On the origin of inflected "non-finite" forms: the infinitive vs the supine

Adina Dragomirescu[1,2]*, Alexandru Nicolae[1,2]*

[1] *"Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics, 13 Calea 13 Septembrie, 050711 Bucharest, Romania*
[2] *Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest, 5–7 Edgar Quinet St., 010017 Bucharest, Romania*

Article info

Abstract

This paper deals with two verbal forms which, despite being traditionally labelled as "non-finite", display inflection/agreement. We will focus on the behaviour and origin of the inflected infinitive attested in Romance and in languages from other families, against which we analyse the novel inflected supine found in the north-eastern area where Romanian is spoken (comprising the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and the north-eastern part of the Romanian province of Moldova). The goal of the paper is to identify the common paths of diachronic change of these verbal forms and to put forward a formal account of the observed diachronic changes. From a diachronic perspective, our analysis shows that the functional structure of non-finite forms may become more enriched, a conclusion that is at odds with traditional findings, which generally argue for simplification, not enrichment of functional structure. At the same time, the proposed analysis also offers some insights into the diachrony of the supine marker *de*.

1. Introduction

In this paper we present the most significant linguistic data related to the inflected infinitive found in Romance and in languages from other families, focusing our attention on the origin and evolution of these forms as they are presented in the literature. We then turn to a series of recent special usages of the Romanian supine in the Moldavian variety employed in The Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and north-eastern Romania[1], which bring the Romanian supine closer to the Romance inflected infinitive. Finally, we put forward a scenario which accounts both for the innovations in the morphosyntax of the Romanian supine (the enrichment of its functional structure) and for the diachronic recategorization of the supine marker *de*.

On the basis of the data presented below, our goal is to answer the following questions:

(i) to what degree is the inclusion of these inflected forms in the 'non-finite' category justified?;

(ii) what is the relevance of the origin and evolution of these forms for their morphosyntactic behaviour?;

(iii) what are the definitional features of the infinitive (and of non-finite forms in general), including control properties, ability to accept a subject and morphology?;

(iv) do the diachronic changes that affect these forms also lead to processes of grammaticalization?

We have chosen to compare the Romanian supine with the inflected infinitive from other languages because, of the Romanian non-finite forms, only the supine appears to favour the attachment of inflectional markers, while the infinitive remains non-inflected for person and number. The analysis of the

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*Email addresses: *adina_drag@yahoo.com*, *nicolae_bibi@yahoo.com*.

[1]In this paper, we will mostly use data excerpted from the internet; however, we have identified inflected supines in the personal corpus put together by Valentina Cojocaru and in the corpus included in Bochmann's book (Klaus Bochmann (Hrsg.) (2004). *Gesprochenes Rumänisch in der Ukraine. Soziolinguistische Verhältnisse and linguistische Strukturen*, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, Leipzig).

Romanian supine will be shown to contribute to a better understanding of the category of 'finiteness', a concept insufficiently understood in current syntactic theorizing, and of the diachrony of this category (see Ledgeway, 2007; Vincent, 1998).

2. The inflected infinitive

Before delving into the analysis of the inflected infinitive data, it is necessary to make a terminological clarification (following Ledgeway, 1998): we distinguish between the *'personal' infinitive* particular to many languages including Romanian (see Mensching, 2000), a form which may take its own lexical subject in the nominative (1), and the *'inflected'/'conjugated' infinitive* limited to a more limited number of languages and which displays person and number agreement with the subject (2).

In what follows, we exclusively deal with the 'inflected'/'conjugated' infinitive, which is attested in languages distinct from a genealogical and typological point of view: Portuguese, Galician, Sardinian, Southern Italian Dialects from South Calabria, Old Neapolitan, Old Leonese (of the Romance varieties), Hungarian, Welsh, West Greenlandic, Evenki (a Manchu-Tungusic language) and, probably, Greek.

Miller (2003) formulated the hypothesis that the emergence of the inflected infinitive is determined by the presence of the lexical subject (allowed by the inflected infinitive only in very restricted contexts – Ledgeway, 2000, 2007), which has inherent subject agreement features (i.e., *phi*-features).

(1) Înainte de   a   veni   *vara*subject,
     before of   to   come.INF   summer.DEF.NOM
     am   muncit   mult.   (Romanian)
     AUX.PERF.1PL   worked   a.lot
     'Before the summer came, we worked a lot'

(2) 'sing'

	European Portuguese	Brasilian Portuguese	Galician	Old Leonese	Sardinian	Old Neapolitan
1SG	*cantar-Ø*	*cantar-Ø*	*cantar-Ø*	*cantar-Ø*	*kantáre-po*	*cantare-Ø*
2SG	*cantar-es*		*cantar-es*	*cantar-es*	*kantáre-s*	*cantare-Ø*
3SG	*cantar-Ø*	*cantar-Ø*	*cantar-Ø*	*cantar-Ø*	*kantáre-t*	*cantare-Ø*
1PL	*cantar-mos*	*cantar-mos*	*cantar-mos*	*cantar-mos*	*kantáre-mus*	*cantare-mo*
2PL	*cantar-des*		*cantar-des*	*cantar-des*	*kantáre-dzis*	*cantare-vo/ve*
3PL	*cantar-em*	*cantar-em*	*cantar-en*	*cantar-en*	*kantáre-n*	*cantare-no*

(Groothuis, 2015)

2.1. The Romance languages

2.1.1. Portuguese

Of the Romance languages, the Portuguese inflected infinitive (3) has been subject to most attention in the literature (Raposo, 1987; Madeira, 1994; Pires, 2002; Miller, 2003; Martins, 2006; Bossaglia, 2013; Carvalho, 2015 i.a.). As is obvious from (3b), the subject of the inflected infinitive may be overtly realised (see also Rouveret, 1980).

