

# The emergence of the Romanian supine

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## 1. Introduction

This paper focuses on Romanian constructions with *supine*, which is an invariable verb form that is morphologically equivalent to the masculine singular of the past participle, and can be used in active voice. In traditional grammar (e.g., Popescu 1995: 316), the supine is classified as a *mood*. This form appeared in Early Modern Romanian (EMR), and is preserved without changes in standard Modern Romanian (MR). The paper aims to account for the emergence and the spread of the supine in EMR, and to pinpoint the properties that are relevant to the analysis of the MR supine.

The supine is a relatively recent innovation, its beginnings being well attested in the documents of the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. My primary source of data in this paper is a corpus of Moldavian Chronicles (*letopiseþele moldoveneþti*), supplemented with data from other contemporary literary writings. The Moldavian Chronicles are the first literary texts written directly in Romanian. They are, thus, more reliable than the translated texts for conveying the state of EMR grammar, although one should always keep in mind that written and spoken languages may differ.

My corpus consists of the writings of three chroniclers who follow each other on the timeline in this order: Grigore Ureche > Miron Costin > Ion Neculce. Thus, the texts provide the grammar of three consecutive generations, from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The combined texts amount to a corpus of

259,536 words, generating 9,497 sentences. The list of verbal supine constructions (i.e., *de-supine*) found in this corpus is provided in the Appendix 1 to this paper.

The changes relevant to this paper occur at the time when EMR was undergoing the pan-Balkan process in which infinitives were replaced with subjunctives (for an overview, see Joseph 1983; Mišeska –Tomić 2006). Studies in historical linguistics (e.g., Bourciez 1946; Tiktin 1905 a.o.), have shown that the supine (versus the subjunctive) replaced the EMR infinitive<sup>1</sup> in non-finite relative clauses. Subsequently, the supine spread to other syntactic configurations. A discussion of the factors that led to the emergence of the supine will, thus, entail a synchronic analysis of EMR. The analysis will resort to constant comparison with MR, for clarifying clause internal hierarchies and type of movements, where applicable. This is facilitated by the fact that, in supine constructions, EMR and standard MR grammars seem identical, as far as the written texts can attest – which is not the case in other type of clauses (e.g., the subjunctives).

The analysis is couched in the framework of generative grammar and, therefore, pays attention to the learnability factor, under the assumption that most changes in language stem from the process of first language acquisition (Battye & Roberts 1995; Hale 1998 a.o.)<sup>2</sup>. The idea I shall argue for is that EMR, but not other languages (e.g., Balkan Slavic) provided ambiguity in the primary linguistic data in the context of

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<sup>1</sup> There are two types of infinitives in EMR: (i) The *long infinitive*, consisting of the infectum stem plus the infinitive suffix *-re*, as seen in other Romance languages (e.g., *venire* ‘to.come’). (ii) The *short infinitive* consisting of a pre-verbal mood marker *a* ‘to’ and the infectum stem without *-re* (e.g., *a veni* ‘to come’). EMR attests mixed forms, where *a* ‘to’ also precedes long infinitives, and preserves their verbal status. Long infinitives without *a* ‘to’ are nouns in EMR.

<sup>2</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that the learnability approach to language change is theoretically debatable and, in fact, overturned in recent studies (e.g., Diessel 2012). This debate is orthogonal to the analysis and the results of my paper, which can be easily converted to other theoretical frameworks.

infinitival relatives, because of the underspecification of *de* for grammatical category (i.e., either preposition or relativizing complementizer). The ambiguity led to two parallel derivations – a PP-*de* and a CP-*de* - each of them being an alternative to the infinitive relative. The latter configuration preserves the relativizing status for *de* in combination with the past participle – that is, the only non-finite verb form, beside the infinitive, which is compatible with *de*, in a way to be made precise.

The paper begins with a brief outline of supine constructions in standard Modern Romanian, which allows me to establish the relevant tests for supine clauses. Section 3 provides a summary of what historical linguists have to say about the emergence of supines. This is followed, in section 4, by a survey of the literature that attests to the use of supines in EMR. The subsequent sections develop my own analysis of the data, yielding the conclusion that the emergence of the supine was a predictable option, and this option is unrelated to genealogy, language contact or lack of other possibilities, arising only from the idiosyncratic properties of EMR grammar (i.e., the categorial underspecification of *de*). The paper contains two Appendixes: one lists the *de*-supine clauses found in the Moldavian Chronicles; the other provides comments on the supine based nouns.

## 2. Supine: general properties

In the first part, this section surveys the properties of the supine clause in MR, such as established in the existing literature: its distribution, internal structure and

restrictions on the merging of constituents. Although the supine is presented as having spread in two directions (i.e., to the noun and to the verb paradigms), the analysis focuses on the verbal supine, because that is the environment for its first attestation. A short discussion on the supine based nouns is provided in Appendix 2.

In the second part of this section, the properties of the non-finite complementizer *de* are presented, when it heads sentential complements and non-finite relatives in EMR. The information in section 2 will serve as a basis of reference for the subsequent analysis.

### 2.1. Supine clause structure (MR)

The form labeled as *supine* in the traditional grammar of standard Romanian is an invariable form identical to the masculine singular past participle, but having an active interpretation. It has replaced the EMR infinitive<sup>3</sup> in contexts such as in (1).

(1) spălat

washed.SUP

a. [Spălatul] podelelor m-a obosit.

washed.SUP.the floors.the.GEN me-has tired

‘The washing of floors tired me.’

b. Asta-i [bluza de spălat.]// Bluza e [de spălat.]

this-is blouse DE washed.SUP//blouse.the is DE washed.SUP

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<sup>3</sup> EMR infinitives are almost totally replaced by subjunctives or supines as complements to V and in relatives; they are still optional (i.e., matter of style) in adverbial clauses; and stayed productive as complements to N.

‘This is the blouse that needs washing.’

- c. Am terminat [de spălat podelele.]

have.1 finished DE washed.SUP floors.the

‘I have finished washing the floors.’

- d. E greu [de spălat podelele.]/Podelele sunt greu [de spălat.]

is hard DE washed.SUP floors.the// floors.the are hard DE washed.SUP

‘It is hard to wash the floors.//The floors are hard to wash.’

- e. Umblă după [(\*)de) cules flori.]

seeks after DE picked.SUP flowers

‘He seeks to pick flowers.’ (from Popescu 1995: 318)

The paradigm in (1) shows two directions for the syntactic development of the supine: one is nominal (as in 1a) and one is verbal (as in 1b, c, d, e). The two directions can be identified as follows: nominal supines can take the definite article, and their direct objects display Genitive Case endings (1a); they freely alternate with other nouns in most environments. On the other hand, the verbal supine is necessarily preceded by the complementizer *de* or is embedded in an adverbial PP<sup>4</sup>, and may have a direct object with the Accusative Case form. In its verbal function, the supine occurs in non-finite relatives and in BE predicates (1b); in sentential complements to some classes of verbs (e.g.,

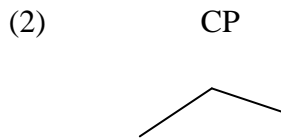
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<sup>4</sup> The preposition in (1e) does not compete with *de* for the complementizer position (i.e., *de* is in Fin°; P is the selector of Force/FinP) but for the probing of the [D] feature, which needs checking on both P and *de*. This restriction applies to infinitives as well, in Romanian and in other Romance languages (e.g., Fr. *pour* > (\**de*/\*à) > infinitive)

(i) A venit pentru (\*de) a pescui balene.// A venit pentru (\*de) pescuit balene.  
has come for DE INF fish.INF whales//has come for DE fished.SUP whales  
‘He came to fish whales.’

modal in (1c)), but also to nouns and predicative adjectives ; in *tough*-constructions, with object raising (1d); and in adverbial adjuncts (1e). Only the adverbial adjunct (1e) mirrors the use of Latin supine; it is not a productive construction in standard MR<sup>5</sup> (Dumitrescu et al. 1978, Popescu 1995, Nemțuț 2010)<sup>6</sup>.

The internal structure of the nominal supine is apparently not different from the structure of any DP (but see Iordăchioaia & Soare 2011 for differences in derivational morphology; also the discussion in Appendix 2). The verbal supine is based on a past participle root, on a par with the nominal supine. However, past participles are derived with passive voice, whereas the supine is associated with active voice, and has the internal structure shown in (2), which would represent the complement to the aspectual verb in (1c) (Hill 2002).



<sup>5</sup> Gabinschi (2010) reports that use of supines as adverbial adjuncts is productive in the dialect of modern Eastern Moldova (former Basarabia).

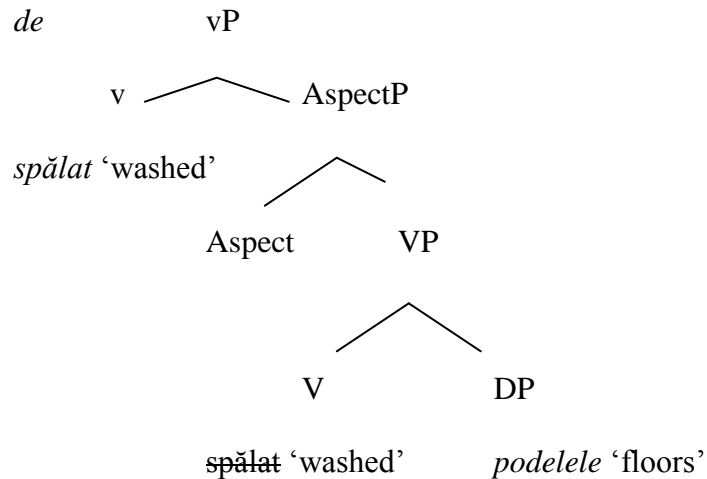
<sup>6</sup> Dragomirescu (2011) argues that supine relatives may also license lexical subjects, e.g.:

- (i) corturi [de jucat copiii] (*idealbebe.ro*)  
 tents DE play.SUP children.the  
 ‘tents for children to play in’

These examples occur as labels on products for sale, but cannot be used in actual sentences (ii), and also, do not allow for pronominal substitution (iii).

- (ii) \*Am cumpărat un cort de jucat copiii.  
 have bought a tent DE play.SUP children.the  
 Intended: ‘I have bought a tent for the children to play.’
- (iii) \*cort de jucat ei  
 tent DE play.SUP they/them

The restrictions in (ii) and (iii) indicate that the embedded DP is not a subject, insofar as it fails to be associated with an argumental position (hence, pronouns are disallowed). Whatever the syntax of labels and titles would be, it is not relevant to the current paper, which focuses on full-fledged sentences only.



In (2), the vP analysis of the supine follows from its behavior as a regular transitive verb; hence, its argument structure must also match the vP shell that is generally assumed for transitive verbs (Chomsky 1995 and further work). Evidence for the presence of an AspectP in (2) comes from the possibility of inserting certain aspectual adverbs in the supine clause (Hill 2002), as shown in (3).

- (3) E numai bine [de tuns **iar** iarba.]  
 is just right DE cut again grass.the  
 'It is the right time to cut again the grass.'

The linearization in (3) reflects the hierarchy in (2), with the aspectual adverb *iar* 'again' between the supine and the direct object, and it also conforms to the adverb hierarchy in Cinque (1999), where repetitive adverbs are located lower than v (Voice).

