RESTRUCTURING STRATEGIES AS MEANS OF PROVIDING INCREASED REFERENTIALITY FOR THE INTERNAL ARGUMENT OF THE *DE*-SUPINE CLAUSE

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Abstract: We analyse supines introduced by the complementizer *de*, regarding the syntax and interpretation of the internal argument (= IA). Syntactically, we focus on how the IA values its case feature. It is argued that complementizer *de* supine clauses are not homogeneous in this respect, but present three case-valuation strategies. In *non-restructuring supines*, the verb gets [*u*φ]-features by agreeing with the prepositional complementizer and subsequently licensing its IA. In *restructuring supine clauses* the case of the IA is valued by a functional head of the main clauses, the IA stays in the supine clause. Finally, in *raising supines*, the IA is licensed by a matrix functional head, but it overtly raises into the main clause. From an interpretative perspective, these three types of clauses differ regarding the semantic range of the IA; restructuring is a means of enlarging the range of available IA for the supine verb.

Keywords: *de*-supines, internal arguments, non-restructuring, restructuring, raising

1. Introduction

This paper[1] concentrates on the syntax and interpretation of the internal argument (IA) in supine clauses. The framework of the analysis is a more comprehensive description of the *de*-supine clause (see Cornilescu and Cosma in press), which offers a description of the functional structure of the supine clause, with reference to several of its central properties, such as the syntax and interpretation of the subject, the aspectual, temporal and modal interpretation of the supine clause, and finally the negation of the supine clause. In the analysis that we advance the supine clause is a reduced structure, including just two obligatory (syncretic) projections above the *v*P: a Tense/Aspect Projection and a Complementizer/Mood Projection; a Negation Phrase may also occur between these obligatory projections. As to the Supine morpheme (= Sup), we have assumed that it merges in an inner Aspect projection sandwiched between the upper *v*P and the lower VP, as suggested for the passive past participle in Collins (2005) or MacDonald (2008). Putting these together, the following tentative structure will be adopted for the *de*-supine clause:

(1) a. C/MP > (NegP) > T/AspP > *v*P > SupP > VP
de *ne-* [−Perf, −Agr] EA v*T*/v*S* *V IA*

b. Este bine de spus adevărul tuturor celor interesați.
is good DE say-SUP truth-the all.DAT ART-DAT interested-PL
'It is good to tell the truth to all those interested.'

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c. Consider aceste probleme de nerezolvat de către un student.
consider these problems DE not-solve-SUP by a student
'I reckon that these problems cannot be solved by a student.'

An important aspect of the supine clause is that the T/Asp head is devoid of Agreement features, i.e. it is [±T, −Agr], so that, unless the clause is passive, the subject of the supine clause is always PRO, interpreted by Control.

In this paper we start from the old observation (Soare 2002, a.o.) that there are constraints on the type of IA licensed in the supine clause. Essentially, arguments high on the animacy and definiteness hierarchies (Farkas 1992), such as personal pronouns or proper names, are completely excluded (the case of personal pronouns) or highly unusual if not downright impossible (the case of proper names).

(2) a. *Este imposibil de întâlnit **pe el** la un meci de fotbal.
is impossible DE meet-SUP PE he at a game of football
'It is impossible to meet him at a football game.'
b. *? Este imposibil de întâlnit **pe Ion** la un meci de fotbal.
is impossible DE meet-SUP PE Ion at a game of football
'It is impossible to meet John at a football game.'

In fact these restrictions hold only in some of the supine clauses, as can be seen in the following examples:

(3) a. Nu **i-** am terminat de examinat numai **pe ei**, ci **pe toți**
not CL.M.3PL have finished DE examine-SUP just PE them but PE all
studenții.
students-the
'I haven't finished examining only them, but all of the students.'
b. **Îl** consider numai **pe el**/**pe Ion** de netrecut la acest
CL.M.SG.ACC consider only PE he/PE Ion DE not-pass-SUP at this
examen.
exam
'I consider only him/only this student/only Ion to be impossible to pass at this exam.'

We claim that the examples in (2) and (3) differ in a fundamental way. In (2), the Accusative case is valued clause internally, by a C + V probe. In contrast, in sentences (3), the Accusative is valued by a functional head of the main clause, as a consequence of restructuring (3a) or raising/ECM (3b). Raising and restructuring are alternative means of "upgrading" the internal argument by having its case valued by a functional head of the main clause, a functional head which can license any type of argument. There are thus three situations regarding the manner in which the Accusative feature of the IA is valued: in non-restructuring clauses, the case is valued inside the supine clause. In restructuring clauses, a functional head of the main clause is involved, either *v* or T, depending on

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whether the supine clause is active or passive; the IA remains in the supine clause. In ECM clauses, case is again valued by *v* or T of the main clause, and, demonstrably, the IA overtly raises into the main clause thus becoming more prominent. As a result, proper names and pronouns become available objects for the supine verb, and conversely, certain types of nominals, which are not prominent on the definiteness scale, such as bare nouns, are excluded in certain types of restructured clauses, for instance those involving subject to object raising.

(4) *Consider studenți de netrecut.
consider students DE not-surpass-SUP
'I consider students impossible to pass.'

In sum, we are making two main claims: (i) Supine *de*-clauses are non-homogeneous, and there are three types of supine *de*-clauses in terms of how the Accusative case is valued, namely, non-restructuring clauses, restructuring clauses, ECM clauses; (ii) From an interpretative perspective, these three types of clauses differ regarding the semantic range of IAs; restructuring is a means of widening the range of available IAs for supine verbs.

The outline of the paper is as follows. In section 2, we briefly discuss Accusative valuation in the non-restructuring clause; in section 3 we discuss restructuring and its interpretative effects on the supine; in section 4, we discuss ECM supine clauses and their properties. Section 5 sums up our results.

2. On the realization of the IA in the (non-restructuring) supine clause

2.1 Introduction

While a majority of linguists agree that in the clausal supine, the verb may take an Accusative object (Pană Dindelegan 1992, *GALR* 2005), in a monographic description of the Romanian supine, Soare (2002: 142) contends that the structural Accusative case cannot be assigned in the supine construction. To understand the author's position one must recall that Romanian is a Differential Object Marking-language, which shows three types of Accusative DPs, as illustrated below: (i) non-prepositional accusatives; (ii) *pe*-marked Accusative, not resumed by clitics; (iii) *pe*-Accusatives doubled by clitics:

(5) a. A văzut **fantome**.
has seen ghosts
'He/she has seen ghosts.'
b. Ion nu mai iubeşte **pe nimeni**.
Ion not more loves PE anyone
'Ion loves no one anymore.'
c. **I-** am întâlnit **pe copii** la operă.
CLT.DAT.3PL have met PE kids at opera-house
'I met the kids at the opera-house.'

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In fact, what Soare (2002) correctly notes is that not all three types of Accusatives are possible in the supine clause, and that there are also other restrictions on the IA. One of them is that in the supine clause, the IA is adjacent to the verb (the adjacency constraint), secondly, *pe*-Accusatives are supposed to be impossible and, thirdly pronominal objects are likewise impossible. The author claims that the object must be a lexical nominal, preferably indefinite. At a closer scrutiny these conditions on the IA are too strong, the first two, at least, being easily falsifiable. In the first place, there is no adjacency constraint: adverbs, adverbial and argumental PPs, etc. can easily occur between the supine verb and its argument. For instance, in examples (6-8), there is an adverb/PP between the supine verb and its object.

(6) S- a apucat de ales **cu grijă** firele de nisip de cele de mac.
SE has started DE separate-SUP with care grains-the of sand from those of poppy
'He started to carefully separate the grains of sand from the grains of poppy.'

(7) Harap Alb plecă la cules **fără de întârziere** sălățile din Grădina ursului.
Harap Alb left to pick up-SUP without of delay lettuce-PL-the from garden-DEF bear-GEN-the
'Harap Alb left to pick up the lettuce from the Bear's Garden at once.'

(8) S- a apucat de adunat **degrabă** rufele de pe frânghie, căci venea ploaia.
SE has started DE pick-SUP right away laundry-the from rope, since came rain-the
'He started to collect the laundry on the rope right away, since the rain was coming.'

Soare (2002) is also right in as much as it is true that certain types of Accusatives are completely excluded in the supine clause; this is true about the third type of Accusatives mentioned above, namely, *pe*-Accusatives doubled by clitics. On the other hand, *pe*-Accusatives non-doubled by clitics are not only possible, but they are sometimes obligatory. For instance, *pe*-Accusatives necessarily occur with all indefinite pronouns ranging over humans. These *pe*-Accusatives are not clitic doubled, so they are available in the supine clause:

(9) S- a ocupat de găsit **pe cineva** pentru orele de engleză ale fiului său.
SE has dealt DE find-SUP PE someone for classes-the of English ART son-GEN-the his/her
'He/she was in charge of finding someone for his/her son's English classes.'

(10) Nu te apuca de încurajat chiar **pe oricine**.
not SE.2SG start DE encourage-SUP right PE anyone
'Don't start encouraging just anyone.'