(3) a. Depois de   *chegarem*,   fugimos
         after   of   arrive.INF.3PL   fled.1PL
         'After they arrived, we fled'
                         (Willis, 1971, p. 338, *apud* Bentley, 2014, p. 96)

    b. despois   de   ***eles***   *chegarem*   viram   as   ruínas
        after   of   they.NOM   arrive.INF.3PL   saw.3PL   the   ruins
        'after they arrived, they saw the ruins'
                (Willis, 1971, p. 338, *apud* Ledgeway, 1998, p. 7)

Groothuis (2015) shows that the structure in which the European Portuguese inflected infinitive is employed is biclausal, on the basis of two diagnostics: the matrix verb and the embedded infinitive may have distinct lexical subjects (4a), and both predicates may be simultaneously modified by the same adverbial (4b):

(4)   a. ***Nós*** lamentamos   *terem*   ***eles***   recebido   pouco   dinheiro
           we regret   have.INF.3PL   they   received   little   money
           'We regret that they have received little money'
                    (Raposo, 1987, p. 97)
        b. É   ***provavelmente***   dificíl   os   deputados   *aprovarem*
           it.is   probably   difficult   the   deputies   approve.INF.3PL
           provavelmente   *a*   *proposta*
           probably   the   proposal
           'It is probably difficult that the deputies probably approve the proposal'
                  (adapted from Raposo, 1987, p. 97)

There are significant differences between Old and Modern Portuguese with respect to the distribution of the inflected infinitive. First, while in Modern Portuguese this form is available only in embedded clauses (Raposo, 1987, p. 86), in Old Portuguese it could appear in both main and embedded clauses (Martins, 2006, p. 342). Second, there are significant differences between the two stages of Portuguese with respect to the infinitive selected by causative verbs and direct perception verbs: while the canonical infinitive is selected by these classes of verbs in both stages of Portuguese (5a), the inflected infinitive is not attested in Old Portuguese in these contexts, but it is perfectly grammatical in present-day Portuguese (5b) (see also Sheehan, 2015, where a series of less categorical findings are presented); thus, examples like (5b) are not attested in pre-15th c. Portuguese, but are perfectly grammatical starting with the 15th c. (Martins, 2006).

(5)   a. Mandei/   Vi   os polícias   *prender*   o ladrão
           sent/   saw   the corps   arrest.INF   the thief
        b. Mandei/   Vi   os polícias   *prenderem*   o ladrão
           sent/   saw   the corps   arrest.INF.3PL   the thief
           'I made/I saw the policemen detain the thief'
                    (Martins, 2006, p. 327)

It appears that this distribution correlates with other features of the canonical infinitive in control or raising configurations. Thus, while in Old Portuguese verbal negation did not precede the infinitive in these structures, but rather occurred on the main predicate, in Modern Portuguese both the embedded infinitive and the selecting verb may be independently negated. Thus, while example (6a) is possible in both phases of Portuguese, (6b) is available only in Modern Portuguese. A similar characterizes pronominal clitics which, with few exceptions, undergo clitic climbing on the higher predicate in Old Portuguese; by contrast, in Modern Portuguese they either remain in situ and cliticize on the infinitive, or undergo clitic climbing to the matrix predicate. Thus, (7a) is attested in both stages of Portuguese, while (7b) is well-formed only in Modern Portuguese. This state of affairs is indicative of the fact that the syntactic structure of the infinitive was reduced in older stages of Portuguese: the structure [selecting verb + infinitive] seems to display the typical behaviour of *restructuring* (Rizzi, 1978) in Old Portuguese.

(6)   a. O medico   *não*   o   mandou   beber   vinho
            the doctor   not   CL.ACC.M.3SG sent   drink.INF   wine

          b. O medico   mandou-o   *não*   beber   vinho
            the doctor   sent=CL.ACC.M.3SG not   drink.INF   wine
            'The doctor didn't send him to drink wine'
                                  (Martins, 2006, p. 328)

(7)   a. Mandou-*lho*   entregar
            sent.3SG=CL.DAT.M.SG=it.ACC   give.INF

          b. Mandou   entregar-*lho*
            sent.3SG   give.INF=CL.DAT.M.3SG=it.ACC
            'He/she sent to give it to him'
                                  (Martins, 2006, p. 328)

Martins (2006) shows that these phenomena are indicative of a syntactic change, from a more reduced to a more extended functional structure, in the history of the Portuguese infinitive. For the analysis of the Romanian dialectal supine, we will keep in mind the idea that the functional structure of non-finite forms undergoes a diachronic process of enrichment.

2.1.2. Sardinian

Relevant data on the Sardinian inflected infinitive (8) are given especially by Jones (1992, 1993, 2003) and Miller (2003). In Sardinian, the inflected infinitive is devoid of temporal autonomy and does not have an inflectionally specific profile, being syncretic with a finite form, the imperfect subjunctive. This syncretism results from the common origin of these forms, the Latin imperfect subjunctive (Jones, 1993, p. 278).

(8) 'sing'

	Singular	Plural
1	*cantáre**po***	*cantáre**mus***
2	*cantares*	*cantáre**dzis***
3	*cantare**t***	*cantare**n***

                      (Jones, 1992, p. 298)

The difference between the two verbal forms is apparently given by the type of complementizer which introduces them and by the position of the subject. In (9a) the imperfect subjunctive appears in clause headed by the finite complementizer *ki*, and the subject is preverbal, while in (9b) the inflected infinitive is headed by *a*, and the subject is postverbal (Jones, 1993, p. 279). Word order differences of this type usually correlate with different V-raising options in the functional structure of the clause (V-to-I / V-to-C), a further potential difference between these two forms.

(9)   a. non credío   ki   ***Juanne***   *ésseret*   inoke
            not thought.1SG   that   John   be.SUBJ.IMPERF   here
            'I did not think that John was here'
                               (Jones, 1993, p. 279)

          b. non kelio   a   *cantares*   ***tue***
            not want1.SG   to   sing.INF.2SG   you.NOM
            'I don't want you to sing'
                               (Jones, 1992, p. 297)

Furthermore, the distribution of these two forms is not identical. The inflected infinitive is employed when its subject has independent reference (10a), but is usually excluded in obligatory control configurations (10b).

(10) a. devo   accabbare   custu travallu   prima   de ghiraret   ***su mere***
          must.1SG   finish.INF   this work   before   to return.INF.3SG   the boss
          'I must finish this job before the boss returns'
                                                              (Jones, 1993, p. 279)
      b. ?provo   a   *travallare**po***
          try.1SG   to   work.INF.1SG
          'I am trying to work'
                                                              (Jones, 1993, p. 280)

2.1.3. Old Neapolitan

The Old Neapolitan inflected infinitive (analysed especially by Ledgeway, 2007, 2009, Vincent, 1998 and Miller, 2003) appears in two types of contexts (Ledgeway, 2007, p. 338–339). In non-obligatory control configurations, the inflected infinitive is also a personal infinitive, i.e. it can take its own subject (11a–b). In obligatory control configurations, the subject of the infinitive is obligatorily shared with the selecting predicate, and the infinitive is devoid of temporal independence (11c). In both distributional contexts, it is preceded by *a* or *de*, which have been analysed as complementizers. The inflected infinitive has specific forms only in the plural; its singular forms are syncretic with the canonical infinitive—see the Table in (2) above. According to Ledgeway (2007, p. 340–341), the paradigmatic pressure of the singular, which contained only forms syncretic with the canonical infinitive, determined the loss of the plural inflection of the infinitive.

