the well.'
b. ?Apa a terminat de trecut, pietrele au terminat
water-the has finished DE pass-SUP rocks-the have finished
de rămas.
DE stay-SUP
Idiomatic meaning: 'Water flows, rocks remain.'

Aspectual verbs which select a *de* supine complement are incompatible with weather verbs which have a non-thematic subject:

(20) a. *A terminat de plouat / de nins.
has finished DE rain-SUP / DE snow-SUP
b. *A încetat de plouat / de nins.
has stopped DE rain-SUP / DE snow-SUP
c. *A sfârşit de plouat / de nins.
has stopped DE rain-SUP / DE snow-SUP
Intended meaning: It stopped rainign/snowing.

They also impose semantic restrictions on the verb in the complement clause. The verb in the supine clause must be agentive, as illustrated below:

(21) a. Copiii au gătat de mâncat toată mâncarea.
children-the have finished DE eat-SUP all food-the
'The children have finished eating all the food.'
b. *Copiii au gătat de plăcut gazda.
children-the have finished DE like-SUP host-the
'The children have stopped liking the host.'

Another control test that aspectual verbs with a supine complement pass is complement drop:

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(22) a. Ion a terminat de scris dar nu cred că a terminat [ ]
Ion has finished DE write-SUP but not believe that has finished
şi Vasile.
and Vasile
'Ion has finished reading, but I don't think Vasile has too.'

b. *Ion se pare că a terminat de scris
Ion REFL seems that has finished DE write-SUP
dar nu cred că se pare [ ] şi Vasile.
but not believe that REFL seems [ ] and Vasile
*'Ion seems to have finished writing the book but I don't believe that Vasile seems too.'

In terms of interpretation, the supine complement of aspectual verbs lacks temporal independence (Dragomirescu 2013, Cornilescu 2016, Lăcătuş 2016). Its predicate is perfective, it presents the situation as a whole (Lăcătuş 2016). The supine under aspectual verbs has a bounded event interpretation (see 23a). This possibly explains the incompatibility with stative predicates (see 23b) or activity predicates (see 23c).

(23) a. Ion a terminat de băut cafeaua.
Ion has finished DE drink-SUP coffee-the
'Ion finished drinking his coffee.'

b. *Ion a terminat de iubit femei înalte.
Ion has finished DE love-SUP women tall
*'Ion finished loving tall women.'

c. *Ion a terminat de băut cafea.
Ion has finished DE love-S SUP coffee
*'Ion finished drinking coffee.'

3.2.3 Aspectual verbs with a supine complement and restructuring

When the aspectual verb occurs with a supine, the whole configuration behaves like a monoclausal structure. Lăcătuș (2016) presents arguments in favour of restructuring effects: Romanian aspectual verbs which select a supine complement allow clitic climbing. Accusative or dative clitics cannot occur in the supine complement (24d-e). They must move to the matrix clause (24a-c), otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

(24) a. Lucrarea **o** termin / sfârşesc / isprăvesc de scris.
paper-the CL-3F.SG.ACC finish DE write-SUP
'I will finish writing the paper.'

b. Lucrarea am terminat-**o** de scris.
paper-the have finished CL-3F.SG.ACC DE write-SUP
'I have finished writing the paper.'

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c. **Le-** am terminat de notat lucrările.
CL-3F.PL.DAT have finished DE grade-SUP papers-the
'I have finished grading their papers.'

d. *Lucrarea am terminat de scris- **o.**
paper-the have finished DE write-SUP CL-3F.SG.ACC
'I have finished writing the paper.'

e. *Am terminat de le notat lucrările.
have finished DE CL-3F.PL.DAT grade-SUP papers-the
'I have finished grading their papers.'