There is no evidence for a TP field in the supine clause. That is, any element associated with the TP field (i.e., negation, auxiliaries, clitic pronouns, mood marker) rule

out the verbal derivations in (1) (Hill 2002, Soare 2002). Consequently, the supine licenses only null (PRO) subjects and, although it can assign Accusative Case to an object DP (see 1c), this DP cannot involve clitic doubling. That is, in direct object position, certain classes of nouns in MR require both Differential Object Marking (DOM) with the particle *pe* and clitic doubling, as in (4a). Since supines lack a TP field, they cannot support clitics; hence, clitic doubling does not apply, and the contrast between (4b) and (4c) is predicted on structural grounds<sup>7</sup>.

- (4) a.     **L-am**           spălat   **pe** Ionel.  
           him-have.1    washed DOM Ionel  
           ‘I/we saw Ion.’
- b.     Am     de pălat bebelușul.  
           have.1 DE washed baby.the  
           ‘I have to wash the baby.’
- c.     (\*L-)Am   de (\*-l) pălat   **pe** Ionel.  
           him have.1 DE him washed DOM little.Ion

This brief outline of the internal structure of the verbal supine indicates that DP movement from the supine clause in (2) is triggered to fulfill the feature checking needs in the matrix, versus the licensing needs of the DP itself, since the latter can meet the licensing conditions within the supine clause.

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<sup>7</sup> There is a dialectal difference here: Gabinschi (2010) indicates that a TP field is projected in the supine clause of the Eastern Moldovan dialect. However, even in this dialect, the TP field does not occur in non-finite relatives, but in other environments.



Although the internal structure in (2) is not controversial, the implementation of feature checking within and outside this structure, as well as the justification for probes and movement is still open for debate. Relevant to this paper is the fact that no unified account for the derivations in (1) has emerged from the existing generative studies (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Dye 2006; Giurgea & Soare 2010; Grosu & Horvath 1987; Hill 2002; Iordăchioaia & Soare 2011 a.o.). One element that has been completely neglected in these discussions concerns the origin of the Romanian supine, and the diachronic process that ended up with the inventory of the derivations in (1). Yet, understanding how the supine appeared must contribute important information on the properties of supines, especially for a formal approach to their syntax.

## 2. 2. The cartography of *de* in EMR non-finite clauses

Supine clauses display the complementizer *de*, which is obligatory in all contexts except in adverbial adjuncts. This is the same *de* that occurs in infinitive clauses in Romance languages. There are two important cross-linguistic differences between the uses of *de* in EMR/MR versus other Romance languages. First, *de* is the exclusive non-finite complementizer in EMR/MR, but not in other Romance languages (e.g., French alternates *de* and *à*). Second, EMR and MR use *de* for finite clauses as well, in alternation with finite complementizers – which is not the case in other Romance languages. These peculiarities of EMR *de* will be shown to have a major role in the emergence of supines.

The location of *de* in (2) has been indicated in the head C°. However, from now on, the CP field containing the non-finite *de* will be considered from a cartographic

perspective (Rizzi 1997), where it is further articulated over separate projections for clause typing (ForceP) and inflection typing (FinP), as well as for encoding the discourse pragmatic features [topic] and [focus]. The map of the CP field has the hierarchy in (5).

(5) ForceP > TopP > FocusP<sub>contrast</sub> > FinP (*de*) > TP

Within this hierarchy, Rizzi (1997) shows that the non-finite complementizer *de* merges in Fin° in Romance languages.

The Fin° location for *de* can be verified for EMR infinitive complements, where constituents with topic and contrastive readings can precede *de*, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. Iar turcii, cum au vădzut poarta cetății deschisă,  
 and Turks.the as have seen gate.the fort.GEN open  
 au lăsat [pre moscali] **de**-a-i mai gonire ș-au  
 have stopped DOM Russians.TOP DE-INF-them more chase and-have  
 ș-început a intra în cetate.  
 and-started INF enter in fort  
 ‘And the Turks, as soon as they saw the gate of the fort opened, they  
 stopped chasing the Russians and started to enter in the fort.’

(Neculce 380)

- b. noi sîntem datori să fim gata [[de oaste] [în toată  
 we are obliged SUBJ be.SUBJ ready of army-TOP<sub>contr</sub> in any  
 vremea, [cîndu va veni cuvîntul împăratului]],

time            when   will come order.the emperor.the.GEN  
 și [de bani]                    **de** a    le    darea            pururea...]  
 and of money-TOP<sub>contr</sub> DE INF them provide. INF forever  
 ‘We are obligated to be ready to provide them forever with ARMY, at all  
 times, – as soon as the emperor’s order comes – and with MONEY.’  
 (Ureche 131)

In (6), *de* is preceded by a familiar topic constituent (6a), or by contrastive topics with a list reading (6b). According to Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), contrastive topic competes with contrastive focus for the same hierarchical position. Hence, *de* is lower than FocusP but higher than the infinitive mood marker *a* ‘to’ in T<sup>8</sup>.

In EMR infinitive relatives, the relativized DP and *de* display systematic adjacency, as in (7). Since nothing can precede *de* (which would separate the DP and the infinitive clause) there is no evidence that *de* is in Fin<sup>o</sup> in these constructions.

- (7) a.       unde   nici era [loc   **de** a-și            tocmirea oastea]  
              where not was place DE INF-REFL organize army.the  
              ‘where there wasn’t even a place in which to organize his army’  
              (Ureche 100)

- b.       și    au    stătit la sfat        să    facă [oști   **de** a    stare

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<sup>8</sup> Generative studies on Romanian clause structure (e.g., Alboiu 2002, Cornilescu 2000, Motapanyane 1995 a.o.) identify a separate functional head for mood markers such as infinitive *a*. This would be Mood<sup>o</sup>, selecting TP. Although I subscribe to this distinction, I will not be using it in this paper, as nothing depends on it. Instead, I use the label T for both mood and tense features mapping.

and have sat at council SUBJ do armies DE INF stand

împotriva puterii turcești ]

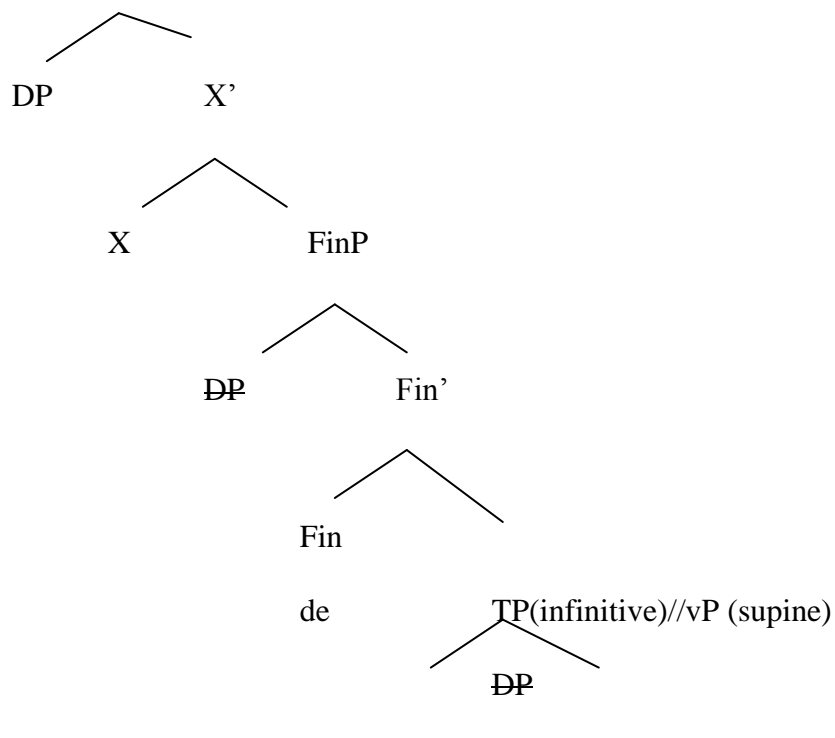
against power.GEN Turkish

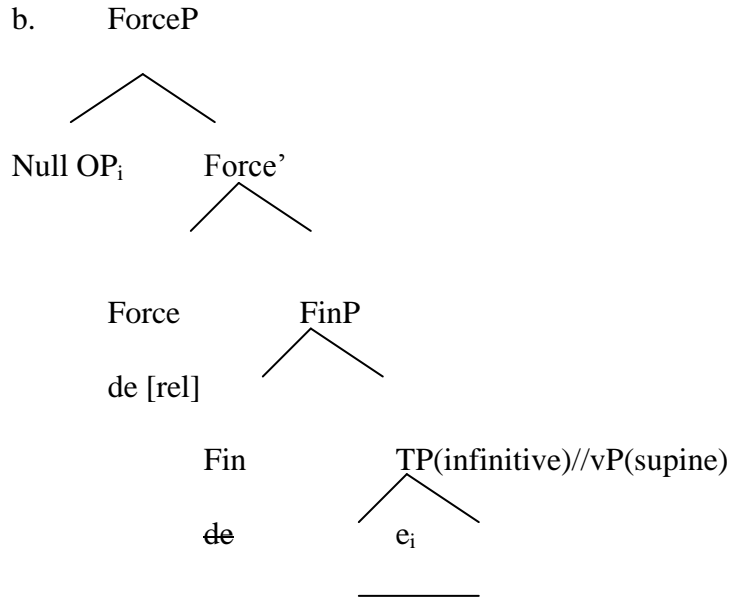
‘And they sat in council to prepare armies that could stand against the

Turkish power.’ (Costin 50)

Non-finite relatives with supines, as in (1b), display a similar adjacency between the relativized DP and *de*. This adjacency may follow from two derivations: (i) the CP field is truncated at FinP, as in (8a); or (ii) the CP projects up to ForceP, and *de* moves from Fin° to Force° to check the [relative] clause typing feature, as in (8b).

(8) a. XP





The configuration in (8a) entails a relativization where the DP moves to an argumental position Spec, XP at the edge of the left periphery, in both infinitive and supine clauses. This edge position would be, for example, a Case position for the relativized DP, as proposed in Giurgea & Soare (2010). On the other hand, in (8b) *de* moves to Force<sup>o</sup> to check the [relative] clause typing, and enters in a local relation with the null operator in Spec, ForceP. Accordingly, (8b) displays the same derivational pattern as the finite relatives (i.e., with a gap in the relative clause). This is the direction proposed in Grosu & Horvath (1987). Both patterns have been argued for on the basis of MR data. The EMR data must be able to point out the most suitable configuration for the supines.

One important observation that (8) provides in light of the configuration in (2) is that DPs cannot be relativized from the subject position of the supine. This restriction follows from the intrinsic nominal property of *de* (which is etymologically a preposition, and therefore, has an uninterpretable nominal [D] feature): its [D] feature probes in the embedded domain. If this domain has a T head, as in infinitives, *de* checks its feature

against T. Then, infinitive T cannot license lexical subjects in the presence of *de* (which is true for Romance languages, in general); that is, there is no Case checking of the subject DP against infinitive T (which is an option in EMR infinitives without *de*). Hence, the subject is null<sup>9</sup>. However, if the *de*-infinitive is a relative clause, a relative probe attracts DP to the edge position, as in (7b), where the DP has its Case checked against matrix T, through free-ride (for the exact mechanism, see Bhatt 2006). This would support a configuration as in (8a). Unlike infinitives, the supines provide a configuration without a TP, as in (2). Here, the [D] feature of *de* probes the first available DP (instead of T), which is in the subject Spec, vP position. So the DP is not available to the relative probe, and cannot move to a Case position. Thus, supine Spec, vP can accommodate only a null subject (PRO), since a lexical DP would be Case-less. In such contexts, it is predictable that relativization originates in any other position than the

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<sup>9</sup> This observation is valid for contrasts in subject licensing as in (i) vs (ii).