(11) a. ave   plazuto   a   li   nuostri   Diey   de ***nuy***   *essere**mo***   in questa parte
          has   pleased   DAT   the   our   Gods   of us   be.INF.1PL   in these parts
          'it pleased our Gods for us to be in these parts'
                                                              (Ledgeway, 2009, p. 600)
      b. per   ***nuy***   *avere**mo***   ordene
          for   we   have.INF.1PL   orders
          'so that we may receive orders'
                                                              (Ledgeway, 2009, p. 922)
      c. se   nui avertevamo   de le *andar**imo***   appriesso
          if   we considered   of CL.ACC.3PL=go.INF.1PL   after
          non   ne scapava   nissciu(n)o
          not   CL.DAT.1PL=escaped not.one
          'if we had intended to go after them, not one of them would have got away'
                                                              (Ledgeway, 2007, p. 338)

2.1.4. Southern Italian Dialects

Although traditional scholarship does not record the existence of the inflected infinitive in southern Calabrian varieties, Ledgeway (1998) has shown that the clauses headed by *mu/ma/mi* (< Lat. MODO) are infinitival (see also Miller, 2003, Ledgeway, 2007), in opposition to those headed by *ca-/chi-*, which are finite. The following arguments have been invoked for granting infinitival status to the modern reflexes of Lat. MODO (Ledgeway, 1998, 2007; see also Taylor, 2016 for a discussion of MODO in Nicoterese):

(i)   the only possible word order is subject > MODO (12a), which indicates that MODO is not a complementizer, as complementizers are higher than the subject in the clausal hierarchy;

(ii) MODO can co-occur with another complementizer, namely *ca*, especially in hortative sentences (in (12b), *chimmu* < *ca* + *mu*);

(iii) clauses headed by MODO are devoid of temporal independence; their tense is anaphoric, i.e. fully determined by the tense specification of the higher selecting predicate.

(12)   a.   ***vostra   mama***   mu   vi   *vidi*   Cavaleri
             your   mother   to   CL.2PL   see.INF.3SG   gentlemen
             'for your mother to see you, gentlemen'
                                          (Zungri, *Fiori Selvatici*, 1894, p. 125, *apud* Ledgeway, 1998, p. 24)
       b.   vi   promettu,   si non   vi   pagu,   ***chimmu***   moru   schjettu!
            CL.2PL   promise.1SG   if not   CL.2PL   play.1SG   COMP-INF   die.1SG   bachelor
            'I promise you, if I don't pay you, (it is my whish) that I may die a bachelor'
                                          (Siderno, *Filocamo*, 1984, p. 41, *apud* Ledgeway, 1998, p. 30)

Thus, southern Calabrian MODO is an infinitival marker, just like *a* and *de* in other Romance varieties, and the verbal form it introduces is similar to the inflected infinitive.

2.2.   Non-Romance languages

The data on the inflected infinitive in non-Romance idioms are rather scant, hence probably incomplete. Forms considered as matching the Romance inflected infinitive have been recorded in Standard Greek and Romeyka (/Pontic Greek, a dialect of Greek spoken in north-eastern Turkey), Hungarian, Evenki, and Welsh.

2.2.1.   Greek

With respect to Standard Modern Greek, Miller (2003) considers that the verbal form inflected for person and number agreement with the subject and preceded by *na* is quasi-infinitival, on a par with what was noted above for southern Calabrian. However, most scholars have analysed the *na*-structures as subjunctives which have diachronically replaced the infinitive. Miller (2003) supports his proposal with the following arguments:

(i)   these structures appear in obligatory control configurations (13);
(ii)   *weak cross-over effects* indicate that the subject of the *na*-forms is PRO (14);
(iii) the *na*-structure may be dominated by a determiner/article (14).

(13)   a.   i   Maria   prospathi-s-e   *na*   *diavas-i*
             the   Maria.NOM.SG   try.PST.3SG   to   read.3SG
             'Mary tried to read'
       b.   ? i   Maria   prospathise   *na*   *divas-un*
             the   Maria.NOM.SG   try.PST.3SG   to   read.3PL
             'Mary tried for them to read'
                                                                (Terzi, 1997, p. 338)
(14)   pion$_i$ nevriaz-i   ***to*** PRO$_i$ *na*   *plen-i*   to aftokinito   (tu) t$_i$
       whom   upset.3SG   the   to   wash.3SG   the car   his
       'who does washing his/the car upset'
                                                                (Terzi, 1997, p. 346)

Romeyka presents two features which distinguish its infinitival system from that of Standard Modern Greek (Sitaridou, 2014): (i) the canonical and the personal infinitive (i.e. the infinitive that may take its own subject) have been preserved, and (ii) there emerged a novel form, the inflected infinitive (15).

(15)   'say'

	Singular	Plural
1	*ipina*	*ipiname*
2	*ipines*	*ipinete*
3	*ipine*	*ipinane*

Sitaridou (2014) accounts for the emergence of the Romeyka inflected infinitive through the influence of the Caucasian Sprachbund on this Greek dialect.

2.2.2. Hungarian

As shown by Miller (2003), Hungarian possesses a canonical infinitive, whose ending is *–ni*, and an inflected infinitive, in the structure of which the morpheme *–ni* is followed by person and number agreement markers. The inflected infinitive has been attested since Old Hungarian. While the canonical infinitive has a controlled PRO subject (16a), the subject of the inflected infinitive is either overtly realised or null (i.e. *pro*) (16b):

(16) a. sikerült [PRO *kinyit-ni*   az   ajtó-t]
          succeeded   open.INF   the door.ACC
          'opening the door succeeded'
      b. sikerült [pro *kinyit-n-om*   az   ajtó-t]
          succeeded   open.INF.1SG   the door.ACC
          'I succeeded in opening the door'
                                        (Kiss, 1987, p. 222)

2.3. The origin of the inflected infinitive

Miller (2003) identifies two general sources for the inflected infinitive: the purpose subjunctive (in Romance and Balkan languages) and the adjunction of pronominal elements on nominalizations (in Hungarian, West Greenlandic, and Welsh). However, the analysis of a bigger number of languages shows that the sources of the inflected infinitive are more diverse.