The supine clause under an aspectual verb cannot be negated. Negation can only appear with the aspectual verb[6]:

(25) a. *A terminat de **nu** reparat.
has finished DE not repair-SUP
'He hasn't finished repairing the car.'

b. *Maşina o termin de **ne**reparat.
car-the CL-3F.SG.ACC finish DE not.repair-SUP
*'I finish unrepairing the car.'

c. Maşina **nu** o termin de reparat.
car-the not CL-3F.SG.ACC finish DE repair-SUP
'I don't finish repairing the car.'

Negation with aspectual verbs allows n-words such as *nimic* 'nothing', *nimeni* 'nobody' to appear in the supine clause provided the main verb is negated:

(26) a. Vasile **nu** a terminat de citit **nimic.**
Vasile not has finished DE read-SUP nothing
'Vasile hasn't finished reading anything.'

b. **Nu** a terminat de rezolvat nici o problemă.
not has finished DE solve-SUP neither one problem
'He/she hasn't finished solving any problem.'

Romanian has negative polarity items such as *decât* 'only' (Costache 2005). *Decât* 'only' is licensed in the supine by negation in the matrix.

(27) Nu a terminat de reparat decât una dintre maşini.
not has finished DE repair-SUP only one of cars
'He/ she has finished repairing only one of the cars.'

[6] In other configurations the supine can be negated with the negative particle *ne-* (see e.g. Hill and Alboiu 2016: 282, Cornilescu 2016).

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Another argument according to which aspectual verbs are restructuring verbs is the temporal interpretation of the supine clause. The latter coincides with the temporal interpretation of the aspectual verb. Tense mismatch between the tense of the main clause and the temporal value of the supine renders the structure ungrammatical.

(28) a. *Ion a terminat de reparat maşina **mâine**.
Ion has finished DE repair-SUP car-the tomorrow
'*Ion has finished repairing the car tomorrow.'
b. Ion termină de reparat maşina mâine.
Ion finishes DE read-SUP car-the tomorrow
'Ion will finish repairing the car tomorrow.'

One more argument in favour of a restructuring analysis of aspectual verbs with a supine complement is long object movement (LOM), an operation which involves the movement of the DP object of the clausal complement to the matrix subject position as a result of the passivization of the matrix (Wurmbrand 2015). This is illustrated in (29):

(29) Cartea se termină de citit în trei ore (de către oricine).
book-the REFL finishes DE read-SUP in three hours by anybody
'One can finish reading the book in three hours.'
(Dragomirescu 2013: 35)

According to Wurmbrand (2015), it is difficult to decide whether the derivation of a reflexive passive aspectual verb structure involves passivization of the matrix verb or passivization of the verb in the embedded clause followed by the movement of the clitic to the matrix. But with supine complements this problem does not arise since the Romanian supine cannot undergo passivization. Therefore sentences like (29) can be analyzed as LOM in Romanian and hence as an argument in favour of restructuring (see also Lăcătuş 2016).

3.2.4 The syntactic structure of the supine complement

The data investigated so far show that Romanian aspectual verbs which select a supine complement are verbs of control. They induce full restructuring effects, forming a monoclausal construction, as predicted by Fukuda's Functional Head Hypothesis. Fukuda's analysis also predicts a syntactic position below *v*P for aspectual verbs which have control verb properties. This prediction, however, as will be shown in this section, is not borne out by the data.

For the analysis of supines embedded under aspectual verbs I adopt the representation in Cornilescu (1997), Alboiu (2002), according to which in Romanian the I-domain includes the following functional projections:

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(30) MoodP > NegP > CliticP[7] > AgrSP >TP >AspP

AgrSP and TP can fuse and project as one single projection (Dobrovie-Sorin 1993, Avram 1999).

DP topicalization does not result in landing inside the supine (31):

(31) *A sfârşit de **tuturor oaspeţilor**$_i$ dat cadouri t_i.
has finished DE all-DAT guests-the-DAT give-SUP presents
'He stopped giving presents to all the guests.'