- (i) Era momentul *de* a face (\*Maria/\*ea) minuni.  
was time.the de INF make Maria/she miracles  
'The time was right to make a wonder.'
- (ii) Era mai bine a fi plecat (Maria/ea) înaintea noastră.  
was more well INF be gone Maria/she before us  
'It would have been better for Maria/her to go before us.'

The contrast in (i) versus (ii) can be correctly generalized. However, some "exceptions" are possible, as an anonymous reviewer mentions, when the subject is a strong pronoun:

- (iii) O sa meditez mai departe la cât din procesul  
will SUBJ meditate more further to how.much from process.the  
*de* a face **ea** pipi, îmi revine mie ca profesor al ei!  
de INF make she pipi to.me regards me as professor of her  
'I will further muse on the issue of how much of HER pieing is MY  
responsibility, as her professor.'

Unlike the subjects in (i)/(ii), the pronoun in (iii) is emphatic and receives a contrastive reading, so it has a different status from default subjects (presumably, it is in a non-argumental position). An explanation of why emphatic/contrastive pronouns are allowed where argumental nouns and pronouns are not is beyond the scope of this paper.

subject, and that would bring support for the generalization of the configuration in (8b) to supine relatives.

### 3. The genesis debate

Historically, the intriguing point about supines is that, unlike other verbal paradigms and their respective syntactic distribution, they are not inherited from Latin (at least not demonstrably so), nor are they borrowed through language contact (e.g., as the subjunctive is presumably borrowed from Balkan languages), and their appearance in the language is relatively late, around the 16<sup>th</sup> century. What are the factors that led to the emergence of the supine at that time? How did the variety of derivations in (1) arise?

Historical linguists are divided on this issue. One side argues that Daco-Romanian (i.e., versus the Romanian dialects South of the Danube) is the only Romance language that preserved the Latin supine (Grandgent 1958, Diaconescu 1971, following Tiktin 1905 and Bourciez 1946). The other side argues that the supine is an EMR innovation (Caragiu 1962, Brâncuș 1967, Frâncu 2009). Then, there are also the undecided linguists, who consider that the Romanian supine might have originated from the Latin supine, but it has definitely expanded its morpho-syntax beyond the available Latin patterns (Dumitrescu & al. 1978: 336).

The arguments for Latin continuity rely on the general trend in phonetic changes, which would correctly amount to the morphological form of the Romanian supine (e.g., Lat. *venatum* > *venatu* > Rom. *vânat* ‘hunt’). The arguments further point to semantic and

syntactic changes: Semantically, the Romanian supine names the event instead of predicating it (e.g., *făină de cernut* ‘flour for sifting’; see also ‘the washing’ in (1a)). Syntactically, the supine reflects the general switch from a synthetic to an analytical grammar, the preposition *de* in front of the supine being the default option for the implementation of this switch in nouns, which is still happening in EMR. Eventually, *de* is re-analyzed as a conjunction in this specific environment, according to these scholars.

The anti-thesis to the above proposal argues for the innovation of the supine in EMR, bringing the following evidence: (i) the Latin supine disappeared before the Romanization of the eastern Balkans; (ii) no supine form is attested in Oriental Latin; (iii) Latin and Romanian supines contrast in their properties and syntactic behavior: mainly, the Romanian supine functions not only as a noun, but also as a verb (e.g., *am de cernut făina* ‘I have to sift the flour’; see also (1c)). Even in its nominal function, the Romanian supine is different from the Latin one, since the latter is practically restricted to one Case form (Accusative), whereas the former is not (it can also display Genitive/Dative Case).

Linguists who adopted the innovation thesis had to explain how the supine emerged. The outstanding proposal (Caragiu 1962) is that it originated from nominalized past participle forms of intransitive verbs, which identify (by naming) an action. These participles being neutral with respect to voice, the supine did not inherit the passive feature. Brâncuș (1967) further speculates that the use of the supine as replacement for infinitives in predicates led to a verbal re-analysis of the supine in certain environments, a direction also adopted in Diaconescu (1971).

#### 4. Attestation of supines in EMR



From the perspective of corpus analysis, Frâncu (2009) states that the supine is very rare in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and is attested only in the South and South-West regions of Romania. These rare forms come in non-finite relatives, as in (9a), which are preserved in MR as in (1b). These forms alternate in texts with the default construction containing an infinitive, as in (9b, c) (see also 7a).

- (9) a. apă de spălat  
           water DE washed.SUP  
           ‘water to wash with’ (from Frâncu 2009: 132)
- b. apă de-a spălarea  
           water DE-INF wash.INF  
           ‘water to wash with’ (from Gheție et al. 1997:151)
- c. vase de a-l stingerea  
           pots DE INF.it extinguish.INF  
           ‘pots in which to extinguish it’  
           (from Densușianu 1901/1997: 577)

Like the linguists mentioned in the previous section, Frâncu points out that the emergence of the supine occurs just after the replacement process had started, by which infinitives were substituted with subjunctives. He considers the innovation of the supine as “a reflex” of this process.

For the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the same study establishes that the supines continue to occur in non-finite relatives, while also being extended to BE predicates: *iaste de cercat* (is DE attempted ‘it is for us to attempt’). Moreover, there are also rare examples where the supine is a sentential complement to verbs (see Frâncu 2009: 322 and references therein).

To sum up this account, the supine starts in non-finite relatives, expands to predicative BE structures, and displays timid distribution as sentential complement to verbs by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. All these supine constructions occur in free alternation with infinitives in the written language, although Frâncu considers that the long infinitive must have been archaic in spoken language by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, within approximately two centuries, all the derivations in (1) have emerged. Importantly, the infinitive clauses continue to alternate with the supines until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the contexts of sentential complementation and object raising (10), in which the supine spread at a later date.

- (10) Cîndu ocărăsc într-o zi pre cineva, ieste *greu a răbda*;  
when scold.1SG in-a day DOM someone is hard to bear.INF  
‘It is hard for me to bear it when sometimes I scold someone.’

(Costin 191)

## 5. The data from the Moldavian Chronicles

The sample of supine I found in the Moldavian Chronicles is very small, and I shall use it as guidance in the discussion of supines, rather than as an exclusive source of

data. One may expect to find few supines in the Moldavian Chronicles, since the construction was more productive in the South and South-West than in Moldova<sup>10</sup>. A first observation is that the use of supines increases slightly in the chronological order of the chronicles, from three occurrences at Ureche to 13-16 at the subsequent chroniclers. A second observation is that the use of supines may have been suppressed or minimized as a matter of style. For comparison, I looked at texts written by the generation following the last chronicle (approx. 1750). That is Dimitrie Cantemir (*Divanul* – Căndea 1969) in Moldova, and Ienache Văcărescu (*Istoria Othomănească* – Ștrempel 2001) in Wallachia. Cantemir has the same type of supine constructions as Neculce, but in higher number and lexically more diverse (see examples in Ciortea 2005). This was expected, considering the timeline. In Văcărescu's text, however, I could not find one single supine construction, despite the fact that supines were earlier and probably better established in his region: the writer chooses to use the archaic infinitive all throughout his treatise. Therefore, we have to keep in mind that the texts are not very reliable in attesting language innovations, since writers tend to be more conservative in the use of language.

That being said, the list of supine constructions in the Moldavian Chronicles is provided in the Appendix 1. The following comments refer to this list, by specifying the number of the examples as it is recorded in the list, and preceded by A (for *appendix*).

- Ureche has one adverbial (purpose) supine clause (A2) and two BE-supine predicates (A1, A3).
- Costin has 16 occurrences, eleven of which repeat the same formulaic supine (i.e., *de mirat* = DE admired/marveled/wondered), in predicative structures with BE and

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<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the Wallachian Chronicles are fragmentary and do not provide better data for the supine than the Moldavian texts (Todi 2001).

*rămas* ‘lasted’ (A7, A9), the latter verb being also used as a copula. From the other supine patterns, there are two non-finite relatives (A11, A18, belonging to the *de mirat* group), two adverbial supines (“exception” in (A8) and “purpose” in (A12)), and a construction with object raising (A4). Note that the object raising occurs in the quotation of Gypsy speech, and that is probably why this is the only construction of this type seen in the corpus. Finally, there is an ambiguous supine construction that can be parsed either as the complement of a predicative adjective or as a BE-predicate itself (A14). This last construction seems to involve BE deletion, which happens at other points in the text under the influence of the writer’s Slavonic erudition.

- Neculce has 13 occurrences of the supine verb, seven of which are repetitions of *de mirat*. Presumably, he has copied this expression from Costin (whom he refers to in his text) and used it almost as often as his predecessor. Interestingly, though, the last two occurrences of *de mirat* are moldovenized (i.e., *de merat*), when the writer’s stylistic vigilance decreased. One instance of what looks like *de*-supine (A19) is ambiguous as to the status of the lexical item, which is probably a deverbal noun (i.e. *de strănutat* ‘DE sneezed’ = *din strănutat* ‘from sneezing’). MR does not construe the verb ‘keep.quiet’ with a supine complement. There are also two non-finite relatives (A22, A29) and two constructions where transitive verbs select the supine as sentential complement (A23, A26). The latter were not present at the previous chroniclers, and may signal a new trend, since they are indeed better exploited later on in Cantermir (Ciortea 2005).

The first task in the analysis is to identify the properties of the supine relative – which is the first environment for supine attestation – and to account for its emergence in terms of learnability.

## 6. Non-finite relatives

Non-finite relatives with supine verbs are productive in MR, which gives us the possibility to test them and to determine their underlying structure. As background to the discussion, I will present first, the inventory of restrictive relative clauses in EMR, in finite and non-finite clauses.

Finite relative clauses are of two types: those that display a relative pronoun (moved to Spec,CP), and those that display a complementizer in C (Frâncu 2009; Todi 2001). The first type involves the pronoun *care* ‘which’, as in (11a)<sup>11</sup>; this pronoun is D-linked and allows for chains with resumptive clitic pronouns. The other implementation involves complementizers: *ce*, in (11b) and *de* in (11c). *Ce* is a lexicalization for a [*wh/qu*] head (i.e., Force<sup>o</sup>) and triggers a gap in the relative clause (Grosu & Horvath 1987). Roughly, we may see *ce* as equivalent to the relativizer *that* in English (but comparative tests have not been performed as yet). *De* is a complementizer that can co-occur with operators, in the same way *ce* does. Hence, *de* must be in Force<sup>o</sup>, like *ce*, in a local relation with the null operator. This line of reasoning supports the representation in (8b), as the underlying structure of both non-finite and finite relatives with *de*.

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<sup>11</sup> In fact, the *care* relative is also of two types in EMR: one with *care* + definite article (*carele*, *carii* ‘care+ DEF.MASC.SG/MASC.PL’), and one with article-less *care*, as in (11a).

- (11) a.      cățea**oa**            **cu care** au gonit fiara            aceia au crăpat  
                  she.dog.the      with which has chased animal.the that    has died  
                  ‘the dog with which he chased that animal has died’ (Ureche 66)
- b.      au dat    de o hiară **ce**    să    chiamă bour  
                  has found of an animal what REFL call      auroch  
                  ‘he found an animal they call auroch’ (Ureche 66)
- c.      au găsit o priseacă cu stupi și un moșneag bătrîn **de** prisăcăriia stupii  
                  have found an apiary with hives and an old.man old who tended hives.the  
                  ‘they found an apiary with hives and an old old-man who was tending the  
                  hives’                    (Ureche 70)

Standard MR preserves the derivational pattern in (11a)<sup>12</sup>, uses the pattern in (11b) only in restricted environments (i.e., with some quantifiers and quantified DPs), and lost the pattern in (11c). However, the latter is well maintained in regional (S-W) varieties.