2.3.1. The inflected infinitive originating from other verb forms

2.3.1.1. At least three hypotheses have been put forward for the origin of the Portuguese inflected infinitive (see Pires, 2002; Miller, 2003; Scida, 2004; Carvalho, 2015):

(i) José Maria Rodrigues (1913) claims that the inflected infinitive directly descends from the Latin imperfect subjunctive, both with respect to its form (17), and with respect to some of its functions; this "subjunctive" remained in use until the 15th–16th centuries (Ledgeway, 1998, p. 6).

      (17)   Lat. AMAREMUS > Ptg. amar-mos
                                    love.INF.1PL
              'love'

(ii) Theodoro Henrique Maurer (1984) claims that the origin of the inflected infinitive is the personal infinitive; in other words, the inflected infinitive emerged analogically and spontaneously from the personal infinitive with a nominative subject.

(iii) Gamillscheg (1970), also followed by Miller (2003), puts forward a mixed hypothesis, according to which the inflected infinitive resulted from the overlapping between the Latin imperfect subjunctive and the Romance infinitive in specific contexts:

      (18) a. Lat.   Placuit   (nōbis)   *vende-re*
                       pleased.3SG   we.DAT   sell.INF
                       'it was agreeable (to us) to sell'
            b. VLat. Placuit   nobis   ***ut***   *venderemus*
                       pleased.3SG   we.DAT   COMP   sell.CONJ.IMPERF.1PL
                       'it was agreed that we sell'
                                    (Roberts, 1953–1957, p. 30–31)
            c. VLat. Placuit   *venderemus*
                       pleased   sell.SUBJ.IMPERF.1PL
                       'It was agreed that we sell'

> d. Ptg. agradou-nos   *vendermos*
>   pleased.3sg-us sell.inf.1pl
>   'it pleased us to sell'

As shown by Miller (2003), the Latin infinitive (18a) and imperfect subjunctive (18b) were functionally equivalent and occurred in free variation in many texts. Since Early Latin, the complementizer *ut* ('to, in order that/to') was frequently omitted as in (18c) (see Pires, 2002, p. 145). Accordingly, at the basis of the Portuguese inflected infinitive lie structures like (18c), the diachronic change being favoured by the formal resemblance of the Latin and Portuguese canonical active infinitive (Lat. *vendere*, Ptg. *vender*) and by other common contexts of occurrence.

2.3.1.2. The source of the Old Neapolitan inflected infinitive is the Latin pluperfect indicative (Loporcaro, 1986; Ledgeway, 1998, p. 6; Martin Maiden, p.c., expresses serious doubts about the accuracy of this hypothesis, arguing that the inflected infinitive is built with the imperfective stem and not with the perfective stem, specific to the pluperfect). Interestingly, in Old Neapolitan all non-finite forms also had inflected variants, albeit not used with the same frequency for all persons (Loporcaro, 1986, p. 173–174).

(19)   AMA(VE)RAMU(S) > *amàramo* 'we had loved' > *amare-mo* /aˈmarəmə/ 'love.inf.1pl'

2.3.1.3. The origin of the Romeyka inflected infinitive is the canonical infinitive. Sitaridou (2014) puts forward the following scenario depicting this process: the contrafactive form *ixa* ('I had') plus the infinitive is attested in the medieval period; appearing in strict adjacency to the verb *ixa*, the infinitive develops analogic inflection, identical to the aorist of *ixa* (20). Analogy was also favoured by the formal identity between the canonical infinitive and the third person form of the aorist. Subsequently, the inflected infinitive spread as a complement of modal verbs and, due to the fact that Romeyka does not possess complementizers, in other contexts as well (as a complement of volitional, causative and perception verbs).

(20)   a. ixe   ipin*a*
            had.3sg   say.aor.inf.1sg
            'If I had said'
        b. ixe   ipin*es*
            had.3sg   say.aor.inf.2sg
            'If you had said'

2.3.2. The inflected infinitive originating from other classes of words

2.3.2.1. The Welsh inflected infinitive is the result of the reanalysis of some inflecting prepositions as infinitive agreement markers (21b) (Miller, 2004). Welsh does not have an infinitive form with dedicated inflectional marking, but it does have verbal nouns which are sometimes accompanied by the preposition *i* ('to', 'for'). The inflected infinitive thus resulted from the merger between the marker *i*, agreement markers and the verbal noun; the entire complex possesses person inflection and the preposition *i* is reanalysed as an infinitival marker (22).

(21)   a. i-daw   'to him'   (Middle Welsh)
        b. i-ddo   'to-3sg.m'   (Modern Welsh)
(22)   death   y   dyn [*i-ddynt* ei   *gweld*   hi]
        came   the man to.3pl   3sg.f see.nonfin   her
        'the man came so they could see her'
                    (Tallerman, 1998, p. 119)

2.3.2.2. Finally, the source of the Evenki inflected infinitive (23b) is the marker of nominal possession (23a), which was reanalysed as an agreement marker (Miller, 2003).

(23)   a.   Possessed nouns (Nedjalkov, 1995, p. 443; 1997, p. 143)

*d'u-**v***	'my house'	*d'u-**vun***	'our house'
*d'u-**s***	'your house'	*d'u-**sun***	'your house'
*d'u-**n***	'his/her house'	*d'u-**tyn***	'their house'

        b.   Possessed –*raki*– formation (–*raki*– = nonfinite suffix; *baka*– 'find')

*baka-raki-**v***	'find.I'	*baka-raki-**vun***	'find.we'
*baka-raki-**s***	'find.you'	*baka-raki-**sun***	'find.you'
*baka-raki-**n***	'find.he/she'	*baka-raki-**tyn***	'find.they'

2.4. Results and problems

From this brief survey of the inflected infinitive and of its origin, we can draw a few more general observations:

(i)   not only the infinitive, but also other non-finite verbal forms have inflected/(subject) agreeing variants; in what follows, we will show that the Romanian supine is such a form with a non-inflected and an inflected variant;

(ii)   the source of the Romance inflected infinitive is not the canonical infinitive, but finite forms (the subjunctive, the indicative); the inclusion of these forms in the class of 'infinitives' is due to their distributional (syntactic) rather than inflectional properties;

(iii)   of the analysed languages, it appears that the inflected infinitive developed out of the canonical infinitive only in Romeyka and Hungarian (the label 'inflected infinitive' thus seems most appropriate when applied to these languages); we will show that the Romanian inflected supine is an extension of the canonical supine, a fact which draws Romanian closer to Greek varieties or Hungarian rather than to the Romance languages.