The data presented in (31) above show that the CP layer inside the supine is either absent or deficient. An analysis according to which the layer is completely absent is, however, challenged by the presence of *de* 'of'. In some studies, *de* 'of' is analyzed as a low complementizer (Cornilescu 2016, Hill and Alboiu 2016). In other studies, it is analyzed as a mood particle (Giurgea and Soare 2010). The two analyses, however, are not necessarily incompatible. If one adopts Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis, the Finite Phrase can host mood elements. In the present investigation, I adopt an analysis according to which *de* 'of' is a mood marker which heads FinP. According to this analysis *de* 'of' is a marker of non-finiteness (non-finite mood) in a MoodP or, according to Rizzi's (1997) split CP analysis, in FinP:

(32) (Force).... (Topic) .... (Focus) ... **(FinP)...** IP

According this analysis, the supine under aspectual verbs has an incomplete C-domain, which projects only a MoodP/FinP. It lacks a NegP. The supine complement cannot be independently negated, not even with *ne-*, which is otherwise used in non-finite clauses (Avram 2003). Negation can only appear in the matrix (33c) (Lăcătuş 2016: 14), i.e. there is no NegP in the supine clause.

(33) a. *A terminat de **nu** reparat maşina
has finished DE not repair-SUP car-the
'He/she hasn't finished repairing the car.'
b. *Maşina o termin de **ne**reparat.
car-the CL-3F.SG.ACC finish DE NE-repair-SUP
c. Maşina **nu** o termin de reparat.
car-the not CL-3F.SG.ACC finish DE repair-SUP
'The book, I haven't finished reading it.'

As shown in (33) above, no clitic climbing is possible inside the supine, which indicates that there is no structural position available for clitics.

According to Alboiu (2002), in Romanian the Spec IP, which is an A-bar projection, hosts pre-verbal subjects and displaced *wh*-Phrases. In configurations with a supine complement the overt subject can surface with the aspectual verb both pre- and

[7] For a different analysis of Accusative clitic position in Romanian see Avram and Coene (2008, 2009).

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post-verbally (34a). But, if it appears in the supine complement, it can only surface post-verbally, never between the particle *de* and the supine verb, as shown in (34b):

(34) a. (Ion) a terminat (Ion) de mâncat.
Ion has finished Ion DE eat-SUP
'Ion has finished eating.'
b. A terminat de (*Ion) mâncat (Ion).
has finished DE Ion eat- SUP Ion
'Ion has finished eating.'

Wh-movement cannot target a position inside the supine (35):

(35) a. *A terminat de ce_i citit t_i?
has finished DE what read-SUP
b. *A terminat de $unde_i$ mers t_i?
has finished DE where go-SUP

Another piece of evidence in favour of the lack of an AgrP or TP in the supine clause comes from aspectual clitic adverbs like *mai* 'anymore'. Aspectual clitic adverbs merge in the Spec of AspP when TP and AspP both project (*a **mai** fost* 'has more been', Avram 1999) or in the Spec position of a fused TP/AspP (***mai** venise* 'more come-PAST.PERF.3SG'). These clitics cannot occur in the supine clause, in which the predicate must be adjacent to *de*. When present, they appear with the aspectual verb. Consider the following examples, in which only (36a) is grammatical:

(36) a. Nu a **mai** terminat de citit.
not has more finished DE read- SUP
b. *Nu a terminat de **mai** citit.
not has finished DE more read-SUP
'He hasn't finished reading anymore.'

Pre-verbal subjects in Romanian occupy the Spec IP position (Dobrovie-Sorin 1993, Alboiu 2002). Along the same line, Motapanyane (1995) assumes that in Romanian the functional domain contains a Tense Phrase and an Agreement Phrase. The pre-verbal subject moves to Spec AgrSP, where it is assigned Nominative case. The fact that the lexical subject cannot occur in between *de* 'of' and the verb in the supine complement suggests that the clause lacks a Specifier position which can host the pre-verbal subject. The supine clause is deficient. It lacks a Tense/AgrS projection.

