THE SEMANTIC VALUES OF THE PREPOSITIONS EMPLOYED WITH THE ROMANIAN SUPINE

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to offer an inventory of the Supine prepositions in Romanian, underlining their values in different contexts. Owing to the fact that the preposition *de* is considered the marker of the Supine and is one of the most frequently employed, we wish to stress its distinct status from one case to another (morpheme, preposition, postposition, thematizer). Further on, we are going to describe other prepositions: the simple units *din*, *după*, *în*, *la*, *pe*, *pentru*, *prin*, the compound prepositions *de la*, *pe la*, *până la*, *pe lângă* and the prepositional phrases *înainte de* and *în afară de*. We shall discuss their behavior depending on the context and to this purpose we shall use Romanian literary texts.

Key words: *supine, morpheme, preposition governed by the head, preposition with adverbial meaning, semantic equivalence*

Résumé

Le but de cet article est d'offrir un inventaire des prépositions du supin en roumain, en soulignant leurs valeurs en divers contextes. Etant donné le fait que la préposition *de* est considérée la marque du supin et en représente l'une des plus fréquemment utilisées, nous voulons mettre en évidence son statut différent d'un cas à l'autre (morphème, préposition, postposition, thématiseur). Nous decrirons ensuite les autres prépositions: les unités simples *din*, *după*, *în*, *la*, *pe*, *pentru*, *prin*, les prépositions composées *de la*, *pe la*, *până la*, *pe lângă* et les locutions prépositionnelles *înainte de* et *în afară de*. Nous discuterons aussi leur comportement en fonction du contexte et nous utiliserons à cette intention les textes littéraires roumains.

Mots-clés: *supin, mophème, préposition exigée par le régent, préposition au sens circonstanciel, équivalence sémantique*

As many of the studies dedicated to the Romanian Supine illustrate its occurrence with the preposition *de* more frequently and less with other prepositions or in approximately similar contexts, our intention is to make

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an inventory of these prepositions, by analyzing their specific distribution. We shall first tackle the status of *de*, because it is not the same in all situations, as well as the values of other prepositions. In order to exemplify the semantic differences and comment upon them theoretically, according to some interpretations launched by a linguist or another, we shall start from the following six sets of examples, registering in the meantime four contextual patterns for *de*.

a. *De*$_1$

„Se duce tot ce e *de dus*,/ Pământul jos şi luna sus." (Al. Macedonski, *Se duce*, p. 86)

„În urmă, sleit de oboseală, a adormit hotărât să nu se ducă la nici o nuntă... Dar a doua zi, când era *de mers*, şi-a schimbat gândul." (Liviu Rebreanu, *Răfuiala*, p. 19)

„Ce-i mai rămânea *de făcut* unei nenorocite văduve, săracă, beteagă de un ochi, de mâna dreaptă şi de piciorul drept?" (I.L. Caragiale, *Ultima emisiune*, p. 329)

„Nu era greu *de ghicit* că se credea văzut de toţi, că toată atenţia celorlalţi era adunată asupra lui." (Marin Preda, *Desfăşurarea*, p. 120)

„Florea Gheorghe avea *de făcut* o groază de treburi, dar dintre toate vroia să termine una..." (Marin Preda, *Calul*, p. 66)

„– Am să vă întreb ceva, se auzi vocea omului după ce terminase *de povestit*." (Marin Preda, *O adunare liniştită*, p. 56)

b. *De*$_2$

b1. „Când colo, popa tăia lemne la trunchiu afară şi, cum a văzut că ne aşezăm la fereastră şi ne pregătim *de urat*, a început a ne trage câteva naşteri îndesate [...]"[1] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 48)

„– Ei, Ivane, doar te-ai săturat acum *de umblat* prin lume după crancalâcuri?"[2] (Ion Creangă, *Ivan Turbincă*, p. 232)

„Şi am scăpat eu de urât, şi Trăsnea *de bolborosit* prin somn [...]".[3] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 75)

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[1] "When we got there, the priest was outside his house sawing wood upon a trunk. As soon as he saw us standing under his windows and getting ready for carolling, he muttered a few oaths under his breath…" (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[2] "Well, Ivan, so you've had enough of the frolicking about the world on the loose, have you?" (*Ivan and His Bag*)

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„Iar Manea ofta/ Şi se apuca/ Zidul *de zidit*/ Visul *de-mplinit*." (*Monastirea Argeşului*, p. 85)

„Mă apucai *de făcut* tarte înainte să fie copilul gata *de plecat* la şcoală."

„Fata e demnă *de compătimit* după câte a pățit."

„Vecinule, nu eşti vrednic *de orânduit* nițel prin curte?"

b2. „Banul *de furat* îşi spune stăpânul." (Nicolae Iorga, *Cugetări*, p. 142)

„Cea mai grea împărțeală este când fiecare vrea să aibă mai mult decât lucrul *de împărțit*." (Nicolae Iorga, *Cugetări*, p. 121)

„Două odăi *de dormit*." (I.L. Caragiale, *Caut casă*..., p. 173)

„Lângă maşina *de cusut*, un scaun cu spetează negru şi frumos, cum nu mai văzuse Ilie niciodată." (Marin Preda, *Desfăşurarea*, p. 163)

b3. „Se visase copil şi ce lucru *de neînțeles*!" (Marin Preda, *Desfăşurarea*, p. 127)

„O noapte de septembrie limpede ca sticla curată... vreme dulce şi lună plină... zece trăsuri mergând la pas şi banda roşiorilor cântând un marş triumfal în frunte – *de neuitat*." (I.L. Caragiale, *Om cu noroc*, p. 27)

„E o căpriță mică neagră [...] şi face sărituri *de necrezut* şi mehăie şi fel de fel de nebunii." [4] (I.L. Caragiale, *La Hanul lui Mânjoală*, p. 73)

„Târgul e în toiul lui... Lume, lume, e ceva *de speriat*, pe onoarea mea!" (I.L. Caragiale, p. 238)

„Era frumoasă *de nespus*/ În portu-i de la țară..." (Şt.O. Iosif, *Bunica*, p. 82)

„Fata, care ştia că *de făcut* treabă nu mai cade coada nimănui, îşi suflecă mânicile [...]"[5] (Ion Creangă, *Fata babei şi fata moşneagului*, p. 220)

„Hai, dă răspuns cucoanei, ori aşa, ori aşa, că n-are vreme *de stat* la vorbă cu noi." [6] (Ion Creangă, *Povestea unui om leneş*, p. 284)

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[3] "And so I got rid of the hump and Trăsnea of mumbling in his sleep." (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[4] "It was a little black goat […] and performed amazing bounds and bleats and all sorts of silly tricks." (*Minjoala's Inn*)

[5] "The girl, who knew very well that nobody's any the worse for hard work, tucked up her sleeves…" (*The Two Stepsisters*)

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„Cum *să scrii într-o limbă*? Poate cu limba, mai ştii păcatul? Pesemne că noi, cum s-ar prinde, las' că, *de scris*, talpa gâştii [...]"[7] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 74)