Restricted relative clauses can also be derived with non-finite verbs, in which case they disallow relative pronouns. Bhatt (2006) shows that non-finite relatives are triggered by an [ability] modal feature associated with the non-finite C. This finding is very relevant to EMR/MR data, where non-finite relatives have a distinct deontic interpretation. Bhatt also identifies two derivational patterns in infinitive relatives:

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<sup>12</sup> EMR does not observe restrictions on adjacency between the DP and the corresponding finite relative clause. Examples of *distance relatives* are numerous.

(i) *Reduced relatives*: they lack a CP field and allow only for the relativization of subjects (e.g., *a man to ~~a man~~ fix the sink*). The relativization of the DP creates an A-movement chain, on the pattern in (8a).

(ii) *Regular relatives*: they project a CP field, where any constituent other than the subject can be relativized (e.g., *a book to read ~~a book~~*), creating A'-movement chains, on the pattern in (8b).

These two patterns apply as such in EMR infinitive relatives as well: (7b) is an example of reduced relative, whereas (7a) illustrated the regular relative. However, EMR developed alternatives to the infinitive relative, as shown in (12). In particular, the infinitive relative in (12a) alternates with a supine relative, as in (12b), or with an attributive PP, as in (12c).

- (12) a. n-avea    nărodul    apă    **de**-a    bérea                    *de*-infinitive = clause  
              not-had   people.the water DE to drink  
              ‘The people had no water to drink.’ (from Gheție et al. 1997: 151)
- b. băgă    apă    într-însa    **de** spălat                    *de*-supine = clause  
              poured water in   it   DE washed  
              ‘he poured in it water to wash with’ (from Gheție et al. 1997: 151)
- c. Cine are urechi    **de**    audzire se    audză                    *de*-DP<sub>INF</sub> = PP  
              who has ears    for hearing SUBJ hear  
              ‘Those who have ears for the hearing hear this’  
              (Zač<sup>2</sup> 50 apud Mareş et al. 1994: 54)

MR lost the infinitive relative but preserved the supine and the PP alternatives.

### 6.1. MR participial relatives

Non-finite relatives as in (12b) are productive in MR. Giurgea & Soare (2010) analyze such constructions by adopting the definition of reduced relatives from Bhatt (1998, 2006), where the constructions lack the CP field and their subject undergoes A-movement out of the embedded subject position, targeting the Specifier of a predicative phrase (PredP) (equivalent to XP in 8a). Giurgea & Soare point out that the relativized DP in MR supines originates from the object position, not from the subject position; however, it undergoes the same type of A-movement to a PredP<sup>13</sup>. In other words, MR supines do not project a ForceP. They justify this analysis by demonstrating that the supine verb has the properties of a passive participial form. In particular, it can take an agentive ‘by’ phrase, as in (13a), and it can appear in predicative positions, as in (13b) (their examples are adapted).

- (13) a.      Multe lucruri **de** rezolvat de către Ministerul  
                 many things DE solved by Ministry.the  
                 Agriculturii au fost neglijate.  
                 Agriculture.GEN have been neglected
- b.      Multe lucruri sunt **de** rezolvat de către Ministerul Agriculturii.  
                 many things are DE solved by Ministry.the Agriculture.GEN

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<sup>13</sup> Giurgea & Soare (2010) do not mention at all the nominal feature of *de* and its impact on subject licensing, such as discussed in the section 2.2 of this paper.



‘There are many things to be solved by the Ministry of Agriculture.’

The passive versions in (13) led Giurgea & Soare to the conclusion that the supine is actually a regular past participle, which is typically involved in passive argument structure. Hence, the construction has only one thematic position (i.e., direct object), but no Case for the DP that merges in this position. The DP must then move for Case reasons, to the highest Specifier position (i.e., PredP), where it is accessible to Case checking from matrix T. Accordingly, the supine relatives are actually *participial relatives* and qualify as a sub-case of passive constructions (versus relative CP).

Although the revelation of the passive nature of the supine in non-finite relatives is very important to understand these constructions, Giurgea & Soare’s analysis suffers from not discussing other combinatorial possibilities we can have within their participial relative. Consider (14).

- (14) a. Oale **de** fiert sarmale se găsesc peste tot.  
pots DE cooked cabbage.rolls REFL find over all  
‘Pots for cooking cabbage rolls can be found anywhere.’
- b. Piatra **de** ascuțit cuțite  
stone DE sharpened knives  
‘stone for sharpening knives’
- c. ?\*Carnea **de** tocat de către bucătari e scumpă.  
meat.the DE ground by cooks is expensive  
Intended: ‘The meat to be ground by cooks is expensive.’

Examples as in (14) provide two pieces of information: one concerns the voice features of the past participle, the other - the clause structure that underlies the derivations in (14).

With respect to voice features, the examples in (14a, b) show that the supine can have a DP in direct object position within the relative clause. This is clear evidence that the past participle can assign Accusative Case to the direct object. Hence, is the past participle passive or active? Comparing the examples in (13) and (14), the conclusion is that the past participle can go both ways. Voice ambiguity or indifference to voice distinction in the past participles that become supines is an observation that dates back to Caragiu (1962). In Minimalist terms, little *v* of the past participle in (13) and (14) has its voice feature unvalued. This may trigger ambiguity in parsing, which makes the speaker reject the agentive ‘by’ phrase in (14c), although the relativized DP originates in the direct object position of the participial. There should be no difference of grammaticality between (14c) and (13a); however, a contrast does arise, showing that relativization of the direct object does not systematically trigger a passive reading.

Looking back at the clause structure of the supine provided in (2), I relate the absence of voice feature valuation to the absence of TP. The voice value comes from the functional auxiliary/copula (i.e., verbal elements merged in TP) that selects the past participle (i.e., ‘have’ + past participle yields an active construction; ‘be’ + past participle yields a passive construction), or from the clause union (verb reconstruction) between a matrix and a small clause with a past participle. In other words, past participles are parasitic on matrix TP for inflectional feature valuation (including voice). Since none of the TP configurations mentioned above applies in constructions with supines, which are

systematically CP > vP, we have a configuration in which the past participle is free of TP related probes, and can preserve its default featural make-up, which includes the ability to check a DP object for Case. Accordingly, we can redefine the supine as a past participle with no access to an inflectional field.

The second piece of information we gain from (14) concerns the type of relativization. In these examples, the relativized DP can be either the direct object, as in (13), or the adjunct (i.e., an instrumental in (14b, c)). In both cases, the result is a gap in the relative clause, in the corresponding thematic position. These facts indicate that the supine relatives conform to the predictions in Bhatt (2006), namely, that non-finite relatives with extractions from any other position than the subject are regular relatives; that is, they have the same underlying structure as the CP finite relatives. Since subjects can never be extracted from supine relatives, they must systematically follow the derivational pattern in (8b), where the clause structure is a ForceP with a null operator binding a variable in the gapped thematic position (i.e., as predicted in Grosu & Horvath 1987). In other words, the underlying structure of the supine relative is the same as in the finite relative in (11c), both being headed by the relativizing complementizer *de*.

Confirmation for this analysis comes from sensitivity to islands, as in (15), where the supine relative is *făina de cernut* ‘flour.the DE sifted’.

- (15) a. făina de cernut  
           flour.the DE sifted  
           ‘the flour to sift’
- b. Făina de terminat de cernut e prea veche.

flour.the DE finished DE sifted is too old

‘The flour to be finished sifting is too old.’

- c. ?Făina e de terminat de cernut.

flour.the is DE finished DE sifted

‘The flour is to be finished sifting.’

- d. E fapt sigur că făina de terminat de cernut e prea veche

is fact sure that flour.the DE finished DE sifted is too old

‘It is sure fact that the flour to be finished sifting is too old.’

- e. \*Făina e fapt sigur că de terminat de cernut e prea veche.

flour.the is fact sure that DE finished DE sifted is too old

In (15b), the relativized DP can move across two supine CPs, as expected under an operator-variable analysis, but not under a reduced relative analysis. The same type of movement applies to constructions as in (15c), marginally acceptable, where the supine sequence becomes predicative under BE. In (15d), the entire [DP > supine > supine] structure becomes the complement to the noun ‘the fact’. In (15e), the DP ‘flour’ is moved in front of BE, in the same way (15c) has been derived. The derivation crashes because the extraction takes place out of a complex NP island, which provides no appropriate sites for the relative null operator.

Therefore, the analysis of the supine relative in MR provides us with these crucial pieces of information: (i) supines are past participles with unvalued voice feature; (ii) supines project ForceP clauses with the relativizer *de*; (iii) relativization from the supine clause relies on null operators.

## 6.2. EMR supine relatives

There is sufficient evidence that the EMR supine relatives had the same properties we established for MR in (15). For example, in (16), we see that DP relativization takes place from object position (16a, b) or from other position (16c, d); see also (12b).

- (16) a. [Omă **de** miratŭ] la întregia lui de sfaturi și de înțelepciune  
man DE admired for wholeness his of counsels and of wisdom  
'A man to be admired for the integrity of his advice and wisdom'  
(Costin 120)
- b. cu [mălaiul **de** vîndut]  
with corn.the DE sold  
'with the corn to be sold' (Neculce 166)
- c. apă **de** spălat  
water DE washed.SUP  
'water to wash with' (from Frâncu 2009: 132)
- d. de vreme ce luând sama a [80 de ani **de** desfătat  
of time that taking count of 80 of year DE debauched  
și după a lumii voie **de** îmblat], numai 2 ani și 270 de dzile găsiu.  
and after a world's will de trotted only 2 years and 270 of days found

‘since, counting the 80 years in which he had been debauching and trotting around the world, they found only two years and 270 days (worth considering)...’ (Cantemir D I, 85 apud Ciortea 2005: 166)

The tests of passivization are shown in (17). The predicative BE test in (17b) is unambiguous. On the other hand, the agentive ‘by’ phrase test in (17a) can be debatable. Agentive ‘by’ phrases are practically inexistent in texts, in supine relatives. This indicates that a passive structure analysis of the supine was not preferred. Nevertheless, (17a) may provide such an example: taking into consideration that *mira* ‘admire’ was a transitive verb in EMR, the admiring party must encode the agent th-role. Accordingly, the PP with *la* ‘at’ in (17a) is the agent ‘by’ phrase (which in EMR could be lexicalized through various prepositions, including *la*). Alternatively, but less likely, one may parse it as an experiencer PP (which would be equivalent to a Dative object).

- (17) a. **De** miratŭ era la împărăție și la toate captele  
 DE admired was at Empire and at all heads.the  
 împărăției neînfrîntă și neînpăimîntată hirea căzăcească  
 Empire.GEN unrelented and fearless attitude.the Cosack  
 ‘The Cosacks’ unrelented and fearless attitude was to be admired  
 by the Emperor and the heads of the Empire’ (Costin 58)
- b. Ce-i lucru **de** mirat pentru Iordache  
 but is thing DE admired for Iordache  
 ‘But this thing is worth admiring with respect to Iordache’

The data in (16), (17) confirm that the supine relative contains a past participle without valued voice features, it projects to ForceP, and it involves relativization with gaps.

### 6.3. The subjunctive connection

EMR supines arise in non-finite relatives as a way of replacing the infinitive, which had undergone nominalization, as in (12c). That is, the pattern in (12b) replaces the pattern in (12a). The examples are repeated for convenience.