This analysis is in line with the fact that the supine under aspectual verbs lacks temporal independence (Soare 2002: 56, Dragomirescu 2013, Cornilescu 2016, Lăcătuş 2016). The temporal interpretation of the supine coincides with that of the aspectual verb, i.e. the event time of the supine predicate coincides with the event time of the aspectual predicate. This explains why tense mismatch between the temporal interpretation of the aspectual verb and a specific time adverbial in the supine clause results in ungrammaticality (Lăcătuş 2016: 16). This proved further evidence that the supine lacks a

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Tense Phrase. Its temporal interpretation derives from its aspectual value. This is why it has been argued that the supine has at least an AspP (Cornilescu 2016: 18). According to Cornilescu (2016) the clitic adverb *mai* 'still' can appear in negative supine sentences, as shown in the example below.

(37) Textele astea sunt de ne**mai**citit vreodată.
texts-the these are DE not-again-read-SUP ever
'These texts are to never be read again.'
(Cornilescu 2016: 224)

According to Cornilescu and Cosma (2013: 312), a NegP projection is available in the supine clause. The negative particle *ne-* licenses negative polarity items such as *vreodată* 'ever' and *n*-words such as *nimic* 'nothing'.

(38) a. Iată un adevăr de nespus vreodată cuiva.
here a truth DE not-say-SUP ever anyone-DAT
'Here's a truth not to ever mention to anyone.'
b. Se pricepe grozav la nefăcut nimic.
REFL knows terribly-well at not-do- SUP nothing
'He/she is very good at not doing anything.'
(Cornilescu and Cosma 2013: 312)

This type of negative construction, however, is not attested in supines under an aspectual verb, which supports the view that in this case neither the Specifier of the Aspect Phrase nor a NegP is projected.

(39) *A terminat de **ne**maivenit pe la noi.
has finished DE not-more-arrive- SUP at us
*'He/ she ceased not coming over.'
Intended meaning: 'He/ she started coming over.'

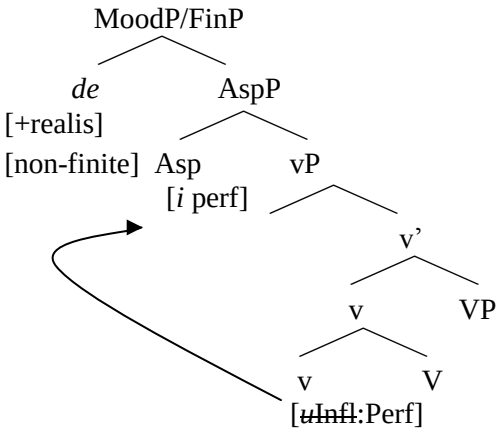
Under aspectual verbs the supine complement has a *realis* non-future interpretation (Lăcătuş 2016). It has a perfective feature [+PERF]; a verb inflected for the supine "names" the event as a whole, with no concern for its inner stages. This feature is valued by the perfective feature in the Aspect projection. The supine verb moves to Asp to check the perfective feature, which licenses the *realis* feature in MoodP/FinP. One important property of the supine complement of aspectual verbs is that it has 'rigid' aspectual interpretation. It can only be interpreted as perfective: event time is prior to reference time. This is reflected in its impossibility of combining with state predicates which would allow a habitual or generic reading as well as in the fact that a supine complement is selected mainly by those aspectual verbs which indicate the ending of a situation, i.e with aspectual verbs in the *a termina* 'to stop, to cease' class. This suggests that the aspectual reading of the supine is compositional: it derives from the meaning of the aspectual verb in the matrix and the aspectual feature of the supine. *Realis* modality matches aspectual perfectivity.

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The data discussed so far show that the supine under aspectual verbs is a MoodP/FinP with deficient functional structure. Its C-domain is reduced, projecting only a MoodP/FinP but no FocusP or TopicP. It also has a reduced I-domain. It projects only an Aspect Phrase, with no Specifier position. The supine under aspectual verbs can only be interpreted as "event time prior to reference time", i.e. as perfective.