The third restriction mentioned in Soare (2002) is that the Accusative in the supine construction should be lexical, rather than pronominal. Actually only personal pronouns

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are banned from the supine clause, since they are not only obligatorily *pe*-marked, but also obligatorily clitic doubled (11), and it is pronominal clitics which cannot be hosted by the supine clause, as shown in (12). The impossibility of the clitic entails the impossibility of personal pronouns, which requires doubling by the clitic.

(11) a. **L-** am convins **pe el** să meargă.
CL3SG.M.ACC have convinced PE he SĂ go.SUBJ.3SG
'I have convinced him to go'
b. *Am convins pe el.
have convinced PE he
(12) *Este greu de **îl** convins (**pe el**).
is hard DE CLM.3SG.ACC convince-SUP PE he

Other types of pronouns, which are not *pe*-marked and clitic doubled, are expectedly available:

(13) a. M- am apucat de cumpărat/de spălat **câte ceva** de sărbători.
CL.1SG have started DE buy-SUP /DE wash-SUP something of holiday-PL
'I've started to buy/to wash a few things for the (religious) holidays.'
b. S- a pus pe rezolvat **mai multe** decât putea să facă.
SE has started pe solve-SUP more than could SĂ do.SUBJ.3SG
'He/she started solving more (things) than he could do'
c. Va fi greu de rezolvat toate problemele astea fără ajutor.
will be difficult DE solve-SUP all problems-the these without help
'It will be difficult to solve all these problems without help.'

Summing up, there are no restrictions on the IA, except that Accusative clitics are not available. As shown elsewhere (Cornilescu and Cosma in press), clitics are impossible since the fused Tense/Aspect head of the supine clause is devoid of Agreement features. As a result, personal pronouns and also proper names, which are also doubled more often than not, do not occur in the supine clause. We claim, however, that the supine assigns structural Accusative case, as apparent in examples of type (14), where the supine verb assigns Accusative to the subject of a small clause, which is not θ-marked by the supine verb.

(14) Era imposibil de **considerat** problema încheiată.
was impossible DE consider-SUP problem-the closed-F
'It was impossible to consider this problem to be closed.'

2.2 Accusative case valuation in the supine clause; the double nature of the supine

A plausible account of case valuation in the supine clause ought to correlate the following empirical facts:

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(i) The supine clause must be introduced by a preposition. The complementizer *de*, which introduces the supine clause, is a preposition, very much like *for* in the English *for-to* construction. The prepositional complementizer is obligatorily present:

(15) a. E bine **de** spălat rufele cu săpun.
is good DE wash-SUP laundry-PL-the with soap
'It is good to wash the laundry with soap.'
b. *E bine spălat rufele cu săpun.
is good wash-SUP laundry-PL-the with soap

(ii) The preposition immediately precedes the supine verb, no constituent may intervene between them, not even clitic adverbs like *şi* 'also':

(16) a. *E bine de şi cumpărat cartea cât se mai găseşte
is good DE also buy-SUP book-the while SE more finds
b. E bine de cumpărat cartea cât se mai găseşte.
is good DE buy-SUP book-the while SE more finds
'It is good to buy the book, while it is still available.'

This suggests that the supine V(P) merges/moves to a position immediately below the *de* -complementizer.

(iii) All (verbal) supine constructions which license an Accusative IA must be introduced by prepositions (e.g. *la*, *de*). In contrast, in the nominal supine construction, the supine is introduced by an article (most frequently, the definite article) and the IA is in the Genitive case; introductory prepositions are possible, as in (17b), but not obligatory (17d):

(17) a. A mers acolo **la** cules mere.
has gone there at pick-SUP apples
'He/she went there to pick up apples.'
b. A mers acolo **la** culesul grabnic al merelor
has gone there at pick-SUP-the quickly ART apples-PL-GEN.the
'He/she went there to quickly pick up apples.'
c. *Am mers acolo la culesul grabnic mere.
has gone there at pick-SUP-the quickly apples
d. Culesul merelor îmi face plăcere.
pick-SUP-the apples.PL.GEN.the 1SG.DAT makes joy
'Picking apples gives me joy.'

There is an unmistakable correlation between the presence of the preposition, *la* in (17a), and the ability of licensing an Accusative IA. A legitimate question is why a preposition should be obligatory when an Accusative argument is licensed.

In principle, a preposition may serve one or more than one of the following functions: (i) it may θ-mark a constituent, possibly in conjunction with the verb; (ii) a

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preposition may value the case of a nominal constituent, since it is endowed with uninterpretable φ-features (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007); in other words, prepositions are predicative categories. (In fact, classical Case theory, Chomsky 1981, underlines the similarity of verbs and prepositions as main assigners of structural case); (iii) in contrast, traditionally, prepositions are mainly regarded as c-selectors of nominal projections (i.e. they are [+ ___ N]; the presence of a preposition signals the presence of a nominal or nominalized constituent.

In an important study, Hill (2002) explains the presence of the obligatory preposition in front of the supine clause, in terms of the last property of prepositions mentioned above. Hill describes the supine as an (always) mixed [+N, +V] projection. The supine is never fully verbal, and, moreover, its nominal feature is defective, because the supine does not possess φ-features; this turns the [+N] feature of the supine into an uninterpretable feature, [*u*N], in need of being valued and elided.

In the same interpretation, as a consequence of its [+V] feature, the supine behaves like an active participle, and is capable of assigning Accusative case. On the other hand, since the interpretable φ-features typical of nouns are lacking, one must somehow identify and delete the supine's [+*u*N]-feature. As a result, the preposition is called for, acting as a nominalizer. In sum, in Hill's (2002) interpretation, the preposition is a means of valuing the uninterpretable N-feature of the verbal supine, the preposition being a nominalizer.

We share Hill's (2002) view that the supine verb is somehow deficient, and that this is why the preposition is called for in verbal contexts. We also agree that the supine is somehow like an active participle. Indeed the supine is like the active participle (and unlike a passive participle) in that it does not have agreement φ-features. Observe the contrast between the supine in (18a) and the homonymous past participle in (18b), which is endowed with gender and number features.

(18) a. O consider de needucat.
CL.**F.SG**.ACC consider DE not-educate-SUP
'I consider that one cannot educate her.'
b. Consider student**a** needucat**ă**.
consider student-F.SG.the not-educated-F.SG
'I consider her uneducated.'

The intuition that we pursue is that the supine is a "deficient" verb and can value a nominal's case only if "helped" by a preposition. The supine is "deficient" precisely because of its unspecified, mixed verbal-nominal nature that all researchers have stressed. Technically, one may assume that the supine's "mixed" verbal-nominal nature lies in the fact that its φ-features (i.e. the φ-features of the supine affix) are "unspecified"; they are neither verbal, that is, uninterpretable [*u*φ], nor nominal, that is interpretable [*i*φ], but they are simply [αφ-features]. It's the next functional category above the supine, with which the supine agrees, that determines the (un)interpretable nature of the supine's φ-features. When the supine is nominalized, it is the nominalizing suffix, light *n*, which provides [*i*φ], features. The supine turns into a noun and licenses a determiner and a genitive IA as in (17b, d).

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Unlike the nominalizer, the preposition is a "verbalizer", since it is inherently endowed with [*u*φ]-features. As long as the supine remains [αφ], it cannot match the [*i*φ] features of its IA. This forces the supine verb (phrase) to raise to a position where it can agree with the prepositional complementizer *de*, so as to get the necessary features [*u*φ] from the preposition through agreement and thus be able to subsequently license its own IA. Assume that the prepositional complementizer *de* is specified as [*u*φ, *u*V], while the supine verb is [αφ, *i*V]. What happens is that the supine verb agrees with the prepositional complementizer, getting from the latter the [*u*φ] specification it needs. One might wonder why Romanian should have developed a verbal case assigning strategy precisely in prepositional contexts, replacing the genitive by the accusative only when the preposition is present – see (17c) in contrast with (17b) above. The answer is not far to seek. It is only in prepositional contexts that verbal nouns may occur *without* the definite article. It is known that, in Romanian, unmodified definite nouns occur without the article if preceded by a preposition (compare English *on the table* and Romanian *pe masă*). The absence of the article allows interpreting the supine as a verb, which licenses an IA in the Accusative case.