Furthermore, in view of the data analysed, one may wonder what a non-finite form is and how an 'infinitive' can be defined. How is it possible to distinguish an inflected infinitive from a subjunctive in view of the fact that both forms are inflected and may assign nominative case to the subject? It is true that the canonical infinitive is 'non-finite' in the morphological sense (i.e. it does not display number and person agreement with the subject) (see Ledgeway, 2007, p. 336 for the concept of 'morphological finiteness'), but the inflected infinitive is morphologically finite. Potential answers to these questions may be given if we adopt a scalar view on finiteness, as proposed by Ledgeway (1998, p. 8), cf. (24).

(24)   a.   [+ Tense, + Agr] →   finite clauses (past, present, future)
        b.   [+ Tense, − Agr] →   personal infinitive (with distinct subject)
        c.   [− Tense, + Agr] →   inflected infinitive (with controlled subject)
        d.   [− Tense, − Agr] →   canonical infinitive

In this representation, (a) and (d) represent the unmarked options available in many languages, while (b) and (c) represent points of significant cross-linguistic variation (see, for details, Ledgeway, 2000, 2007). In the next section, we will also identify the position of the Romanian supine in this typology.

3. The Romanian supine: standard vs dialectal

It is a well-known fact that the Romanian supine is a non-finite form *stricto sensu*, i.e. it does not display morphological variation and, in general, does not accept a lexical subject, with a few exceptions (Pană Dindelegan, 2011; Dragomirescu, 2011). Its distribution is limited to a few well delimited syntactic contexts (see Pană Dindelegan, 2008, 2013; Dragomirescu, 2013a,b). The Romanian verbal supine has the following relevant syntactic properties: it may take an accusative direct object (25a), and it cannot combine with pronominal clitics (25b), clausal negation (25c), and clitic adverbials (25d). Pronominal clitics, negation and clitic adverbs obligatorily undergo raising to the higher selecting predicate (25e).

(25)   a.   Termină   *de*   *scris*   **articolul.**
          finishes   DE_SUP   write.SUP   article.DEF.ACC
          'He/She finishes writing the article'

       b.   *Termină   *de*   ***il***   *scris.*
          finishes   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.M.3SG   write.SUP

       c.   *Termină   *de*   ***nu / ne-*** *scris*   articolul.
          finishes   DE_SUP   not   write.SUP   article.DEF.ACC

       d.   *Termină   *de*   ***mai***   *scris.*
          finishes   DE_SUP   more   write.SUP

       e.   ***Nu îl***   ***mai***   termină   *de*   *scris.*
          not CL.ACC.M.3SG   more   finishes   DE_SUP   write.SUP
          'He/She hasn't yet finishing writing it'

In some varieties of Romanian spoken in The Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and north-eastern Romania, the supine behaves differently:

(i)   it has a wider distribution than in Standard Romanian;

(ii)   it may combine with pronominal clitics, clausal negation, and clitic adverbials in certain contexts;

(iii)   it may reflect agreement with the subject when it is selected by the verb *trebui* ('must, have to') or when it appears in *tough*-constructions.

3.1. *Combination with pronominal clitics*

The ability of the supine to host pronominal clitics in these Romanian varieties has been recorded by Gabinschi (2010) and analysed by Dragomirescu & Hill (2014) and Dragomirescu (2015). This property manifests itself in the following contexts:

(i)   after modal verbs such as *a avea* ('have') (with a personal paradigm), *a trebui* ('must, have to'), *a putea* ('can, be able to') (used as impersonal verbs):

(26)   a.   Rusia are   *de*   ***ne***   *plătit*   daune
          Russia has   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.1PL   pay.SUP   compensation.PL
          'Russia has to pay compensations to us' (historia.ro)

       b.   Avem   *de*   ***ne***   *plătit*   impozitele
          have.PRES.1PL   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.1PL   pay.SUP   tax.PL
          'We have to pay our taxes' (www.bistriteanul.ro)

       c.   mai aveți   *de*   ***îi***   *adus*   pe   mama
          still have.PRES.2PL   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.3PL   bring.SUP   DOM   mother
          și   tata   lui   Liliana
          and   father   LUI.GEN   Liliana
          'You still need to bring Liliana's mother and father' (ziarulnational.md)

(27)   a.   Trebuie   *de*   ***le***   *făcut*   observație   urgent
          must   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.3PL   make.PPLE   observation   urgently
          'One must urgently let them know' (inprofunzime.md)

       b.   trebuie   *de*   ***le***   *lăsat*   poarta   deschisă   spre plecare
          must   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.3PL   leave.PPLE   door   open   for leaving
          'one must let the door open for them to leave' (m.publica.md)

       c.   Trebuie   identificat   persoane   influente   și   *de*
          must   identify.SUP/PPLE   persons   influent.PL   and   DE_SUP
          le   *convins*   să   vină   în board
          CL.ACC.3PL   convince.SUP   SĂ_SUBJ   come   in board
          'One must identify influential persons and make them join the board'
          (www.civic.md)

(28) a. cîte   argumente   se   poate   *de*
          how.many   arguments   CL.REFL.IMPERS   can   DE_{SUP}

          le   *adus*   contra   lu   Ghimpu
          CL.ACC.3PL   bring.SUP   against   LUI.GEN   Ghimpu
          'how many arguments can one bring against Ghimpu?' (www.publika.md)

      b. se   poate   *de*   ***le***   *aruncat*
          CL.REFL.IMPERS   can   DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   throw.away.SUP
          'one can throw them away' (www.publika.md)

(ii) after aspectual verbs such as *a se apuca de* ('start'), *a termina* ('finish'), *a se opri* ('stop'):

(29) a. mă   gîndesc   să   mă   apuc
          CL.REFL.1SG   think.PRES.1SG   SĂ_{SUBJ}   CL.REFL.1SG   start.PRES.1SG

          de   ***le***   *citit*
          DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   read.SUP
          'I am thinking of starting reading these' (jurnalul-unei-cititoare.blogspot.com)

      b. după ce   termini   *de*   ***le***   *arătat*   camerele
          after.what   finish.PRES.2SG   DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   show.SUP   rooms.DEF.ACC
          'after you finish showing them the rooms' (hd.portaltv.ro)

      c. nu   m-am   oprit   *de*   ***le***   *luat*
          not   CL.REFL.1SG=AUX.PERF.1SG   stop.PPLE   DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   take.SUP
          'I did not stop taking them' (www.naturaplant.ro)