The particle *de* marks non-finite mood. It selects a *realis* non-finite supine, i.e. a perfective predicate with a *realis* modal interpretation. The interpretable categorial feature [PERF] of Aspect will agree with the uninterpretable [*u*Infl] feature on v and the [*u*Infl] will be valued as [PERF]. The verb moves to Aspect. The syntactic structure is given in (40).

(40)



The *de* supine which is embedded under an aspectual verb (which behaves like a verb of control) is a reduced clause. However, contrary to the predictions made by Fukuda's analysis, it is larger than a VP or a *v*P, i.e. the aspectual verb does not merge in a Low-Aspect Phrase, below the *v*P.

3.3 Aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement

3.3.1 Main questions

In this section, I focus on the syntactic properties of Romanian aspectual verbs which select an infinitive complement. I address the following questions: (i) do they behave like verbs of control or like raising verbs?; (ii) do aspectual verbs with an infinitival complement induce restructuring?; (iii) what is the syntactic structure of their complement?

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3.3.2 Aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement and control

There is a ban on disjoint subjects in the infinitival complement of aspectual verbs. The subject of the main clause has to be identical to the subject of the embedded clause, as found with verbs of control.

(41) a. Copiii$_i$ au încetat a mânca e$_i$ mâncarea.
children$_i$-the have stopped INF eat-INF e$_i$ food-the
'The children stopped eating the food.'
b. *Maria a încetat a scrie Ion lucrarea.
Maria has stopped INF write- INF Ion paper-the
'*Maria ceased writing the paper Ion.'

Aspectual verbs with an infinitival complement behave like verbs of control with respect to their compatibility with agent-oriented adverbs of the type *înadins* 'on purpose' (as shown in the examples in 42). They can also be embedded under *try, force, or convince* (as shown in 43).

(42) a. Laura a încetat **înadins** a vorbi despre divorţ.
Laura has ceased on purpose INF talk-INF about divorce
'Laura stopped talking about the divorce on purpose.'
b. Oamenii au început **înadins** a striga.
people-the have begun on purpose INF shout-INF
'The people have started shouting on purpose.'
(43) a. L- am convins să înceteze a urla.
CL-3.M.SG.ACC have convinced SBJV stop INF yell-INF
'I convinced him to cease yelling.'
b. L- am forţat să înceteze a executa [..]
CL-3.M.SG.ACC have forced SBJV stop INF follow-INF
'I forced him to stop following [...].'

The aspectual verbs which select an infinitive complement can appear in imperative constructions.

(44) a. Încetează a mai spune prostii!
stop-IMP INF more say-INF stupid things
'Stop saying stupid things!'
b. Începe a lucra mai repede!
begin-IMP INF work-INF more fast
'Start working faster!'

The idiomatic reading is lost under aspectual verbs, which indicates that the latter assign a theta-role to the argument in subject position, like verbs of control:

(45) a. *Anul nu a încetat a aduce ce aduce ceasul.

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year-the not has ceased INF bring-INF what brings clock-the
'The year hasn't stopped bringing what the hour may.'
Intended meaning: 'It may come in an hour what will not come in a year.'

b. ?Aşchia a început a sări departe de trunchi.
splinter-the has begun INF jump-INF far from tree trunk
'The rotten apple has stopped falling far from the tree trunk.'
Intended meaning: The rotten apple falls far from the tree.

Aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement are compatible with weather verbs (see example 46). In this respect they behave like raising verbs.

(46) Şi îndată începe a ploua / a ninge.
and suddenly begins INF rain-INF / INF snow-INF
'And suddenly it begins to rain.'

The infinitive complement does not have to be [+agentive]. Unaccusative predicates whose argument is [−agentive] (47a) are allowed in the infinitive complement of aspectual verbs. The same can be said of [−agentive] [−control] stative predicates, as illustrated in (47b) below (see also Lăcătuş 2016). In this respect as well they behave like raising verbs.