„Fratele cel sărac [...] tot avea şi el o păreche de boi [...] cum sunt mai buni *de înjugat* la car, *de ieşit* cu dânşii în lume şi *de făcut* treabă."[8] (Ion Creangă, *Dănilă Prepeleac*, p. 121)

c. De_3

„Cu mişcări *nespus de* line/ Tu te-nalți apoi spre cer;/ Văi şi lunci şi toate pier–/ Neagră-n urmă-ți Noaptea vine,/ De mister." (George Coşbuc, *Seara*, p. 117)

„Casa avea obloane mari în perete, închise şi zăvorâte de-a lungul şi de-a latul în nişte fiare groase şi *neobişnuit de* lungi." (Marin Preda, *Calul*, p. 68)

„[...] când D. şi cu mine am stat până dimineața într-un lan de lucernă, golind o sticlă de votcă şi bătătorind lucerna pe o suprafață *de necrezut de* mare [...] – a fost un hipervis [...]" (Mircea Cărtărescu, *De ce iubim femeile*, p. 16)

„Drumul a fost *neaşteptat de* lung pentru o țară atât de mică." (Mircea Cărtărescu, *De ce iubim femeile*, p. 115)

d. De_4

„aşa că *de reproşat* mie îmi reproşez" (Gabriela Adameşteanu, *Dialog*, p. 11)

„*de dat* înapoi le dai la fel cum mi-i dai şi mie"[9] (Gabriela Adameşteanu, *Dialog*, p. 12)

„Am cam întârziat... trebuia să plec mai devreme... dar în sfârşit!... *de aşteptat*, mă aşteaptă..."[10] (I.L. Caragiale, *La Hanul lui Mânjoală*, p. 65)

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[6] "Come, give the lady an answer, yea or nay, for she can't waste her time talking to the likes of us." (*The Tale of a Lazy Man*)

[7] "How can you 'write in a tongue'? Perhaps it means with the tongue, how should I know? It seems probable that the likes of us are hopeless when it comes to writing…" (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[8] "The poor brother […] had a couple of oxen […] just fit for yoking to the cart and for making a journey and getting down to work with." (*Dănilă Prepeleac*)

[9] The lack of punctuation marks is to be noticed in the short story from which we excerpted the examples.

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„*De vorbit*, nu poate vorbi, că măselele şi dinţii i-au căzut mai bine de o mie de ani."[11] (Ion Creangă, *Dănilă Prepeleac*, p. 129)

„Uite, de două zile nu am luat pâine. Mă credeţi? Da', *de furat*, nu fur şi *de cerut*, nu cer. Aşa suntem noi, ghepterii, mândri." (Dilema veche, 2005)

Comparing the types of contexts given, we can notice that *de* behaves differently in each of them. We cannot state, at least from the very beginning, that *de* is a preposition all-over. Only in examples like b. and c. it does have this status, though there are differences concerning the existence or inexistence of a syntactic government, distinct values being implied in the other three cases.

De, just like *a* of the Infinitive, "cumulates a double role: syntactically, it specializes itself for the attachment to the head of a non-finite verbal form, either the Supine or the Infinitive; morphologically, it specializes itself for marking the Supine, distinguishing it from the homonymous form of the Participle, respectively for marking the Infinitive"[12] (Pană Dindelegan, 2003: 206). The value it was granted is therefore a *connective one*, *specialized for the non-finite form of the Supine*. (Pană Dindelegan, 2003: 206).

De occurring in the construction of the Subject and Object cannot be replaced by other units; it is a free morpheme[13] like the infinitival one. The Supine can be negated and, apart from the negative prefix, it can be associated with a semi-adverb, *mai*, other elements being unable to separate *de* from the invariable Participle: *de neînvins*, *de nemaiînvins*. The fact that *de* alienated from its initial prepositional nature, indicating a non-finite

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[10] "I'm rather late… I ought to have left earlier… but anyway… they'll wait for me all right…" (*Minjoala's Inn*)

[11] "He can't speak, for his teeth fell out more than a thousand years ago." (*Dănilă Prepeleac*)

[12] "The compulsory *de* in a verbal phrase containing a modal or aspectual verb ensures a high degree of cohesion to the group explainable by both the features of the heads, and the form of the dependent […] the dependent asks for the obligatory presence of *de*, which becomes its inflectional marker". (*GALR*, 2005, p. 524)

[13] Free (moveable) morphemes are separated from the root, allowing splitting and inversion according to precise and very restrictive rules (Cf. *DŞL*, 2005, p. 327).

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verbal form, makes it a *specialized complementizer*[14] (Pană Dindelegan, 2003: 207). Romanian, unlike other Romance languages, has a type of non-finite object expressed by the Supine. (Bidu-Vrănceanu et al., 2005: 122)

Elena Negoiță-Soare is among those who treat *de* as a complementizer: "the element *de* from the structures in which it is not a preposition sub-categorized by the main verb has the status of *a functional element*, probably that of *complementizer*. One generally admits that functional elements are recognized by the fact that they make up closed lexical classes and are phonologically and morphologically dependent (unstressed, clitics or affixes, sometimes phonologically void) and they do not have lexical meaning. *De* cannot be replaced by other preposition"[15].

Speaking of Romance complementization, Alexandru Niculescu mentions, except for the operations generating the Direct Object sentence (POD) and its patterns in Romance languages, the infinitival, the gerundial and the Supine transformation by the phenomenon called *complementizer change*, "which removes markers like [+Tense] [+Person] and attributes the characteristic of [non-finite] to the POD verb"[16] (1978: 256).

Instead of infinitival Romance sentences, "constructions with the POD verb in the Participle" ("Supine") developed: "V_0 de V_1 – *continua*, *sfârşi*, *termina*, *căuta*, *începeta*, *uita*, which have a certain spread in the Balkans" (Niculescu, 1978: 268-269).

Alexandru Toşa considers *de* a Supine marker, a *prepositional morpheme*, the same treatment being applied to units like *la*, *pentru*, *după* (1983: 216); Gh. Constantinescu-Dobridor calls all of them *morphemes of prepositional origin* (1996: 235), and Dumitru Irimia takes *de* as a *constitutive Supine morpheme*, although the linguist does not exemplify the

[14] See, for the definition of complementizer and complementization, Bidu-Vrănceanu et al., 2005, p. 122–123.

[15] See *Le supin roumain et la théorie des categories mixtes*, available at the following address: www.llf.cnrs.fr/Gens/Soare/final2.pdf, p. 157, retrieved at 2010.03.01.

[16] For defining the Direct Object sentence (POD) and the way of generating it, see Niculescu, 1978, p. 254–255, and for the insertion of complementizers, see *ibidem*, p. 256–257.

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Subject and neither the Direct Object – the same status has *pentru*, while *la* is simply *a Supine morpheme, as absolute verbal form*[17] (2008: 348).