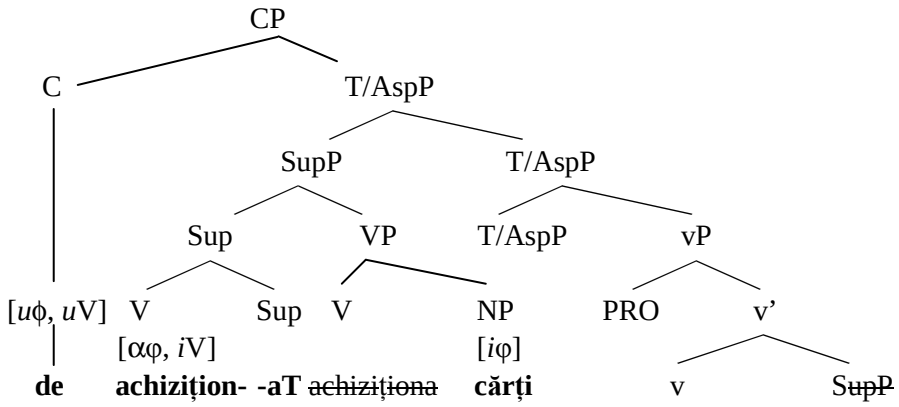
In a sense, the IA is actually case-valued by the prepositional complementizer. But this raises a locality problem, since the closest DP to a complementizer is normally the EA (the subject) in Spec *v*P, rather than the IA, which is the complement of V (see (1a) above). To solve this problem, one may capitalize on the fact that the verb raises to the highest inflectional projection in Romanian (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, a.o.) and propose that in the supine clause, as well as in other types of non-finite clauses (see Cornilescu and Cosma in press), the raising verb moves inside the VP, dragging the IA with it. In other words, in certain non-finite clauses, there is VP movement, rather than V-movement; this is a manifestation of the Pied-Piping Parameter described in Roberts and Biberauer (2005), among others. If the VP moves to the highest specifier position within the inflectional domain, the IA ends up being in a position above the subject in Spec *v*P, so that it is the IA that will be the Goal for the P+V probe. We assume that there is one projection between the prepositional complementizer and the supine *v*P, namely a Tense/Aspect-Phrase, as in (1a) above.

Consider now the process of Case valuation inside a supine clause, taking stock of all that has been said so far. The supine phrase is attracted to the Spec AspP position, therefore to the Specifier position immediately below the prepositional complementizer *de*. The prepositional complementizer is provided with [*u*φ, *u*V] features and it acts as a Probe in search of matching Goals; first there is Agree between the complementizer *de* and the supine verb, triggered by the complementizer's need to value its [*u*V] feature. As a result, the supine verb becomes [*u*φ, *i*V], assuming that through agree, the unspecified supine verb [αφ] is specified as [*u*φ]. At this point, the supine verb can value the case feature of the IA, since the [*i*φ] features of the nominal argument match the [*u*φ] features of the C-Sup chain. The Case valuation configuration is thus the following, for an example like (19) below:

(19) Au hotărât de achiziționat cărți pentru bibliotecă.
have decided DE buy-SUP books for library
They decided to buy books for the library.'

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(20)



The analysis is similar in case the supine clause is "passive". Provisionally adopting the analysis of the passive in Collins (2005), the Passive Phrase is right above the *v*P, and headed by the preposition *de către* 'by', which assigns case to the EA. The IA travels inside the lower VP and is case-valued just in the same manner as above. The functional structure of the "passive" supine clause is as suggested below. What is different is that the EA argument will be overtly realized since its case is valued by the Passive preposition *de către*, as in (22) below:

(21) C > T/AspP > AspP > PassP > *v*P > SupP > VP
de de către EA vT/vS V IA

(22) Este bine de spus adevărul **de către oricine îl ştie**.
is good DE say-SUP truth-the by anyone it knows
'It is good that the truth be told by all those who know it.'

One must stress that, at least in languages like Romanian, prepositions often subcategorize verbal projections, so that the presence of a preposition does not necessarily indicate a nominal (little *n*) head and the occurrence of an MP or TP after a preposition is not unusual. For instance, in Romanian, prepositions often precede infinitives (23a), and even subjunctives with an adverbial role (23b, c):

(23) a. **fără** a mai spune şi asta
withoutA more say also this
'without saying this anymore'

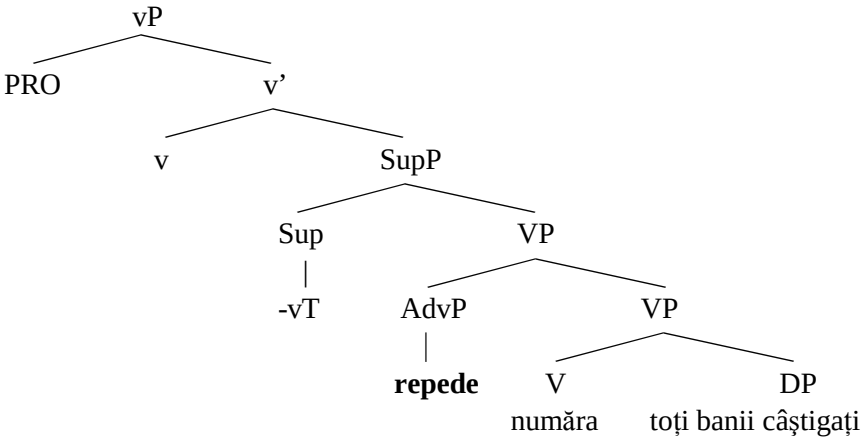
b. **pentru** ca Ion să ajungă preşedinte/**pentru** a ajunge Ion preşedinte.
for CA Ion SĂ become-SUBJ.3SG president /for A become Ion president
'for Ion to become president'

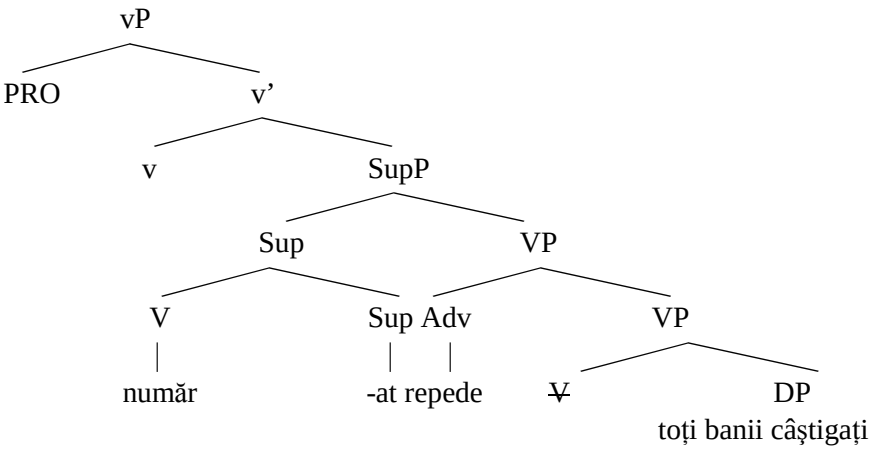
c. **fără** să mai spunem asta
without SĂ more say this
'without us saying this anymore'

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One more remark is in order before closing the section on the syntax of the IA. It was shown above that an XP may intervene between the supine verb and its IA. This might seem at odds with the provision that the supine moves as a phrase including the object, the expectation being that the object is adjacent to the verb. However, this need not be so, if the adverb modifies the lexical VP, and we accept that the first step in the supine derivation is precisely the formation of the supine verb through verb movement. Phrasal movement is movement of the SupP (see above) as a whole, and the supine verb undergoing head movement may leave behind any adverb that adjoins to the internal lexical VP. Here is an example of a derivation:

(24) a. S- a pus pe numărat **repede** toți banii câștigați.
SE has put on count-SUP quickly all money-the earned-PL
'He/she set on quickly counting all the money earned.'

b.


c.


In (24b), there is a basic supine *v*P, with the adverb left-adjoined to the lower lexical phase. When the supine verb is formed, the V-head left adjoins to the supine head. As a result of the raising of the V-head, the adverb now intervenes between the supine V and its IA. Further movement is phrasal movement of the supine phrase.

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In conclusion, the analysis we proposed accounts for several important properties of the verbal supine: (i) it accounts for the supine's ability license accusative case even if it is "deficient", lacking agreement features; (ii) it explains why the preposition is obligatory. In this analysis, the prepositional supine clause contains no internal nominal projection. The prepositional complementizer *de* provides case assignment abilities, therefore the verb's missing φ-features. The supine clause is deficiently verbal, and to that extent, it may be described as partly nominal.

2.3 The distribution of non-restructuring supine clauses

The mechanism of licensing the IA described above is common to complementizer *de* supines, as well as to verbal supine constructions introduced by *lexical* prepositions, such as *la* 'at', *pe* 'on', etc.

(25) a. A recurs la împrumutat nişte bani de la bancă.
has resorted to borrow-SUP some money from bank.
'He/she resorted to borrowing money from the bank.'
b. S- a pus pe rezolvat probleme ca să câştige concursul.
SE has put on solve-SUP problems to win.SUBJ.3SG contest-the
'He/she has set off to solve problems to win the competition.'

In every case, the preposition plays the same "verbalizing" role. Furthermore, non-restructuring supine clauses and, more generally, prepositional supines have a complete functional domain, as far as supine constructions go. A NegP is possible, distinct from the negation of the main clause.

(26) Uneori este bine de **ne**intervenit într-o dispută, pentru a **nu**
sometimes is good DE not-interfere-SUP in a dispute for A not
o agrava.
CL.F.SG.ACC make worse.
'Sometimes it is good not to interfere in a dispute, to avoid making it worse.'
(27) **Nu** e bine de spus prostii.
not is good DE say-SUP stupid things
'It's not good to say stupid things.'
(28) **Nu** este bine de **ne**spus chiar nimic, când eşti foarte **ne**mulţumit.
no is good DE not-say-SUP just nothing when are very dissatisfied
'It is not good not to say anything when you are very dissatisfied.'
(29) **Nu** te poți pune pe *ne*făcut nimic tot timpul.
not CL.2SG.ACC can put on not-do-SUP nothing all time-the
'You cannot set about not doing anything all the time.'