(47) a. Ţevile au început a rugini.
pipes-the have started INF rust-INF
'The pipes started rusting.'

b. Copiii au încetat a o mai iubi.
children-the have stopped INF CL-3.F.SG.ACC more love-INF
'The children stopped loving her.'

One notices a difference between aspectual verbs which denote the beginning and those which denote the ending of a situation with respect to passivization: only the former (marginally) allow a passive complement (see example 48b), behaving like raising verbs. The latter do not allow a passive complement, behaving like verbs of control (see example 49b).

(48) a. Chiar şi Vasile a început a citi cartea de bucate.
even and Vasile has begun INF read-INF cookbook-the
'Even Vasile started reading the cookbook.'

b. ?Cartea de bucate a început a fi citită chiar şi de Vasile.
cookbook-the has begun INF be read-PASS even and by Vasile
'The cookbook started being read even by Vasile.'

(49) a. Copiii au încetat a vopsi gardul.
children-the have stopped INF paint-INF fence-the
'The children have stopped painting the fence.'

b. *Gardul a încetat a fi vopsit de către copii.

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fence-the has stopped INF be paint-PASS by children
'*The fence stopped being painted by the children.'

Aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement behave like control verbs with respect to complement drop.

(50) a. Ion a încetat a citi romanul dar nu cred că
Ion has stopped INF read-INF novel-the but not believe that
a încetat [ ] şi Vasile.
has stopped and Vasile
'Ion stopped reading the novel but I don't think that Vasile did too.'

b. Ion începea a crede că e vinovat, dar nu cred că
Ion began INF believe-INF that is guilty but not believe that
începea [ ] şi Vasile.
began and Vasile
'Ion began thinking he was guilty, but I don't think that Vasile did too.'

Aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement have hybrid control/raising behaviour. The results of the analysis are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1. Aspectual verbs with an infinitival complement: control and raising

Test	**result**	**control/ raising**
Presence of thematic subjects in the matrix	yes	control
Compatibility with weather verbs	yes	raising
Compatibility with idiom chunks in subject position + retain idiomatic meaning	no	control
Compatibility with the imperative	yes	control
Compatibility with agent-oriented adverbs	yes	control
They can be the complement of *force*, *persuade*, *try*	yes	control
The verb in the complement must be agentive	no	raising
Passive predicate in complement clause (passive-active synonymy)	only with some verbs	ambiguous

3.3.3 Aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement and restructuring

In order to investigate whether aspectual verbs with an infinitival complement form a monoclausal structure I will apply the diagnostic tests discussed in Wurmbrand (2015) following restructuring tests: clitic climbing, independent negation in the infinitival complement, the presence of *n*-words and negative polarity items, temporal-aspectual interpretation of the infinitive clause and Long Object Movement (LOM).

Accusative and dative clitics remain inside the infinitival complement of aspectual verbs.

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(51) a. Ion începuse a ***le*** ajuta de anul trecut.
Ion begin-PFV INF CL-3.F.PL.ACC help-INF since year-the last
'Ion had started helping them since last year.'
b. Vasile încetase a **îi** mai da bani cu împrumut.
Vasile stop-PFV INF CL-3.SG.DAT more give money with loan
'Vasile stopped lending her money.'

The infinitive complement can be independently negated. In this case, the negative particle *nu* 'not' appears in the infinitival complement.

(52) El a încetat a **nu** mai spune adevărul.
he has stopped INF not more tell-INF truth-the
'He has stopped not telling the truth.'