G.G. Neamțu, commenting on the values of the prepositions occurring with the invariable Participle, suggests two variants of interpretation: a) morpheme; b) preposition. In order to unify the system, he chooses the prepositional value of *de*, bringing a syntactical argument: "theoretically speaking, we could find a syntactical solution which saves the prepositional status of *de2* even in this case: the Supine with *de2* is not "a part of the discourse" in the usual sense of the term […]. It is not an intraclausal fragment, but a reduction by the Supine of a subordinate clause (Direct Object, Subject). Thus the Supine becomes an occupant of the pro-predicate position in the reduced subordinate, which belongs to the sentence syntax, like the Infinitive and Gerund. To conclude, irrespective of its situation, (1), (2) or (3)[18], *de* is always a preposition" (2006: 26).

So *de* is the Supine morpheme when the non-finite verbal form discharges the functions of Subject and Direct Object, it is not a preposition, neither governed by the verb, nor endowed with any adverbial meaning.

In b1 – type examples, *de* is not a morpheme any longer, being required independently of the Supine, but a preposition governed by the verbal or adjectival heads, thus responding to some combinatorial restrictions[19]: *a se apuca, a se plictisi, a se pregăti, a se sătura, a scăpa de ceva*; *gata, demn, vrednic de ceva*. All the verbs are intransitive (active or reflexive). The presence of *de* is compulsory after the verbal heads mentioned, but in other cases, different Supine prepositions can appear: *a se întrece, a se lua, a* (*se*) *opri, a sta, a trăi din*; *a da, a izbucni, a se întrece, a*

[17] In the first example provided by Dumitru Irimia: "D-apoi tu nici *de păscut* gâștele nu ești bun", a Supine complementing the adjective occurs, while in the second one: "Li s-a dat *de scris* acasă tot poemul", we believe that the Subject of the impersonal reflexive verb is the noun *poemul*, and the Supine expresses the goal/ purpose of the action – "Li s-a dat tot poemul *de scris* acasă" (În ce scop li s-a dat poemul?/ What did they get the poem for? → ca să fie scris acasă/ in order to be written at home).

[18] Type (1) contexts refer to *de* governed by the head, (2) to *de* not governed by the head (it is not its regime), in the presence of aspectual transitive verbs and impersonal verbs/ expressions, and (3) to *de* not governed by the head and introducing a noun complement, i.e. Attribute.

[19] See, for the inventory of values discharged by *de*, including the prepositional one, *GALR*, I, 2005, p. 524.

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lua în; *a ajuta, a apuca, a se da, a lua, a se pune la*; *a se aşterne, a se porni, a se pune pe*, etc.

In b2-type contexts, *de* is compulsory, being a preposition independent of the Supine, whose role is that of connector within the Noun phrase – linking the dependent to the head/centre of the group – (*GALR*, I, 2005: 524). Compare: "banul *de furat*" with "banul *de fier*", "lucru *de împărțit*" with "lucru *de împărțeală*" or "lucru *de pomană*", "odăi *de dormit*" with "odăi *de oaspeți*".

As for b3-type Supines, the contexts are those allowing the assignment of various adverbial values to the preposition *de*. Thus we distinguish a consecutive *de*: "ce lucru *de neînțeles*", "sărituri *de necrezut*", "ceva *de speriat*", "frumoasă *de nespus*", where the correlative adverbs are missing (*aşa de, atât de... încât*: "sărituri atât de înalte încât nu-ți vine să crezi", "lume aşa de multă încât te sperii", "atât de frumoasă încât nu se poate spune"). In the first example, we consider that "ce" is an exclamatory pro-adjective[20], being itself a correlative and having the role of intensifying the quality and expressing a superlative: "lucru grozav/nemaipomenit încât nu poate fi înțeles". In the fourth phrase mentioned, the consecutive Supine modifies an adjective, the entire meaning being that of a superlative: "frumoasă *de nespus*" = "foarte frumoasă", "extrem de frumoasă".

The expression of the consecutive Supine is limited to some structures, being *rare and emphatic* and occurring in *hyperbolic constructions*: "am băut la apă *de speriat*"[21] (Iordan, Robu, 1978: 674). Dumitru Irimia argues that the "infra-clausal development of this function is quite less frequent, being chiefly conveyed by verbal-nominal forms: De când s-a întors, muncește *de speriat*, dar tot degeaba" (2008: 507).

The next value expressed by *de* is cause: "*de făcut* treabă nu cade coada nimănui" (din cauză că faci treabă), then purpose, the Supine being

[20] For this value of *ce* and many others, see Vulişici Alexandrescu, 2004, p. 20–28. For other information related to pro-adjectives, see idem, 2001, p. 153–158.

[21] The same Supine also occurs in *GLR*, II, 1966, p. 187: "A mâncat *de speriat*", where the verb is considered an Adverbial Modifier of Manner with consecutive meaning. The following observation is made, too: "The Adverbial Modifier of Consequence is usually crystallized in expressions in which the idea of consequence is not felt any more, but only the idea of manner proper".

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replaceable by an Infinitive with *pentru*: “n-are vreme *de stat/pentru a sta la vorbă* cu noi” (n-are vreme ca să stea la vorbă).

The last adverbial meaning of *de* is that of relation: “*la scris*, talpa gâştii” (în ceea ce priveşte scrisul); the Supine is required by an adjective as well: “o păreche de boi cum sunt mai buni *de înjugat* la car, *de ieşit* cu dânşii în lume şi *de făcut* treabă” (buni în ce priveşte..., buni să fie înjugați, să iasă cu dânşii în lume şi să facă treabă). The value of the Supine can be questionable for *la scris*, it being an activity, “writing”, i.e. a noun in the non-prepositional Accusative discharging the function of an adverbial modifier of relation.

The Supine as a consecutive dependent has *an intensive effect*, and the constructions are “full of intensive values on one part, and modalizing values “of possibility” on the other part, being attracted, as their synonyms in *-bil*, in the pattern of absolute superlative, characterized by the fixed prepositive word order to the adjectival or adverbial head and the attachment by the marker *de*. The Supine is distinguished by an inversion of word order under two aspects: it is prepositive in relation to the adjectival/ adverbial head; it has the marker *de* after the Supine form. With this reverse word order, the Supine becomes an adverbial dependent” (*GALR*, I, 2005: 520).

Starting from these observations, we can notice the existence of an adverbial Supine in the examples from c., covering the structure [Adverb + *de*]: “*nespus d*e line”, “*neobişnuit de* lungi”, “*de necrezut de* mare”. As for the value of *de*, one appreciates that, on the one hand, “another *de* occurs in the new syntactic pattern, not the preposition from the consecutive construction with adjectival/adverbial head, but the formal marker belonging to some constructions of absolute superlative” (*GALR*, I, 2005: 520).