- (12) a. n-avea    nărodul    apă    **de**-a    bérea                    *de*-infinitive = clause  
not-had    people.the water DE to drink  
‘The people had no water to drink.’ (from Gheție et al. 1997: 151)
- b. băgă    apă    într-însa    **de** spălat                    *de*-supine = clause  
poured water in    it    DE washed  
‘he poured in it water to wash with’ (from Gheție et al. 1997: 151)
- c. urechi    **de** auzire                    *de*-deverbal DP = PP  
ears    for hearing (from Gheție et al. 1997: 151)

Note that the nominalized infinitive in (12c) has the same form as the verbal infinitive (12a), except that the mood marker *a* ‘to’ (signaling the projection of a TP > CP) is dropped. The intriguing fact is that, generally, the subjunctive was the preferred option

for infinitive replacement in contexts with modal (e.g., deontic) reading. Why did the subjunctive fail to replace the infinitive in the relative clause?

In this respect, a promising line of analysis comes from Grosu & Horvath (1987), who analyze MR data. They point out that subjunctive clauses are unable to license null operators, as shown for the non-finite relative in (18).

- (18) a. Niște cărți **de** terminat a citi până mâine...  
some books DE finished to.INF read.INF until tomorrow  
'Some books to finish reading by tomorrow'
- b. \*Niște cărți **de** terminat să citim până mâine...  
some book DE finished SUBJ read until tomorrow

In (18a), the extraction can cross two non-finite clause boundaries (i.e., supine > infinitive). The same extraction is ruled out in (18b), because the subjunctive replaced the infinitive. This contrast is shown to be systematic for a whole series of derivations with null operators (object raising in *tough*-constructions, object deletion, purpose clauses), for selected and unselected subordinate clauses.

Grosu & Horvath conclude that null operators are excluded from finite domains, in general. In finite domains, lexicalization is obligatory for the relative operator (i.e., *care* 'which') or for the head this operator is locally related to (i.e., *ce*).

The data from EMR presented in (11) narrow down this conclusion: it is not any finite domain that disallows null operators (since *de* relatives display indicative verbs as in (11c)), but only the subjunctive, as further shown in (19) for MR.



- (19) a. Apa **de** spălat vine de la izvor.  
 water.the DE washed comes from at spring  
 ‘The water for washing comes from the spring.’
- b. \*Apa să spălăm vine de la izvor.  
 water.the SUBJ wash comes from at spring
- c. Apa **cu care** spălăm vine de la izvor.  
 water.the with which wash.IND.1PL comes from at spring  
 ‘The water we are washing with comes from the spring.’
- d. \*Apa **cu care** să spălăm (rufe) vine de la izvor.  
 water with which SUBJ wash.1PL cloths comes from at spring
- e. Găsim noi apă **cu care** să spălăm (rufe).  
 find.IND.1PL we water with which SUBJ wash.1PL cloths  
 ‘We shall find water with which to wash the cloths.’

The examples in (19) show that the subjunctive is the only mood that rules out the relative clause (19b), whereas the supine (19a) and the indicative (19c) yield grammatical sentences. In (19d), the subjunctive displays a relative pronoun, but that does not save the construction. Hence, the problem cannot be the finiteness or the null versus lexical type of operator. As shown in (19e), the relative becomes grammatical with the subjunctive if the raised DP is in the object position (versus the subject) of the matrix verb. Therefore, the problem with subjunctives arises when the relativized DP is in the subject position.

Following these observations, we have to relate the ungrammaticality of

subjunctives in relative clauses to two factors: (i) the type of relative marker (i.e., *de* or *care*); and (ii) the ban on merging the relativized DP in subject position (i.e., c-commanding from matrix V is obligatory).

For the first point, it is important to note that the EMR infinitive relative to be replaced has an obligatory *de*, whereas infinitive complements, as in (20), display *de* on an optional basis.

- (20) a. carele era [**de** a-l și crederea]  
which was DE to.INF-it even believe.INF  
'which was to better be believed' (Ureche 193)
- b. Nici ieste [a să mira] că scriitorii noștri n-au avut  
not is to.INF REFL wonder.INF that writers.the ours not-have had  
de unde strînge cărți  
from where gather books  
'There is no wonder that our writers had no way of obtaining books.'  
(Ureche 64)
- c. au dzis că-i «pre lesne a plini *măria ta* giurămîntul». *ta*  
has said that-is too easy INF fulfill.INF majesty your oath.the  
'he said that: "it is very easy for your Majesty to fulfill the oath"'  
(Neculce 110)

In (20), BE selects an infinitive, which may (20a) or may not (20b) display *de*. When *de* is present (20a), it functions as a regular non-finite complementizer merged in  $\text{Fin}^0$ . When

*de* is not present (20b), the infinitive mood marker moves to  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  (together with the entire V string to which it procliticizes), to check on inflectional typing. We know that the [mood marker+V] moves to  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  in the absence of *de* because the infinitive can license lexical subjects (e.g., ‘your Majesty’ in (20c)), which is not possible in the presence of *de*. Hierarchically, these subjects are obligatorily post-verbal, and may occur either in Spec,TP or Spec, vP (Alboiu 2002 a.o.). Importantly, aspectual adverbs such as *numaidecât* ‘immediately’, associated with high projections within TP (Cinque 1999) may intervene between the subject and the direct object in (20c), which is possible only if the subject can indeed be in Spec,TP.

Infinitive relatives differ from the sentential complements in (20) insofar as *de* is obligatory. This restriction must follow from the presence of a [relative] feature for clause typing in relatives versus the sentential complements. *De* is required by this feature, which is associated with  $\text{Force}^\circ$ . That is, relative  $\text{Force}^\circ$  probes *de* but not the infinitive mood marker, the latter being an inflectional typer, not a clause typer.

Numerous studies on Romanian grammar demonstrate that the infinitive and the subjunctive mood markers are generated in the same way and have similar syntactic effects (see Alboiu & Motapanyane 2000 for an overview). That is, infinitive *a* ‘to’ and subjunctive *să* merge in the same TP position and may undergo movement to  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ . Accordingly, the subjunctive mood marker is also limited to checking inflectional typing, versus clause typing in relatives. Thus, replacement of the infinitive with the subjunctive in the non-finite relative would have been successful if the subjunctive could be headed by the relativizing *de*. This is, however, not the case. Historical linguists report that the [*de să*] co-occurrence existed but was short lived (Frîncu 1969). In such sequences, *de*

has been rapidly re-analyzed as a conditional operator (versus subjunctive complementizer), whereas conditional *să* was successfully re-analyzed as a marker of irrealis, and more precisely, of the subjunctive mood. In fact, for any irrealis Fin that was not part of a conditional clause, *de* has been fast replaced with *ca* ‘that’ as a subjunctive complementizer.

More to the point, there is historically motivated incompatibility between the relativizing complementizer *de* and the subjunctive, so we do not see *de*-subjunctive relatives, irrespective of whether the relativized DP is a subject or an object in the matrix clause<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, in (19d), the relative clause typing is performed by the relative pronoun, not *de*; why is this construction ungrammatical? For this, we have to compare the ungrammatical subjunctive in (19d) with the grammatical indicative in (19c). The main difference between the two inflections resides in the [tense] values, which are intrinsic in the latter but anaphoric in the former. If anaphoric tense involves operator movement from embedded T to matrix T (e.g., ZeitPhrase in Bianchi 2007), then a c-command relation between matrix T and embedded T is obligatory, and that is not obtainable when the subjunctive modifies a DP in subject position.

Consequently, the properties of subjunctive inflection make it incompatible with the configuration for non-finite relatives. For the speaker, the increasing evidence for a

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<sup>14</sup> *De* may occur with subjunctives in adverbial clauses, where *de* has a prepositional (P head) versus Fin head status. E.g. in (i), a constituent with contrastive topic follows *de*, indicating its high (versus Fin<sup>o</sup>) location at the left periphery.

(i) erau niște frasini groși așa **de**-abia doi oameni  
 were some oaks thick so **de** barely two men-TOP<sub>contrast</sub>  
**să-i cuprinzi** cu brațele.  
 SUBJ-them surround.2SG with arms  
 ‘There were some oak trees there, so thick, that at least two men would be needed if you want to surround it with the stretched arms.’ (from Vulpe 1980: 193)

nominal versus verbal analysis of infinitives triggers two options for re-analyzing the relevant construction: either to treat the infinitive as an attributive PP, which keeps the infinitive as a noun; or to substitute it with another non-finite verb form, compatible with null operators (which excludes the subjunctive).

#### 6.4. The emergence of the supine

The examples in (12) show two replacement patterns for the infinitive relative: one with a PP-*de*; one with a ForceP-*de*. The attributive PP pattern is completely in line with what happened in the neighboring languages, particularly in Balkan Slavic. That is, the nominalization of the infinitive signals a DP analysis, which further entails the embedding of the DP under P instead of C. In Balkan Slavic, this process led to constructions as in (21), where *za* is unambiguously a preposition and it embeds the infinitive based deverbal noun. This replacement pattern avoids relativization.

- (21)    voda za   piene//    kniga za chetene<sup>15</sup>                      Bulgarian  
          water for drinking// book for reading

Balkan Slavic had completed the replacement process much earlier than EMR (e.g., about two centuries earlier in Bulgarian; Mirčev 1968). Hence, language contact (such as present at least in written language, via translations) is expected to have influenced the EMR options when the replacement hit the grammar. This influence was

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<sup>15</sup> Examples from Olga Mladenova, personal communication.

highly predictable, since the Slavic preposition *za* was routinely translated as *de* in EMR religious texts and chancellery documents (Frâncu 2009: 145). The expectation is fulfilled, since PPs with deverbal (infinitive based) or other nouns occur in free alternation with the infinitive relative, as shown in (22a, b vs c). The unexpected situation that arises in EMR is the second alternative to the infinitive, shown in (22a', b').

- (22) a. urechi de auzire = a'. urechi de auzit  
ears for hearing ears DE heard  
'ears to hear with' (from Gheție et al. 1997: 151).
- b. lucru de ocară = b'. lucru de mirat  
thing for recrimination thing DE admired  
'thing to recriminate' 'thing to admire'  
(N. Basarab 264) // (Neculce 278)
- c. n-avea nărodul apă de-a bérea  
not-had people.the water DE to drink  
'The people had no water to drink.' (from Gheție et al. 1997: 151)

Each pair in (22a, b) displays a PP version and a clausal version, and all are able to replace infinitive relatives such as in (22c). Notably every construction, including the infinitive, is embedded under *de*. Comparing this situation with (21), where *za* is unambiguously a preposition, we can see that EMR was at a disadvantage in providing a separate lexical marker for the prepositional head in this context.

In terms of learnability, this situation creates ambiguity with respect to the status of *de*. In EMR, *de* is the wild card for any relational needs in the structure. So it is underspecified for grammatical category. For example, in the texts, *de* as a preposition appears in possessives, complements of origin, ‘by’ phrases, complements of location, attributive phrases and so on (even as Differential Object Marker; Todi 2001: 62). Simultaneously, *de* functions as a complementizer that heads sentential complements and relatives, it selects adverbial clauses and conditionals, and it is also used as a clausal coordinator. In other words, the value of *de* is read off its syntactic location and environment, not vice-versa. Crucially, as shown in (22c), *de* heads the relative clause whose infinitive verb is to be replaced.