Thus, examples (28) and (29) exhibit negative supines embedded under negative main verbs, with both complementizer *de*-supines (28) and prepositional *pe*-supines (29).

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As to modality, non-restructuring *de*-supines and prepositional supines tend to have the default "irrealis future" interpretation common to the subjunctive, the infinitive and the supine.

(30) a. Este bine de aflat adevărul /să aflăm adevărul/? (de) a afla
is good DE learn-SUP truth-the/ SĂ learn truth-the/ (DE) A learn
adevărul.
truth-the
'It is good to know the truth.'

b. A plecat la cules merele/să culeagă merele.
has left at pick-SUP apples /SĂ pick.SUBJ.3SG apples-the
'He/she has gone to pick the apples.'

Non-restructuring supine do not internally contribute any more specific deontic or circumstantial modal meaning, as apparent in the finite clause paraphrases below. From this point of view they contrast, for instance, with certain raising supines. For instance, the example on the left in (31) does not allow a paraphrase including the deontic modal *a trebui* 'must', while the complement of the epistemic verb *considera* 'consider' in (32a) must include a deontic modal in its interpretation, as shown by the paraphrase (32b), and by the unacceptability of (32c).

(31) Este bine de aflat adevărul ≠ Este important că trebuie să aflăm adevărul.
'It is good to learn the truth' 'It is important that we must learn the truth.'

(32) a. Consider toate aceste chestiuni de rezolvat în cel mai scurt timp
consider all.F these issues DE solve-SUP in ART more short time
'I consider all these issues must be solved as soon as possible'

b. Consider că toate aceste chestiuni **trebuie** să fie
consider that all.F these issues must SĂ BE.SUBJ.3SG
rezolvate în cel mai scurt timp
solved.F.PL in ART more short time
'Consider that all these issues must be solved as soon as possible'

c. *Consider că toate aceste chestiuni să fie rezolvate în cel
consider that all these issues SĂ be.SUBJ.3PL solved.F.PL in ART
mai scurt timp.
more short time.

Non-restructuring supine clauses are also complete in that the prepositional complementizer *de* counts as a strong phasal boundary and is endowed with φ-features, thus activating the "dormant" [*u*φ] features of the supine verb. As a consequence, the case – Accusative or Nominative (in passive clauses – of the IA may be valued clause internally. It is especially this property which differentiates between the complete supine clause and the raising and the restructuring supines, neither of which can value case clause internally.

There is plenty of evidence which shows that in complete (non-restructuring supine clauses) the IA stays in the subordinate clause. The most salient facts are the following.

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Firstly, there is no clitic climbing. As mentioned above, the supine T/Asp head lacks agreement features, so that it cannot accommodate clitics. Since the IA remains in the supine clause, it cannot be doubled by a clitic on the main verb, either, even in constructions where doubling is obligatory, such as Clitic Left Dislocation.

(33) a. Am preferat de scris textul la calculator.
have preferred DE write-SUP text-the at computer
'I preferred to write the text on the computer.'
b. *Textul am preferat de scris la calculator.
text-the have preferred DE write-SUP at computer
c. *Textul l- am preferat de scris la calculator.
text-the CL.N.SG.ACC have preferred DE write-SUP at computer

Secondly, the IA argument of the supine verb cannot be the subject of Long-Distance Passives, either in reflexive passives, or in copula passives (the latter being infrequent with supine complements). In particular, the supine's IA cannot trigger subject-predicate agreement with the main clause copula or with a main clause reflexive verb.

(34) a. S-a hotărât abia ieri de cumpărat cărțile.
SE-has decided only yesterday DE buy-SUP books-the
'It was decided only yesterday to purchase the books.'
b. *S- au hotărât de cumpărat cărțile.
SE have decided DE buy-SUP books-the
c. *cărțile s- au hotărât de cumpărat abia ieri.
books-the SE have decided DE buy-SUP only yesterday

Thirdly, with intransitive main verbs, when the supine is a subject clause, there is always agreement in the singular, i.e. there is no SSR:

(35) a. Este bine de adăugat notele la timp.
is good DE add-SUP footnotes-the at time
'It is desirable to add the footnotes in due time.'
b. *Sunt bine de adăugat notele la timp.
are good DE add-SUP footnotes-the at time

Fourthly, the IA cannot surface to the left of the complementizer *de*, i.e. it does not raise beyond the boundaries of the supine clause. The order IA+ *de*+ supine verb is thus excluded:

(36) a. Au hotărât **de** achiziționat **cărți pentru bibliotecă**.
have decided DE buy-SUP books for library
'They decided to buy books for the library.'
b. *au hotărât **cărți pentru bibliotecă de** achiziționat
have decided books for library DE buy-SUP

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In conclusion, there is good evidence suggesting that the supine verb stays inside the subordinate clause. This has two types of consequences. In the first place, certain types of strongly referential objects are excluded, namely, personal pronouns, and to a large extent, proper names. Secondly, given that the supine is a small clause lacking a left periphery, the supine object cannot be topicalized or contrastively focused, scrambled, generally it cannot undergo any operation which involves occurrence to the left of the verb. The IA has a narrower range of discourse roles than in a finite clause.

The distribution of the non-restructuring supine is extended[2]. In the first place, it includes evaluative and modal unergatives adjectives or nouns, which s-select the supine clause as a subject, in alternation with the subjunctive or an infinitive: (i) adjectives: *important* 'important', *esențial* 'essential', *vital* 'vital', *urgent* 'urgent', *plăcut* 'nice', *neplăcut* 'not nice', *uşor* 'easy', *surprinzător* 'surprising', etc.; (ii) nouns: *plăcere* 'pleasure', *bucurie* 'joy', *chin* 'ordeal', etc.; (iii) the adverb *bine* 'good'. If there is no available controler, the supine clause is "passive", i.e. the EA is possibly realized as a *de către* 'by'-phrase (37a). With these evaluative predicates, there is almost always implicit or explicit control by some Benefactive of the matrix predicate, as in (37b):

(37) a. E necesar de spus povestea de către cine o cunoaşte
is necessary DE tell-SUP story-the by who CL.F.SG.ACC knows
'It is necessary for the story to be told by anyone who knows it.'

b. Pentru oricare dintre noi este plăcut de oferit cadouri.
for each of us is nice DE offer-SUP presents
'For each of us it is nice to offer presents.'

Secondly, there is also a limited (but apparently) growing number of transitive non-restructuring verbs that accept supine objects, with control of the supine subject by the main clause subject: *a decide* 'decide', *a hotărî* 'decide', *a prefera* 'prefer', *a omite* 'omit', etc.

(38) a. Au hotărât de comandat calculatoare de import (*de către).
have decided DE order-SUP computers of import (by)
'They have decided to order imported computers.'

b. Au decis de lucrat singuri, nu cu ajutor străin.
have decided DE work-SUP alone-PL not with help foreign
'They have decided to work on their own, with no foreign help'

[2] Here are examples from the internet:

(i) E bine de ştiut că fiecare câine are temperamentul său.
is good DE know-SUP that each dog has temper-the its
(http://practic-idei.ro/e-bine-de-stiut-ca-fiecare-caine-are-temperamentul-sau.html)
'It is good to know that each dog has its temper.'

(ii) Filmul e o bucurie de văzut!
film-the is ART joy DE see-SUP
(www.facebook.com/Postmodern.ro?filter=1)
'The movie is a joy to see!'

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An important future task is to collect experimental data so as to more correctly ascertain the range of supine selecting transitive verbs.

3. The restructuring supine clause

3.1 Restructuring versus non-restructuring contexts

It has long been known that the supine exhibits different degrees of nominalization and there is general agreement among researchers that the *de*-supines are fully verbal (see a.o. Pană-Dindelegan 1992, Soare 2002), since *de* has the status of a complementizer, so that the *de*-supine exhibits a fully verbal extended projection, rather than having a mixed functional domain.

The fact has gone unnoticed though, that there are different types of complementizer *de*-supines, which differ in terms of a case-parameter, namely, they differ regarding the manner in which the IA is case-licensed. We claim that, in addition to being licensed in the supine clause, the IA may also be case licensed by a functional head of the main clause, while remaining inside the supine clause (this is the case of restructuring clauses), or it may even be case licensed by a main clause functional head, while also raising into the main clause (this is the case of raising supines). As already stated in the introduction, our main original claim is, in addition to having spotted these differences for the first time, to propose that there is a correlation between type of licensing and the referential properties of the IA. Case licensing by a main clause functional head and raising into the main clause "increase" the referentiality of the IA. The range of possible IAs increases, getting to include personal pronouns and proper names, on the one hand, while on the other hand the IA may be assigned discourse roles that it may not have when it is licensed in the supine clause (for instance, the IA may be a topic). In this section we examine instances of restructuring supine clauses.

From a syntactic perspective, restructuring and non-restructuring verbs share the property of c-selecting/s-selecting supine clauses. While non-restructuring supines are bi-clausal, restructuring supines are "mono-clausal", in fact, mono-phasal, and have a "deficient" functional domain. As announced, the main empirical difference between the two types of clauses (restructuring vs. non- restructuring) is that the Accusative or Nominative case of the IA is valued by a functional head in the main clause, namely the v*-V probe of the main clause for the Accusative case, and the Tense head of the main clause for the Nominative, even if the IA remains inside the supine clause.