N-words are licensed in the infinitive embedded under aspectual verbs when the infinitive itself is negated. When negation is in the matrix and affects only the aspectual verb, n-word licensing is subject to lexical variation. In (53a) the n-word *nimic* 'nothing' in the embedded cause is licensed when negation occurs in the infinitive. But it is also licensed when negation occurs in the matrix (53b), as if the whole structure were monoclausal. In (53d), on the other hand, where the aspectual verb is *a înceta* 'to cease', the n-word *nimeni* 'nobody' is not licensed when negation occurs in the matrix:

(53) a. Ion a început a **nu** mai scrie **nimic**.
Ion has begun INF not more write-INF nothing
'Ion started not to write anything anymore.'
b. Ion ***nu*** a început a scrie **nimic**.
Ion not has begun INF write-INF nothing
'Ion hasn't begun to write anything.'
c. Copiii au încetat a **nu** mai asculta de **nimeni**.
children-the have ceased INF not more obey-INF of nobody
'The children stopped not obeying anyone.'
d. *Copiii **nu** încetează a asculta de **nimeni**.
children-the not stop INF obey-INF of nobody
Intended meaning: 'The children won't stop obeying anyone.'

In (standard) Romanian *decât* 'only' can only occur in negative contexts. The examples below show that this negative polarity item is licensed in an infinitive embedded under a negated aspectual verb:

(54) Nu a început a vorbi decât despre una dintre ele.
not has begun INF talk-INF only about one of them
'He started talking only about one of them.'

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The infinitive is temporally dependent on the tense in the matrix. Temporal mismatch between the temporal value of the aspectual predicate and a time adverbial in the infinitive results in ungrammaticality:

(55) *Anul trecut începuse a citi mai mult de mâine.
year-the last begin-PFV INF read-INF more of tomorrow
'*Last year he had started reading more by tomorrow.'

Aspectual verbs are incompatible with perfect infinitive complements:

(56) * Ion a început / încetat a fi mers la şedinţe.
Ion has begun / stopped INF be gone at meetings
'Ion has begun/ has stopped going to the meetings.

But, unlike the supine, the infinitive has some temporal independence under some aspectual verbs; it can be interpreted as *future* with respect to the event time in the matrix. Aspectual adverbs, like *mai* 'still', can occur in the infinitival complement (see 57):

(57) A început a nu le **mai** ajuta.
has begun INF not CL-3.F.PL.ACC more help-INF
'He stopped helping them.'

LOM is impossible with aspectual verbs that select an infinitive clause, as illustrated in the example (58a) below. The reflexive passive is also unacceptable, as shown in example (58b).

(58) a. *Cartea a fost încetată a citi de copii.
book-the has been stop-PASS INF read-INF by children
'*The book has stopped being read by children.'
b. *Cartea se începe a citi de către toată lumea.
book-the REFL begins INF read-INF by everyone
'*The book begins being read by everyone.'

The data in this section offer evidence that Romanian aspectual verbs which select an infinitive complement pass only some of the restructuring tests. The findings are summarized in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Aspectual verbs with an infinitive complement and restructuring

Test		**Restructuring**
Clitic climbing	no	no
No independent tense interpretation	only with some verbs	?
No independent negation	yes	yes

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Negation in the matrix licenses n-words	only with some verbs	?
Negation in the matrix licenses NPIs	yes	yes
Long object movement	yes	yes

3.3.4 The infinitive under aspectual verbs: A reduced clause?

The particle *a* is an inflectional element which has hybrid status. It is "systematically ambiguous between Infl and Comp" (Dobrovie-Sorin 1993: 82). One strong argument that *a* is an inflectional element comes, according to this author, from the restricted number of elements which can intervene between *a* and the verb. On the other hand, negation can only appear in between *a* and the verb, it can never occur higher:

(59) a. A **nu** pleca devreme
INF not leave-INF early
'Not to leave early
b. *nu a pleca devreme
not INF leave-INF early

According to this analysis, the infinitival particle *a* occurs in C. Since in Romanian negation occupies a position higher than Inflection (as in *Nu a plecat* 'not has left'), Dobrovie-Sorin (1993) opts for a C analysis of *a*.