Taking into consideration this background, we have to acknowledge that the learner had to analyze *de* according to the clues from the syntactic structure (instead of being guided by the functional category of *de* given in the lexicon). The nominalization trend affecting the infinitives provides a clue favoring the prepositional status. This analysis leads to the PP replacement solution, following the Slavonic pattern. However, the concurrent *de*-infinitivals as in (22c) indicate a relativizing complementizer status for *de* as well. Whenever the latter analysis of *de* is adopted, the lexical item it embeds cannot be a noun, it has to be a verb, but a non-finite verb, because only non-finite verbs could maintain the modal [ability] reading of the original. There are only two unambiguously non-finite verbs in EMR: long infinitive (see footnote 1) and past participle. Note that the gerunds were tensed in EMR and used in matrix clauses (Edelstein 1972; Alboiu & Hill 2012)<sup>16</sup>. Also, short infinitives replaced the long

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<sup>16</sup> Example of root gerunds:

infinitives only in environments with TPs that could also license lexical subjects (see footnote 6 and (20c)). MR preserved the tensed property of short infinitives (Alboiu 2002; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Piruvlescu 2002 a.o.). Therefore, from the learner's perspective, the option was between maintaining the long infinitive (which was less obvious, under the increasing evidence of its nominal re-categorization), or replacing it with a participle. The participles were available in small clauses and in complex past tenses, where the participial form is invariable. This yields the constructions in (22'), where the non-finite relative derivation is preserved, and only the verb form has changed, from infinitive to participle.

The perspective I am adopting here is, thus, reversing the perspective coming out of historical studies that discuss the emergence of the supine. Currently, the idea is that the emergence of the supine (from nominalized participles in Caragiu 1962) caused the eventual re-analysis of *de* as a complementizer (see overview in Nemțuț 2010). There are solid theoretical arguments against this direction of re-analysis:

First, there is no reason why a nominalized participle would be re-analyzed as a verb (i.e., supine), by undoing the nominalization process. That is, a nominalized participle could be inserted only under a preposition (which is also admitted in these studies), and would stay as such, as a PP replacement to the reduced relative (e.g., *cărți*

- 
- (i)    **Și odihnindu** Ștefan vodă acolo cu    oștile        sale  
          and resting    Ștefan king there   with armies.the his  
          **și rîvnindu** cu    nevoință a să    zidi bisereca    și alte  
          and craving with eagerness to REFL build church.the and other  
          lucruri ce    arată    că    au    făcut mai    pre urmă.  
          things that shows that has made more on    after  
          'And King Ștefan rested there with his armies, and was eagerly craving to have  
          the church built, as well as other things which are shown to have been  
          commissioned later on.' (Ureche 102)



*de pecetluituri* ‘letters for sealings.PASTPART.PL’). So nominalized participles amount to the PP pattern of replacement described for Balkan Slavic, in free alternation with PPs containing infinitive based deverbal nouns.

Second, if re-analysis applied to *de* within the initial PP, it would be re-analyzed within the same categorial paradigm (i.e., nominal), since there would be no clues for clausal properties. Finally, the re-analysis of *de* as a default complementizer, as surmised in historical studies, cannot account for the preservation of the non-finite modal relative reading, which is unchanged from the original infinitive construction. Therefore, the reason why *de* has the function of a relativizing complementizer in (12) is because it has not been re-analyzed but it is preserved in its original position, with its original function.

It is probably not a coincidence that these constructions emerged in the South-West varieties, since *de* is a strong relativizer in that area even today, as shown in (23).

(23) Era unul din Ardeal [**de**-i zicea Iulis.]

was one from Ardeal DE to.him called Iulis

‘There was someone from Ardeal whom they called Iulis.’

(from Vulpe 1980:136)

Speakers of this regional variety analyzed *de* as a relativizer by default in constructions modifying a noun. Hence, the re-analysis applies to the verb form, rather than to the status of *de*.

The conclusion is that EMR had two ways of proceeding to the replacement of infinitive relatives, in which infinitives could not be substituted with subjunctives: one

“standard” procedure, where the nominalized infinitive is inserted under a PP; and one idiosyncratic procedure, in which the non-finite modal relative configuration is maintained but with a past participle instead of an infinitive verb form. The supine emerges from this latter operation, which, by depending on an obligatory ForceP-*de*, cuts the access of the participle to the matrix T. The PP/ForceP duplication in replacement was possible because in both operations the structure is headed by the element *de*, whose categorization was (and still is) ambiguous, between some kind of a preposition and some kind of a complementizer.

## 8. The rest is history

### 8.1. BE predicates

The first extension of the supine construction took place in the context of BE predicates, as in (24) (Frâncu 2009: 132). This is predictable from the compatibility of the supine with a passive reading, which necessarily entails a copula BE (along the line of the argument in Giurgea & Soare 2010).

- (24) Care lucru era **de mirat**, unde au isprăvit Grigorie-vodă  
 which thing was DE admired where has succeeded Grigorie-king  
 de-au întorsu tătarii pagubele moldovenilor,  
 DE-has returned Tatars.the damages.the Moldovans.GEN

că avè mare trecere la Poartă.

for had great esteem at Porte

‘This is a deed to marvel at, that King Grigorie succeeded to have the Tatars pay damages to the Moldovans – that’s how high was the esteem in which the Porte held him.’ (Neculce 341)

Notably, the supine alternates with a PP-*de* equivalent in these contexts (25a), but not with subjunctives (25b), this situation being identical to the range of options in non-finite relatives, in (12), (22), where the subjunctive is excluded.

- (25) a. Cum au mai rămas om trăitor în tine, **de mare mirare** este  
how has more lasted man dwelling in you DE/of great wonder is  
‘It is of great wonder how any dweller has lasted in you’  
(Neculce 167)
- b. \*Care lucru era să ne mirăm  
which thing was SUBJ us wonder/admire

Subjunctives may combine with BE, as in (26a, b). However, the deontic (i.e., ‘must’, ‘able’, ‘worth of’) interpretation that comes through in supine clauses is lost. With the subjunctive, the reading is aspectual (i.e., ‘to be about to’), and the BE+subjunctive construction becomes a complex tense (i.e., monoclausal) instead of a predicative structure (i.e., bi-clausal). In fact, for any finite clause under BE predicates, the modal deontic reading cannot be recuperated unless a modal verb is inserted in the clause (26c).

- (26) a.      Și după acéce curund era să-l      puie      domnu  
 and after that soon was SUBJ-him make.SUBJ king  
 ‘And after that, he was about to make him king soon’  
 (Neculce 116)
- b.      Și este să mai iasă      cu Brîncovanul 20.000 de oaste sîrbi  
 and is SUBJ more come.SUBJ with Brincoveanu 20.000 of army Serbian  
 ‘And 20.000 Serbian soldiers are intended to come out with Brincoveanu’  
 (Neculce 264)
- c.      Numai un lucru iaste **de** nu putem să-l      biruim.  
 only one thing is DE not can.1PL SUBJ-it overcome  
 ‘There is only one thing that we cannot overcome.’  
 (from Mareș et al. 1994: 160, 173<sup>v</sup>)

Therefore, both the supines and the subjunctives can be selected by BE, but the ensuing configurations are different, as well as the readings they yield. Importantly, the BE-supine construction preserves the modal reading of the infinitive it replaces, whereas the subjunctive changes the type of construction, the subjunctive being unable to be associated with the same modal operator.

The same effect is seen in constructions where the modal ‘have’ selects an infinitive in EMR (27a), and yields two different derivations after replacement (27b, c).

- (27) a.      are a      afla

has INF find.out.INF

‘he has to find out’/‘he shall find out’

(RLR apud Densușianu 1901/1997: 568)

b. are de aflat

has DE found.out.SUP

‘he has to find out’

c. are să afle

has SUBJ find.out.SUBJ

‘he will find out’

The construction in (27a) was ambiguous between its modal and its future value (data in Densușianu 1901/1997). Through replacement, the two values were analyzed separately: the modal is associated with the supine (27b), the future with the subjunctive (27c).

Again, the supine derives a bi-clausal structure (i.e., ‘have’ > CP), whereas the subjunctive derives a mono-clausal structure (i.e., ‘have’ > TP). For the latter, Hill & Mišeska –Tomić (2009) show that ‘have’ is re-analyzed as a Fin<sup>o</sup> marker versus matrix V, so it selects a subjunctive TP and yields the complex future tense. Presumably, the same analysis can be extended to the aspectual BE periphrasis in (26).

The main point is that the supine did not compete with the subjunctive for the replacement of infinitives selected by BE and HAVE, insofar as it offered the only verbal alternative that could preserve the deontic modality of the C head.

## 8.2. Sentential complements to verbs

The earliest examples of supines in what looks like the complement position to verbs occur in contexts where the verbs have a generic null object, equivalent to ‘something’/‘anything’ in (28).

- (28) a. nu-ntra nime la dînsul, fără cît numai bas-bulubaş,  
not entered nobody to him without that only officer  
cîndu-i ducè **de** mîncat.  
when-to.him brought DE eaten  
‘Nobody was visiting him, except for the officer, when he was bringing him (**something**) to eat.’ (Neculce 253)
- b. Că era un omu rău, şi nici **de** mîncat, nici **de** cheltuială nu le da.  
for was a man bad and nor DE eaten nor FOR spending not them gave  
‘For he was a bad man, and he was not giving them (**anything**) for their food or spending.’ (Neculce 300)
- c. de va şi ceva **de** mîncat sau **de** băut afla...  
if will and something DE eaten or DE drunk find  
‘if he’ll find something to eat or drink’  
(Cantemir D I, 52 apud Ciortea 2005)

As shown in (28), the verb ‘eat’ is a very common supine in complement position, being as formulaic as *de mirat* in relatives and BE-predicates. Importantly, in (28b) the supine ‘eat’ is coordinated with a PP-*de* (i.e., ‘for spending’) maintaining the same syntactic

equivalence seen in the replacement of infinitive relatives. Nominal direct objects to V never come as a PP-*de* in EMR/MR. Hence, these constructions cannot be complements of the matrix verb, but modifiers of the generic null object of this verb (i.e., ‘something’ or ‘anything’). That is, the supine is still a non-finite relative, and the PP has an attributive function. There are two pieces of evidence for this analysis: (i) a verb like *da* ‘give’ in (28b) is semantically incapable of having an activity as its complement<sup>17</sup>; and (ii) the presence of the bare quantifier in the object position (i.e., ‘something’) in (28c), corresponds to the generic null objects in (28a, b).

Eventually, the configuration in (28a, b) has been re-analyzed as the direct complement to the matrix verb, as in (29), the null object providing weak evidence for its existence, due to lack of lexical manifestation.

- (29) se    săturară    de jefuit            și    de tăiat  
REFL got.tired DE robbed.SUP and DE slaughtered.SUP  
‘they got tired of robbing and slaughtering’  
(Moxa C, 354/6 - 1691 apud Frâncu 2009: 132)

The analysis proposed here – namely, that supines spread to the complement position of verbs indirectly, transiting through the stage of non-finite relatives to generic null objects – provides a natural explanation for the fact that they could compete with the subjunctives in this environment.

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<sup>17</sup> I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing that out.

However, the possibility of having supines as sentential complements does not exclude the possibility of having subjunctives, in free alternation. The position of complement of V is the most productive environment for subjunctive spread. Thus, in MR, whenever supine complements occur, subjunctive alternatives are possible. The reverse is not applicable: complementation with supines is restricted to certain classes of verbs, mostly aspectual and modal (e.g., ‘stop’, ‘finish’, ‘must’).

### 8.3. Adverbial

The adverbial use of the supine is practically non-existent in EMR texts. I found one example in Ureche (30a = A2) and one in Costin (30b = A12).