On the other hand, “the determinative element is placed before the head, and the syntactic cohesion is realized by the *de-semantized preposition de*.” (*GALR*, I, 2005: 592)

Still, we consider this *de* can no longer be considered a preposition, since it occurs after the dependent term and is adherent to it. The direction of the relationship between the adverbialized Supine and the adjectival/

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adverbial head is reverse, from left to right (reverse subordination). Therefore, *de* behaves like a *postposition* and not a preposition[22]. Syntactically, the Supine with intensive role is a quantitative Adverbial.

The adverbial Supines functioning as superlative markers and connected to the head by postposition are quite a few in Romanian: *neajuns de*, *neasemuit de*, *neaşteptat de*, *nebănuit de*, *necrezut de*, *nedescris de*, *nefiresc de*, *negrăit de*, *neiertător de*, *neînchipuit de*, *neîntrecut de*, *nemărginit* de, *nemăsurat de*, *neobişnuit de*, *neomenesc de*, *nepreţuit de*, *neruşinat de*, *nesfârşit de*, *nesperat de*, *nespus de*, *nesuferit de*.

In the last type of contexts with *de*, representative for the pattern of *strong thematization/topicalization*, its compulsory occurrence is not related to the form of the Supine, but to its role as "*thematizer*, the preposition being retained outside the construction with the Supine as well, irrespective of the type of predication thematized. The same *de* also occurs for the thematization of adjectival, adverbial or nominal predications"[23]. (*GALR*, I, 2005: 522).

The thematized structure admits any Supine, irrespective of the originating verb; the Supine cannot be negated, a sign for its loss of verbal status, approaching by paraphrase to prepositional constructions introduced by other thematizers: *cât despre*, *în privinţa*, *în ce priveşte*, *cât priveşte*. The Supine refers to an abstract noun, denoting an action or state: *în privinţa reproşurilor mie îmi reproşez*, *cât despre aşteptare*, *mă aşteaptă*, *în ce priveşte vorbirea*, *nu poate vorbi*.

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[22] See, for the demonstration of the left-right relationship and the exemplification of the structure [adverb + *de* + adjective/ adverb], Drașoveanu, 1969, p. 241–246; 1997, p. 52–58. The same interpretation is to be encountered with Vulişici Alexandrescu, 1995, p. 122, where a quantitative Adverbial is illustrated by adverbs with reverse subordination.

[23] See *GALR*, I, 2005, p. 522, where the specific features of strong thematization are detailed. By *thematization* or *topicalization* one understands "grammatical mechanisms (firstly syntactic) appropriate to each language by which the quality of theme/topic is given to certain nominals and distinguished from the non-thematic part of the utterance. Syntactic devices consist in changing the word order of nominal components, which are displaced in a more distant position in the utterance to a frontal and preverbal one, namely a position adjacent to the first place in the utterance, preceding the occurrence of the first predicate". Strong thematization is thematization with *isolation*. In Romanian, the pattern of thematization with the Supine (*de* is a thematizer) is a typical one, i.e. in the Daco-Romanian dialect. For the definition provided, see Bidu-Vrănceanu et al., 2005, p. 530 and p. 531.

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The six types of contexts, which illustrate almost all the Supines from literary texts belonging to different periods of time, demonstrate the polyvalence of *de*, which cannot be reduced to a simple preposition.

Others values are to be encountered. We thus speak of:

- *de*$_1$ morpheme, morphological and syntactical marker;
- *de*$_2$ preposition, further classified into:

1. preposition governed by verbs or adjectives;
2. preposition non-governed by the head, incorporating different adverbial values;
3. preposition, syntactical marker in the noun phrase (connector);

- *de*$_3$ postposition, specialized for expressing an absolute superlative by a reverse connection, lef – right;
- *de*$_4$ thematizer.

Analyzing the values of other existing prepositions in the construction of the Supine, we notice the occurrence of another thematizer, equivalent to *de*, *cât despre*:

„*Cât despre cunoscut*, ne cunoaştem deja, de la comitetul de tineret." (Petru Popescu, *Supleantul*, p. 49)

Din appears as a governed preposition, too, being imposed by intransitive verbs, rarely transitives:

„Moşneagul îşi opri toiagul *din pipăit* şi se întoarse încet de tot, fără să-şi ridice capul." (Marin Preda, *Colina*, p. 16)

„Mă opresc *din prins*, eram chiar cu un snop în mână." (Marin Preda, *În ceată*, p. 9)

„Chiar şi-n timpul unui asalt sexual, băiatul ăsta s-ar fi întrerupt *din gâfâit*..." (Petru Popescu, *Supleantul*, p. 22)

„Şi unde nu ţi-o înşfacă pe sus, şi se ieu ei ba din tâlcuri, ba din cimilituri, ba *din pâcâlit*..." (Ion Creangă, *Povestea lui Stan Păţitul*, p. 163)[24]

[24] "And didn't he just sweep her off her feet what with jokes, riddles and pranks…" (*The Tale of Stan the Sorely-Tried*)

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„Toate ca toatele! dar la cusut şi la sărăduit sumane şi mai ales la roată, mă întreceam cu fetele cele mari *din tors*."[25] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 59)

„Şi mai stă *din băut*, şi iar începe a mornăi..."[26] (Ion Creangă, *Povestea lui Harap-Alb*, p. 185)

„Se vede lucru că şi moş Nichifor era făcut pe drumuri, căci cum ieşea afară la drum parcă era altul, nu mai sta *din pocnit* cu biciul..."[27] (Ion Creangă, *Moş Nichifor Coţcariul*, p. 270)

„Bătrânul se descurcă *din cerşit* la biserică."

„Trăieşte *din primit* una sau alta de la oamenii binevoitori."

The verb *a opri* "to stop" is "a secondary causative verb which accepts the pattern of construction with the second verb in the Supine"[28]. (*GALR*, II, 2005: 176)

It is the case of the first example quoted: "Moşneagul$_P$ îşi opri toiagul$_A$ *din pipăit*", the nominal Subject representing the thematic role of Agent, and the nominal Direct Object that of the Patient.

Sometimes *din* may develop a temporal meaning, the Supine being equivalent to a subordinate clause in which the action is simultaneous with that expressed by the head verb:

„Ce dracu, mă, de baţi aşa, crezi că sunt surd? Haide, vino încoace să-ţi dau bumbacul, porunci *din mers*, lăsându-l pe Ilie să-i vadă cămaşa albastră de poplin..." (Marin Preda, *Desfăşurarea*, p. 158)

The preposition *după* has a final meaning, introducing an Adverbial Modifier of Purpose after verbs of movement:

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[25] "I may not have been much good, but when it came to sewing and embroidering cloth coats and particularly to spinning I was every bit as good as the older girls…" (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[26] "Every now and again he would stop drinking and start a fresh burst of growling…" (*The Tale of Harap-Alb*)

[27] "For no sooner was he on the road than he'd be another man; he'd never stop cracking his whip…" (*Goodman Nichifor Slyboots*)

[28] See the example: "Străunul meu l-a oprit *din cântat*". For the definition of causative constructions and the inventory of specialized verbs, see *GALR*, II, 2005, p. 168–184.