Alboiu (2002: 47) analyzes the infinitival particle *a* as the head of a MoodP. In more recent analyses which adopt Rizzi's (1997) split-CP hypothesis, *a* has been analyzed as occurring in FinP (see, e.g. Hill and Alboiu 2016), i.e. in the lower C-domain. Elements which occur in Fin have a modal feature. This analysis can account for the *irrealis* feature of the infinitive and matches both traditional and generative descriptions of the infinitive *a* as a mood marker (Motapanyane 1995, Avram 1999, Alboiu 2002). I adopt the view according to which *a* heads a hybrid Mood/FinP.

As seen in some of the examples above, the infinitival particle *a* can be separated from the verb by negation as well as by pronominal and adverb clitics (see also 63), which shows that NegP and CliticP are available in the infinitival complement, and they are lower than *a*.

(60) a. A început a **nu mai** veni la şedinţe.
has begun INF not more come-INF at meetings
'He/she stopped coming to the meetings.'
b. A început a **nu ne mai** lăuda.
has begun INF not us more praise-INF
'He/she stopped praising us.'

As already mentioned earlier in this section, there are no tense markers in the infinitive clause, e.g. the infinitive under an aspectual verb cannot appear with the

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auxiliary *fi* 'be' which marks *irrealis* tense and occurs in Tense (Avram 1999, Avram and Hill 2007) (see 55 above).On the other hand, we saw that the infinitive has some temporal independence, it can be interpreted as *future* with respect to the event time in the matrix and it can host aspectual adverbs, like *mai* 'still'. These adverbs, when present, occur in Spec AspP or in Spec TP.

(61) A început a nu le **mai** ajuta.
has begun INF not CL-3.F.PL.ACC more help-INF
'He stopped helping them.'

Remember that according to Alboiu (2002), in Romanian *wh*-Phrases move to Spec IP, which is an A-bar position in this language. *Wh*-movement does not result in movement of the *wh*-Phrase inside the infinitive, which indicates that there is no Spec IP available. The *wh*-Phrase moves to the matrix, as shown in the examples below:

(62) a. *A început a cum rezolva problema?
has begun INF how solve-INF problem-the
Intended meaning: 'He began solving the problem how?'
b. Cum a început a rezolva problema?
how has begun INF solve-INF problem-the
'How did he/she start solving the problem?'

The infinitival complement of aspectual verbs has at least the functional structure in (63):

(63) Mood/FinP > NegP > CliticP > (deficient) TP > AspP

The infinitival complement is a Mood/FinP. Its structure is larger than a *v*P. The aspectual verb merges in a position *higher* than the *v*P, on a par with the configuration with a supine complement. Notice, however, that these aspectual structures are ambiguous between raising and control; according to Fukuda (2007a, 2008), if the aspectual verb merges higher than vP it should behave like a raising verb.

4. Conclusions

The results of the investigation of the properties of Romanian aspectual verbs with a supine and an infinitival complement (summarized in Table 3 below) indicate that Fukuda's Functional Head Analysis is not universal.

The Romanian data show that the different functional structure of supine and of infinitival complements of aspectual verbs is reflected in different degrees of restructuring and in different control/raising behaviour. When aspectual verbs merge with a *de* supine, they behave like control verbs and induce restructuring effects. When they

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merge with an *a* infinitive complement, with richer functional structure, they do not pass all the restructuring tests and evince hybrid control/raising behaviour.

The data also show that aspectual verbs assign a theta-role to the external argument, behaving like lexical verbs in this respect. They also show that the non-finite complement of aspectual verbs, be it a supine or an infinitive, has the same categorial status: MoodP/FinP. Therefore, aspectual verbs will merge in the same position in the structure, i.e. control/raising behaviour is not associated with two different syntactic positions.

Table 3 summarizes the main findings.

Table 3. Aspectual verbs with non-finite complements: control and restructuring

Compl.	Status	Functional structure	Mono-clausal	Control/ raising
Supine	Mood/FinP	MoodP/FinP_ AspP (no Spec) _vP	yes	control
Infinitive	Mood/FinP	MoodP/FinP_NegP_CliticP_(deficient) TP_AspP_vP	does not pass all the tests	ambiguous

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