- (30) a.      au datu    semnu **de** întorsu înapoi  
               has given sign    DE turned back  
               ‘he gave the sign to retreat’    (Ureche 112)
- b.      pe de altă    parte giuruia toată avuþia      sa, numai  
               on of other side    swore    all      wealth.the his only  
               să-l      ierte    vezirul **de** venit la Tarigrad.  
               SUBJ-him excuse Vizir.the DE come to Istanbul  
               ‘on the other hand, he was promising all his wealth, provided the Vizir  
               will excuse him from going to Istanbul.’    (Costin 162)



These two examples mimic the use of Latin supine, in non-finite purpose clauses. Hence, they may be scholarly constructions. Even admitting them as genuine supines, their syntactic status is ambiguous. In (30a), the supine could be parsed either as a complement of N, or as an adverbial clause. In (30b), the supine has an adverbial function, but its status is ambiguous between clause and PP; that is, *de* could be either a preposition or a complementizer, and the past participle form may qualify either as a noun or as a verb, respectively. By default, these environments display constructions with unambiguous PP-*de*, for example, with the same matrix ‘give sign’ and ‘excuse’:

- (31) a.      dănd semn **de** războiu  
                  giving sign of war      (Ureche 100)
- b.      s-au      rugat      să-i      ierte **de** greșeala      lor  
                  REFL-have pleaded SUBJ-them excuse of mistake.the their  
                  ‘they pleaded with him to excuse their mistake’ (Ureche 161)

If we consider the past participle forms in (30) as PPs, then we see the emergence of supine based nouns. If we consider the same forms as supine CPs, then they signal the spread of the supine clause in the adverbial domain, which was also predominated by subjunctives. Hence, each option indicates supine spreading in the grammar.

Adverbial clauses with supine are not productive in MR, where they appear embedded under PPs (32), and display the same degree of ambiguity between a nominal and a verbal analysis.

- (32) a. Am plecat la vânat (de) căprioare.  
 have.1SG gone at hunted of deer  
 ‘I went to hunt deer.’// ‘I went for the hunting of deer.’
- b. Am plecat să vânez căprioare.  
 have.1SG gone SUBJ hunt deer  
 ‘I went to hunt deer.’

In (32a), the presence or absence of the preposition *de* ‘of’ gives the only clue for the nominal versus verbal parsing of the participle form, since, here, *de* ‘of’ is an alternative marking for Genitive Case. On the other hand, the use of the subjunctive (32b) provides an unambiguous analysis.

Therefore, adverbial uses of supine clauses emerged out of the two-way analysis of past participle forms embedded in PPs. However, the categorial ambiguity does not encourage their spread in this environment, where the nominal option is the default. Perhaps it is precisely this ambiguity that has been in the way of a more complete extension of the supine into the adverbial domain, whilst it is more extensively used to specify the purpose of a noun (e.g. the relatives in (14))<sup>18</sup>.

#### 8.4. *Tough*-constructions and object raising

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<sup>18</sup> I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this observation.

*Tough*-constructions provide a very successful configuration for supine clauses. They involve BE-predicates, where the supine is not the predicate but the modifier/complement of the BE predicative adjective or adverb.

EMR examples of *tough*-constructions (33a) are scarce, and object raising (33b) occurs only once. The example in (33b) is a quotation of Gypsy speech, indicating that object raising existed in sub-standard language.

- (33) a. mai greu nu ieste **de** giudecat  
 more hard not is DE judged.SUP  
 ‘it is not harder to judge’  
 (Cantemir II, 42<sup>r</sup> apud Frâncu 2009)
- b. "S-au îngrășatu, doamne, berbecii, *buni* sîntu **de** giunghiat".  
 REFL-have fattened my.lord rams.the good.PL are DE stabbed  
 ‘”My lord, the rams have fattened, they are just right for stabbing.”’  
 (Costin 33)

Subjunctive alternatives are possible for *tough*-constructions, but not for object raising:

- (34) a. Deci pre *lesne* este atunce a strica pacea cu turcii  
 so too easy is then INF break.INF peace with Turks.the  
 ‘So it was then too easy to break the peace with the Turks.’  
 (Neculce 303)
- b. *lesne* iaste... să mergi la locul care-ți va fi voia să stai.

easy is SUBJ go.2SG to place which-you will be will SUBJ stay  
 ‘it is easy to go to the place where you wish to stay’

(Neagoe Basarab 283, 176<sup>r</sup>)

- c. e *greu* să cîrmuim împărăția,  
 is hard SUBJ manage.1PL kingdom.the  
 ‘it is hard to manage the kingdom’

(Neagoe Basarab 366, 19<sup>r</sup>)

- d. \* împărățiile sîntu greu să (le) cîrmuim  
 kingdoms.the are hard SUBJ them manage.1PL  
 Intended: ‘The kingdoms are hard to manage.’

The example in (34d) is based on negative evidence. The negative evidence should apply to infinitives: there is not one single example of object raising in the context of (34a). In MR, the subjunctive yields ungrammatical results, on a par with (34d), but object raising from short infinitives is acceptable. The conjuncture would be that the lack of EMR evidence for object raising across infinitives is due to language register, this process having started in sub-standard varieties, as attested for (33).

The point is that, for object raising, only the supine is a viable replacement to the infinitive (35a), the subjunctive being incompatible with such environments for structural rather than socio-linguistic reasons (35b-c).

- (35) a. Alunele sunt greu **de** cojit fără sare pe ele.  
 peanuts.the are hard DE shelled.SUP without salt on them

‘The peanuts are hard to shell without salt on them.’

- b. \*Alunele sunt greu să le cojim fără sare pe ele.  
peanuts.the are hard SUBJ them shell.1PL without salt on them
- c. ?Alunele sunt greu să fie cojite fără sare pe ele.  
peanuts.the are hard SUBJ be shelled without salt on them  
‘The peanuts are hard to be shelled without salt on them.’
- d. Alunele par să fie cojite fără sare pe ele.  
peanuts.the seem SUBJ be shelled without salt on them  
‘The peanuts seem to be shelled without salt on them.’

The paradigm in (35) shows that object raising is optimal from supine clauses (35a), ungrammatical from active subjunctives (35b), and marginally grammatical if the subjunctive verb is in passive voice (35c). The passive construction has the DP move through the subject position, which is responsible for the change in acceptability. This is in line with general tendencies, where NP-movement (subject raising) is grammatical from subjunctive clauses (e.g., 35d), but not from supine clauses. This paper does not aim to account for the reasons of this systematic contrast between supines and subjunctives. The relevant point is that object raising, unlike NP-movement, involves null operators (Grosu & Horvat 1987) and this is a property of supines versus subjunctives.

If we follow the analysis in Canaq-Marquis (1996) for object raising in French, the predicative adjective has a [PP > CP] modifier, which is the domain from which object raising originates. The only example of object raising in EMR is in (33b), and it features a predicative adjective which may be seen as similar to Canaq-Marquis’

structures. Accordingly, the supine replaces the infinitive in this context due the PP property of *de*.

However, the general MR output is different: although MR preserves the structure in (33b), it is the only object raising configuration that involves an adjective. All the other constructions involve adverbs; for example, ‘hard’ in (35) does not agree with the raised object, in the way noun-adjectives should do, and as also verified in (33b). In these contexts, the adverb selects directly the CP/*de*-supine, not a PP containing this construction. There are several accounts for this construction, to which we refer the reader (Dye 2006; Giurgea & Soare 2010; Grosu & Horvath 1987; Hill 2002; Soare 2002; Soare & Dobrovie-Sorin 2002). The point is that MR object raising involves extraction rather than A-movement of the DP object. The CP status of supines in this construction, and their ability to accommodate null operators have been pointed out, on independent grounds, in Joseph (1978/90, 1983), and amply argued for in Grosu & Horvath 1987 (but *confer* Soare & Dobrovie-Sorin 2002, who argue that there are no null operators in Romanian, and that object raising uniformly involves A-movement).

## 8. Conclusions

This paper had two aims: (i) to explain the emergence of supines in EMR; and (ii) to see how this information may affect our understanding of supine constructions in MR. The discussion was developed on the basis of data from the Moldavian Chronicles (listed in Appendix 1) and from other texts and secondary sources relevant to the same period.

For the first point, the analysis followed the indications from historical linguistics, where the first supine attestation is located in non-finite relative clauses. The argument I developed is that the relative clause derivation is preserved, by preserving the relative complementizer *de*. The change consists in the replacement of the infinitive with a past participle vP (i.e., the *supine*). Alternatively, the infinitive is maintained, but as a noun (versus verb), which leads to the re-analysis of the preceding *de* as a preposition; this re-analysis yielded attributive PP constituents.

Structurally, the supine relative was shown to involve relativization with gaps, and follow the pattern of regular restrictive relatives (Bhatt 2006). Hence, the supine provides an environment for the licensing of null operators. This property of the supine is instrumental for understanding the way it spread in the grammar, and the type of constructions it derives in MR.

The past participle nature of the supine made it compatible with BE predication, which is the second context in which the construction is diachronically attested. The third environment to which the supine spread was shown to be the complement position to certain classes of verbs. The paper argued that the earliest examples of such contexts display null objects, the supine being a non-finite relative modifying them. Lack of evidence for the DP object led to the re-analysis of the non-finite relative as the sentential complement to the verb. Furthermore, the presence of supines in BE-predicates and/or their ability to accommodate null operators led to further spread of this structure to *tough*-constructions and object raising.

The points this analysis clarifies for the MR supines are as follows: (i) supine relatives are regular relatives versus reduced relatives; (ii) by default, object raising

involves null operators, MR having only one adjective that triggers A-movement (i.e., ‘good’, preserved as such from EMR).

## Appendix 1

### Occurrences of *de*-supines in the Moldavian Chronicles

#### Ureche:

- (1) Și astăzi ieste **de** pomenit acel loc de- i dzic Vadul Jorăi.

and today is DE remembered that place that to.it say Vadul Jorai

‘And today we should remember that place called Vadul Jorai.’

(Ureche 102/42)

- (2) au datu semnu **de** întorsu înapoi, de care semnu era toți bucuroși să-l auză

has given sign DE turned back of which sign were all glad SUBJ it hear

‘he gave the sign to retreat, sign which everyone was glad to hear’

(Ureche 112)

- (3) Iara la hronograful grecescu scrie că au împărățit 47 de ani și

and in chronicle.the Greek writes that has reigned 47 of years and

ieste mai **de** crezut.

is more DE believed



‘And the Greek chronicles says that he reigned 47 years, and this is more reliable.’ (Ureche 192)

**Costin:**

- (4) "S-au ingrășatu, doamne, berbecii, buni sîntu **de** giunghiat".

REFL-have fattened my.lord rams.the good are DE stabbed

“My lord, the rams have fattened, they are just right for stabbing.”

(Costin 33)

- (5) **De** miratŭ era la împărăție și la toate captele

DE admired was at Empire and at all heads.the

împărăției neînfrîntă și neînpăimîntată hirea căzăcească

Empire.GEN unrelented and fearless attitude.the Cosack

‘The unrelented and fearless attitude of the Cosacks was found admirable by the Emperor and the heads of the Empire’ (Costin 58)

- (6) Și **de** mirat este, cum au încăputu

and DE wondered is how has fitted

într-o înțelepciune ca aceia o vină ca aceasta.

in a wisdom like that a fault like this

‘It is of wonder how a fault like this could pair with a wisdom like that.’