The difference between restructuring and non-restructuring supines is minimal. Since case is no longer valued inside the supine clause, and since case-valuation essentially depended on the fact that that the prepositional complementizer *de* was endowed with [*u*φ] features, it is natural to assume that restructuring supine clauses are headed by a defective complementizer *de*, which lacks [*u*φ] features (cf. ter Beek 2008). Such a complementizer represents a weak phase and leaves the supine clause transparent for operations on the main clause cycle. Essentially, *de* is not endowed with [*u*φ]-features and therefore it does not count as an active probe.

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3.2 Properties and distribution of restructuring clauses

For perspicuity, we will focus on transitive verbs, which best show the difference between the two strategies of case assignment: (i) case is valued by the C (*de*)-V chain inside the supine clause (non-restructuring verbs); (ii) case is valued in the supine clause, but the relevant head is in the main clause (v*-V or T) (restructuring verbs).

Following mainstream literature (see Wurmbrand 2001, ter Beek 2008), the following properties will be considered indicative of restructuring: clitic climbing, long passive, triggering number agreement on the passive auxiliary or reflexive passive verb, topicalization on the main clause cycle, entailing obligatory doubling of the topicalized object by the clitic, if the object is definite or specific. Since the IA is not given syntactic prominence by being promoted into the main clause, it may be realized by arguments of low referentiality, in particular, null objects are possible, if the supine verb allows them. Also, as the IA remains in the supine clause, it cannot precede the complementizer *de*, i.e. the order main V/Adj + IA + *de*-supine is ill-formed, i.e. there is no scrambling into the main clause.

A cursory examination of the list of Romanian restructuring verbs shows that they represent some of the same restructuring verb classes available in other languages like German (Wurmbrand 2001), Italian (Cinque 2006), Dutch (ter Beek 2008). We have so far identified the following as being restructuring verbs with supine complements[3]: (i) aspectual verbs: *a termina* 'end', *a sfârşi* 'end', *a încheia* 'end', *a începe* 'start', *a obişnui* 'use to', etc.; (ii) implicative verbs**:** *a uita* 'forget', *a-şi aminti* 'remember', etc.; (iii) deontic control verbs: *a da* 'give', *a sugera* 'suggest', *a propune* 'propose, suggest', *a interzice* 'forbid', *a cere* 'demand', *a impune* 'impose', *a prescrie* 'prescribe', *a împărți* 'share', *a oferi* 'offer', *a promite* 'promise', etc.

In what follows we illustrate the properties that have been mentioned as indicative of restructuring. The most characteristic is clitic climbing. A pronominal object θ-marked by the supine verb may be realized as a clitic on the main verb. This is what happens in sentence (39). The clitic anaphorically refers to the nominal *pastile* 'pills', which is the IA of the supine verb (*de luat* [*pastile*], 'take pills'). The IA is realized as a clitic on the main verb. Moreover, Romanian is a doubling language, allowing both Clitic Left

[3] Some examples from the internet:

(i) Domnu Dan s- a pus pe vândut gogoşi.
Mr. Dan SE has put on sell-SUP donuts
(http://www.mariciu.ro/domnu-dan-s-a-pus-pe-vandut-gogosi/)
'Mr. Dan set on telling stories.'

(ii) Pe la 12 am terminat de zugrăvit camera şi acum m- am mutat în ea.
about 12 have finished DE paint-SUP room-the and now SE.1SG have moved in it
(http://www.tpu.ro/casa-gradina/pe-la-12-am-terminat-de-zugravit-camera-si-acum-m-am-mutat-in-ea-are-ceva-daca-stau-in-camera-unde-e-proaspat-vopsit-in/)
'About 12 I finished painting the room and I have now moved into it.'

(iii) Spui că lumea a uitat de citit… ce spui tu aici, străine?
say that world-the has forgotten DE read-SUP what say you here stranger
(https://clarra.wordpress.com/2011/06/27/cu-facultate-sau-fara/)
'You're telling me that the world has forgotten to read… What stories are you telling here, stranger?'

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Dislocation (40), for any topicalized definite object, and Clitic Doubling for objects high on the animacy hierarchy, the specific direct object in (41):

(39) Clitic climbing
(I-am recomandat **nişte pastile**). **Le-** am prescris de luat [e]
(I recommended him **some pills**). CL.F.3PL.ACC have prescribed DE take-SUP [e]
cu multă apă.
with much water
'(I recommended him some pills). I prescribed them to be taken with much water.'

(40) **Pastilele le-** a prescris de luat cu multă apă.
pills-the CL.3PL.ACC have prescribed DE take-SUP with much water
'He prescribed the pills to be taken with a lot of water.'

(41) **I-** am terminat de examinat **pe studenți** abia după-masă.
CL.M.3PL.ACC have finished DE examine-SUP PE students only after lunch
'I finished examining the students only after lunch.'

As known, the supine clause is deficient, "small", lacking a left periphery. Case valuation by a functional head of the main clause makes it possible for the IA to fulfill discourse functions that it cannot assume otherwise, such as the topic role, in (40) above or in (42) and (43) below, and also, in Romanian, the contrastive focus role, in (44), since both of these roles may be assigned to a constituent which has been left dislocated (for a description of contrastive focus in the Clitic Left Dislocation structure in Romanian see Soare 2009).

(42) Zăpada au terminat-o de strâns de pe străzi.
snow-the have.3PL finished CL.F.SG.ACC DE collect-SUP from streets
'They finished picking up the snow from the streets.'

(43) Scrisorile i le- am dat de expediat de ieri.
letters-the CL.3SG.DAT CL.F.3PL.ACC have given DE send-SUP since yesterday
'I have given him the letters to mail since yesterday.'

(44) **Traducerea** am uitat- o de adus, dar exercițiile nu.
translation-the have forgotten CL.F.SG.ACC DE bring-SUP but exercises-the not
'I have forgotten to bring the TRANSLATION, but not the exercises.'

The next important property which is indicative of restructuring (Wurmbrand 2001, 2004) is long passive. This means that the IA of the supine (passive) verb has its Nominative case valued by the Tense head of the main clause. Consequently, the main verb, specifically the passive auxiliary *be* or the reflexive passive verb, agrees with the IA which is still in the supine clause. Notice the sharp contrast of grammaticality between cases where there is agreement with the IA (a), and cases where there isn't (b), for the examples (45-47):

(45) a. I- **au** fost **propuse** de rezolvat **aceste trei probleme**.
CL.M.3SG have been proposed-F.PL DE solve-SUP these three problems
'These three problems were proposed to him to solve.'

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b. *I- a fost propus de rezolvat aceste trei probleme.
CL.M.3SG has been proposed DE solve-SUP these three problems

(46) a. S- **au** încheiat de semnat **acordurile**.
SE have finished DE sign-SUP agreements-the
'They have finished signing the agreements'

b. *S- a încheiat de semnat acordurile.
SE has finished DE sign-SUP agreements-the

(47) a. S- au **dat** de rezolvat prea multe **exerciții**.
SE have given DE solve-SUP too many exercises
'Too many exercises were given to be solved'.

b. *S- a dat de rezolvat prea multe exerciții.
SE has given DE solve-SUP too many exercises

As already apparent from the examples, case valuation by a main clause head widens the range of available IAs to all types of definite and specific ones. However, since the IA is not given syntactic prominence by being promoted in the main clause, it may also be realized by DPs of low referentiality, in particular, null objects are possible, if the supine verb allows them (as in (48)). Bare nouns are also allowed, as apparent in (49).

(48) Am terminat de citit.
have finished DE read-SUP
'I finished reading.'

(49) Am dat de băut (vin) celor prezenți.
have given DE drink-SUP (wine) those-DAT present-PL
'I gave them (wine) to drink.'

Since the IA remains in the lower clause, the order V/Adj + IA + *de*-supine is ill-formed, i.e. the IA cannot scramble into the main clause. This property is hard to observe, since more often than not, the IA of the supine verb is also in the selectional range of the main verb, so that one may interpret the supine clause as a nominal modifier referring to the direct object of the main verb – see parsing in (50b), instead of interpreting the whole supine construction as the IA of the main verb, as in (50a). Pairs of the following kind, containing nearly synonymous sentences, are not infrequent:

(50) a. I- am propus [de comentat niște cărți pentru revista
CL.3SG have suggested DE review-SUP some books for journal-the
noastră].
our-F.SG
'I suggested to him to review some books for our journal.'

b. I- am propus [niște cărți [de comentat (nu de tradus)
CL.3SG have suggested some books DE review-SUP (not DE translate-SUP)
pentru revista noastră]].
for journal-the our-F.SG
'I suggested to him some books to review (not to translate) for our journal.'

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When this double analysis is not possible for independent reasons, it appears that the supine's IA must remain in the lower clause. Aspectual verbs, which are surely restructuring and which require verbal rather than nominal complements, may highlight the difference between the two constructions, rejecting the relative clause structure:

(51) a. *Studenții au continuat lucrările de predat.
students-the have continued papers-the DE hand in-SUP
b. Studenții au continuat de predat lucrările.
students-the have continued DE hand in-SUP papers-the
'The students continued to hand in the papers.'