(iii) after conative verbs such as *a încerca* ('try'):

(30) ca   aceste   răspunsuri   să   merite
      that   these   answers   SĂ_{SUBJ}   worth.SUBJ.3PL

      de   încercat   *de*   ***le***   *căutat*
      DE_{SUP}   try.SUP   DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   look.for.SUP
      'in order for these answers to be worth looking for' (www.opinii.md)

(iv) after *e greu de* (i.e. '*tough*-constructions'):

(31) a. eu   cred   că   aestea   mici   e   mai   greu
          I   believe   that   these   little   is   more   tough

          de   ***le***   *făcut*
          DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   make.PPLE
          'I think that these little ones are tougher to make' (www.torrentsmd.com)

      b. bune   sfaturi,   greu   *de*   ***le***   *urmat*
          good   advice.PL   tough   DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   follow.SUP
          'good advice, tough to follow' (blogs.fanbox.com)

(v) after adjectives taking complements introduced by *de*:

(32) demne   *de*   ***le***   *urmat*
      worthy.F.PL   DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   follow.SUP
      'worthy of following them' (ro-ro.facebook.com)

(vi) in topic predicate fronting constructions:

(33) că   *de*   ***le***   *pus*   în geantă,   tot   vreau
      that   DE_{SUP}   CL.ACC.3PL   put.PPLE   in purse   still   want.IND.PRES.1SG

      să   le   pun   de   vreo   săptămînă
      SĂ_{SUBJ}   CL.ACC.F.3PL   put.PPLE   for   a   week
      'because as for putting them in my purse, I wanted to put them for a week'
      (www.miresici.ro)

These examples also bear witness to another important feature of the supine in the varieties under investigation, namely the extension of its distribution in contrast to Standard Romanian. The supine may be selected by the modal verb *a putea* ('can, be able to') (used impersonally) and by the conative verb *a încerca* ('to try'). Furthermore, the modal verb *a trebui* ('must, have to') always selects a *de*-supine, in contrast to the standard language, in which *trebui* selects a bare supine (this representing the only context in which the verbal supine is not introduced by *de*) or a participle (see, for details, Sandfeld & Olsen, 1936, p. 281; Rosetti, 1968, p. 258; Lombard, 1974, p. 301; Neamțu, 1980, p. 512–513; Pană Dindelegan, 2007, p. 170–171, 2011, p. 121; Dragomirescu, 2013a, p. 36–38, 2015).

3.2. Combination with verbal negation

While the Standard Romanian supine combines only with the prefixal negator *ne–*, but not with the freestanding negator *nu* (see also Cornilescu & Cosma, 2010 for a different interpretation of prefixal supine negation), in the north-eastern varieties the supine is compatible with the freestanding negator *nu*:

(34) a. Sînt multe de spus, multe *de* **nu** le *spus*
     are many DE_SUP say.SUP many DE_SUP not CL.ACC.3PL say.SUP
     'There are many things to be said and many things not to be said' (sorinels.blogspot.ro)

     b. trebuia *de* **nu** le *pus* pampers
     need.IMPERF.3SG DE_SUP not CL.ACC.3PL put.PPLE pampers
     'It was necessary for us not to put them in pampers' (hainutebebe.com)

3.3. Combination with clitic adverbs

In contrast to the standard variety, in the dialects analysed the supine may combine with aspectual clitic adverbs:

(35) Așa că trebuie de le lăsat poarta deschisă
     so that must DE_SUP CL.ACC.3PL leave.SUP door open
     spre plecare și *de* *nu-i* **mai** *netezit* pe băşcălie
     for leaving and DE_SUP not=CL.ACC.3PL more protect.SUP on mockingly
     'One must leave the gate open for them to leave and not to mockingly protect them anymore' (m.publica.md)

3.4. The agreeing supine

Although in Standard Romanian the supine does not display agreement in any context, in the analysed varieties after the verb *a trebui* ('must, have to') the supine displays gender and number agreement with 3rd person subjects (the 1st and 2nd person subjects are excluded from the agreeing configurations), irrespective of the position of the subject, i.e. raised to the main clause (36a–b) or in post-supine position (36c–e); gender and number agreement is also attested in *tough*-constructions (37).

(36) a. [situația]_F.SG trebuie *de* *analizată*_F.SG
     situation must DE_SUP analyse.SUP.F.SG
     'the situation must be analysed' (www.dejure.md)

     b. Totuşi, [orice întrebare, temere, propunere]_F.SG
     anyway any question fear proposal
     trebuie *de* *discutată*_F.SG cu medicul
     must DE_SUP discuss.SUP.F.SG with physician.DEF.ACC
     'Anyway, any question, fear, proposal must be discussed with your physician' (odoras.com)

     c. că trebuie *de* *rezolvată*_F.SG [această problemă]_F.SG
     that must DE_SUP solve.SUP.F.SG this problem
     'that this problem must be solved' (protv.md)

    d. trebuie *de*   *făcută*_{F.SG}   [o cosmetică uşoară]_{F.SG}

d. trebuie *de* *făcută*F.SG [o cosmetică uşoară]F.SG
    must DE_SUP make.SUP.F.SG a cosmetics light.F.SG
    'one must make a light cosmetics operation' (999.md)

e. trebuie *de* *făcute*F.PL şi cîteva [observaţii critice]F.PL
    must DE_SUP make.SUP.F.PL also a.few observations critical
    'one must also make a few critical observations' (books.google.md)

(37) are o muncă [grea]F.SG *de* *făcută*F.SG
    has a job hard.F.SG DE_SUP make.F.SG
    'He has a hard job' (gandul.md)

3.5. *Results and problems*

As we have seen in this section, the supine of the north-eastern varieties fundamentally contrasts with the Standard Romanian supine on the following points: (i) the extension of its distribution, (ii) its compatibility with pronominal clitics, the verbal negator *nu* and the aspectual clitic adverb *mai*, and (iii) gender and number agreement. In the next section, we set the evolution of the Romanian supine against the evolution of the inflected infinitive in other languages, and we put forward a formal analysis which accounts for the present-day behaviour of the supine in the north-eastern varieties of Romanian.