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„[...] şi numai iaca ce vede Harap-Alb altă bâzdâganie şi mai şi: o pocitanie de om umbla cu arcul *după vânat* paseri.”[29] (Ion Creangă, *Povestea lui Harap-Alb*, p. 200)

„Cât îi mic prinde muşte cu ceaslovul şi toată ziulica bate prundurile *după scăldat* [...]”[30] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 33)

„Pe acest deal, Smărandă, am fugit în vremea zaverei... de frica unei cete de turci, care se bătuse chiar atunci cu volintirii din Secu şi se îndreptară spre Pipirig, *după jăfuit*.”[31] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 37)

„Umbla *după cerşit*.”[32]

Some grammarians quote the preposition *după* with temporal meaning as well:

„Şlefuirea piesei se face *după aşchiat*.”[33]

We also identified the use of the preposition *după* as a governed preposition:

„Însă, de-a ieşi vreo lege/ Că nevestele de-acuma,/ Nu bărbaţii, vor alege/ Pe primar, şi că-i iertat/ Să se caute vrednicia/ Numai *după sărutat*:/ De v-aţi pune-n cap cu toţii,/ Eu aş fi primar în sat!” (George Coşbuc, *Unul ca o sută*, p. 106)

„Zici că de m-ai fi cerut/ Mamei tale noră-n casă,/ N-aş fi vrut să merg? E, lasă!/ Că de-o fată cui-i pasă,/ Nu se ia *după părut*! (George Coşbuc, *Nu te-ai priceput*, p. 7)

În appears most of the times as preposition governed by the verb:

„Izbucniră amândoi *în râs*. Se înecau cu îmbucăturile şi se prăpădeau de veselie.” (Marin Preda, *Desfăşurarea*, p. 110)

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[29] “Harap-Alb suddenly saw another unspeakable monster, more marvelous than the others: a fright of a man, walking about with a bow in his hand, shooting at birds…” (*The Tale of Harap-Alb*)

[30] “Now that he’s small, he catches flies in his prayer book and goes up and down the riverbanks all day long looking for bathing-places…” (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[31] “Upon this hill, daughter Smaranda, we took refuge at the time of the 1821 uprising, with your mother, yourself and your brother Ion, scared off by a band of Turks who had been recently fighting the volunteers at Secu and were then making their way to Pipirig in search of plunder.” (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[32] Eg. selected from Avram, 1997, p. 308.

[33] For the example quoted see Iordan, Robu, 1978, p. 672.

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„Vezi d-ta, colo departe, nişte lanuri frumoase de grâu care dă *în copt*?”[34] (Ion Creangă, *Povestea lui Stan Păţitul*, p. 157)

„Ursul, auzind că încă-l mai iè şi *în râs*, se înciudează şi mai tare şi se răpede iute spre copac...” (Ion Creangă, *Ursul păcălit de vulpe*, p. 316).

It is sometimes a semantically plain preposition, developing a temporal meaning:

„Din dreapta mea şi *în mers*, îmi ia palma şi o pune pe piept, ca să-mi arate cum îi bate inima şi să-mi dovedească astfel că n-o să fie sport.” (Petru Popescu, *Supleantul*, p. 212).

A final meaning occurs, too:

„A doua zi iarăşi aşa făcu... fără să-şi mai aducă aminte că plecase *în peţit*”[35].

The preposition *la* is also governed by some verbs:

„Noroc mare că era o iarnă geroasă, şi omătul ajuta *la scârţâit*”[36] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 81).

„Mă faci să te-apuc iar *la scărmănat*, moşule baros.” (Ion Creangă, *Acul şi barosul*, p. 313)

„[...] încep a mă da şi *la scris*, şi *la făcut* cadelniţa în biserică, şi *la ţinut* isonul, de parcă eram băiet.” (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 30)[37]

„De-amu bine că mi-ai spus, las’ pe mine, că ţi-l ieu *la depănat*!”[38] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 55)

„Auzi, dar cine-i el, păgânul,/ Ca să-mi sărute fete-n drum?/ Nu ştie nimeni de-unde vine,/ Şi capu-i stă *la sărutat*!” (George Coşbuc, *Vântul*, p. 31)

„Bunica s-a pus *la tors* lâna.”

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[34] “Do you see those fine wheat crops over there just turning ripe?” (*The Tale of Stan the Sorely-Tried*)

[35] The example is taken from *GLR*, II, 1966, p. 179. See also I, p. 362.

[36] “Luckily the winter was bitter cold and the snow remedied the omission.” (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[37] “I began to take to writing, to preparing the censer in church, to singing second, as if I were a respectable youngster.” (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[38] “It’s a good thing you’ve told me; leave it to me and I’ll talk to him and worm the truth out of him.” (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

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The occurrence of the Supine with the governed preposition *la* after another Supine is an interesting phenomenon:

„Cei buni n-au vreme de gândit/ La moarte şi *la tânguit*."[39] (George Coşbuc, *Moartea lui Fulger*, p. 77)

The preposition *la* may be also governed by secondary causative verbs like *a îndemna* "to prick, to urge" or *a pune* "to huff somebody into doing something":

„Căldura îl îndemna *la dormit*."

„Petromidia, un elefant pus *la alergat*."

„I-am pus pe copii *la cules* cireşe."[40]

The verb *a da* with causative meaning is compatible with the same pattern of the Supine construction:

„Maşina am dus-o *la reparat*."[41]

When it is semantically sufficient, it introduces an Adverbial Modifier of Time:

„Ştii tu, mândră, ce ţi-am spus/ *La cules* de cucuruz."[42]

„Este exact: expresul trece pe la Mizil fără să se oprească, nici *la dus*, nici *la întors*."[43] (I.L. Caragiale, *O zi solemnă*, p. 354)

„În casă era cald, şi de afară se auzea, *la mers*, scârţâitul zăpezii." (Marin Preda, *O adunare liniştită*, p. 37)

„[...] rupse cu hotărâre o mânecă, făcu un petic mare, prinse cămaşa curată a bărbatului, care se rupsese *la spălat*, şi începu să coasă cu mişcări iuţi şi dibace peticul." (Marin Preda, *Desfăşurarea*, p. 94)

„[...] eu aflând pentru prima dată atunci cât de dulce *la mângâiat* e părul pubian al unei fete..." (Mircea Cărtărescu, *De ce iubim femeile*, p. 16)

Another adverbial value of the preposition *la*, much more frequently encountered, is the final one:

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[39] "The best have only time to do,/ Not think of death or wail or rue –" (*Fulger's Death*)

[40] See for the examples quoted, *GALR*, II, 2005, p. 176.

[41] See *ibidem*.

[42] See *GALR*, II, 2005, p. 176. The example quoted refers to an Adverbial Modifier of Time with local meaning. But the Supine illustrated is not a verb, but a noun, the prepositional attribute with *de* occurring as a post-determiner.