(52) a. *Au terminat exercițiile de scris.
have finished exercises-the DE write-SUP
b. Au terminat de scris exercițiile.
have finished DE write-SUP exercises-the
'They have finished to write the exercises.'

There is thus strong evidence of restructuring, at least for the verbs that we have mentioned above. The syntax of the IA is vastly different, operations which are not available to it in the non-restructuring clause (e.g. topicalization, clitic doubling, long passive) can involve the IA of restructuring clauses. Functionally, the range of discourse roles of the IA is also wider. As seen in (50) the same verb may allow more than one construction, and more research is needed to elucidate the syntax of frequently used supine selectors such as *a avea* 'have' or *a fi* 'be', which exhibit multiple supine constructions.

4. Raising supine clauses

4.1 Introduction

An important class of supine selecting verbs are raising verbs, i.e. unlike the preceding group, raising verbs require movement of the internal argument of the supine verb into the main clause. The raising (transitive) verbs which select supine clauses are some of the verbs which allow raising with other types of complements as well, namely: *a considera* 'consider', a *declara* 'declare', a *socoti* 'consider', *a găsi* 'find', *a crede* 'believe', *a simți* 'feel'. Here are some examples:

(53) a. Consider/socot aceste dificultăți de netrecut.
consider these difficulties DE not-surmount-SUP
'I consider these difficulties insurmountable.'
b. Declar aceste lucrări de neacceptat fără încă o recenzie.
declare these papers DE not-accept-SUP without still a review
'I declare/consider these papers not to be acceptable without a further review'

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As mentioned, these verbs also allow SOR with infinitive complements, small clauses or even out of finite complements:

(54) a. Consider asemenea dificultăți **a fi** de netrecut.
consider such difficulties A be DE not-surmount-SUP
'I consider these difficulties to be insurmountable.'

b. Îl cred (**a fi**) mai inteligent decât pare
CL.M.SG.ACC believe A be more intelligent than looks
'I believe him to be more intelligent than he seems.'

(55) a. Îl declar pe acest student de nepromovat.
CL.M.SG.ACC declare PE this student DE not-pass-SUP
'I declare this student to be hard to pass.'

b. Îl declar că este greu de examinat pentru că nu
CL.M.SG.ACC declare that is difficult DE examine-SUP because not
știe limba.
know language-the
'I declare him to be hard to examine because he doesn't know the language.'

It is thus to be noted that Romanian is a Romance language which allows ECM for *believe*-type verbs, unlike French, Spanish or Catalan (see Castillo 2001 for a survey of SOR in Romance).

The difference between restructuring and raising verbs is apparent, especially in the case of transitive matrix verbs. Therefore, we will present transitive raising verbs. Essentially, restructuring verbs and raising verbs share the fact that the supine complement clause has a *defective* complementizer *de*, a functional preposition devoid of [*u*φ] features, i.e. specified as de [−*u*φ]; as a consequence, the case of the IA cannot be licensed in the supine clause with either restructuring or raising verbs. The complementizer selected by raising verbs has an additional property, namely an EPP feature, which requires movement of the IA to the edge of the supine clause, allowing it to further raise into a case-licensing position of the main clause. This is the analysis which will be adopted below, following proposals in Gallego (2009). If the supine verb is itself transitive, raising must be preceded by passive, so that raising supines are regular ECM structures. The functional domain of the supine clause is otherwise complete, for instance it may include a NegP.

(56) Au declarat soluțiile de neacceptat dacă nu se fac
have declared solutions-the DE not-accept-SUP if not SE make
modificări.
modifications
'They have declared the solutions to be unacceptable without major modifications.'

An important empirical remark, given the topic of our paper, is that not all types of IAs allow SOR. Case is not sufficient to account for the distribution of nominals in raising

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supine clauses. As will be seen, what counts is the ability of a nominal to be parsed as a DP rather than an NP. Since DPs are referential, while NPs are not, it appears that only referential IA may be displaced to a position of increased prominence in the main clause.

(57) a. *Am considerat probleme de rezolvat obligatoriu până mâine.
have considered problems DE solve-SUP obligatorily until tomorrow
b. Am considerat problem**ele** de rezolvat obligatoriu până mâine
have considered problems-the DE solve-SUP obligatorily until tomorrow
'I considered the problems to have to be solved by tomorrow.'

The bare noun IA in (57a) cannot be promoted by raising. Similarly, null arguments are also banned from undergoing raising into the main clause. In the following section we concentrate on the empirical similarities and differences between restructuring and raising supine selecting verbs.

4.2 Similarities and differences between Raising and Restructuring supines

For both restructuring and raising supines, the case of the IA is licensed by some matrix functional head (v*-V for the Accusative, and T for the Nominative). Consequently, the following properties which show case-licensing by matrix functional elements, are common to restructuring and raising verbs: the doubling constructions, which depend on clitics, namely Clitic Left Dislocation and Clitic Doubling; long passives are also obligatory. Consider first examples illustrating Clitic Left Dislocation and Clitic Doubling; notice also the possibility of realizing the IA as a personal pronoun in (58a).

(58) Clitic Left Dislocation
a. **Pe el îl** socot eu de trimis la Paris şi nu pe ea.
PE he CL.M.SG.ACC consider I DE send-SUP to Paris and not PE she
'It is him that I consider fit to send to Paris and not her.'
b. **Aceste probleme le-** au declarat /socotit de rezolvat
these problems CL.PL.ACC. have declared/considered DE solve-SUP
repede
quickly
'They declared these problemes to have to be solved quickly.'

(59) Clitic Doubling
I- au declarat **pe toți aceştia** de nesuportat ca vecini.
CL.M.3PL.ACC have declared PE all these DE not-stand-SUP as neighbours
'They have declared all these people to be unbearable as neighbours.'

Long Passives are also common, for both reflexive passive and *a fi*-passives:

(60) a. Aceste dificultăți **sunt considerate** de netrecut /
these problems are considered-F.PL DE not- surmount-SUP/

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se consideră **de netrecut** /se consideră *a fi* de netrecut.
SE considers DE not-surmount-SUP/SE considers A be DE not-surmount-SUP
'These problems are considered to be insurmountable.'

b. Duşmanul a fost declarat de neînvins.
enemy-the has been declared DE not-defeat-SUP
'The enemy has been declared undefeatable.'

While for the examples above, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between raising and restructuring, there are also tests that distinguish between them, which show that the IA is in the main clause, occurring to the left of *de* if SOR has applied, while this position is not available to restructured IA. Let us turn to examples of this kind now.

Consider the (im)possibility of the order V + IA + *de* + Supine. This property sharply distinguishes between raising and restructuring transitive configurations, as can be seen from the examples below. This order is possible for the verb *a considera* 'consider', a raising verb, but is not possible for the verb *a continua* 'continue', a restructuring aspectual verb:

(61) a. Am considerat **cărțile de publicat** cât de curând posibil.
have considered books-the DE publish-SUP as soon as possible
'I considered that the books had to be published as soon as possible.'

b. *Am continuat **cărțile de publicat**.
have continued books-the DE publish-SUP

A further important difference lies in the range of objects which can undergo SOR. Since SOR intuitively represents a means of "upgrading" a constituent of the subordinate clause by moving it into the main clause, it is reasonable to assume that null objects, and as we have seen non-referential (= NP) objects do not undergo raising. Thus, if a raised object is not lexically realized, raising is signaled by the obligatory clitic on the main verb. If the clitic is not present and the object is null, either the sentence is ungrammatical, or it has a different interpretation. Thus, (62b), where there is no lexical argument and no clitic on the verb *a considera*, either, is ungrammatical. A similar difference is apparent in (63), with the verb *a declara* 'declare'.

(62) a. **Le** consider de publicat cât de curând posibil.
CL.F.3PL.ACC consider DE publish-SUP much of soon possible
'I consider that they must be published as soon as possible.'

b. *Consider de publicat cât de curând posibil.
consider DE publish-SUP much of soon possible

(63) a. **L-** au declarat de neînvins.
CL.M.3SG.ACC have declared DE not-defeat-SUP
'They declared him to be undefeatable.'

b. *Au declarat de neînvins.
have declared DE not-defeat-SUP

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In contrast restructuring verbs do allow null objects, as already shown above. The verb *a da* 'give' is a restructuring verb as indicated by the possibility of CLLD. At the same time, it contrasts with *a considera* 'consider', *a declara* 'declare', etc. in allowing null objects, as in (64a). The same pattern is shown by the restructuring verb *a începe* 'begin'.

(64) a. Am dat de băut.
have given DE drink-SUP
'I gave (people) something to drink.'

b. Berea am dat- o de băut muncitorilor.
beer-the have given CL.F.3SG.ACC DE drink-SUP workers-DAT.the
'I gave the beer to drink to the workers.'

(65) a. Am început de scris.
have started DE write-SUP
'I started writing.'

b. Scrisoarea am început-o de scris ieri.
letter-the have started CL.F.SG.ACC DE write-SUP yesterday
'I started to write the letter yesterday.'