4. Analysis

In the analysis that follows, we adopt the currently accepted generative clausal structure, according to which clausal structure is split into three layers: the CP-layer (the functional domain of the complementizer, which accommodates complementizers, *wh*-phrases and other elements displaced to the left periphery), the IP-layer (the functional domain which hosts mood-tense-aspect projections and the pronominal clitic field; the projection of this domain is also responsible for nominative assignment), and the *v*P-layer (the lexical domain, where the verb and the core arguments are merged). Internal arguments are merged and case-marked in the lexical domain. By contrast, the external argument (the subject), although generated in the lexical domain (Koopman & Sportiche, 1991), is dependent on the projection of the TP phrase (included in the IP-domain) for nominative assignment (Chomsky, 1981; see Cornilescu, 2000 and Stan, 2005 for Romanian).

### 4.1. *Standard Romanian supine*

The syntactic diagnostics reviewed above (absence of subject, incompatibility with verbal negation, pronominal clitics and clitic adverbs) indicate that the supine has a reduced functional structure—cf. many proposals about structure of imperatives in many languages—, as proposed in (38):

(38)

```
          IP
         /  \
            IP'
           /  \
         I_0    vP
         de    /  \
              v'
             /  \
           v^0   VP
          făcut  /  \
                V'
               /  \
             V^0   DP_accusative
            t_face    △
```
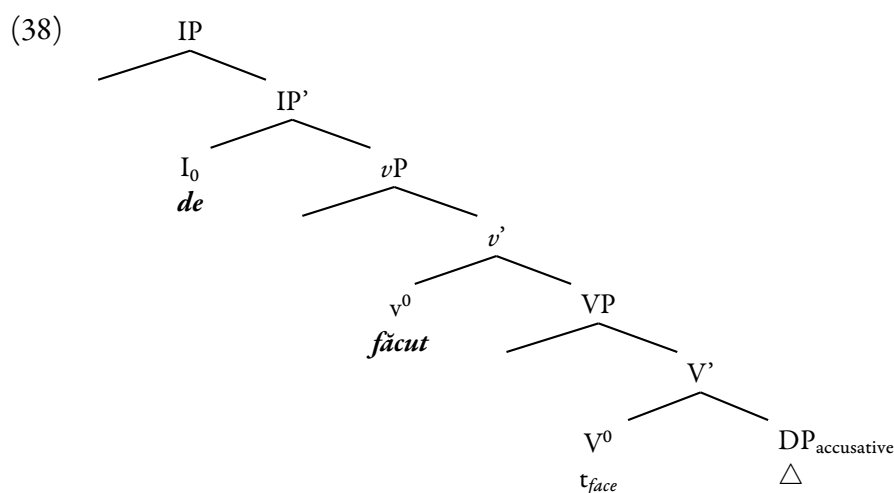
According to this representation, in the functional structure of the supine the C-domain is not projected at all, and the I-domain (which, in Romanian, accommodates the negation phrase, the clitic-hosting person phrases, and the mood, tense, and aspect phrases ordered as such—see, for details, Nicolae, 2015) is defective: the NegP, the TP (responsible for nominative assignment) and the pronominal-clitic-hosting PersP are absent, the entire I-domain of the supine being occupied by the marker *de*. By contrast, the lexical domain *v*P is fully projected, as shown by the fact that the supine may take accusative direct objects (generated as sisters to V) and dative indirect objects (*S-a apucat* [*de trimis cadouri **copiilor***dative]supine 'He started sending gifts to the children'); indirect objects are also generated in the *v*P-domain, as specifiers of an Applicative phrase (ApplP) (i.e. *v* > Appl). The absence of the subject in (non-raising) supine configurations follows from the absence of the TP-projection in the functional structure of the supine: without a TP-projection, nominative assignment is not available, and the existence of a caseless nominal violates *The Case Filter* (Chomsky, 1981).

4.2. Dialectal supine

In contrast to the Standard Romanian supine, the dialectal supine has developed a richer functional structure, as shown in (39):

(39)
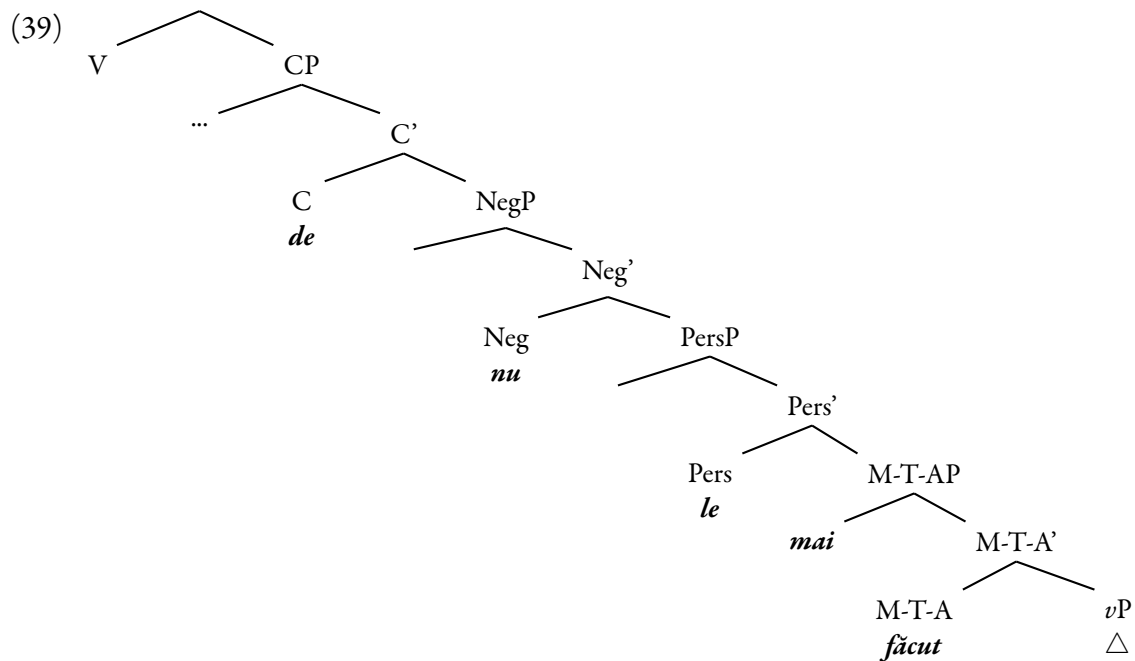
The functional structure of this supine is thus more similar to that of the finite clause, in which all functional layers, CP, IP and *v*P, are projected. The marker *de* has been pushed upwards in the structure, becoming a C-head; thus, in these varieties, we witness the reanalysis of this inflectional element as a complementizer. Furthermore, it appears that the C-domain has developed a left periphery which may accommodate focused and topicalized constituents (40) (Hill & Dragomirescu, 2014). However, these examples are ambiguous, because the boldfaced constituents can be also interpreted as modifying the main verb.