(Costin 65)

- (7) care vacurilor **de** miratu au rămas, cum au putut încăpea  
which centuries.DAT DE wondered has stayed how has could fit  
întru înțelepciunea acelu domnu aceia nemilă de țară.  
in wisdom.the that.GEN king that cruelty of country  
‘This will stay for eternal wonder, how could that king’s cruelty towards the  
country pair with such intelligence he had’ (Costin 69)
- (8) Svătuia mulți în multe chipuri și s-au cercatū și la  
advised many in many ways and REFL-has tried and at  
Abăza-pașea, care era pașă la Silistriia pe atuncea, ce nu  
Abaza-pasha who was pasha at Silistra by then but not  
era altu mijloc, numai **de** măsū la împărăție.  
was other way unless DE gone to Porte  
‘Many were advising in different ways, and they also contacted Pasha Abaza,  
who, at that time, was the Pasha of Silistra, but there was no other way than going  
to the Porte.’ (Costin 76)
- (9) **De** mirat au rămas vacurilor această casă, cum au  
DE wondered has stayed centuries.DAT this house how has  
putut suferi inima lui Vasilie-vodii să să facă.  
could bear heart.the of Vasilie-king SUBJ REFL make

‘This will stay for eternal wonder, how could king Vasilie’s heart tolerate to have this house built.’ (Costin 98)

- (10) și **de** mirat, și nemții cu cazacii au viclenitu,  
and de surprised and Germans with Cosacks have schemed  
‘And what was surprising, even the Germans schemed with the Cosacks’  
(Costin 108)

- (11) [Omă **de** mirat] la întregia lui de sfaturi și de înțelepciune  
man DE admired for wholeness his of counsels and of wisdom  
‘A man to be admired for the integrity of his advice and wisdom’  
(Costin 120)

- (12) **De** mirat hirea cazacilor la nevoie.  
DE admired character.the Cosacks.GEN in need  
‘The Cosacks’ character is to be admired in times of need’  
(Costin 135)

- (13) pe de altă parte giuruia toată avuția sa, numai  
on of other side swore all wealth.the his only  
să-l ierte vezirul **de** venit la Tarigrad.  
SUBJ-him excuse Vizir.the DE come to Istanbul

- ‘on the other hand, he was promising all his wealth, provided the Vizir will excuse him from going to Istanbul.’ (Costin 162)
- (14) singură Jijia **de** trecut rea și tinoasă, nice de vad, nici **de**-notatu  
 only Jijia DE crossed bad and muddy, not of shallow nor DE swum  
 ‘only Jijia was bad and muddy for crossing, neither shallow spot, nor way to swim through it’ (Costin 172)
- (15) Iară și atunci era **de** mirat, că pre nime nu răniia,  
 and even then was DE wondered that DOM nobody not wounded  
 ‘And even then there was reason for wondering, because he was not wounding anyone’ (Costin 175)
- (16) **De** mirat lucru ieste că limba moldovenilor și a muntenilor  
 DE wondered thing is that language.the Moldovans.GEN and of Wallachs.GEN  
 mai multe cuvinte are în sine rîmlenești, decît a italienilor 195  
 more much words has in it Latin than of Italians.GEN  
 ‘It is a wonder that the language of Moldovans and Wallachs has more Latin words in it than Italian.’ (Costin 195)
- (17) Așijderea și peste Dunăre au făcut pod, lucru **de** mirat,  
 same.way and over Danube has made bridge thing DE admired  
 pecum mărturisește și Dion 216

as        testifies        and Dion

‘Also he made a bridge over the Danube, admirable piece, as even Dion testifies’

(Costin 216)

(18) cu plînsuri **de** mirat și cuvinte de jele cuprindu osăle

with laments DE admired and words of grief gather bones.the

‘with admirable laments and words of grief they gather the bones’

(Costin 222)

### **Neculce:**

(19) «Viermi, doamne». și cum i-au dzis «viermi, doamne»,

worms lord.VOC and as to.him-has said worms lord.VOC

au și tăcut **de** strănutat.

has just kept.quiet from sneezing

“‘Worms, my lord.” and as soon as he told him “worms, my lord” the king

ceased the sneezing right away.’ (Neculce 113)

(20) **De** mirat lucru este că au fost domnu strein și

DE admired thing is that has been king foreign and

nu au fost grabnic la lăcomie.

not has been exceeding in greed

‘It is a marvel that he was a foreign king but he was not exceedingly greedy.’

(Neculce 113)

- (21) multe lucruri **de** mirat au vădzut la acè împărăție a chitailor  
many things DE admired has seen at that kingdom of Chinese  
‘he has seen many things worth admiring in that Chinese kingdom’

(Neculce 122)

- (22) cu [mălaiul **de** vîndut]  
with corn.the DE sold  
‘with the corn to be sold’ (Neculce 166)

- (23) nu-ntra nime la dînsul, fără cît numai bas-bulubaș,  
not entered nobody to him without that only officer  
cîndu-i ducè **de** mîncat.  
when-to.him brought DE eaten  
‘Nobody was visiting him, except for the officer, when he was bringing him  
(something) to eat.’ (Neculce 253)

- (24) Că nu s-amesteca nime, să îmble alți zlotași de la curte,  
for not REFL-mingled nobody SUBJ circulate other tax-men from at court  
fără cît boierii acie ce le era dați în sama lor, de era capete  
but only boyars those who to.them was given in charge their so were heads

pe margene, și avè și vreme **de** vinit mojiicii, că era oști pe hraniță.  
 on edges and had also time **DE** come.SUP peasants for were armies at border  
 ‘For nobody was mingling with them, no tax-men from the court were circulating  
 there, but only the boyars who had charge of them (refugees), and were heading  
 them from edges, and so the peasants also had the opportunity to join them,  
 because there were armies at the border.’ (Neculce 254)

- (25) Ce-i lucru **de** mirat pentru Iordache  
 but is thing **DE** admired for Iordache  
 ‘But this thing is worth admiring for Iordache’ (Neculce 278)

- (26) Că era un omu rău, și nici **de** mîncat, nici **de** cheltuială nu le da.  
 for was a man bad and nor **DE** eaten nor **DE** spent not to.them gave  
 ‘For he was a bad man, and he was not giving them (anything) for their food or  
 spending.’ (Neculce 300)

- (27) Care lucru era **de mirat**, unde au isprăvit Grigorie-vodă  
 which thing was **DE** admired where has succeeded Grigorie-king  
 de-au întorsu tătarii pagubele moldovenilor,  
**DE**-has returned Tartars.the damages.the Moldovans.GEN  
 că avè mare trecere la Poartă.  
 for had great esteem at Porte  
 ‘It was unbelievable that King Grigorie succeeded to have the Tartars pay

damages to the Moldovans – that’s the great esteem he was held in at the Porte.’

(Neculce 341)

(28) Lucru **de** mirat pentru Grigorie-vodă

thing de admired for Grigorie-king

‘a thing to wonder about with regard to King Grigorie’ (Neculce 348)

(29) și pre urmă, deși vedè că au greșit, nu întorcè,

and on after although saw that has made.mistake not reversed

ce, așè dîndu carte **de** rămas, rămînè, cît de la o vreme

but thus giving decision DE kept stayed so of at a time

părăsisă oamenii a mai veni la Divan.

stopped people.the INF more come.INF to tribunal

‘and later on, although he could see that he has made a mistake, he did not reverse

(his judgment), but went on issuing a document to be filed, which thus stayed, so

at a certain moment people stopped coming to the Tribunal’ (Neculce 351)

(30) **De merat** lucru esti di Mihai-vodă, domnu bătrîn,

DE wondered thing is of Mihai-king king old

și cu ce minte și hărnicii îl știem că era!

and with what mind and accomplishments him knew.1pl that was

‘This is unbelievable in regard to King Mihai, the old king, considering the mind

and the accomplishments we knew him to have had.’ (Neculce 367)



(31) **De merat** lucru este acesta

DE admired thing is this

‘this is admirable/unbelievable/worth wondering/a marvel’ (Neculce 386)

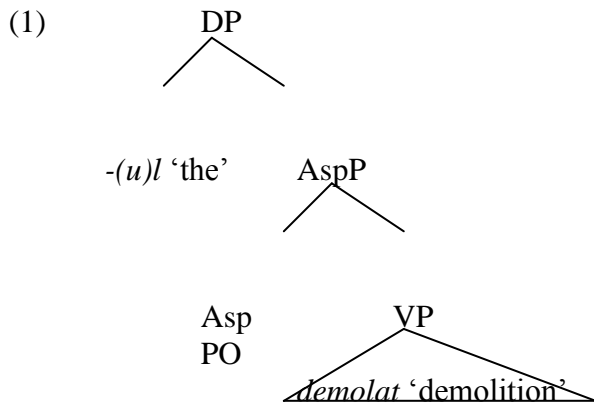
## Appendix 2

### The nominalized supine

Both traditional and formal grammarians detected a series of nouns derived from the supine verb stem (e.g., (1a) in the text). These nouns have semantic features that single them out within the grammatical category of nouns. Iordăchioaia & Soare (2011: 98-99) test the semantics of supine nominals and identify these properties:

- they cannot take a plural ending (e.g., *demolat* ‘demolition’ versus \**demolaturi* ‘demolitions’);
- their object must be a plural versus a singular indefinite (e.g., *ucisul de jurnaliști* ‘the killing of journalists’ versus \**ucisul unui jurnalist* ‘the killing of a journalist’);
- they are incompatible with adverbials that preclude a subdivision of the running time of the event (e.g., \*‘in one breath’, \*‘in one sweep’);
- they trigger aspect shift, by pluralizing achievements and making them compatible with *for*-adverbial (e.g., ‘for two years’) that modify only unbounded events.

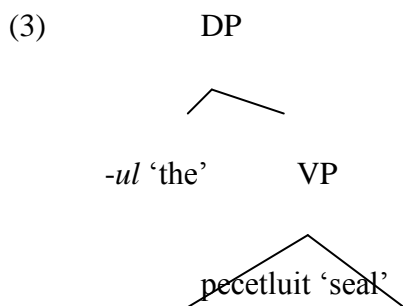
For conveying the starred meanings, speakers select infinitive based nouns (e.g., *demolărilor* versus \**demolaturile* ‘demolitions’). The authors conclude that these properties attest to the presence of a pluractional operator (PO) in the structure of the supine (vs infinitive based) nominal. That is, the nominal D(eterminer) selects the AspectP(hrase) that is the extension of the supine verb stem, as in (1).



EMR displays deverbal nouns that are homophonous to the supine verb form (examples from Chronicles: *răsărit* ‘dawn’, *apus* ‘sunset’, *dinceput* ‘beginning’). These nouns are well established and used as a matter of routine, so they cannot be viewed as derived from the supine verb, which is rare and incipient in its distribution. In light of the tests above, the relevant nouns in Chronicles can have plurals, against the prediction in (1). They continue to do so in MR (e.g., *apusuri* ‘sunsets’; *începuturi* ‘beginnings’), constituting a separate class of past participle stems. For example, *descălecat* ‘founding’ and *pecetluit* ‘seal’ can take plural forms, and can occur in free alternation with same class members in the presence of repetitive modifiers (2).

- (2) a. descălecatul cel dentăiū  
 founding.the the first  
 ‘the first founding’ (Costin 7)
- b. a doa descălecătură  
 the second founding (Costin 222)
- c. cei fără’ de pecetluituri  
 those without of sealings  
 ‘those without seals’ (Neculce 234)

Giving the irrelevance of (1) to EMR deverbal nouns based on participial stems, as well as the chronology in relation to the verbal supine, the conclusion is that these nouns are derived straight from participial forms (which have the same supine stem). In other words, the derivation arises from the configuration in (3), instead of (1).



Accordingly, the nominal supines analyzed in Iordăchioaia & Soare (2011) are relatively recent innovations in the language, after the supine has been established in its verbal function. This is obvious because of the presence of AspectP in (1), AspectP being a verb related projection, which appears in the supine clause structure in (2) in the text.

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