We should note again in passing that raising supine structures should not be mixed up with instances of non-propositional verbs selecting nominals modified by supine relative clauses, as in (66a). Notice that for raising verbs the supine clause (66b) can always be paraphrased by some other type of complement – a finite one, in (66c) – and this is not possible for the relative clause construction:

(66) a. Am cumpărat maşina de tocat carne.
have bought machine-the DE mince-SUP meat
'I have bought a machine for mincing meat.'

b. Am socotit problemele de rezolvat neapărat până mâine.
have considered problems-the DE solve-SUP obligatory until tomorrow
'I have reckoned that these problems must be solved by tomorrow.'

c. Am socotit că problemele trebuie să fie rezolvate
have considered that problems-the must SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG solved-F.PL
neapărat până mâine.
necessarily until tomorrow
'I have reckoned that these problems should be solved by tomorrow.'

Thus, with transitive verbs the difference between raising and restructuring is well supported and helpful in understanding the complex pattern of the data.

4.3 Developing an analysis

Like restructuring supines, raising supines are defective CPs. The analysis that we have adopted for raising follows the typology of probes from Gallego (2009), presented in (67):

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(67)

	Types of probes	Assigns case
C	φ-complete	yes (Nominative/null)
	φ-defective	no
v	φ-complete	yes, Acc
	φ-defective	no

As also discussed for the restructuring complementizer *de*, the raising complementizer *de* is also a φ-defective probe, a φ-defective prepositional complementizer, which cannot value the uninterpretable case feature of a DP, since it lacks [*u*φ]. Thus, in Gallego's analysis, a defective clause is not necessarily "smaller"; it can involve a CP layer, but the complementizer is defective. The fact that *de* still occupies the complementizer position is also apparent in the fact that *de* continues to be above negation in the sequence: CP > NegP > T/AspP > *v*P.

(68) **Consider** aceste scrisori [$_{CP}$ de [$_{NegP}$ **ne**trimis vreunui diplomat cu
consider these letters DE not-send-SUP any-DAT diplomat with
experiență]].
experience
'I consider these letters cannot be sent to an experienced diplomat.'

In the absence of a φ-complete C, given that the supine verb is itself unable to assign case, the IA remains active, its Case will depend on a higher matrix probe. In ECM cases, this probe is the v*-V complex of the main clause. Unlike the restructuring complementizer, the raising complmentizer de triggers movement of the IA into the main clause. We propose that this is the effect of an EPP feature of the complementizer *de* which is selected by raising verbs, i.e. raising *de* is [−*u*φ, +EPP]. The IA is attracted to the Spec, C position, deleting the EPP feature of the complementizer. In this position, the IA is accessible to the v*-V probe of the main verb. The IA may stay there or further move to the canonical Accusative assignment position of the main clause. Therefore, in the derivation of an example like (69), the IA will in principle move through all the specifiers along its movement path, until it reaches the Accusative position of the main clause (Spec, v*-V).

(69) Ion consideră **problemele toate** de rezolvat până mâine
Ion considers problems-the all DE solve-SUP by tomorrow
'Ion considers that the problems all must be solved by tomorrow.'

Evidence that the IA will move through all the specifiers up to the Case position is provided by intervening main clause adverbs and by stranded QPs. Thus, as noted by Tanaka (2002), an adverbial which modifies the main verb, and is thus in the main clause, may intervene between the raised object and the supine clause:

(70) Ion consideră **problemele în mod eronat de rezolvat** până mâine.
Ion considers problems-the mistakenly DE solve-SUP by tomorrow
'Ion mistakenly considers that the problems must be solved by tomorrow.'

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Romanian also allows Quantifier stranding. A quantified object including the universal *toți* 'all', may raise as a whole to the Accusative case position of the main clause as in (71a). Alternatively, the quantifier may remain in the original IA position in the supine clause (71b), or it may immediately precede *de*, presumably in the intermediate Spec, C position (71c):

(71) a. Ion consideră **problemele toate**, în mod eronat, **de rezolvat** mâine.
Ion considers problems-the all mistakenly DE solve-SUP tomorrow
'Ion considers mistakenly all the problems to be solved tomorrow.'
b. Ion consideră în mod eronat **problemele de rezolvat** t **toate** mâine.
Ion considers mistakenly problems-the DE solve-SUP t all tomorrow
'Ion considers mistakenly to solve the problems all tomorrow.'
c. Ion consideră **problemele** în mod eronat **toate de rezolvat** mâine.
Ion considers problems-the mistakenly all DE solve-SUP tomorrow
'Ion considers problems mistakenly all to solve tomorrow.'

Supine clauses are instance of raising, rather than copy raising, i.e. the IA is interpreted in its reconstructed post-supine position at least sometimes. Consider the following examples:

(72) Am socotit numai **două probleme** de dat **fiecărui student**, nu trei.
have considered only two problems DE give-SUP each-DAT student not three
'I considered giving only two problems to each student, not three.'

Thus, the raised object *două probleme* 'two problems' scopes below the distributive universal *fiecărui student* 'each student' and is thus interpreted by reconstruction.

4.4 More on the distribution of raising supines

In addition to the transitive verbs already discussed in this section, there are also a few intransitive verbs which c-select the supine and trigger SSR[4]. These are regular unaccusative verbs *a fi* 'be', *a deveni* 'become', *rămâne* 'remain', *a părea* 'seem', *a se*

[4] Examples from the internet:
(i) Mi- am ales doar un capitol pe care să nu-l citesc […], și mi- au
CL.1SG.DAT have chosen only one chapter that SĂ notCL.M.ACC read and CL.1SG.DAT have
rămas de citit nouă capitole.
left DE read-SUP nine chapters (http://bogy.sub18.ro/e-mailul-codul-bunelor-maniere/)
'I have chosen only one chapter that I would not read, and I was left with nine more chapters to read.'
(ii) ...de duminică încoace lucrez cam 18 ore pe zi, […] pentru că, desigur, fix săptămâna
from Sunday on work about 18 hours on day because of course exactly week-the
asta s- au nimerit de făcut "în regim de urgență" trei chestii obositoare...
this SE have happened DE make-SUP in regime of emergency three things exhausting-F.PL
(http://vidal2.wordpress.com/2007/06/07/insemnarea-81)
'Since Sunday I have been working about 18 hours a day, because exactly this week, of course, it happened that three exhausting things needed to be solved as soon as possible…'

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dovedi ‘prove’, *a se nimeri* ‘happen’, *a urma* ‘follow to’, *a merita* ‘deserve’, *a se cuveni* ‘ought to’, as well as some unaccusative phrases like: *a-i reveni cuiva de* ‘be incumbent on someone’, *a-i cădea pe cap cuiva de* ‘inconvenience someone with something’ in sentences of the following kind:

(73) a. Problemele sunt de rezolvat mâine.
problems-the are DE solve-SUP tomorrow
‘These problems must be solved tomorrow.’

b. Studenții ăştia **rămân** de examinat mâine.
students-the these remain DE examine-SUP tomorrow
‘These students remain/are to be examined tomorrow.”

c. Ploaia asta devine de nesuportat.
rain-the this becomes DE not-bear-SUP
‘This rain is becoming unbearable.’

(74) a. Hainele astea arată /par /merită de dus la curățat imediat.
clothes-the these look like/seem/deserve DE take-SUP to clean.SUP immediately
‘These clothes look like they must be taken to the cleaner’s as soon as possible.’

b. Problemele s- au dovedit de nerezolvat.
problems-the SE have proven DE not-solve-SUP
‘These problems have proven not to be solvable.’

(75) a. Mulți musafiri mi- au căzut mie pe cap de dus la gară.
many guests CL.1SG.DAT have fallen me.1SG.DAT on head DE take-SUP gară station
‘It fell on me to take many guests to the station.’

b. Multe proiecte meritau de dus la bun sfârşit.
many projects deserved-PL DE take-SUP at good end
‘Many projects were worth carrying out.’

c. Mai multe proiecte mi- au revenit de terminat.
more many projects CL.1SG.DAT have be assigned DE finish-SUP
‘It devolved on me to carry out several projects.’

With unaccusative verbs it is not possible to distinguish between restructuring and raising since in both cases the IA if the supine is assigned Nominative by the Tense head of the supine verb. Moreover since Romanian is a null-subject language, the IA argument may be null, as long as it becomes subject of the main clause. From a semantic perspective, some unaccusative verbs are deontic operators (*a urma să* ‘be to’, *a se cuveni să,* ‘be due to’, *a reveni cuiva să* ‘devolve on someone to’, *a merita să* ‘deserve V*ing*’), others are epistemic operators (*a părea* ‘seem’, *a se dovedi* ‘prove’, *a arăta* ‘look like’), some are existential verbs *(a fi* ‘be’, *a rămâne* ‘remain’). These semantic groups have characteristic properties which would be worth investigating. Existential verbs, for instance, occur in existential sentences, i.e. in simple constructions where the supine is a relative clause on a

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necessarily indefinite noun (see Cornilescu 2009 for details of existential constructions in Romanian):

(76) a. Sunt **nedreptăți** de reparat.
are injustice-PL DE repair-SUP
'There is a lot of injustice to be repaired.'
b. Rămân **nemulțumiri** de satisfăcut.
remain disappointment-PL DE satisfy-SUP
'There remain disappointments to correct.'