[43] "It was perfectly correct; the express passed through Mizil without stopping in either direction." (*A Solemn Day*)

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„Icoană-ntr-un altar s-o pui/ *La închinat*."

„S-au dus *la scăldat*."[44]

„Ion se duce *la cules*."[45]

„Pe urmă cârciumarul a plecat *la târguit*."[46]

„Hârca, nu doar că şoptea şi umbla cătinel ca să n-o audă împăratul, ci avea grijă să n-o audă din odaia de alăturea, un credincios al împăratului, care în toate zilele umbla cu dânsul *la vânat*."[47] (Ion Creangă, *Povestea porcului*, p. 146)

„Se ducea cu tată-său în munte, *la făcut* ferestrea."[48] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 39)

„Am început a mă scălda în ticnă [...] potrivind-o să vin acasă odată cu vacile şi spuind mamei că, scăpându-le văcarul din ocol pe ale noastre la amiază, eu singur le-am dus *la păscut* [...]"[49] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 58)

„[...] şi pândind vreme pe cînd şed ele plecate şi dau pânza în apă *la ghilit*, fac ţuşti! din baltă [...]"[50] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 61)

„[...] şi Mogorogea, băiet grijuliv, îşi curăţă ciubotele frumos şi le pune *la uscat* pe vatră [...]"[51] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 82)

„Ai venit şi tu – câine surd, *la vânat*, aşa mi-a răspuns." (Marin Preda, *În ceată*, p. 4)

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[44] See *ibidem*, I, p. 369. See, for the second example, II, p. 180, *the false* Adverbial Modifier of Purpose having a local value.

[45] The example is taken from Iordan, Robu, 1978, p. 675.

[46] See Irimia, 2008, p. 514.

[47] "It was not for the emperor's sake that the old witch was whispering and treading softly, but she was careful lest she should be overheard by a faithful servant of the emperor's next-door who went hunting with him every day." (*The Tale of The Pig*)

[48] "She went up the mountains with her father wood-chopping." (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[49] "After that I began to bathe at my leisure till sundown; and, managing to get home with the cows, I told mother that our cows had run loose from the cowherd's enclosure about noon and that I had taken them grazing, on my own." (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[50] "And biding my time till they were bent double, bleaching the linen, I shot out of the water." (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[51] "And Mogorogea, a neat careful fellow, cleaned his boots and placed them on the stove to dry." (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

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„Lângă uşa apartamentului nostru, pe un cuier care a fost de haine, e agăţat acum echipamentul foto. Trepiedurile pe care le foloseşte Stejar *la fotografiat*." (Petru Popescu, *Supleantul*, p. 64–65)

More rarely, the preposition *la* has a restrictive meaning, too, the Supine modifying an adjective whose property it includes and introducing an Adverbial Modifier of Relation: „elevă bună la socotit." (*GALR*, I, 2005: 521)

Another preposition used with the Supine and governed by the verb is *pe*:

„Şi s-au adunat cu toatele la priveghi, şi unde nu s-au aşternut *pe mâncate* şi *pe băute*, veselindu-se împreună..."[52] (Ion Creangă, *Capra cu trei iezi*, p. 116)

„Dar, neaflând care-i vinovatul şi nebizuindu-se în putere a se bate cu toţi, se puse *la făcut* metanii şi ne blăstăma, de-i curgea foc din gură."[53] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 80)

„Ţiganul s-a pornit *pe râs*, a luat un bun bacşiş de la vodă şi la moment a gătit straiele şi ciubotele ministrului." (I.L. Caragiale, *Reformă*, p. 51)

„Cocoana, văzând halul omului, s-a pornit *pe plâns*."[54] (I.L. Caragiale, *Două loturi*, p. 106)

„Când îl văzu pe prispă, înteţi flacăra de paie şi se puse *pe mestecat* mămăliga." (Marin Preda, *Desfăşurarea*, p. 123)

The preposition *pentru* is frequently used, being considered by Dumitru Irimia the Supine morpheme:

„*Pentru încălzit* camera folosim un radiator."[55] (2008: 348)

One of the meanings implied by the preposition is the final one:

„A chemat o femeie *pentru văruit*." (*GLR*, I, 1966: 375)

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[52] "And they all came to watch the dead and didn't they just sit down to eating and drinking, rejoicing in common." (*The Goat and Her Three Kids*)

[53] "Yet, unable to discover the culprit and not relying upon his strength to fight us all, he fell on his knees and touched the ground with his forehead, calling God's wrath upon us, curses pouring from his mouth." (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

[54] "Seeing her husband's state, she burst out crying." (*Two Lottery Prizes*)

[55] Only the quality of morpheme is indicated, but not the adverbial value of purpose of the construction. Neither does the author exemplify in the chapters dedicated to syntax an Adverbial Modifier of Purpose expressed by the Supine with *pentru*.

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„N-apuc să sfârşesc, şi iacătă hamalii... Au sosit *pentru mutat*; adică, *pentru mutat*, vorba vine, căci, de data asta, nu ştiu cum făcurăm, n-am avut noroc să ne mutăm...” (I.L. Caragiale, *De închiriat*, p. 180)

„Toată vremea asta, madam Tincuța Popesco tace, bătându-se pe palma stângă cu un cuțit de sidef *pentru tăiat* corespondența.” (I.L. Caragiale, *Five o'clock*, p. 288)

The causal meaning of *pentru* is very seldom encountered. We came across an example in Ion Creangă's work, representing the author's spontaneous creation – the verb *a pupa* with the sense of “to make owl-like noises” doesn't exist in Romanian, Creangă transforming the imitative word *pu-puu-puup* into a verb. The causal value is easily inferred from the coordination between the part of the sentence and its corresponding subordinate (which is a causal one).

„Mă abat pe la teiu, cu gând să prind pupăza, căci aveam grozavă ciudă pe dânsa; nu numaidecât *pentru pupat*, cum zicea mama, ci pentru că mă scula în toate zilele cu noaptea-n cap din pricina ei.” [56] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 54)

The occurrence of the preposition *prin* with the Supine may be also accepted, while introducing an Adverbial Modifier of Means:

„Se exteriorează cel mai bine *prin scris* poezii.”

„Ne putem îndeosebi cultiva *prin citit* multe opere de valoare.”

Notice the presence of the Direct Object of the Supine.

The Supine-based noun (without article and determiners) is possible in the same context: “Se exteriorizează cel mai bine *prin scris*”, the word *scris* referring to “writing” as activity.

From what we have presented so far regarding the value of *de*, *din*, *în*, *la* and *pe* as governed prepositions, it can be noticed that many verbs selecting the Supine accompanied by one of these belong to the category of intransitive verbs of aspect, marking either the beginning of the action/process or its end (inchoative verbs: *a se apuca de*, *a apuca la*, *a se aşterne pe*, *a bufni de* or *în* having the meaning *a începe să*... “to start”, *a da*

[56] “I went round by the lime-tree bent on catching that hoopoe, for I was fed up with the thing, not necessarily because of the pooping, as mother said, but because mother would wake me every day before sunrise on account of it.” (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

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în, a se da la, a se lua din, a lua în, a se pune pe or *la*; terminative verbs: *a se lăsa de, a opri de* or *din, a sta din* having the meaning *a se opri din*, i.e. "to stop doing something").