(40)   a.   și   trebuie   [***cumva***   *de*   *le*   *adus*]
             and   must   somehow   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.3PL   bring.SUP

                ca   nimeni   să   nu   știe
                that   nobody   SĂ_SUBJ   not   know.SUBJ.3SG

                'and one must bring them somehow, in order for no one to know' (unimedia.info)

   b. Trebuie   [*la*   *bot*   *de*   *dat*]
      must   at   mouth   DE_SUP   give.PPLE
      'One must hit them in the mouth' (www.timpul.md)

The I-domain is richer than in the standard language, accommodating at least the following phrases (specific to finite clauses with a fully articulated functional domain): the NegP, which hosts the clausal negator, the PersP (/Person-field), which accommodates pronominal clitics, and the AspP (/an Asp-field, *à la* Cinque, 1999), responsible for the merger of aspectual clitic adverbs. In the data examined so far, we have not encountered supines with their own nominative subject distinct from the subject of their selecting verb; thus, there is no significant empirical evidence for a nominative-assigning TP. In conclusion, while the functional structure of the dialectal supine is obviously richer, it is, however, impoverished in certain respects when compared to the structure of fully articulated finite clauses.

The full CP-status of the dialectal supine is further confirmed by the fact that it may undergo CP–topicalization:

(41) a. dar   [*de*   *le*   *adus*]$_i$ trebuie t$_i$
          but   DE_SUP   CL.ACC.F.3PL   bring.PPLE   must
          'but bring them, one must' (www.realizat.com)
      b. [*De*   *le*   *scris*]$_i$ nu   e   greu t$_i$,
          DE_SUP   CL.ACC.F.3PL   write.PPLE   not   is   hard
          am   adăugat   una
          AUX.PERF.1SG   write.PPLE   one
          'writing them isn't hard, I added one' (forum.softpedia.com)

4.3. The supine on the finiteness scale

The analysis of the dialectal supine from the perspective of the finiteness scale (24) put forward by Ledgeway (1998 and ssq.) indicates that this form behaves exactly like the Romance inflected infinitive, in that it displays all the features of a finite clause, except for the ability to take its own lexical subject. Consequently, the dialectal supine is characterized as [− Tense, + Agreement], which indicates that its I-domain, although featuring at least a NegP, a PersP (/Person-field), an AspP (/Asp-field), is still defective, i.e. its nominative-assigning TP is absent. In other words, the dialectal supine is morphologically finite (i.e., it displays morphological agreement), but syntactically non-finite (i.e., it is unable assign nominative case) (see Ledgeway, 2007).

5. Conclusions

This paper has examined the behaviour of the inflected supine attested in the north-eastern varieties of Romanian against the behaviour of the inflected infinitive attested in various Romance and non-Romance languages.

The analysis presented above allows us to formulate a few conclusions which concern, on the one hand, the category of 'finiteness' and its diachronic behaviour, and, on the other hand, the diachronic changes affecting the Romanian supine.

(i) Owing to its array of heterogeneous morphological, syntactic and semantic features, 'finiteness' is one of the least understood linguistic concepts (Ledgeway, 2007). Furthermore, the diachronic changes affecting it are also incongruous. For example, in the passage form Old to Modern Neapolitan, the inflected infinitive has been replaced by the personal and canonical infinitives, while the Romanian supine, which has been morphologically invariable and had a reduced functional structure, has become an inflected 'non-finite' form with an enriched functional structure in the dialects examined. Thus, diachronically, the degree of finiteness of a certain verbal form may become enriched or impoverished.

Furthermore, it is clear that the label 'infinitive' covers forms with a different internal structure in different languages.

(ii) As stressed in Section 2.4, the idea that the Romance inflected infinitive does not originate from the canonical infinitive, but rather from finite forms (subjunctive, indicative) is largely accepted. The inflected infinitive emerges from the canonical infinitive in non-Romance languages (Romeyka, Hungarian). From this perspective, Romanian is drawn closer to the non-Romance languages discussed here by its dialectal inflected supine, which emerged from the canonical supine.

(iii) However, from the perspective of the diachrony of non-finite forms, there are however similarities between Romanian and other Romance languages. Consider the Portuguese canonical infinitive: in Old Portuguese, this form was not compatible with pronominal clitics and clausal negation (which underwent raising to the higher predicate), while the Modern Portuguese inflected infinitive is compatible with both negation and pronominal clitics. The Romanian supine is undergoing a similar path of diachronic change, as synthesized in (iv) below.

(iv) The diachrony of the Romanian supine obviously involves an enrichment of the functional structure: projections like Negation, Person, and Aspect which are absent in the functional structure of the Standard Romanian supine become available in the north-eastern varieties. Agreement in contexts in which the supine is selected by the verb *a trebui* ('must, have to') or in *tough*-constructions, albeit poorly attested, indicates that acquisition of a full set of *phi*-features by the supine is well underway. Gender agreement makes the Romanian supine different from other non-finite forms in the Romance languages which show person and number agreement. The diachrony of the Romanian supine thus indicates that one possible path of syntactic change is enrichment of functional structure. This conclusion is somewhat surprising judging from what we know about syntactic change: traditional wisdom insists on the diachronic reduction of syntactic structures (cf., for example, Harris & Campbell, 1995, Chapter 7, *Processes that simplify biclausal structures*); the diachrony of the inflected non-finite forms illustrates the very opposite situation: enrichment of syntactic structure.

(v) The supine marker *de* has an interesting diachronic path. At the point at which the ambiguous (verbal-nominal) supine grammaticalizes as a verbal supine, the preposition *de* is reanalysed as an inflectional head (Dragomirescu, 2013a,b), following a familiar path of grammaticalization, identified, for example, in the grammaticalization of the Dutch *te*-infinitive (Ijbema, 2002). The enrichment of the functional structure of the supine in the dialects triggers the reanalysis of the inflectional marker *de* as a complementizer: in other words, from the perspective of the representations in (38) and (39), the marker *de* an I-element in Standard Romanian, is "pushed up" and reanalysed as a C-head in the dialects. This path of diachronic change (inflectional marker > complementizer) is in agreement with the theory of syntactic change put forward by Roberts & Roussou (2003), according to which grammaticalization involves movement and subsequent reanalysis to the left, i.e. in a hierarchically higher position.

Acknowledgements

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