Epistemic verbs, like existential verbs are "internally" modalized; in the supine clause, their modal meaning is not merely subjunctive, but they are paraphrased using a deontic or circumstantial operator expressing obligation or some other circumstantial modality:

(77) a. Problemele par de rezolvat urgent.
problems-the seem.3PL DE solve-SUP urgently
'The problems seem to be urgently solved.'
b. Pare că problemele **trebuie** să fie rezolvate urgent.
seems that problems-the must SĂ be.SUBJ.3PL solved.PL urgently
'It seems that the problems need to be urgently solved.'

Unaccusative epistemic and existential verbs resemble transitive epistemic raisers which require the same strong modal interpretation:

(78) a. Consider problema de rezolvat urgent.
Consider problem-the DE solve-SUP urgently
'I consider the problem to be urgently solved.'
b. Consider că problema **trebuie** să fie rezolvată urgent.
consider that problem-F.the must SĂ be.SUBJ.3SG solved-F urgently
'I consider that the problem must be solved urgently.'

Finally, unaccusative *deontic* operators, like transitive deontic verbs, have the usual irrealis future subjunctive paraphrase:

(79) a. Aceste adevăruri urmau **de spus** mâine.
these truth-PL were about DE say-SUP tomorrow
'These truths were to be told tomorrow.'
b. Aceste adevăruri urmau **să se spună** mâine.
these truth-PL were about SĂ SE tell.SUBJ.3SG tomorrow
'These truths were to be told tomorrow.'

Before concluding this sketchy presentation of raising and restructuring verbs it is worth mentioning that some transitive verbs allow both raising and restructuring. A case in point is *a avea* 'have', but it is likely that there are other verbs with a raising/ restructuring syntax as well. Let us briefly examine *a avea*. Examples (80) and (81) are

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likely to represent instances of restructuring since the IA may not precede *de*, at least not in the same interpretation. Example (82) shows a null IA, therefore, again a restructuring property. In contrast, with (80) and (81), in (83) the IA immediately precedes *de*, a raising property.

(80) a. Am de câştigat banii pentru excursie.
have DE earn-SUP money-the for trip
'I have to earn the money for the trip.'
b. *Am banii de câştigat pentru excursie.
have money-the DE earn-SUP for trip

(81) a. Am de câştigat experienţă pentru a mă angaja pe acest post.
have DE gain-SUP experience for A myself hire on this position
'I have to gain some experience in order to get hired in this position.'
b. ??Am experienţă de câştigat pentru a mă angaja pe acest post.
have experience DE gain-SUP for A myself hire on this position

(82) Am de spălat.
have DE wash-SUP
'I have (things) to wash.'

(83) a. Am poeziile astea de învăţat pe de rost.
have poems-the these DE learn-SUP by heart
'I have these poems to learn by heart.'
b. Le am de învăţat, nu numai de citit.
CL.3PL.ACC have DE învăţat not only DE read-SUP
'I have to learn them, not only to read them.'

A third teleological reading is also possible with *a avea* 'have' when the supine is in fact a relative clause modifying the object of the main verb *a avea*. In such a case, occurrence of the IA in the supine clause (rather than in the main clause) may lead to a completely different interpretation, as in (84a) as compared to (84b). In (84a) the relative clause expresses purpose and *a avea* expresses possession. In (84b), the only available interpretation of *a avea* is deontic modal (obligation).

(84) a. N-am nici bani de aruncat, nici bani de cheltuit.
not-have neither money DE throw-SUP nor money DE spend-SUP
'I have money neither to throw away, nor to spend.'
b. ?N-am de aruncat bani şi nici de cheltuit bani.
not-have DE throw-SUP money and neither DE spend-SUP money
'I don't have to throw money away or to spend money.'

Before concluding, it is worth while examining the relevance of raising with respect to the problem focused in this paper: the referentiality of the IA. Like restructuring, raising expands the range of the IA, allowing it to be realized as a personal pronoun or proper name, and also allowing it to be contrastively focused and topicalized at the left periphery of the main clause. Yet, at least with some transitive verbs, raising imposes supplementary conditions, namely it selects only "referential" IAs. DPs/NPs low

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on the animacy/definiteness hierarchy are not possible IAs in raising constructions. As already mentioned, null objects cannot be raised. Moreover, at least for transitive epistemic main verbs, bare nouns are also banned from raising supine constructions.

(85) a. *Declar studenți de nepromovat.
declare students DE not-pass-SUP
b. Îi declar pe aceşti studenți de nepromovat.
CL.3SG.ACC declare PE these students DE not-pass-SUP
'I declare these students to be hard to pass.'

(86) a. *Socot probleme de rezolvat urgent.
consider problems DE solve-SUP urgently
b. Socot problemele de rezolvat urgent.
consider problems-the DE solve-SUP urgently
'I reckon these problems to have to be solved urgently.'

As an instance of A-movement, raising is generally analyzed as case–related movement and this is the analysis just presented above. Yet, examples like (85a, b) might suggest that case is not enough to account for the data. It might be that raising is triggered by some other uninterpretable, but valued feature of the DP, which is active throughout the derivation. Such is the case of gender, which is valued and uninterpretable and could serve as a probe for the main verb, even triggering hyper-raising, as claimed for hyper-raising in Bantu languages by Carstens and Diercks (in press). The intution is that raising is triggered by some inherent properties of the DP, instead of being driven by the need to value Case. If one examines the inherent conditions that the IA must satisfy for raising in Romanian supine clauses, it is easily seen that the IA must be overt, rather than null, and it must be a DP, rather than an NP.

To capture these conditions, one could assume that (transitive) raising verbs have special morphological case assignment properties, an idea that has been floating in the literature for a long time (see, for instance, Koizumi 1993). The v**-V probes of these verbs might be endowed not only with unvalued φ-features, but also with an unvalued, uninterpretable D-feature, so that these verbs would be specified as v**-V [*u*φ, *u*D]. Such a probe will always look for a DP internal argument.

This analysis is plausible to the extent that the NP/DP contrast is active in a number of places in Romanian Grammar, cutting across the [± definite] divide. To give a couple of examples, only φ-complete DPs may be left dislocated. Bare quantifiers which are φ-incomplete and bare NPs cannot be doubled by clitics.

(87) *Pe cineva l- am văzut.
PE somebody CL.M.3SG.ACC have seen

(88) *Cărți le- am cumpărat.
books CL.F.3PL.ACC have bought

Genitive assigners are also sensitive to the NP/DP divide. DPs are assigned Gen case by *a(l)*, while NPs may be assigned case by the preposition *de*:

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(89) tată al copilului vs. tată de băiat
father ART child-GEN-the father of boy
'father of the child' 'a boy's father'

Raising of NPs is dispreferred or impossible not only out of supine clauses, but also out of infinitives, and apparently, out of finite clauses:

(90) a. *Socoteam mere a fi de cules deja.
considered apples A be DE pick-SUP already
b. Socoteam merele a fi de cules deja.
considered apples-the A be DE pick-SUP already
'I considered the apples fit to be picked.'

In sum, the Romanian data seem to turn around different types of morphological Accusativity, so that (m)-case continues to be the vector driving movement to the edge. At the same time, raising probes (verbs) require the additional DP property.

5. Conclusions

The supine verb is "deficient" and cannot value the case feature of its IA, unless it is "helped" by a lexical preposition. By means of Agree, the supine gets the necessary uninterpretable φ-features, ultimately licensing its IA.

The structure of the supine clause is reduced. In particular, the supine lacks an independent Tense/Agreement projection and cannot accommodate pronominal clitics. Hence there are restrictions on the IA of the supine verb. Personal pronouns and proper names, therefore IAs high on the animacy and definiteness scales, are excluded from the supine clause. At the same time, since the supine lacks a periphery, supine IAs cannot discharge discourse roles that require occurrence in a preverbal position.

Supine clauses show evidence of restructuring and raising, identifiable by typical tests. (long distance passive, agreement, occurrence before the supine verb preceding the complementizer *de*. In cases of raising or restructuring, the IA is licensed by functional heads of the main clause.

The three kinds of complementizer *de*-supine that we have identified (non-restructuring, restructuring, raising) differ minimally, in the features of the complementizer. In non-restructuring configurations, C is [+uφ, −EPP] and can contribute to the licensing the IA.The supine complement is phasal. In restructuring clauses, C is [−uφ, −EPP], so that the IA is case licensed by a functional head of the main clause, but it remains inside the supine clause. In raising clauses, C is [−uφ, + EPP], so that the IA is attracted to the edge and case licensed in the main clause. Restructuring and raising complementizer are weak boundaries, so that the supine clause is a weak phase (Chomsky 2008).

IAs licensed in restructured supine clauses show no constraints on the IA. Personal pronouns and pronouns, as well as bare nouns and null DPs can be internal arguments

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when there is restructuring. Raising supines are more selective in the range of IAs. They allow IAs of high referentiality and exclude IAs of low referentiality (i.e. null arguments and bare NPs).

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