The Direct Object expressed by the Supine with de_1 morpheme is also governed by terminative (transitive) verbs of aspect: *a găta, a găti* and *a mântui* having the meaning "to finish". We encounter them all in Ion Creangă's stories; except for activating the action, their role consists in rendering the local color, such verbs being found in the popular/folk register. As a matter of fact, the three of them are characteristic of the story teller from Humuleşti, as inchoative verbs occurring in Supine structures are:

„Şi mănâncă ei la un loc tustrei şi mănâncă, până ce gătesc *de mâncat* toate cele cinci pâni, de parcă n-au mai fost."[57] (*Cinci pâni*, p. 293)

„Măi!!! s-a trecut de şagă, zic eu, în gândul meu; încă nu m-a gătit *de ascultat*, şi câte au să mai fie!"[58] (*Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 29)

„Țăranul, după ce mântui *de sămănat*, se întoarse acasă." (*Povestea poveştilor*, p. 252)

The occurrence of governed prepositions with the Supine of certain verbs is to be seized upon in a series of expressions developing an aspectual inchoative significance, in which the Supine has the status of a formant, not having a syntactical autonomy. It is about verbs like *a râde* "to laugh" and *a plânge* "to cry", verbs which associate with *a da, a izbucni* and *a pufni* "to burst into". The Supine occurs with the preposition *în*:

„– A murit poetul Nichita Stănescu – spune Murivale pe un ton care anunță că e gata *să izbucnească în plâns*." (Mircea Nedelciu, *Probleme cu identitatea*, p. 74)

„Când *izbucneau în râs* se lăsau pe spate şi hohoteau îndelung." (Mircea Nedelciu, *Cât timp eşti invizibil*, p. 196)

[57] "They all three ate together, and they ate until they had cleared up the five loaves as if they had never existed." (*Five Loaves*)

[58] "My word, this is past a joke," I said to myself. "He has not yet finished examining me, and think of all the mistakes to come!" (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

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„Când îmi dau seama că nu e moartă, ci doar s-a rătăcit, îmi vine *să pufnesc în râs*, dar nu îndrăznesc şi mă abţin cu greu." (Mircea Nedelciu, *Dansul cocoşului*, p. 26)

After the verb *a bufni*, with its variant *a pufni* "to burst into", the Supine with the preposition *de* appears:

„Abiè ajung ei la porţile palatului împărătesc, şi străjerii, cum îi văd, încep a se uita unul la altul şi *a bufni de râs*."[59] (Ion Creangă, *Povestea porcului*, p. 138)

„Ţi-a pus ulcica la pocovnicu! zice cocoana *pufnind de râs* şi ţinându-mi calea la uşe."[60] (I.L. Caragiale, *La Hanul lui Mânjoală*, p. 70)

Other expressions selecting the Supine of the verb *a râde* are built up with verbs like *a leşina* "to laugh oneself into convulsion", *a lua* "to mock" and *a se prăpădi* "to fall with laughter":

„Eu când citesc cuvântul „creaţie" – literară, muzicală, filozofică – *leşin de râs*." (*322 de vorbe memorabile ale lui Petre Ţuţea*, p. 33)

„Deşi cu nouă ani mai mare ca mine, *nu* mă *lua în râs* când discutam cu gravitate despre, aproape literalmente, câte-n lună şi-n stele..." (Mircea Cărtărescu, *De ce iubim femeile*, p. 78)

„Da, da, dumnealui! să-l vezi ce caraghios e cu ţigara-n gură, *să te prăpădeşti de râs*... ca un om mare..." (I.L. Caragiale, *Vizită*..., p. 204)

The Supine of transitive verbs like *a da* and *a lăsa* generate expressive groups, and it cannot be separately analyzed as Direct Object ("to offer somebody food for thought", "to stick out", "to leave much to be desired"):

„Cui e obicinuit cu mersul trenurilor, o oprire în afară de cele prevăzute la itinerar *dă de gândit*..." (I.L. Caragiale, *Întârziere*, p. 215)

„Purtarea parchetului dvs. *lasă de dorit*." (I.L. Caragiale, *Telegrame*, p. 346)

„Aşa că ea va pleca înainte pe jos, iar eu, ca *să nu*-i *dau de bănuit* lui tată-său, să apar cam peste vreo jumătate de oră..." (Mircea Nedelciu, *Dansul cocoşului*, p. 50)

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[59] "They had hardly reached the gates of the royal palace when the guards, on seeing them, started looking at each other and chuckling." (*The Tale of the Pig*)

[60] "Somebody's bewitched you at the Colonel's," said Marghioala, bursting into a laugh and barring my way to the door. (*Minjoala's Inn*)

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„Ce-i drept, vocea ei *lăsa de dorit* un pic când cânta la Grandiflora (căci se apucase şi ea de lucrativa meserie) [...]" (Mircea Cărtărescu, *De ce iubim femeile*, p. 140)

Other expressions with the Supine accompanied by the preposition *de* are created around the link verbs *a fi* "to be" and *a se face* "to become" or the transitive verb *a face* "to do". The verb *a face* is "the prototypical causative verb", the examples we illustrate being some *causative constructions*[61], made up of a primary verb having the feature [+Causative] and the verb in the Supine expressing "the state obtained as a result of causation". The verb *a se face* conveys a causative meaning, too if "the actant placed in the position of Subject has the control of the action, functioning as Agent". (*GALR*, II, 2005: 177)

As for the function of the Supine, this is a Subject Complement after *a fi* and *a se face*[62], but not a Direct Object after *a face*, the Supine remaining a simple formant.

„Era să merg la nuntă/ Ca cei de neam sărac,/ *Să fiu de râs* în lume?/ Ori ce era să fac?" (George Coşbuc, *Baladă*, p. 149)

„Ori am vorbit cu dânsa glume?/ O *fac de râs* şi-i scot eu nume?" (George Coşbuc, *Duşmancele*, p. 63)

„Şi iar mă răbuia, *făcându*-mă *de râs*; şi eu iar fugeam acasă, plângând, stupind şi blestemându-l."[63] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 50)

„Simţea că *se face de râs* la oameni purtându-se astfel... A simţit el dinainte că Tănase va veni, a ştiut el că trebuie să vie... acum i s-a împlinit aşteptarea. Ce *să se* mai *facă de râs*?, L-*au făcut de râs*, l-au făcut de comedie la lume, fugind de la oaste." (Liviu Rebreanu, *Răfuiala*, p. 23)

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[61] See *GALR*, II, 2005, p. 168: "causative constructions are verbal constructions with two actants, one representing the person or cause which triggers an action that determines an effect (the causative entity), and the other, the person or object whom/which the effect of the causative action reflects upon (the affected entity)". See, for the typology of causative-factitive constructions, p. 171-181.

[62] For expressions containing the verb *a se face* and their grammatical analysis, see Neamţu, 2007, p. 212.

[63] "[…] and again he'd give me a good rubbing, making a laughing-stock of me, and again I'd run home, crying, spitting and cursing…" (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

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„– Miai, nu fi țâcnit, strigă Bâzdoveică. Ce, tu nu-ți dai seama că *te faci de râs*? Ascultă lumea la tine!...” (Marin Preda, *O adunare liniştită*, p. 62)

„La închisoare, grija mea a fost *să nu fac* neamul românesc *de râs*.” (*322 de vorbe memorabile ale lui Petre Țuțea*, p. 113–114)

„A doua zi, directorul liceului unde eram profesor mi-a pus în vedere să de multă vreme îmi neglijam orele de curs, că *făceam* şcoala *de râs* şi că va fi nevoit să mă concendieze dacă nu-mi băgam mințile în cap.” (Octavian Paler, *Viața pe un peron*, p. 42)

The occurrence of some compound prepositions in the constructions of the Supine had been noticed (*de la*, *pe la*, *până la*, *pe lângă*); its usage is related to an Adverbial Modifier of Place, Time or Addition (cumulative):

„Vin *de la vânat*/ *de la cules*.”

„*Până la cules* mai este o săptămână.”[64]

„Întârziase *pe la prins* raci.” (Avram, 1997: 304)

„*Pe lângă cântat*, el se ocupă şi de...”[65]

Other examples:

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[64] See Iordan, Robu, 1978, p. 671, where the distinction between the Adverbial Modifier of Purpose, depending on the semantics of the head verb: “Plec *la vânat/ la cules*” and the Adverbial Modifier of Place with the compound preposition *de la* is made. The examples provided by the two linguists are named *constructions by metonymy*. See p. 672 for the Adverbial Modifier of Time.

[65] The example is quoted by Dimitriu, 1999, p. 623. The linguist considers the Supine accompanied by the compound preposition *pe lângă* (*pe lângă cântat*, *pe lângă alergat*, *pe lângă pictat* etc.) “*a noun deriving from the Supine – a nominal periphrasis* which has strictly the same general morphological structure as the Supine mood…, but which distinguishes from the Supine both by its main semantic-grammatical features and the types of contexts in which it can occur. Thus, semantically – unlike the Supine mood, which expresses the action as process –, the noun derived from the Supine refers to the name of the action, which can be revealed also by approximate equivalence to other types of nouns of verbal origin”. We believe that this equivalence C. Dimitriu speaks about can be directed towards the verb, too, not only towards the noun: “*Pe lângă pictat*, Mihai sculptează în lemn”, “*Pe lângă alergat*, el face şi înot” (“Pe lângă că pictează, Mihai sculptează în lemn”, “Pe lângă că aleargă, el face şi înot”). Thus, we could speak of a verb in the Supine mood functioning as an Adverbial Modifier of Addition (cumulative). Therefore, the semantic equivalence cannot be exclusively used to establish the status of noun or verb of the Supine, as *cântat*, *alergat*, *pictat* may be interpreted in both directions. In the case of a sentence like: “*Pe lângă pictat colțuri* de natură/ *pe lângă sculptat lemnul şi piatra*, Mihai face vase de ceramică/ pictează”, the presence of the Direct Object of the Supine is to be noticed – a clear sign of its verbal nature.

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„Dar împăratul, când a venit în astă-sară *de la vânat* şi când i s-a adus laptele, a zis în gândul său: „Acest lapte nu se mai bè”.[66] (Ion Creangă, *Povestea porcului*, p. 147)

„Ia de buhaiul lui moş popa, mare frică avem, mămulică! Când vine sara *de la păscut*, fugim de el care încotro apucăm [...]” (Ion Creangă, *Pâcală*, p. 309)

„Mai pasă de dă ochi cu mătuşa Mărioara, cu moş Vasile, cu văru Ion şi chiar cu băieţii la biserică, la horă [...] şi *pe la scăldat* în Cierul Cucului [...]”[67] (Ion Creangă, *Amintiri din copilărie*, p. 53)

„Erau doi flăcăi care se întorceau cu caii *de la păscut*.” (Marin Preda, *Întâlnirea din pământuri*, p. 19)

„Remus ajunge acasă *de la făcut* ciment prin vecini.” (Dilema veche, 2005)

The compound preposition *de la* can be governed by the verb, too like in the following example:

„Nu s-a dat în lături nici *de la fumat*, nici *de la băut*.” (Nu s-a dat în lături nici să nu fumeze, nici să nu bea.)

The Supine may be also used with the prepositional phrase *înainte de* (Adverbial Modifier of Time) and *în afară de* (Adverbial Modifier of Addition or Exception):

„Când s-a făcut ceata, în seara aia, mi se pare cu o zi *înainte de treierat*, chiar atunci veneam d-aici, eram ostenit mort...” (Marin Preda, *În ceată*, p. 7)

„*În afară de mustrat* pe alţii, inventează şi minciuni despre ei.”

„*În afară de stat* la televizor toată ziua, nu face nimic.”

We can question the verbal value of the Supine with the prepositional phrase *înainte de*, as it does not occur with its own determiner, the Direct Object, though the verb *a treiera* “to thresh” is transitive (“înainte de treierat grâul”). It could be about an activity, i.e. *treieratul* “threshing” and not

[66] “But the emperor, when he came back from hunting that night and when the milk was brought to him, said to himself: “I will not drink that milk.” (*The Tale of the Pig*)

[67] “Just try to face aunt Marioara if you please, uncle Vasile, cousin Ion, or even the boys and girls of the village for that matter, especially on Sundays in church, at the *hora* […] at bathing places or in Cierul Cucului…” (*Memories of My Boyhood*)

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about the action itself. It is a case of ambiguity regarding the morphological nature of the Supine.

If the Direct Object occurs (see the second example), the Supine has clearly a verbal nature. The verbal features are questionable in the last example, as the Supine doesn't govern a non-prepositional Accusative (even if there is an Adverbial Modifier of Place, the Supine can be interpreted as denoting the *activity*, but the *action* is not excluded either: „În afară că stă la televizor toată ziua, nu face nimic", the more so as another Supine may have a Direct Object: „*În afară de pierdut* timpul, nu face mare lucru.").

Having exemplified all the contexts of usage for the Supine prepositions, we can conclude that discussing their values (morpheme, preposition governed by the verbal/adjectival head, preposition carrying an adverbial meaning, preposition functioning as connector within a noun phrase, postposition and thematizer) is important, as it reveals the syntactic patterns of this non-finite verbal form. In many Romanian grammars, the Supine is briefly described, the same examples being employed (with slight exceptions) and not assigning an equal importance to all units considered prepositions. Linguists like Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, G.G. Neamțu, and Elena Negoiță-Soare have pointed out many important aspects related to the status of *de* and to other prepositions as well.

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